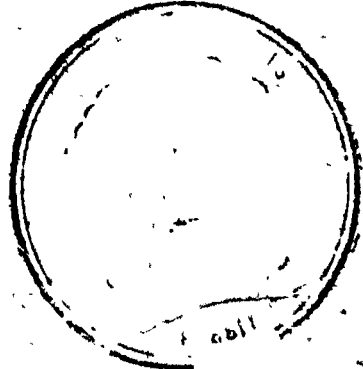


SEARCH LIST.

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

1. Date and hour of search-6 a. m. to 8 a. m. 20th March 1929.
2. Name and residence of persons whose house is searched.—Gopal Chandra Basak S/o Brindaban Chandra Basak, 61 Nawabpur Rd. Dacca.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search,
 - (1) Babu Prafulla Kumar Mitter, B.L. Pleader, 1/1 Goailara Nawabpur.
 - (2) Babu Nil Kamal Chakrabartti, Pleader 20 Lal Chand Makim's Lane Dacca.
 - and so on Jagabandhu Basak, 228 Nawabpur Road Dacca.

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.) | Description of articles seized.* | Description of place where article seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallika</i> and, the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|--|--|---|--|---|
| 1 | Cutting from forward with the heading "The Coming War with England." | On a table underneath a covering by forward paper on the east room of the 1st floor of the house. | Gopal Ch. Basak son of Brindaban Ch. Basak of 61 Nawabpur Rd. Dacca. | Witnesse's initial taken on each article seized. |
| 2 | Cutting from forward with the heading "The Coming War with England" (continued from page 4.) | Do. | Do. |  |
| 3 | A list of 29 books 26 in Bengali and 3 in English. | Do. | Do. | |
| 4 | A letter in Bengali begining with "My dear Brother" and ending with yours Debendra—on the reverse of the letter "G.C. Basak" in English is written. The above letter is found in a cover to the address of Hari Nath Guha and son G.C. Basak, Albert Library, Dacca. | Do. | Do. | |

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Posters bearing:

- (1) Destroy Exploitation.
Victory to the Labourers and Peasants.
- (2) Land for peasants and bread for workers.
- (3) All power to the Union of Workers and Peasants.

P. 230.

THE SPRATT DEFENCE FUND.

AN APPEAL.

Mr. P. Spratt, a young Cambridge graduate, came to India to organize a Labour Research Department in this country. While in India he visited the principal industrial centres and was getting himself acquainted with the conditions in the Indian Labour world.

BLOCK
OF
P. SPRATT,

P. SPRATT, B.A. (Cambridge)

(Representative of the Labour Research Department, London.)

Landed in India on 31st December 1926.

**Arrested on 15th September 1927 for
Sedition under section 124-A.**

Mr. Spratt was arrested on 15th September on the charge of Sedition, being the alleged author of a pamphlet called 'India and China,' under section 124-A.

We feel that it is the duty of all Indians to provide facilities for proper and efficient defence to Mr. Spratt in this case who has been living in our country as our guest.

With this object in view the following Committee has been formed to collect funds and arrange for the defence.

Mr. F. J. Ginwalla, M.L.C., President.
„ N. M. Joshi, M.L.A., Treasurer.
„ S. S. Mirajkar, Secretary.
„ B. F. Bharucha,
„ S. A. Dange,
„ S. H. Jhabvala,
„ S. V. Ghate, } Members.

It is estimated that the costs of the trial in the High Court may come up to Rs. 5,000. We have not calculated any costs for the proceedings in the Police Court as the work there will be done without any remuneration.

We appeal to the Public of Bombay to subscribe liberally to this fund which is started by this committee and strongly hope that the public will respond to our appeal and thus help the proper defence of Mr. Spratt.

Please give your utmost help and obtain a receipt.

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The Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal Annual
Conference Bhatpara, 1928.

A Call to Action.

Central Office—2-1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

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249 copies of "Ganavani" of different dates.

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Some Aspects of Indian Socialism

1st All-India Socialistic Youth Congress.

1928.

Prof. Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, LL. A.,

CALCUTTA:

Some Aspects of Indian Socialism

For a Country like India, which has lived under political servitude for seven hundred years and more and which has suffered from the tyranny of priestcraft, in society and religion for three thousand years and more since the Pre-Buddhistic days of Indian Culture, the cult and Philosophy of Socialism is pregnant with far-reaching consequences in the evolution of the Indian People. Although in Europe we find that the cult of socialism is the new product of a long era of strenuous effort in political experiments, the necessary atmosphere for which was created by the passage of Europe through various phases of evolution extending over many hundred years, based on an all-round revolt—intellectual and material—against the established order of things with the breakdown of feudalism, the budding of the Renaissance Movement, the flowering of the Reformation and ousting of Papacy, the great Industrial Revolution of the 17th and 18th centuries, and the French Revolution with its motto of 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity', the passing of the Universal suffrage in all European countries and the ultimate and absolute collapse of the old order of things in the huge conflagration of the Great European War, leading to the utter destruction of the bourgeoisie principle and the capitalistic instinct in the Domain of the Idea, as its transitional landmarks, leaving the country quite open for carrying on mighty experiments in Socialism in all its phases in the interest exclusively of the proletariat, and although we find that in India these traditions in the race are hopelessly absent, giving rise to some amount of scepticism as to the future prospect of fruition in the path of development along socialistic lines, yet we must not forget that with the mighty strides taken by civilisation in the course of the last century, connecting the whole world by a network of connections, annihilating space and time almost to a vanishing point, and making all ideas and experiments, discovered, matured and carried on in a remote corner of the world our own in a comparatively short space of time, the objections regarding our want of experience and absence of traditions in the life principle of the race to carry on the experiment in socialism in a land like India automatically vanish or are reduced to a minimum. Thus we find that to-day we are entitled to be the inheritors the truth of socialism discovered by Europe by a long course of training and experiment as our natural birthright and we need not feel ashamed of having borrowed an ideal from the West which is not our own and perhaps against our traditions and culture, nor need we be under any debt of gratitude to any nation under the Sun, creating so-called obligations which only serve to lead to bondage, tyranny and exploitation.

Socialism means an all-round liberation of the individual man from the bondage of the Church, the State and the Society

through a process of revolutionary evolution which begins by establishing a socialistic state based on democracy the earliest possible opportunity and ends by making him free economically, socially and intellectually. The Society is centralised in the state but the state is essentially the states of the People, ruled by the People solely in its own interest, the representatives carrying on the Government in the interest of the People necessarily becoming responsible to the People at every step and liable to removal by the People for transgressing its mandates. As in a socialistic state, equality in status is essential with regard to the material comforts of life, land and capital should necessarily be state-owned, held in the interest of the people, with such wholesome restrictions as may be thought necessary to be imposed in order to stabilise the system of administration or such relaxations as might be thought necessary in order to emulate all noble enterprises in the path of search and experiment for increasing the well-being of the proletariat. The state of right pattern being established, a scheme of Social Progress based on equality has to be worked out in the interest of the people in order to give it the social freedom which is its objective, giving it the stability and right balance, which is the condition precedent for securing intellectual freedom of the individual, finding expression in the freedom of the religious faith, freedom of thinking, freedom of speech, freedom of forming associations, freedom of individual action and movements and freedom of forming social connections based on free-will and mutual consent, when this is established, the cult of Socialism stands fulfilled in the race.

Socialism stands midway between the bureaucratic Government of the bourgeoisie and the capitalist on the one hand and Anarchism on the other. Under certain circumstances, it has to offer fight to both, when its position becomes precarious Socialism is based on a principle of centralisation, resulting in the formation of a Government on a new basis and Philosophical Anarchism is based on a principle of decentralisation, the small groups formed at first to replace the big society gradually dwindling into smaller units until the final and complete emancipation of the individual is accomplished with the self-fulfilled individual as the unit with 'No state, no Society, no Religion' as his creed of life. With regard to this Philosophical ideal of Anarchism, it cannot be gainsaid that the principle of Socialism is a moderate ideal and there is no reason why a Government standing face to face with the menace of Anarchism should persecute its adherents even though they are its avowed enemies, as the issue lies solely between its total extinction in name and form and its supplanting by another form of Government and the choice, if it has to be made at all, should be made immediately and we all hope in the interest of the latter.

Every thing else being assured after the formation of the Socialistic state in India, which will lead to the emancipation of the proletariat from the yoke of the intellectual bourgeoisie and the capitalist, the question naturally arises as to how we are to proceed if we are to establish the socialistic state. We are under the yoke of the foreigner at the present moment and the question of forming Government does not rest with us primarily and therefore, as a necessary corollary, the first thing that has to be done is to secure our political independence from foreign yoke by any means whatever which could prove effective and for which we might be fit by our temperament and necessary equipment. As this supreme issue of securing our independence cannot be settled by appealing to the good sense of the British people, the fight necessarily must be tough and long-drawn, a war to the death or to a successful finish, and when this independence is achieved, the question of establishing the socialistic state, which is possibly destined to be the state of the future, will have to be mooted again under circumstances which might be highly unfavourable; the nation being rendered weary owing to the carnage and slaughter through which it will have to pass in its way to freedom and the country will again and again have to be dragged through a course of bloody revolutions in order to realise the goal. With a view to save this excessive loss of life and blood, it is thought in the interest of humanity, desirable, to bring in the cult of socialism as an experimental measure in the course of the uphill journey towards the goal of independence and to explore its possibilities, suited to Indian conditions, both for works constructive and destructive, evolutionary and revolutionary, the one directed against the bureaucratic government with its hangers-on, the middle-class bourgeoisie, the big landed aristocracy and the money-lending capitalist class and the other solely occupied with the creation of the favourable conditions for making the Socialistic state desirable as an ideal and its creation possible as a programme.

Now to the question of giving fight to the bureaucratic government on a socialistic basis. It is admitted on all hands that although the mass of the Indian People is seething with discontent and is suffering the effects of the worst spoliation on record in the hands of the exploiters, who are ruining it from within and without, the country, being ill-organised and ill-equipped, is not ready yet to give the final battle. Therefore it follows as a necessary corollary, since the battle must be given and that at the earliest possible opportunity, that the mass has to be properly trained and prepared for the great encounter.

It is true that we have noticed a vague desire in the mass to secure SWARAJ within the shortest possible period and a consequent discontent with the existing order of things. But the will of the mass remaining hypnotised in a stuporous slumber, the mass is not

yet endowed with consciousness in the strict sense of the term. It is a pity that the existing political organisations in the country have done but little in the way of properly rousing up the mass, they being mainly preoccupied with the sole work of indulging their political hobbies, with the result that while the mass of the people makes the greatest sacrifice for upholding the cause which their leaders love most, they derive very little benefit out of it and are, in a sense, exploited once again in the interest of a new class of bourgeoisie. Therefore, our first duty should be to do the work that as yet remains undone—to make the mass of the people fully develop its consciousness, so that it may know the endless tortures to which it is subjected, by dehypnotising the mass as a whole by carrying on an intensive propaganda among the people. This plastic consciousness, when liberated, should be developed into a concentrated will to tear off the bonds which render the mass lethargic and uncreative. When once this will is properly drilled and trained, it will be able to create the necessary conditions under which it will refuse to be hypnotised again under any circumstances and will let the path to victory crystallise before its mental vision. After this is assured, success is only a question of time.

The mass of the people generally consists of labourers and peasants, they comprising 90 per cent. of the population amongst themselves. If they are properly organised on a basis of safeguarding their own interest by forming UNIONS on a socialistic basis and if these unions work in concert to secure their economic freedom from exploitation by the rich and the powerful, and if they are trained to carry on offensive and defensive operations against their enemies, gradually, an atmosphere of fight and resistance will develop in the mass of the people, which will surely show the way to victory. In order to begin this work in right earnest, the first necessity is to get together a band of selfless youngmen to receive the necessary training in socialistic Philosophy and methods of warfare through organising strikes, deadlocks, civil resistance, no-tax campaign etc. as a preliminary measure. If the fighting instincts are properly developed, a time will come, simultaneously with the acquiring of necessary resources, when the people, already sufficiently trained in democratic socialism, will be able to subvert the existing bureaucratic government and establish its own government in its stead. In the meantime, things take a more favourable turn, it may be possible, under the pressure of besieging circumstances, for the existing state to socialise itself without going through the inevitable course of meeting a hopeless downfall.

As for socialism in its constructive aspect it may be attempted with great advantage in carrying on certain experiments in socialism with a view to train the workers in the methods of socialistic administration in local bodies. In order to make this work fruitful, it is absolutely necessary that the youths of the country

should make themselves thoroughly conversant with socialism in theory and practice with special reference to Indian conditions. In small areas, by a sort of voluntary co-operation introduced among the masses, they may receive their preliminary training in holding land and capital in common, doing labour in commonalty and receiving the produce equally through a locally constituted Board representing the socialistic Government of the future in a seed-form.

In fact, all the reforms in the society which would be attempted hereafter by the Socialistic estate, when established, may be taken in hand by the new order that is going to be established, as if it were the estate in embryo. What the estate would bring about by legislation will have to be attempted now by voluntary co-operation and moral pressure improvement in Housing conditions and sanitation rendering medical relief and medical treatment, access to proper food and clothing, fixing of the timelimit for labour and rate of wages. Spread of literacy through free and compulsory education, primary and technical, proper protection of boys and girls from labour below 14, old age and invalid pensions, Life-Insurance, protection from middlemen and capitalistic monopoly, recognition of the supremacy of unions, equality between the sexes, protection of women from insidious influences, Law of inheritance to be equitable for males and females, relaxation of the law of marriage making voluntary separation morally and legally permissible, rate of interest on loan not to exceed 6 % of per annum, right of supreme ownership on land by the actual cultivator, provision for recreation and amusement, stoppage of the Drinking Evil, Universal Suffrage, etc. etc.

The youths have been appropriately called the mainstay of society, chiefly because they represent the fighting units of the race. If this unit is not properly developed in them and they are given to a life of slothful ease leading an irresponsible life, permitting insult, shame, calumny and humiliation on the race to which they belong, it leads to a rapid deterioration and ultimate extinction of the nation from the face of the earth. Therefore, the chief responsibility of the arduous labour falls on them as a class and they must rise equal to the occasion in order to save their fair name from unrestricted Stigma, for, if properly organised, victory is automatically theirs. When the youths deeply imbued with socialistic doctrines have filled up the quota of the total strength of fighters required for the work, the rest may conveniently be permitted to follow the peaceful avocations of life according to their own inclinations in the various departments of life leading to an all-round revival of every aspect of life—art aesthetics, meta-physics, etc. etc. When once this is assured every movement falls in its proper place, no matter higher or lower but depending for its existence on the development of the fighting instincts in the race, the creation of the rationalistic thinker, the intellectual fighter, who alone can save the knotty situation of the present day.

Internationalism or if we may be permitted to say so with a bit of the idealistic sauce, Supernationalism is the crying need of the hour. Beneath the burden of the newly formed League-of-Nations Internationalism in its accepted sense means another tyranny and a more powerful exploitation of the weak by the strong in the name of "mandate" and other shibboleths of the hour. But we are not looking that way: we are expecting a new order of society in Europe which will make the peoples of the world members of one international group of socialistic commonwealth and we are inclined to feel that all the races so long crushed in common beneath the iron weight of the bourgeoisie and the capitalistic principles of society will feel the sympathy of oneness for one another and will combine for self defence, knowing perfectly well that if these pernicious principles get any harbourage in any corner of the world, they will once more sweep the whole world like a great plague and bring everything down before it. We are inclined to believe that those who are better off to-day as the more powerful races of this world will bear this in mind for all time to come and will not fail to adopt defensive operations in the interest of the weak and the afflicted, which will ultimately turn out to be a more enlightened form of self-interest in another form.

It is with the above faith stirring within us that we call upon the promising youths of our own land to give the cult of Socialism a fair trial in our own land and may the youths, fully conscious of their mission, consider it for what it is worth and try their level best to use this new weapon for attaining the victory which is theirs. when they have learnt to train and conserve their strength and to use it with the necessary amount of self-restraint, when they feel the inner call within themselves to rise equal to the occasion and stake their all to fulfill the urgent demand of the hour in the path of self-fulfilment of humanity through the realisation of the mission of the suffering Indian people.

*Published by Prof. Joytish Ch. Ghosh M. A., and printed by
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POLITICAL RESOLUTION.

The political situation in the past year, while conforming generally to the lines described a year ago, has undergone important developments. The following are its main features.

(1) continuence of the firm policy of Imperialism towards the bourgeois nationalist movement, and increasingly reactionary attitude towards the masses.

(2) consequent retreat of almost all parties of the bourgeoisie, including the Congress in support of a timid liberal programme of constitutional demands, and communal reconciliation.

(3) considerable increase in the strength and militancy of the mass movement, workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie.

(4) an effort on the part of a wing of the bourgeoisie to threaten Imperialism with the mass movement, and at the same time to regain the control over the petty bourgeoisie and the masses which they are losing.

1. The provocative and apparently stupid policy of British Imperialism is dictated by the increasing difficulty of its position in the world. The approach of war, and the continued economic decline of Great Britain, render it imperative for Imperialism to keep its political control and economic predominance in India undisturbed. But this is becoming increasingly difficult, as the shortage of an exportable surplus of British capital tends to deprive the British interests of an important weapon used in maintaining their economic leadership. Increasing recourse must therefore be had to the political weapon, and the British political dictatorship has been used to force through the Rupee ratio, the all-British Commission on Constitutional Reforms, etc. and is expected to enforce the Reserve Bank Bill in spite of the strenuous opposition of practically the whole forces of the bourgeoisie.

At the same time the appointment of the Butler Committee and the statements of the leading loyalist Princes show that serious steps are being taken by Imperialism to safeguard its position by strengthening its hold on the States and increasing their military efficiency.

But the difficulties of British Imperialism also determine that its fundamental economic and political line of policy in India shall be maintained. It is British Imperialist policy to industrialise India in cooperation with Indian capital, though in such a way

that British predominance is maintained. The policy of concessions is still pursued, as is shown by the continued grant of tariffs to predominantly Indian firms and industries. Similarly the basic policy of compromise with the Indian bourgeoisie on the political fields is to be maintained, and even concessions to be granted, provided that effective British control is absolutely secure. Thus the Memorandum to the Simon Commission of the European Association suggests an increase in the nominated and Government seats in the Assembly, addition to the powers of the Provincial Legislatures, but no widening of the franchise some concessions to the bourgeoisie—none to the masses—but increase in the power of British control at the centre. Further the respectful attitude of officials and of all responsible sections of the Anglo-Indian and British imperialist press towards the Nehru Report, testifies to an anxiety to compromise. The unexpected aggressiveness of imperialism does not therefore imply a fundamental change in its policy towards the Indian bourgeoisie, but only a partial and probably temporary modification. The essential line of policy remains the same.

2. Before the firmness of the Government the bourgeoisie have again retreated. Their natural indignation and the pressure of the masses after the appointment of the Simon Commission drove them towards an uncompromising attitude, in the case of the Congress leaders to support of the Independence Resolution and the approval of hartals on the arrival of the Commission. But latter when the All Parties Conference was convened, and the bourgeois left wing had to choose between the masses and their class, they chose the latter. The attitude of the Government impressed many with the fact that nothing was to be gained by declamation or threat. There was left no alternative but a united front of the bourgeoisie, on the basis of practical constitutional possibilities. All the bourgeois Parties, under the same compulsion, dropped their political and communal differences, and put forward a reasonable proposal for compromise with imperialism in the Nehru Report.

The Nehru Report, as accepted by the All Parties Conference makes the following principal demands:—(1) Complete responsibility for an Indian Parliament elected by universal suffrage, in regard to internal affairs, including finance, customs, taxation etc. (2) rights of the individual of a bourgeois democratic type, including a special safeguard of private property rights, but including also some freedom for Trade Union organisation, etc.

In return it concedes: (1) foreign affairs to be conducted on the same basis as those of the Dominions. (2) Executive powers nominally vested in the king, acting through nominated Governor-General and Governors. (3) no discrimination against British financial, commercial and industrial interests. (4) the armed forces

to be under the control of a committee consisting partly of ministers and partly of British officers. (5) existing pay etc. of present civil and other officers to be guaranteed, their resignation voluntary. (6) Indian states remain under their present regime, but in relations with the India Government.

The masses thus enter into the programme hardly at all. In the States they are left at the mercy of the Princes. In British India they are given the vote, personal rights, a certain protection for Trade Unions, primary education, some vaguely-worded promises in regard to economic improvement, and security of tenure of land, the landlord system being otherwise retained.

The Report is entirely a bourgeois-democratic scheme, of a not very advanced type, and in relation to imperialism constitutes almost the minimum which the Indian bourgeoisie could demand. Its acceptance means a decisive retreat on the part of the Congress leaders from the position taken by them a year before, and represents a consolidation of the whole bourgeois class, on the basis of reconciliation of minor differences, the complete acceptance of imperialism, and a minimum programme of demands, into a single reactionary bloc, completely divorced from the masses.

The retreat of the bourgeoisie from its position of would-be leader of the masses, is shown also by: (1) its betrayal of the Bardoli peasants' resistance to increase of assessment. (2) its practical neglect of and even opposition to the numerous mass workers' strikes which have occurred this year. (3) the half hearted and formal opposition expressed to the extremely dangerous and reactionary Trade Disputes Bill (4) the conduct of the Bengal Congress Council party in connection with the Bengal Tenancy Law Amendment Bill, in which on practically every issue they supported the zemindars against the cultivators, frequently voting with the Government.

3. While the bourgeoisie as a whole have been retreating the masses, including a large section of the petty-bourgeoisie, have been making noteworthy advance. The workers' movement, which has been rising slowly for some time, has reached a level of activity and militancy which has not been attained for six or seven years past. Most disputes have been characterised by (1) extreme obstinacy and prolongation; the resort by the capitalist to all devices of intimidation and deceit to break the workers' strength, which however has in most cases been maintained with remarkable courage and endurance. (2) the active participation of the state forces on the capitalists side; wholesale arrests, prohibition of meetings; forcible entry into workers' houses, beating, etc. (3) a consequent tendency in some cases for the workers to emancipate themselves from the ideology of the old-style bourgeois leaders, and to acquire class-consciousness and an attitude of struggle against

both the employer and the state. The political consciousness of the leading sections of the workers has substantially increased. And at the same time the base of the movement is broadening; several disputes have occurred in previously unorganised industries.

The basic conditions which bring about this movement, *viz.* trade depression and an employers' offensive, rising prices, and a gradual spread of knowledge of the workers' movement and of revolutionary ideas, continue to operate. In spite therefore of some setbacks and local demoralisation, the progress of the movement is likely to go on without serious intermission for some time.

There has also been a less marked, but important, advance in the peasants' movement. Actual campaigns against landlords or Government have occurred or are threatened from Bombay, Madras, U. P. and Bengal; mostly defensive, but one or two actually taking the offensive; while several Workers' and Peasants' Conferences have been held in different Provinces.

Some sections of the Petty bourgeoisie have also manifested increased activity, as is shown by the continued growth and activity of the Youth movement, the enthusiastic acceptance almost everywhere in the Youth organisations and in Congress meetings etc., of the slogan of Independence, and the tendency, given expression, though not yet much realised in practice, to take up mass organisation.

In response to the growth of the mass movement, especially of its leading section, the workers, the Government, in addition to its practical repressive measures, has taken serious steps. It has brought forward a Trade Disputes Bill, of which the most important proposals are to penalise heavily all strikes with a political complexion, and to prevent all strikes in railways and other services, thus cutting off from the movement its largest and hitherto most active and best organised section. Further, by means of the Public Safety Bill, further steps are taken to cut the feeble connection between the International revolutionary labour movement and the Indian workers. In addition increased efforts are being made through the I. F. T. U. and the British Trades Union Congress to support and strengthen the reactionary leaders of the Unions.

4. The publication of the Nehru Report, which by its frankness and moderation revealed the true nature and aims of bourgeois nationalism, brought about a crisis within the Congress ranks. The hypocrisy of the bourgeois nationalist propaganda for some time past, especially of its support of complete independence, was very clearly shown. It was feared that the pettybourgeoisie whose enthusiasm has been greatly roused by the slogan of independence, would withdraw support in disgust. At the same time the rapid rise of

the workers' movement impressed many with its power, and with its danger for the bourgeoisie, It was clearly seen to be emancipating itself from the control of the old type of moderate bourgeois labour leader.

Accordingly the Independence for India League was launched, and rapidly found support among the bourgeois politicians, although its policy, not yet formulated in detail, must mean nothing short of mass revolution if taken seriously. There was even some talk of revolution and of socialism. The possibility arose of a serious breach in the ranks of the bourgeoisie if such wild talk were allowed to continue, even if only for purposes of demonstration, before the masses and the petty bourgeoisie, whose psychology it fitted so well. A halt was therefore called by the Bengal group, who published independently and in advance of the general body, a suggested programme, clearly with the object of forcing the hand of the All-India League, and confining Independence propoganda to harmless bourgeois lines.

The programme and manifesto published by the Bengal Independence for India League, while using phrases such as "economic emancipation", "removal of economic inequalities", and "rousing the masses", contains nothing totally unacceptable to the more moderate wing of the bourgeoisie. The section on political democracy contains nothing but the demand for complete independence, and that on social democracy familiar items of social reform propaganda. The economic demands include, for workers, the eight hour day for factory workers, unemployment pay, sickness insurance, pensions, etc., and control of the rate of interest on loans and supply of cheap credit by cooperative institutions. In connection with industry it is proposed to nationalise the key industries, railways, shipping, and air services, to introduce compulsory arbitration, profit sharing, and labour participation in management. Taxation on private capital, including inheritance duties are also proposed.

This is a programme not intended to rouse the revolutionary energy of the masses in pursuit of their economic demands, but is calculated to bring Indian industrialism into line with modern bourgeois practice, including its methods of keeping the workers under control. It is essentially a programme for the bourgeoisie, in which items are included not as demands by the workers, but as promises of what will be done for them by the bourgeoisie when bourgeois independence is established, so that the independent workers' movement may be held in check. In particular it has no revolutionary significance at all.

Even more reactionary is the programme in connection with the land, in which the chief items are annulment of agricultural indebtedness and abolition of landlordism, by indemnification.

This item provides a very clear indication that the Independence League intends no break with the Congress, which in Bengal is notoriously influenced by landowning interests, but is on the contrary more in fundamental agreement with the general line of Congress policy.

The unreal and hypocritical character of the programme is perhaps most definitely revealed by the fact that throughout there is not a word mentioned of the method by which the aims are to be achieved.

The programme is quite in line in its counter-revolutionary character with the usual propaganda of its leaders (cf. the Presidential Speech of Mr. S. C. Bose at the Maharashtra Provincial Conference, 1928, in which the class-struggle is definitely opposed), and with their conduct in connection with labour disputes. In more than one strike the efforts of the Independence League leaders have been directed towards stopping the strikes in the interests of a national industry. Some leaders of this school do not hesitate to avow themselves Fascists.

Although the Bengal League represents a moderate wing in relation to some other sections, the nature of the League as a whole is fundamentally the same. This is shown by. (1) The personnel of the leading groups, the members of the All Parties Conference who signed the initial manifesto, and the decision to make the League a wing of the National Congress only. No section or group which is loyal to Congress principles can really lead the masses. Congress aims are nationalist, and opposed to class struggle. The mass movement can only grow by waging the class struggle. To confine the League membership to Congress members means in effect to exclude the masses. (2) The action of most of the members in supporting simultaneously the Independence League and the Nehru Report "except for Dominion Status". The whole Report depends upon Dominion Status, that is, compromise with Imperialism, as its basis, and its provisions are quite incompatible with any attainable independence. (3) The repeated hint that if Independence is advocated, Dominion Status may be granted as a compromise. (4) The failure of almost all the propagandists of the League to treat the matter seriously. They appear to think that a mere sentiment in favour of independence is sufficient qualification for membership of the League, and that the propaganda of this sentiment is its whole work. The practical revolutionary implications of independence are neglected almost entirely.

The Independence for India League is thus to be looked upon as the resultant of different tendencies: (1) a hesitating and as yet confused move on the part of a section of the petty bourgeoisie towards a revolutionary policy, with perhaps on the part of some the

idea of exploiting the revolutionary mass movement for the attainment of independence for the middle classes. (2) And attempt by a section of the bourgeoisie to extort concessions from imperialism by threatening it with a movement for independence among the middle classes and the masses. (3) An attempt by a section of the bourgeoisie to regain that control over the mass movement and the petty bourgeoisie which the increasingly reactionary attitude of the bourgeois class as whole, and of the bourgeois labour leaders, is causing it to lose.

In conditions of rising mass movement, the Workers' and Peasants' Party has (1) to assist the growth of the movement to the utmost, (2) to clarify its very confused ideas, and (3) to improve its organisation, especially that of the working class vanguard of the movement, and to widen and strengthen the Party.

For the first purpose it is necessary to establish united front with all organisations which tend to increase the momentum of the movement, whether of the workers, of the peasants or of the petty bourgeoisie. But for the remaining purposes it is essential to insist more strongly than has been done previously upon the independent role of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, as the only organisation which has a correct policy and can unite and lead all the mass revolutionary forces of the country. The Party can be content no longer to act primarily as a section or wing of another organisation. It is the only genuine representative of the rising mass movement.

The developments of the past year bring the relations between the Workers' and Peasants' Party on the one hand, and the National Congress with its Independence wing on the other, to a new stage. The gradual divergence between the masses and the bourgeoisie, which had been making itself manifest for some years past, has sharpened decisively. The bourgeoisie as a whole has retreated, and that section which has not done so, maintains its advanced position more and more obviously for tactical reasons only. On the other hand the masses have advanced considerably. The appropriate expression of the old relations between the movements, was that the Workers' and peasants' Party constituted itself a left wing of the national movement, and worked as a section of the Congress.

This can no longer be the situation. The Workers' and Peasants' Party is the representative of the advancing mass movement. The dominant leadership of the Congress associates itself with the retreating bourgeois bloc, whose representative organisations is the All Parties Conference. The two movements separate, and their leading organisation must do so also. The Workers' and Peasants' Party must henceforth play a definitely independent part.

For some time however the Congress will maintain its composite character of a loose organisation, with indefinite creed under bourgeois leadership, but with a petty bourgeois following including different social strata and different political tendencies, some of a potentially revolutionary nature. While this is the case and while the workers' and Peasants' Party remains relatively weak and unorganised in the country, it will be necessary to follow the traditional policy of forming fractions within Congress organisations, for the purpose of agitation, of exposing its reactionary leadership and of drawing the revolutionary sections towards the Workers' and Peasants' Party. This policy however is only temporary. The Workers' and Peasants' Party can have no intention of dominating or capturing the Congress: the function of its members within the Congress is a purely critical one. Party member cannot therefore be allowed to take office in Congress organisations. The object of the Workers' and Peasants' Party can only be to build up its own independent organisation, so that it can as soon as possible dispense with the necessity of agitation within the Congress.

The relation with the Independence League is of a different nature. Although not homogeneous in membership, the Independence League has a definite policy and programme. It is in essence a bourgeois organisation whose policy is an insincere travesty of that of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, and whose object is in large part to prevent the independent growth of the mass movement. Workers' and Peasants' Party members cannot enter the Independence League as members, as to do so would be to attribute to it before the masses a seriousness and importance which it does not possess. The Workers' and Peasants' Party can only work with the independence League in a united front, on the basis of its propaganda for independence, which in spite of its frivolous character has objectively some value. But it is necessary continually to expose the League's faults of programme and policy, and its fundamentally bourgeois, even fascist character, and ultimately counter-revolutionary role.

As opposed to the policy of the independence League, the Workers' and Peasants' Party must emphasise the following principal points:

1. It must expose the Nehru Report as a whole, and especially the pretence that it is possible to support simultaneously the Report and independence. The allied conception that Dominion Status is a "step to Independence" must also be exploded.

2. There must be left no doubt as to the meaning of Independence; it involves the destruction of imperialist political and military control, and economic penetration, and hence necessitates revolution.

3. The independence of the labour movement from bourgeois control must be insisted upon, and the necessity of its pursuing its class struggle against all exploiters.

4. The abolition of landlordism, in principle without compensation, must also be put forward, and the consequent necessity of the agrarian revolution.

5. In regard to the states, the policy of the Nehru Report, which is supported by the bourgeoisie and intelligentsia of the states, represented in the states' Peoples' Conference, must be opposed. It is in effect to leave the States under their present feudal regime, only advocating some formal change in the relations between the princes and the Government. The policy of the party must be to draw the populations of the States into the struggle side by side with the masses of British India, for the total abolition of the States and the establishment of democratic government on the same basis as is advocated for the rest of the country. Only the creation of a mass movement in the States can neutralise or destroy them as a base for imperialism.

It is essential for the Party also to develop its own activity in other ways. It must not depend upon the Congress and the bourgeois movement even to the extent that it has in the past for its campaigns and slogans, and must take its own completely independent initiative in all political matters. It is necessary for the Party (1) to wage a far more intense campaign against the Trade Disputes Bill, in spite of the indifference of the bourgeois politicians. (2) Similarly a campaign of propoganda must be conducted against the war danger, and particularly against the war preparations against Soviet Russia. (3) The international nature of the revolutionary nationalist and working class movement must be emphasised in concrete manner, and examples from current politics brought before the masses, particularly the workers. Of especial importance is the support of the Chinese workers and peasants against the white terror of the bourgeois nationalists in alliance with imperialism, and exposure of the part played by the Chinese bourgeoisie in the movement. In this matter the whole nationalist press and propaganda is definitely counter revolutionary, and the class sympathy between the Indian and the Chinese bourgeoisie must be exposed.

Submitted to the 1st all India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference, December, 1928.

Printed and Published by Dharani Kanta Goswami, 2-1, European Asylum Lane, at the Popular Printing Works, 2, Ram Hari Ghose Lane, Calcutta.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Thesis presented to the First All India
Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference,

December, 1928.

(1) The Trade Unions, which arise spontaneously from the conditions of modern industrialism, have as their primary function to fight for the immediate needs of the working class, that is to raise their standard of life. In the course of the Trade Union struggle, the need is felt for the entry of the working class into the political field, and eventually for it to take direct political action with revolutionary aims. The necessity then arises for the political organ of the working class, which takes the leading part in its political struggles. The importance of the Trade Unions in the political sphere lies in the fact that they are a means of preparing the workers for political action, and in that they are the basic mass organisations of the workers, which can rally even the relatively backward sections to take part in the struggle in an organised way.

(2) For the purpose of conducting the economic struggle, the best type of organisation for the Trade Union movements is Industrial Unionism, a plan of organisation in which all the workers of each industry are in one Union, covering the whole country. Industrial Unionism is opposed on the one hand to division of the workers by craft, by locality, or by employment etc., and on the other hand to organisation of the workers into multiple Unions, which necessarily lack complete unity of interest. Under this system a number of borderline cases occur, which have to be settled on their individual merits. And for certain other groups of workers, owing to special circumstances, such as separation of centres by long distances, or as in the case of casual workers who drift from one occupation to another, etc., etc., organisation may have to be conducted on other principles. But generally for the great majority of workers, the system of Industrial Unionism should be observed.

The basis of the Union is its branches. No Union has a genuine existence unless its members are all organised in branches, in which they meet regularly and frequently, and discuss and decide the Union policy. Branches should be established, preferably according to the place of work, but if necessary according to the place of residence, of the members, and in such a way that all members have easy access to one branch. Branch committees should be established, but primarily for the conduct of routine

business. So far as possible all questions of policy, elections of representatives delegates etc., should be decided by branch meetings.

In addition to branches, there should be set up where possible factory committees, whose function it is to lead the struggle of the workers at the most vital point within the place of work, by voicing complaints and rallying support for their redress, leading a campaign against non-unionism, etc., The Committees should be representative of all sections etc., of the workers, and should have special representation on branch committees.

All Unions should have a suitable system of district or provincial committees and meetings, and a central committee really representing the rank and file, but the effort must be to keep the organisation, at once democratic and capable of rapid action, by providing an effective method of electing and recalling representatives from the branches.

(3) The Trade Union movement as a whole must be strongly bound together, for dealing with the increasingly numerous and important matters in which the interests of the whole movement are affected. For this purpose all Unions should affiliate to the Trade Union Congress, which must be made a strong and active body. Its Executive Council should be of such a size that meeting is possible at frequent intervals, and it should be endowed with powers sufficient to enable it to set as the real centre and controller of the movement. In addition in the Provinces the local federations of Unions should be built up to include all the Trade Unionists in their area. And in all industrial towns Trades Councils should be established. They are even more important organisations than the district or provincial federations, as they are in closer contact with the workers. Consisting of the representatives of all the organised workers in a town or small industrial area, they are in a position to meet frequently and to take a really active part in the struggles of the united working class.

In addition to the organisation of the Unions as a whole into a united body, there is a place for special federations or joint committee e. g. among all transport Unions, for the purpose of increasing the effectiveness of direct action.

(4) The economic policy of the Unions can only be one of unremitting aggression. A continued fight must be waged in all industries for the improvement of the fundamental condition, wages and hours principally of the workers. This does not mean that other matters, such as enforcement of Factory legislation, the Compensation Act, etc., should be neglected. But it means that the essential plank in the programme on which the workers are organised is the demand for substantial improvements. For each

industry a comprehensive programme should be worked out, in which these demands take a prominent place, and the workers asked to unite to enforce the programme. If necessary the workers must be restrained from taking too hasty action, without sufficient resources and solidarity to carry through the struggle properly, but when preparations are sufficient, action must be taken.

The policy of industrial peace, which has proved so ruinous even in prosperous and well-organised countries, must be definitely thrust out of the India Trade Union movement. It is practising gross deception upon the workers to tell them, as many leaders do, that the object of Trade Unionism is to preserve peaceful relations between employers and employed. The object of Trade Unionism is to fight employers for improvements.

Many Trade Union leaders claim, sometimes as a result of bitter experience, that the policy of strike is unwise, as strikes usually fail. This utterly defeatist view cannot be accepted. Strikes can win if properly organised. And no strike, in spite of any immediately disastrous result it may have, can be looked upon as a loss. Its lessons to those who take part, and to the working class generally, must be utilised to the advantage of the movement.

Already the spirit and understanding of the workers has outstripped the miserable state of their organisation. The workers are now prepared to realise that if small strikes fail, they must have big strikes. The general strike is an extremely powerful weapon, which the Trade Union movement must not shrink from using.

(5) The strike, including the general strike, can also be used for political purposes, and on suitable occasions, if sufficient preparation is made, must be put into effect. The disastrous failure of the Calcutta Tramway Workers, political strike on February 3, 1928, must not be allowed to stand in the way. The same principle is true of the political as of the economic strike, that if small strikes fail, big strike must be organised.

An occasion on which the political general strike is called for is an attack upon the Trade Union movement as a whole, such as is made in the Trade Disputes Bill. The Trade Disputes Bill involves three main proposals: (1) to establish courts of inquiry and conciliation boards on the occasion of disputes. This proposal must be fought, not merely on grounds on detail, but on principle. The bourgeois schools of Labour leaders have extended a partial welcome to it. This is utterly wrong. The procedure of inquiry and conciliation by supposedly impartial persons can only have the effect of weakening the workers, class-spirit and solidarity. It tends to minimise the importance of organised strength and makes the worker depend upon the justice of their case from bourgeois

point of view and the sympathy of bourgeois conciliators for their poverty. If this, or similar legislation such as is proposed by certain labour leaders, is passed, it will have a most pernicious effect upon the movement. (2) The second proposal, to prevent all strikes in Railways, Posts, telegraphs, etc, and (3) to prevent sympathetic and political strikes, are sheer repression, and must be fought with all the strength at the disposal of labour.

In reply to this attack, increased efforts must be made to achieve the real unity of the movement, by establishing and strengthening the inter-union organisations, especially the Trades Councils, and carrying a campaign for unity among the rival unions, and for 100% organisation among the workers. At the same time the slogan of general strike of protest must be put forward, and the opportunity used to make the workers familiar with the political general strikes:

(6) The past year has been rich in experience for the Trade Union movement. The workers, in many cases in spite of the opposition of leaders, or the absence of any organisation, have spontaneously initiated an aggressive policy. It is necessary in future to assist to the utmost to develop this movement, and to give all possible help to the expression of the deep-rooted desire of the workers for improvements.

The principal obstacles to a forward policy by the Trade Union movement at present are the poverty of organisation, the multiplicity of Unions, and the dominance of reactionary leaders. To overcome these difficulties several points of policy must be observed (a) The workers of all industries must be rallied by bold programmes of demands. (b) The Unions must be made live organisations, in which branch meetings are regularly held, and the member really control. (c) In industries where the workers are led by reactionary leaders, propaganda must be carried to the workers directly, who must be encouraged to form a left wing, to press upon the Union their demands and policy of action, and democratic methods in the Union organisation. (d) In cases where there are reactionary and militant Unions side by side, the policy of united front must be adopted. This policy is not one of subordination to reactionary leaders, but is a means of defeating them. Both the Union as such and the workers must be approached with the proposal of joint action for the attainment of the suggested programme. As a sequel to the joint action, or the refusal of joint action, the proposal of unity must be brought forward. Unity of the Unions can only be obtained, against the will of the reactionary leaders, if there is established solidarity in action of the members.

Both for the purpose of the purely economic struggles, and for the larger purposes of the Trade Union movement also, the

establishment of democracy within the Unions is a most necessary matter. The value of the Unions, as a training ground in politics for the workers, is almost entirely lost in the Trade Union movement as it exists to-day. Genuine workers' leaders cannot come forward unless they have a thorough education in the conduct of their Union affairs. Improvement is to be obtained not only by alteration of constitutions but by continuous pressure from the left wing for the holding of regular branch and general meetings, the appointment of workers to important official positions, the election of all officials and delegates by workers' meeting, the proper reporting of committees and delegates, etc. The establishment of a democratic regime in the Unions is a most urgent task.

(7) The Workers' and Peasants' Party, as the chief organised radical group in the country, has a special responsibility towards the Trade Union movement. Its contact with the movement is through its affiliated Union, and through its individual members who are also members of Union. Its object is to organise a federation of Trade Unions, with Peasants' and other organisations, primarily for the purpose of a political struggle for the independence of the country but also for the general improvement of the position of the masses. It can therefore act as a leading organ of the workers' struggle, and can ask the workers' to co-operate with it in pressing for a radical policy. Further in the mass struggle for independence the organised workers will take a decisive leading part. It is therefore the duty of the party to devote the maximum possible energy and time to the work of organising the workers. This is to be done by (1) organising the unorganised workers with the programme here given. (2) affiliating Unions to Party. (3) Fighting with the existing Unions for a radical policy and improved organisation, and forming left-wing groups within them. (4) Setting up a national left-wing organisation of Unions and groups, including Unions not affiliated to the Party,

All Party provincial committees and branches must set up a Labour sub-committee number as its secretary, which in co-operation with the central Labour sub-committee shall supervise the work of the Party members within the Unions. The membership of the Party must be made up to a very much larger extent of workers' and the Young Comrades' League must be assisted to recruit and get better contact with workers, The attention of the Party generally must be concentrated for more on Trade Union activities, and the rule enforced which makes it compulsory on all members other than students to be members of workers' or peasants' organisation. The central Labour sub-committee must meet and in consultation with representatives from all centres lay down concrete plans of work in the Trade Union movement.

The Trade Union movement must also take a clear line in the international sphere. The move on the part of the right-wing to affiliate Trade Union Congress to the I. F. T. U. (Amsterdam) must be fought by all possible means, as also the tendency of individual Unions to affiliate to the international Trade Secretariat of the I. F. T. U. On the contrary the Trade Union Congress must affiliate with the R. I. L. U. (Moscow). It is also desirable that the Trade Union Congress is affiliated to the anti-imperialist "Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat" (Shanghai) and not to the "Pan Asiatic Federation of labour which is being instituted by the most reactionary of the Japanese Trade Union. The T. U. C. should also be affiliated to the League against Imperialism.

THE SAOGAT PRESS, 11, Wellesley Street, CALCUTTA.

P. 236.

A Call to Action being the Resolutions, Thesis 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.

P. 237.

Comrade Sohan Singh Josh's presidential
First All India Workers' and Peasants' Conference
21-12-28.

P. 238.

Five copies of "Ganabani", 21-6-28, 13-10-28, 4-10-28,
27-9-28, and 13-10-28.

P. 239.

One sign-board of Dhakeswari Cotton Mill Union.

P. 240.

One sign board of the Dacca Branch of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bengal, with hamber and sickle.

P. 241.

14 copies of a printed notice in Bengali under the signature of Gopal Chandra Basak, as Secretary of the Bengal Workers' and Peasants' Party, Dacca Branch, announcing a meeting the Bengal peasants to be held at Coronation Park, Dacca on 22-8-28 to discuss the Trade Disputes Bill.

SEARCH LIST.

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

1. Date and hour of search 20th March 1929, 6-15 a. m. to 10-30 a. m.
2. Name and residence of person whose house is searched—Brindaban Ch. Basak, 223 Nawabpur Road Dacca.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search, { (1) Jodu Nath Sen, Kabiraj 226 Nawabpur Road Dacca.
(2) Sashadhar Datta, Sub-Assistant Surgeon 12 Bengshal Road.
and so on Girish Ch. Das, pleader Puran Mugaltuli.

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial. | Description of articles seized* | Description of place where article seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>maltalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|---|---|---|--|--|
| 1 | A Pamphlet entitled "Some Aspects of Indian Socialism by Professor Jyotish Ch. Ghose M. A., blue covered. | Found on the dressing table on the Northern side of the room in the first floor, occupied by Gopal Ch. Basak. | Gopal Ch. Basak son of Brindaban Chandra Basak. | |
| 2 | A book entitled The two Internationals by R. Palme Dutt | Do. | Do. | |
| 3 | A book entitled Socialism and the living wage by R. Palme Dutt | Do. | Do. | |
| 4 | A copy of the Banbas in Bulivia, by Margaret Alexander Marsh. | Do. | Do. | |
| 5 | A copy of the Americans in Santo Domingo by Melvin M. Knight | Do. | Do. | |
| 6 | A copy of Young Liberator by H. D. Rajah. | Do. | Do. | |

| | | | |
|----|--|------------------|------------------|
| 7 | A copy of daughter of the Revolution, by John Reed. | As in page No. 1 | As in page No. 1 |
| 8 | A copy of "Hundred Percent Indian, by C. G. Shah." | Do. | Do. |
| 9 | A copy of Address of Welcome by Dinda. | Do. | Do. |
| 10 | A copy of Presidential Address of the First All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference Calcutta. Dec. 21, 1928 delivered by Comrade Sohan Singh Josh. | Do. | Do. |
| 11 | A copy of the Labour Monthly Vol. 11, February 1929, Number 2. | Do. | Do. |
| 12 | A copy of Communist Review January 1929. | Do. | Do. |
| 13 | A copy of an Illustrated History of the Russian Revolution—Vol. 1. | Do. | Do. |
| 14 | Workers' & Peasants' I. of Bengal Circular dated 11 August, 28. | Do. | Do. |
| 15 | A copy of the Masses of India Vol. III No. 7 Paris, July 1927. | Do. | Do. |
| 16 | One group photograph. | Do. | Do. |
| 17 | Two small group photographs. | Do. | Do. |
| 18 | Two One hundred million German marks No. 014703 014699, containing Written matter on the back. | Do. | Do. |
| 19 | One foreign insured letter receipt addressed to G. C. Basak, B. T. U. | Do. | Do. |
| 20 | One manuscript article on Lenin in Bengali. | Do. | Do. |
| 21 | One manuscript article on Swajtantra Bad O Tapar Krama Biksal pages 33. | Do. | Do. |
| 22 | A typed letter Internationale Presse Korrespondenz Berlin C 25. | Do. | Do. |
| 23 | A typed letter from International Federation of Textile Workers' Associations dated 29th November 1928. | Do. | Do. |

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.) | Description of articles seized.* | Description of place where article seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>maltalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made, in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|--|--|--|--|---|
| 24 | Some letters and receipt for 10 shillings 6 pence from Labour Research Department. | Do. | Do. | |
| 25 | One diary containing Written matters. | Do. | Do. | |
| 26 | Four 'Ganabani' publication posters with written matters on the back. | Do. | Do. | |
| 27 | Six sheets of Ganabani Newspaper— | Do. | Do. | |
| 28 | One bundle containing 36 sheets of an article entitled Peeps in the Internal Politics of our country etc. | Do. | Do. | |
| 29 | Nine exercise books containing Written matters. | Do. | Do. | |
| 30 | One bundle containing 11 sheets of an article on International Situation and its bearing on India. (Sealed). | Do. | Do. | |
| 31 | One exercise book containing loose papers and letters. (Sealed). | Do. | Do. | |
| 32 | One bundle of 17 Sheets of manuscript Writing in English. (Sealed). | Do. | Do. | |
| 33 | One letter from R. M. Wheelok to G. Bosa, Dated 8-2-29. | Do. | Do. | |
| 34 | A list of 6 World Congress of the Communist International. | Do. | Do. | |
| 35 | Two sheets of addresses. | Do. | Do. | |
| 36 | A list containing some informations of Soviet Russia. | Do. | Do. | |
| 37 | One sheet containing accounts of Workers' and peasants' Party of Bengal, Dacca Branch. | Do. | Do. | |

| | | | |
|----|---|--|------------------|
| 38 | One sheet containing accounts of Scavengers' Union of Bengal, Dacca Branch. | As in page No. 1 | As in page No. 1 |
| 39 | Two sheets of manuscript in Bengali on Chinese National Movement. | Do. | Do. |
| 40 | One post card from Abdul Kader in Bengali, dated 30-6-28. | Do. | Do. |
| 41 | One Ganabani Poster with Bengali writing on the back. | Do. | Do. |
| 42 | One letter Written by N. V. Choudhuri dated Coconada 2-12-28 with cover. | Do. | Do. |
| 43 | One acknowledgment receipt of letter, addressed to Mrs. Simpkin, Marshall St. London, with receipt No. 139. | Do. | Do. |
| 44 | One bundle containing copies of International Press correspondence. | Found in the almirah on the Western side of the room in the first floor occupied by Gopal Basak. | Do. |
| 45 | A post card addressed to Debendra Bejoy Guha by Muzaffar Ahamed, dated 12/5/27. | Found in a trunk on the Eastern side of the same room. | Do. |
| 46 | One exercise book containing 19 written pages on explosives. (Sealed). | Do. | Do. |
| 47 | One exercise book containing matters on aerial warfare, bombs, etc. (Sealed). | Do. | Do. |
| 48 | A flat file containing minutes of Dhakeswari Cotton Mill Workers' Union, 1928-29 June. | Found in a book shelve in the middle of the room occupied by Gopal Basak in the first floor. | |
| 49 | A flat file containing letter copies, etc. File No. 1 S.&D | Do. | Do. |
| 50 | A letter file marked II S. Scavengers' Union of Bengal 1928-29 Feb. containing five sheets. | Do. | Do. |
| 51 | A file containing several loose sheets of Dhakeswari Cotton Mills Workers' Union Membership forms. | Do. | Do. |

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial. | Description of articles seized.* | Description of place where article-seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is found. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|---|---|--|--|--|
| 52 | A bundle of printed leaflets on Revolution and Independence. | Do. | Do. | |
| 53 | A bundle containing 352 printed copies on two World Currents Communism Fascism. | Do. | Do. | |
| 54 | 30 copies of "Hell Found", by S.A. Dange. | Do. | Do. | |

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

21-3-29.

Addl. Sp. Dacca.

N. B.—This form must be signed by witnesses.
* Articles seized, numbered and labelled should be attested by signatures of witnesses and Police-officers,
Permanent marks, such as cuts, etc., must not be made.

(Sd.) S. K. BRAMCHARY, I. P.

Police-officer conducting the search.
Date 20-3-29. Place

(Sd.) GIRISH CHANDRA DASS.
(Sd.) SASHADHAR DATTA.
(Sd.) JADUNATH SEN.

20. 3. 29

Signature of witness with date.

Signature by the accused (optional)

P. 244.

Comrade Sohan Singh Josh's Presidential address at the First All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference, Calcutta, December 21, 1928.

P. 245.

"The Labour Monthly" a magazine of International Labour
Vol: II, No. 2, February 1929, edited by R. Palme Dutt. Published at
79 Warren Street, London W. 1.

P. 246.

"Communist Review" for January, 1929.

P. 247.

"An Illustrated History of the Russian Revolution" Vol: 1, printed
and made in England by the Dorrit Press Ltd., Lant Street, London,
S. E. 1.



P. 248.

"The Masses of India" for July 1927.

P. 249.

A group Photograph consisting of Muzaffar Ahmed, Dharani Kanta Goswami, Shib Nath Banerji, Dr. Bishwanath Mukherji, Shaukat-Usmani, S.V. Ghate, M.A. Majid, Kishori Lal Ghosh, S.A. Dange, S.S. Mirajkar, and others.

P. 250.

A manuscript essay in Bengali on "Socialism and its Gradual Development".

P. 251.

A manuscript article i

LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT.

Chairman: W.H. HUTCHINSON
Vice-Chairman: G. BURGNEAY, J. P.
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26th November 1928.

*Executive
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M. H. Dobb
Teachers'
Labour League.

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E. C. Wilkinson, M.P.
N. U. D. A. W.

James Young
A. S. E. and S. D.

Mr. G. Basak,
Bengal Textile Workers' Union,
Daurngawar Br.
61, Nawabpur,
Dacca, Bengal, India.

Dear Comrade,

As requested in your letter received today, we have forwarded your two letters on to the names stated on the letters. With regard to the Russian information Review, this journal is not now published, but the Bank for Russian Trade is now published in its stead, we have asked them to forward you a specimen copy.

We have noted in our books that you hope to pay for the publications received by you, next week. There has not been a latter edition of the International Year Book published. The address of the Far Eastern Monthly is, Box. 1193, Chinese Post Office, Shanghai, China, and the address of the Communist International, is 16, King Street, Covent Garden, London, W. C. 2.

With best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

Emile Burns.

Secretary.

P. 253. & T. *Rejected.*

A Diary containing following entries amongst others:—

1. Professor Shaukat Usmani of Kashi Vidyapith, Benares, U. P.
2. Mr. Ghate of Bombay.
3. Aftab Ali, of Sylhet.

P. 254.

DAKESWARI COTTON MILL'S WORKERS UNION.

Head Office:—61 Nawabpur

Dacca.

- (1) Theses of the VI World Congress of the Communist International.

The International Situation of the tasks of the C. I.

- (2) Thesis of the VI World Congress of the Communist International.

The struggle against Imperialist War and the task of the Communists.

- (3) The Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies and Semi-Colonies.

- (4) The VI World Congress of the Communist International. Comrades Bukharin and W. Motow.

- (5) The Revolutionary movement in the colonies. Com Kauusinen.

Minor Title.

I

Report of Comrade Kauusinen submitted before the VI Congress of Comintern.

II.

Com. Kauusinen's concluding speech on the Colonial question.

- (6) Report on the Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies. Lessons of Chinese Revolution.

Strakhov (China) and the Chen Kwang Vorovsky,

- Lyn Wan, Chu-Cho-Mai.
 Comrades Ercoli (Italy).
 The development in India Sikander Sur (India)
 Com Ragi Dutt Nareman, Raza.
 Situation in Indonesiya Zamin, Padi, Manawar.
 Latin American Colonies —(Humbert Droz.
 (7) Comrades—Bennett, Rothstein, Heller.
 (8) Murphy, (G. B.) Lominadze, (S. W.), Lozovsky, (S. W.),
 Schubin (S. W.) Wurm (E. C. C. L.)
 (9) International situation of the tasks of the Comintern.
 Com Bukharin.
 (10) International Situation of the tasks of the C. I.
 Draft thesis submitted in the VI Congress of C. I.
 Comrades Sikandar Sur, Raza,
 Discussion by Indian delegates on comrade
 Bukharin's draft thesis which was submitted in
 the VI Congress of C. I.

P. 255.

Workers' Welfare League of India: J. Potter Wilson:

(Textile Workers')—

Feather stone Buildings:
 High Holborn, London
 W. C. 1.

International Socialist Bureau :—Tom Shaw 25 Victoria St.
 London S. W. 1.

Young Communist International :—Stralauer-strasse 12
 Berlin C. 2.

Communist Party : Communist Hall, Sussex St. Sydney.

Socialist Party of Canada : Ewen Macleod, 401 Pender St.
 E., Vancouver B. C.

Communist Party : A. Inkpin, 16, King St. London
 W. C. 2.

Communist Party of Ireland : 22, St. Patrick's Road,
 Drumcondra, Dublin.

Socialist Federation of Japan : 19, Shinsakurada-cho-Shiba
Tokyo, Japan.

Communist Party: P. O. Box 985, Mexico City, O. F.
Kommunistische Arbeiterpartei Polens-P/A
K. P. Deutschoesterreichs, Alser-strasse, 69,
Vienna, Austria.

Communist Party. E. Preobrazhensky, Tsentralny Komitet,
K. R. R. Moscow.

Red International of Labour Union. A. Losovsky Moscow.

Communist Party. W. H. Andrews, 54. Fox St. Johannes-
burg, S. Africa.

Parti Socialiste de Turynie. Kahronman Zade Uan, Sirgedji,
Constantinople.

Socialist Labour Party: A. Petersen, 45, Rose St. New
York.

Workers' Party:—80, East 11th St. New York.

The Communist International:—Smolny, Petrograd.

International Press Correspondence:—225, Friedrichstrasse,
Berlin, S. W. 48.

The Australian Communist:—Communist Hall, (Weekly)
Sussex Street, Sydney.

Canadian Labour Press.—(Weekly) Journal Building, Ottawa.

The Labour Monthly.—162, Buckingham Palace Rd.,
London S. W. 1.

The Workers' Weekly. }
The Workers' Republic. } 16, King St. London, W. C. 2.

The Maoriland Worker.—(Weekly) 290 Wakefield St.
Wellington. New Zealand.

Russian Information Review:—68, Lincolns Inn Fields
Kingsway, London W.C.1.

Soviet Russia Pictorial (monthly) 201 West 13th St. New
York.

The International (Weekly).—54. Fox Street, Johannesburg.

The Liberator (Monthly) 138, West 13th St. New York.

The Socialist Review (Monthly) 70, Fifth, Avenue New
York.

The Labour Herald (Monthly) 118, North La Salle St.
Chicago.

The Far Eastern Review:—Shanghai.

P. 256. 4 T. *Rejected.*

A Bengali manuscript containing expenses incurred at the office of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, Dacca Branch.

P. 257. 4 T. *Rejected.*

A manuscript in Bengali, containing expenditure incurred in connection with the Scavengers' meeting at Dacca.

P. 258. 4 T. *Rejected*

Post Card in Bengali dated 20-6-28 issued from the "Ganavani" office to Gopal Chandra Basak.

P. 259.

"International Press Correspondence" of the following dates:—
30. 7. 28.

1st August 1928.

- 3rd " "
- 8th " "
- 13th " "
- 16th " "
- 18th " "
- 23rd " "
- 25th " "

1st September 1928.

- 19th " "
- 25th " "
- 17th " "

4th October 1928.

- 17th " "
- 30th " "

8th November 1928.

- 21st " "

An Exercise Book having the following written within:—

Lachrymators—Sternutators.

Iodide, Bromide and Picric.

Jan. 1915—Idio—acetatae—caused such smatting of the eyes that it was impossible to remain in its neighbourhood.

April 1915:—German Gas—Chlorine—an asphyxiant. War gases may be classified in two main divisions.

(1) Lethal.

(2) Irritant.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Those whose action is instantaneous or practically so (specific);</p> | <p>2. Those whose action is more or less delayed and is generally of an asphyxiating character.</p> |
|---|---|

The only known compounds which in concentration practically obtainable, produce immediate death are those containing Cyanogen.

(2) A Lachrymatory (affecting the eyes) Sternutatory (causing sneezing), c, Vesicatory (blistering).

1917.—German-Shells filled with diphenylaroenious chloride (blue cross-shell).

German—"Mustard Gas"—(yellow cross and Yperite-Sym. dichloridethy sulphide) (acting on eye) it caused blindness, usually temporary—acting on the bronchial tube, it might cause bronchial pneumonia, might effect the heart and also the stomach causing vomiting and diarrhoea.

Persistent & Nonpersistent.

Used for neutralization (mustard gas)-for surpotash destructive bombardment (e. g. phosgene). As general rule both Lethal-Irritant shells should be used in scientific alternation. Methods of Employment-if necessary to be noted.

An extract from German Army Orders of June 30, 1918:—The following regulations for gas-bombardments are made known.

Minimum distance of the objective from our first line:—(1) Wind normal or oblique towards the enemy; for all natures of gas shell at least distance must be 300 meters; below that distance projectile fired. Shoot may fall in our lines. When the wind is steady and growed favourable this distance may be reduced if only a small number of projectiles are being fired.

(2) Still weather, or wind normal or oblique towards our lines:—

(a) Heavy bombardment (several thousand projectiles) ground favourable, for the return of gas towards our lines:—

Blue cross-shell (diphenyldichlorarsine-Sternutatory) 1,000 meters (offensive).

Blue cross-shells-(defensive)-500 metres.

Green cross-shells (Trichlormethy 1 chloroformat lethal) 1000 Metres.

Yellow cross-shells-(Sym. Dichordiethyl sulphide vesicatory to numbers.....1,000 to 2,000 metres accordingly.

(b) Light bombardments (some hundred of projectiles), when our troops have been warned and the ground is favorable:—
Gas-shells of all nature: 300 to 500 metres. These distances are given for general guidance; they may be reduced or increased according to local conditions.

Heavy rain destroy gas effects. Dry wheather and a bright sun tend to dissipate the gas quickly. The most favourable atmospheric conditions are little or no wind, moist atmosphere and no sun. The night offers the best conditions for gas.

Gases used in the world war :—

Cyanogen compounds. Effect in concentration of as much as 1 in 1,000 immediate death. In weak concentrations giddiness, headache and pains about the heart but ultimately complete recovery. Used by the French and British in Shells as a mixture of 50% hydrogen Cyanide with organic trichloride, stannic chloride and chloroform.

Chlorine :—Attacks the respiratory tracts, forms in contact with moisture Hcl which destroyes tissues. Has reflex action on the system generally, causing vomiting and diarhoea. In high concentration may cause immediate death by spasms and glottis. Only used as cloud gas from cylinders.

Phosgene (cartoryl chloride). A very dangerous gas because the effect is delayed and the victim is often not aware that he has been gassed. May cause sudden death as much as 48 hrs. after exposure. Very much used both in shells and with chlorine as cloud-gas.

Dephosgene (Trichloromethyl chloroformate) Effect similar to that of phosgene. Much used in shells, both alone and with other gases.

Chloropicrin:— Acts on the respiratory system chlorine but more strongly. Is also a lachrymator. Much used in shells generally in combination with other gases.

Bromide:— Action similar to that of chlorine. It can be used conveniently for gas-clouds on account of its high-boiling point, but it forms the basis of a large number of powerful lachrymators. It was much used by the Germans as a lachrymatory. Shell-filling in the form of benzyl axyl bromide and brominated ketones.

Ethyl idodoacetate—British lachrymator very marked action on the eyes, ceasing the moment the neighbourhood of the gas is left. High persistence.

Bromacetone, chlorate and bromethylthyl-ketone. Much used in shell. Powerful lachrymators and asphyxiating or lital in high concentration. Moderate persistence.

Diphenylchloroarsine:—Solid, dispersed in clouds of fine particles; cannot be kept out by ordinary masks. Powerful sternutator producing also coughing and sickness; in strong concentration causing insupportable headache. Much used in blue cross-shells by the Germans.

Diphenylcyanoarsine:—Similar to the above but with a more powerful action. It superseded the latter as a German Blue Cross filling.

Mustard gas, Yperite or yellow gasses:—(Syndichlorodithylnphide) Vesicant. Attacks the skin even through the clothing with a blistering or a burning effect. Affects all the mucous surfaces. Acting on the eyes causes usually temporary. Acting on the respiratory tracts may cause death by bronchial pneumonia. In favourable weather remains effective for several days.

Livens projectors:— The use of lital gas shells which require a very high concentration implies the necessity of bursting a large number of shells simultaneously along a given length of trench or over a given area. With artillery shell this necessitates a concentration of every available gun within range on the point of attack, and needs a certain amount of preliminary arrangements. With stokes or trench-mortar bombs whose contents are much larger and especially with a stokes gun which can be fired very rapidly a smaller number of pieces can be used. But probably the most effective means of obtaining a high concentration was the projector devised by Captain Livens R. I. This consisted originally in using an old gas-cylinder with its top cut off as a mortar, a hole is dug in the ground and the projector placed in it, resting on the ground at an inclination of 45° and pointing in the required direction; the breech of the cylinder is backed up with a strong base-plate about 12 in. square. The propelling charge is contained in a tin box placed at the bottom

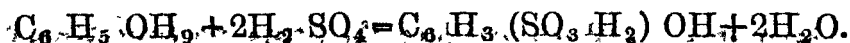
of the projector and divided into compartments; the propellant explosive is placed in the compartments in bags the number of bags being varied according to the range required. The projectile is a steel drum with rounded ends, 21 in. in length and just fitting into the cylinder which has a bore of 8 in. Within the drum is central tube running down its length about 1 in. in diameter which, contains the bursting charge. The projector is fixed by an electric fuse, about 20 of them being connected up with an exploder. Those 20 may all be placed side by side in the same trench and will constitute a battery. By these means as many as 4,000 of these projectors have been placed in position behind the front trenches in a night and fired simultaneously. Naturally, neither range nor direction are very accurate but they are sufficiently so to give a very high concentration of gas over a small area, in some cases sufficient to kill men even when wearing their respirators. These projectors proved so useful that they were employed also for incendiary and high explosive charges.

Incendiary Materials:— Thermit is a mixture of iron oxide and aluminium which when ignited by suitable primer burns with an intense heat—at 4500 degrees. The ordinary ignition however is too slow for the purpose of an incendiary shell. Experiments were made with special ignition powders in stocks shells but without good results. In Jan. 1916 however thermit was trying with a bursting charge of ophorite which gave excellent results the thermit being instantly raised by the discharge to melting point so that when the shell was burst in the air it let fall a shower of molten metal. Ophorite was an explosive that been recently discovered by Thorpe—can be fired by a fuze without a detonator.

Thermit employed in low-velocity projectiles such as strokes gun-shell, became a very valuable incident agent.

Nitro-glycerine the best.

Manufacture of picric by pot process. Gun-powder machanical mixture of potassium nitrate (saltpeter, charcoal, and sulphur).



Phenol heated with Phenol disulphonic acid.

This on cooling forms a buttery mass, which is then transferred to earthen ware pots and diluted Nitric acid is allowed to trickle in slowly through gas syphons and thus converts the sylphonic acid to picric... $C_6H_2(NO_2)_3-OH$. The residual acid is drained off and the crystals of picric are thoroughly washed and then carefully dried on glass plates in a warm chamber.

2. C_6H_6 C_6H_5Cl $C_6H_4(NO_2)Cl$ Benzene Mono-chloro-Benzene Di-Nitro-chloro-Benzene.

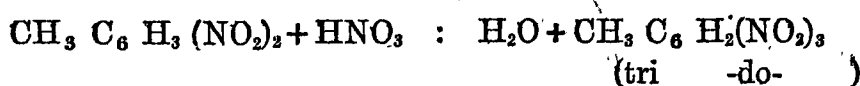
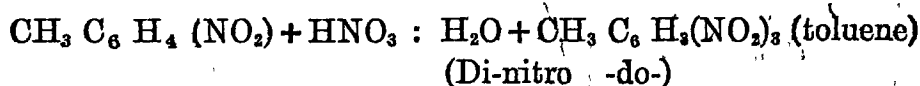
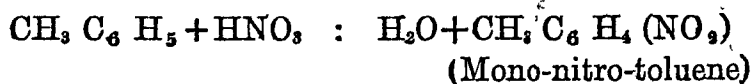
$C_6H_4(NO_2)_2OH$
Di-Nitro-Phenol.

$C_6H_2(NO_2)_3OH$
Picric.

The final nitration was effected with concentrated Nitric and H_2SO_4 : the picric being washed free from acids and dried in stores as in the Pheno proces.

Trinitro toluene Trotyl ($T N_1$) The lower melting pt of TNT ($81^\circ C$) enables it to be melted in steam jacketed pans whereas picric ($121.6^\circ C$) needs hot-air chambers or oil baths.

TNT is made from toluene ($CH_3C_6H_5$) by the active of nitric as indicated in the following equation:—



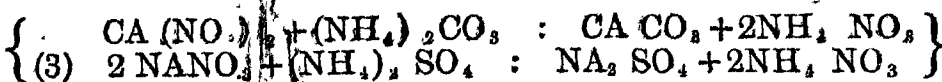
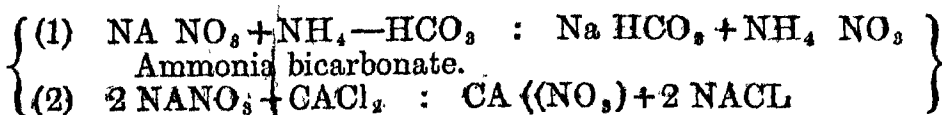
A continuous process was introduced during the war and proved very successful. In this process mono-nitro-toluene entered at one end, of the plant and strong $H_2 SO_4$ at the other, the nitric acid being introduced at the intermediate points. In all of these processes the product is a crude TNT of melting point 74 to $77^\circ C$. In general this is good enough for explosive purposes but for special uses it has to be purified by crystallization or by washing with alcohol.

RECENT PURIFICATION BY SODIUM SULPHATE.

Other Nitro Coumpounds:— Practically all military high explosives are nitro derivatives of aromatic compounds pounds which latter are produced from the distillation of coal-tar. This source of toluene was supplemented by the use of certain natural petroliums which contain benzene and toluene and the supplies of phenol were augmented by synthetic production from Benzene, another derivation of coal-tar. Nevertheless these sources of supply were not equal to the demand and other means of supplementing them had to be found in the war. This tri-nitro-cresol which is closely allied to picric acid, was much used by the French as was a di-nitro-naphthalene and di-nitro-phenol to supplement picric. Tri-nitro aniso, hexa-nitro-dipheny-lamine, hexa-nitro-diphenyl sulphide.

Mixture of nitro-derivative with ammonia-nitrate of which Roburite, Ammonar, dreadnought powder and others were largely used by the Germans. Ammonium nitrate.....of all available salts the one which stands out by reason of its accessibility and suitability for the purpose is ammonium nitrate. Ammonium nitrate explosives are also cheap and safe both to handle and to make, owing to their great stability and insensitiveness. One of their main disadvantages is higroscopicity or moisture absorbing power of ammonium nitrate which necessitates suitable protection or "waterproof" from the air.

For war to economise:-



A peculiarity of ammonium nitrate is that it undergoes transitions to diff. crystalline forms at certain temps. for instance at about 32°c. and 85° c. the crystalline form changes and also the sp. gravity. This pt. is of considerable importance in Shell-filling.

Powerful high explosive—with considerable velocity:—

“Amatol—40/60” contains 40% of ammonium nitrate to 60 of TNT and is sufficiently fluid when heated to permit of its being poured in the molten condition. “Amatol 80/20” contains 80% of Ammonium nitrate which is approximately the proportion necessary for complete combustion of the TNT. This can be compressed into shells or forced in a plastic condition above the melting point of the TNT. Either of these methods is much more expeditious than the operation of pouring the molten explosives into the shell and allowing it to solidify.

Apart from Amatol, mention should also be made of certain other ammonium nitrate explosives which were used during the war. Ammotol had been used in Austria before the war and contained Ammonium nitrate, TNT aluminium powder and charcoal. At a later stage the aluminium was reduced to 3% as this metal was in great demand for air-craft purposes and the charcoal was omitted.

The resultant mixture being termed alumatol. Subulite contained ammonium nitrate TNT and calcium Silicide.

(Perchlorate explosive Sodium perchlorate Ammonium perchlorate.)

As examples of the types of industrial explosives in use we have (1) explosives in which liquid nitro-glycerine is absorbed in wood pulp, kieselguhr etc., with the addition of nitrates and other salts: (2) blasting gelatine, gelatine dynamite and gilegnite, in which the nitro-glycerine is gelatinized with nitro-cotton; (3) ammonium nitrate mixture: (4) gun-powder and various allied mixtures: (5) cheddites containing potassium chlorate mixed with castor oil and nitro-compounds; (6) mixtures containing potassium and ammonium perchlorates.

A cartridge of carbonaceous material is dipped into liquid oxygen and then inserted into the bore-hole and detonated. This

forms a very direct means of supplying the oxygen necessary for the combustion of the carbon, but, as the liquid oxygen evaporates quickly the mixture must be exploded within a few minutes, or it loses its explosive properties. Powerful explosives may also be made by mixing liquid nitric peroxide with combustible materials.

Mercury fulminate:—For stable high explosives detonator is almost invariably used. This sensitive chemical compound is readily caused to detonate by heat, friction or percussion. It is made by first dissolving mercury in the nitric acid and then pouring the solution into alcohol. A vigorous reaction takes place and after a time the mercury fulminate separates out. It has then to be washed and finally dried very carefully in a low temperature.

Owing to the sensitiveness of the fulminate not more than about 10 grains of the detonating substance is employed in artillery shell.

30·9 grains; 600 blasting.

Another compound which has come into use to a considerable extent as a detonating substance is lead oxide (P. 6 N₆).

The successive steps which led to the utilisation of one after another of the modern explosives were first directed towards the nitric esters, nitro-glycerine and nitro-cellulose. Nitro-glycerine was brought into a form in which it could be practically used by absorbing it into the pores of kieselguhr and later by incorporating it into gelatinized explosives, thus giving rise to extremely powerful combinations. In the utilization of nitro-cellulose, the initial problem was to bring it into a sufficiently condition to render it safe against spontaneous explosion. The discovery of the conversion of nitro-cellulose to a gelatinous condition by treatment with solvents led to valuable blasting explosives such as gelatine dynamite and more imp. still formed the basis of the modern smokeless propellants.

Advances have been made in the discovery of application of useful intermediary explosives of the fetryl type, and there is room for further advances in this direction but these are limited in scope. In the sphere of propellants, it appears likely that advances may be made in the direction of improvements on the present methods of gelatinizing by volatile solvents, the introduction of the compounds of great stability and the attainment of greater power without the erosion which has hitherto limited it. In the future as in the past the advances will probably lie mainly in the direction of improvements in the methods of application of explosives, unless some method should be discovered whereby the enormous energy of disintegration of the atoms could be released at will. This cannot be however be said to be within sight and it is perhaps well that such stupendous forces should be withheld from human control until a greater sense of international responsibility is developed in mankind.

An Exercise Book with the following written within:-

“Technical”

Gopal Ch. Basak, Dacca.

Bk. No. IV (6)

Subject:

Geometrical Engineering.

Aerial Warfare.

At war the aim of each will be to hamper the others air-scouts, and destroy them whenever possible. Here, is the theory of move and counter-move.

(Land-gun)

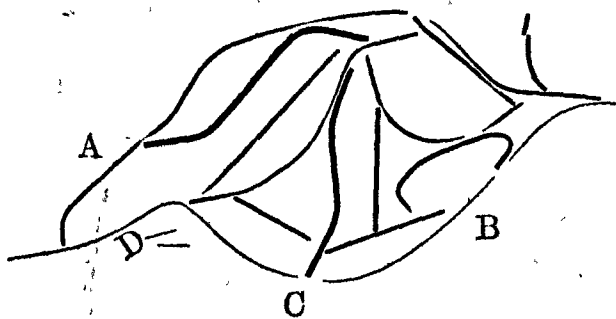
Such guns are valuable, of course - mounted upon motor-cars for speedy transport from place to place and used also to guard fortifications, and against aerial foes by a ship at sea.

Vortex-gun - This is a weapon rather like a huge air-gun. It compresses a charge of air and discharges it at a high velocity in a whirling vortex or ring. This invisible but immensely destructive, strikes its target like a cyclone, and has been known - even with the use of an experimental gun - to tear up fences at a distance of hundreds of yards. If such a gun was discharged at an aircraft, and the aim was accurate, it is argued that the machine would be hurled over and wrecked by the force of the artificial hurricane.

But something more than all these is necessary to fight the foe - it must be in a word, be sought and attacked in its own element - the air. Many things may be done in fact when in aerial warfare is faced ; but as tactics are now discussed and plan made, machine guns and bombs are the weapons reckoned feasible.

The airship may be likened to the battleship of the sky and the fighting aeroplane to a cruiser.

Bombs may be carried and dropped when opportunity offers, and as an improvement upon the early method, which was simply to throw these from the machine, there are realising mechanisms now devised which carry a number of projectiles and drop them one by one as a lever is moved.



A. Lower part of aeroplanes hull. B. Revolving barrels to which bombs are clipped. C. Bombs; D. Realising mechanism operated by marksman in machine.

The bombs which are long, pointed, and balanced so that they will fall ahead first, are clipped round a barrel rather like that of a revolver which is fixed beneath the aeroplanes hull just below the occupant's seat.

Mechanism causes the carrying chamber to revolve and bring each bomb against a releasing catch, which - at a movement of the marksman's lever throws it outwards and downwards.

In sighting instruments now provided the marksman finds his altitude, estimates his speed by the time his craft takes to pass between two points in the land below, and then makes an allowance for side-drifting owing to the influence of the wind.

Bombs of many types are being made:—

Some weigh 10 lbs and are filled with several pounds of an extremely high explosive. Others are what is known as incendiary bombs when they strike an object they burst into flames and are intended to cause fires on the roofs of buildings or supply stores.

Each bomb is fitted with a safety-catch and unless this is released bomb cannot explode, risk dangers owing to bad landing, fall etc. The and no matter how hard it strikes the ground. so Precaution.

Process:—Upon the rear of the bomb is a tiny propeller, which spins in the air as the bomb drops from the machine and as it turns it uncoils a spring which releases the safety catch and makes the bomb operative but not until it has fallen about 100 ft.

The ability of an airship to navigate at night, and steel unobserved above the land gives it grim (?) possibilities as a weapon of destruction.

It motors quiet and no lights showing, it can drift with the wind over a harbour or fortification, and drop bombs which will fall upon those below out of an empty sky. Searchlights would be used, of course, from the position attacked, and artillery fired, upward, but the airship would be a silent, elusive shape and difficult to see and more difficult to hit.

The observer in a sea-plane, under favourable conditions, can also detect the movements of a submarine, his height above the water enabling him to see beneath its surface and discern the shape of the vessel, even when it is submerged. This would be of value in war, as provided in manovres with our fleets. A seaplane, patrolling the entrance to a harbour can send a warning by wireless should hostile invisible to all save the aerial watcher-see to steal in upon a destructive raid.

(Carry seven crew)

- | | |
|--|---|
| Coastal sea-plane. | Nos. 1. Hull upon which the machine floats when in sea. Wheels upon which it may move when on land and which fold upward when on the water. Pilots controlling wheel. Main sustaining planes. |
| Launching sea-plane. | Four bladed propeller driven by chain-gearing from engine within the hull. Machine-mounted upon a light wheeled cradle and this is placed upon the starting rail. |
| Travelling workshop for the repair of military aeroplanes. 1 pt of the tactics of fighting. | 2. From wire. That machines can steer not only to and fro and from side to side but can also move up and down and this introduces confusion which does not exist in any other form of war. |

AT A MODERN AERODROME.

Workshops. (London aerodrome. (Hendon) Graham white factory

First of course, the machine is designed; and these in the drawing office are specially trained men.

What may be termed the main feature of the machine (a) whether it is to be built for speed, (b) for weight-lifting, or (c) for aerial touring (d) for high-speed flying it will need small sustaining wings.

(b) For weight lifting, its area must be large;
(c) While in aerial touring there is need for a medium-paced, highly reliable craft, which will ascend quickly or plane slowly to earth

(2) The placing of the engine and the propeller, the position of the body containing

the pilot and passenger and the arrangement of the control surfaces.

Above all, the craft must be built strongly. No matter how well a machine may fly, or how skilled its pilot, there is peril should its structure have a weakness or some hidden defect.

The machine should be immensely strong and yet it is essential that it should be light.

Sustaining planes.

The system is to use two or more main-spars, which run the whole length of the wing; above and below these pass the thin wooden strips which form a series of ribs.

English ash silver spruce in carefully selected lengths are the wood used chiefly in aeroplane construction and calculations have shown them able to bear a greater strain, weight for weight, than would a framework made of mild steel.

Wings are to be sheathed with their fabric.

The War Office has prepared a test of its requirements for military machines of different types; and aeroplane builders if they plan craft for Government acceptance must be prepared to submit them to the trials arranged. A light scouting machine when it is tested must be able to lift its pilot and fall sufficient for a flight of 300 miles and it needs to vary its speed from 30 to 85 miles an hour. Larger machines, built for scouting, have to carry weights of pilot and owner, and 80 lbs of wireless apparatus; while a craft to be used in fighting must raise—in addition to its crew—the weight of a gun and ammunition; this is estimated to represent 300 lbs.

ENGLAND.

Farnborough where (the royal aircraft factory is situated)

East church in the Isle of Sheppy where the royal Navy Air Service has its headquarters.

Aerodrome at the Grands such as of

Apart from the factories upon a modern aerodrome, there are the offices of the Company which control it; and in addition the sheds of various firms, which renting accommodation from the owners of the ground, are operating flying schools or experimenting with new machines.

There is an international speed race, for the Gordon-Bennett trophy held every year, and

Hendon or
Brooklands.

to which reference was made in regard to the
first contest in 1909.

Most popular air-
race is the aerial
Derby-Etd. in 1912
follows within a
week after the
great horse-race
which takes place
Epsom Downs.

| Year | Winner | H. P. of Motor. | Speed (Miles per hr). |
|-------|---------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1909. | Curtis | 30 | 48. |
| 1910. | Graham-White. | 100. | 61. |
| 1911. | Weyman. | 100. | 78. |
| 1912. | Vedrines. | 140. | 105. |
| 1913. | Preslost. | 160. | 126. |

In France who fly these racing craft are
called the "regard" on all others who do trick-
flying such as "Looping" the loop", are known
as the "artists".

1912-1914

At Huden for the convenience of those
who want to fly there is now a scale of regular
charges. A visitor may, by paying 2 guineas
ascend and circle the flying ground twice. For
a flight outside the limits of the aerodrome, say
in the direction of Edgware, returning towards
the Welsh Harp a fee of five guineas is charged ;
while an air journey to Elstree and back
representing a distance of 16 miles, costs ten
guineas. A flight enjoyed sometimes by passen-
gers who can afford the luxury, is from Henden
to Brookland and back ; for this, a distance of
about 38 miles the fee is £ 26. 5s. Any one who
seeks to hire an aeroplane and its pilot, as he
might a motor-car for a long cross-country
journey by air, will find the novelty expensive
20s. a mile is the fee charged, although this is
reduced to 15s a mile if the return flight is
made by the passenger. On a popular day at
the Aerodromé when stands and enclosnres are
thronged, flights are busy taking one passenger
after another.

Schools for tuition are numerous in these
days and special machines are used and expert
instructors employed,

THE ELYING SCHOOL.

Best time.

In the early morning and in the evening are the flying school busy, for it is then as a rule that the wind blows softly. Summer and winter,.....directly it is light enough to see the instructors bring out their craft and practice goes on until all the beginners have had their turn as perhaps until the wind rises and prevents further flying until just before dusk.

Rules-adopted to avoid over-fatigue.

At the large schools there are now two complete staffs of teachers and mechanics: one takes the morning spell of work, and is then free for the day, while the second staff comes on duty in the evening.

Before beginning his tuition the pupil pays his fee; and this is made to include any breakage he may cause. It will insure him also against any claim from a 3rd party from anyone that is to say who might be injured in some mishap for which he was responsible. This inclusive fee for learning to fly, at the principal schools to day is represented by a sum of £75.

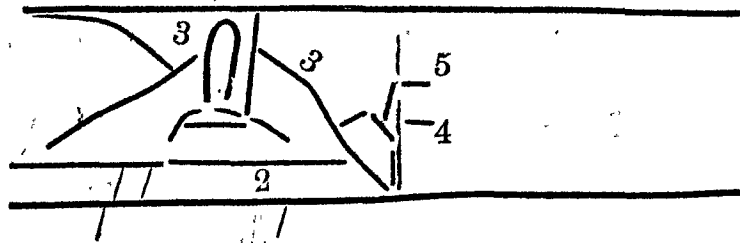
At present having regard to the strain which is incurred by flying war machines, a naval or military airman is relieved from a active duty after a period of 4 years,

In one machine a handwheel may be employed in another perhaps a lever; but the idea underlying all of these is the same. It is that pilot's actions, which he balances his craft should be natural and instructive that his lever should swing in the direction he would turn, were he controlling his machine, by a movement of the body. Upon a typical school-biplane, such as pupil learns first to fly, he has only 2 levers which he need concern himself. One which he holds in his right-hand controls the rising and alighting and the balance of his machine; the other which is in the front of a bar upon which he rests his feet, swings the rudder and steers from side to side. There are in addition convenient to his left hand the switch and small throttle lever which operate the motor.

First Stage.

What the pupil does—as a first stage in tuition—is to seat himself in the machine,

1. to rudder.
2. to elevator.
3. to Criterion.
4. Engine Ignition Switch.
5. Engine throttle lever.



while it stands at rest on the ground, and move the levers so that he becomes accustomed to their action.

After this, taken his turn one morning with others who are at the school, he seats himself behind the instructor and is borne into the air upon his first flight, and watches the former's movement of the levers as he rises, turns in the air or descend. These give the pupil an idea as to how far and how quickly a lever must be shifted to gain a controlling effect.

A novice, in landing from a flight has not only to gauge just where his machine will touch ground but must estimate also how far the craft will roll upon its running wheels before it comes finally to a standstill. On some aircraft now-a-days, so as to control this movement over the ground after alighting, a form of bread is fitted between the landing wheels which can be lowered by the pilot from his seat and digs a stiff prong in to the ground bringing a powerful checking influence upon the machine.

Second Stage or "rolling".

He is seated alone in a machine and allowed to drive it here and there across the aerodrome. The biplane is adjusted, as a rule so that it will not fly: and this process of the training—which is called "rolling" at the schools is to enable a novice to handle this craft neatly which on the ground to learn to steer to right and left, to keep it when necessary upon a straight course, and to accustom himself to the starting and stopping and control of his engine. He finds while making these long straight runs that the machine shows a tendency if the

controls as instructed, to swerve a little to the left; and this is caused by the influence of the propeller which is revolving to the left. But the inclination may be checked by a movement of the rudder to the right.

Either than a school biplane by a fast monoplane "rolling" is by no means easy.

3rd Stage or "hop"

Alone in the machine and with the instructor watching him from the sheds, he attempts a short straight flight. What the pupil does is to accelerate his motor, attain a flying speed and very cautiously move his elevator until he is skimming through the air a few ft. above the ground. Then after flying a short distance in this way, he pushes forward his lever and descends.

4th stage

Turning:---A half-turn to the left is first essayed and for the reason that it is more easily accomplished than a swing to the right. This is due to the fact that the engine and propeller revolving to the left, tend naturally to incline a craft in that direction. The pupil finds as he turns that he must in addition to putting over the rudder-move the ailerons at his wing-tips; and he needs to make this movement because the biplane, while it is in the act of swinging begin to heel inwards. The outer plane-ends of a machine when it is forced thus upon a turn, have indeed a natural inclination to "back" or rise. This is because as the craft swings, the outer wing-tips move more rapidly through the air than do those upon the inside of the turn; they exercise for the moment a greater lifting power; and the result is that with this sudden and extra "Loft", they force up the outer side of the machine on a very rapid turn if this movement went unchecked, a machine might heel to such an angle that it steeped inwards and fell to the ground but; there is no fear of this if the pilot, moving over his hand lever draws at the ailerons upon the side of the craft that is tilting down.

"banked"

This causes the plane-ends to rise and the machine swings upon the normal path. Experience has told the skilled pilot in a way nothing

else could, just what angle may be safe or what not; but the beginner remembering that any steep inclination of his plane may cause a side-slip, must not venture so to trail his craft.

turning towards
right.

After making turns to the left until he can accomplish them with ease, the novice attempt a similar at this stage the right; but he needs to remember while at his stage of tuition that a turn must never be attempted while a machine is ascending. If this mistake is made, and a craft is swung sideways while its planes are inclined at a steep angle to the air it may lose its forward speed and slide tail first towards the ground.

When turning to the right, as soon as he attempts this manoeuvre, the pupil finds that his craft has a tendency to rise. This is due to the gyroscope effect of engine and propeller, which are revolving in the opposite direction to the turn. To counteract the influence, however which is slight, the pilot should move his elevator so that it is in a position for a descent. The machine if he does this, will resist the gyroscopic motion and maintain an even keel.

Reaching the stage when he can turn with facility either right or left the pupil combines these manoeuvres in a single flight and learns also to stop his motor while in the air and descend in a glide. The pt. to be remembered in making a vol-plane is that, when its motor stopped the only force which keeps an aeroplane moving is that of gravity. If it stand still in the air its planes are imperative and it falls. So, as he switches off the motor, the airman must push forward his elevating lever, tilt down the front of his machine, and set it gliding earthward; and if the speed of his glide is maintained the craft is perfectly controllable. Just before his craft touches ground the novice *must* tilt back his elevating plane; this checks the glide, raises the front of the machine and brings his wheels into a smooth contact with the ground.

France is still greatly ahead of us in this (flying) respect and Germany too.

Henden, Shwehan, Eastbourne, Dover, Eastchurch.

Now the pupil is ready for his official tests. These are conducted by the Royal Aero club which has officials at the aerodrome. Two posts are fixed in the ground not more than 500 metres (547 yds.) apart, and round these the pupil must fly altering the direction of his flight at each turn, so that he is heading on the air a series of figs of eight. Two such flights is he called upon to make, each of a distance of 5 kilometres (3 miles 185 yds.) and he is asked also to ascend 100 metres (328 feet), and from this altitude descend with his motor stopped. In alighting from each of his tests the pupil must so as to show his judgement of distance and speed, bring his machine to rest within 160 feet of a mark upon the aerodrome that is indicated to him. The representative of the aero club, when these trials are completed send to head-quarters their official-report, and the committee of the club after considering this and finding it in order issues to the pupil a numbered certificate which contains his photograph for purposes of identification and a printed list of the rules which as a duly qualified pilot he must no observe. A man for an expenditure of £ 1200 buys a two-seated 80 h. p. monoplane or a biplane seating 3 people; and the running expenses for such craft as these should represent a figure of about 5½ d. per mile. Then upon a tour say of 3 months, covering a distance of 4000 miles there would be incidental expenses to reckon with as follows:—£36 for the service of a mechanic; £12 for garaging; £50 for repairs; and £10 against any insurance against any 3rd party risks.

International Aeronautical Federation.

Already by aeroplane a speed of 140 miles an hour has been reached, more than 2 miles a minutes.

A huge and highly successful Russian biplane is "Sykorsky". This machine has flown to a height of 3000 ft. with 16 passengers, whose combined weight was nearly a ton and a quarter. In its original form the machine had four motors (Gnorce) each developing 100 horse-power which

were mounted on the lower plane upon either side of the hull, one being placed behind the other, and all driving independent screws. But the rear engines were afterwards brought alongside the front ones; and now in its most recent, the machine employs 3 motors giving the total of nearly 1000 h. power. The craft has a metal hull, and boasts a cabin with windows.

Rejected

P. 262.

Minute Book of Dakeswari Cotton Mill Workers' Union, for 1928-29 June, containing the following:-

Dhakeswari Cotton Mills' Workers' Union,

Mass meeting of the Workers of the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills Ltd.

Place - Dhamghor time 7. 30 P. M.
(Dacca) 27th Feb. 1928.

Presiding:- Md. Kafi Uddin Ahmed.

Speakers:-

Present:- 100.

(1) Aftab Ally.

(2) Dr. Nalini Kanta.

(3)

(4)

Resolutions.

Carried
unanimously.

(a) This mass meeting of Workers of the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills Ltd. resolves to form an Union in order to promote, safeguard and protect their interests political, social, and economic under the name and style of "The Dakeswari Cotton Mills Workers' Union".

Proposed by—From the Chair. Seconded by -

(b) Resolved that the following draft constitution (Rules and Regulations) be adopted for better management of the Union:-

Draft.

Rules and Regulations.

Name - The name of the organisation shall be "The Dhakeswari Mill Workers Union".

Object - The object of the Union is generally to promote, safeguard and protect the interests of the workers of the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills Ltd., political social and economic.

Benefit, The members when in distress shall receive pecuniary aids, loans, legal assistance and protection from illtreatment, unjust dismissals, etc; subject to the recommendation of the Executive Committee.

Membership - Every worker of either sex, working under the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills or under the Mills' Contractors shall be eligible to membership of the Union, provided the intending member subscribes to the object of the Union and abides by its rules and regulations (and agrees to pay a quarterly subscription of annas four to the funds of the Union).

Management: The management of the affairs of the Union shall be entrusted to an Executive Committee, consisting of 35 members, representing the various departments and a chairman, a vice-chairman, one secretary and two or more assistant secretaries and a treasurer who shall be the Ex-officio members of the Executive Committee.

Election of office-bearers and members of the Executive Committee.

The office-bearers and members of the Executive Committee shall be annually elected by the General body of paying members in each annual general meeting which shall be held not later than 15th June of every year.

Meeting:

1. **General meeting** - A general meeting shall be called at least in every three months, in which the Executive Committee shall submit a report of its work for its consideration and information.

2. **Special General meeting:** Special general meetings shall be called either to discuss emergency matters relating to the interest of the Union or on a requisition signal by at least ten members of the Executive Committee or fifty members of the general body, in the later case the requisi-

tionists shall give a clear fifteen days written notice, along with the proposals they want to be considered by such meeting. If such requisition meeting be not called, the requisitionists shall have the power to call such meeting, whose decision shall be binding upon the members of the Union.

3. Annual general Meeting: The annual general meeting shall be called not later than June 15th in every year to adopt the annual reports, accounts and to elect office-bearers and Executive members and transact any other business that may be submitted to such meeting.

4. Executive meeting: The Executive Committee shall meet at least once a month to transact the ordinary business of the Union.

Quorums: General meeting shall have 100, special general meeting 200, Executive Committee 10, as their respective quorums, in the absence of which the meetings shall adjourn at least for a week and re-assemble on the same place within two weeks, when no quorum shall be necessary. Removal and expulsion of office-bearers, members Executive and ordinary:—Officers and members Executive and ordinary shall be removed for misconduct, misappropriation, mismanagement and any other action that shall be found detrimental to the general welfare and progress of the Union, for which purpose, a special general meeting shall be summoned either by the authorised officer or by a requisition, provided that the resolution removing the officer or member of the Executive Committee, be carried by a 2/3rd majority.

Cessation of membership: Membership shall cease on death, resignal, removal or expulsion and also on default of paying subscription for consequent year.

Proposed by—From the chair.

Seconded by—

Carried unanimously (c) Resolved that the Head office of the Union for the time being located at 61 Nawabpur, Dacca.

Proposed by—From the chair.

Seconded by—

(d) Resolved that the Secretary be authorised to enquire into the grievances of the workers and submit a report on the same at the next general meeting of the Union.

Proposed by—

Seconded by—

- (e) Resolved that the Authorities of the Dakeswari Mills Ltd. be asked to immediately recognise the Union.

Proposed by—

Seconded by—

- (f) Resolved that the following gentlemen be elected as office-bearers and members of the Executive Committee of the Union.

Chairman—Dr. Nalini Kanta Chakrabartty.

Vice Chairman—Atindra Ch. Dey.

Gen. Secretary—Gopal Chandra Basak.

Secretary :—Birendra K. Ray.

Asst. Secys:—(1) Kapiluddin.

(2) Ragendra Ch. Dey.

(3)

(4)

Members of the Executive Committee.

Carried
unanimously

- (1) Monindra Ch. Sarkar (2) Narayan Ch. Das.
(3) Abdul Subhan Baksh (4) Abdul Gani (5) Monindra
Ch. Roy (6) Ramesh Nag (7) Abdul Hamid Sarkar
(8) Manik Miah (9) Priya Nath Banerjee (10) Suresh
Ch. Das (11) Ajit Kumar Sen (12) Kalilur Rahman
(13) Monindra Das (14) Keramat Ali (15) Akel Ali
Mirdha (16) Usman Sarcar (17) Ali Hussain. (18)
Member to be elected later on.

In chair.

Kapiluddin Ahmao

27-2-28.

Chairman of the meeting.

P. 263.

REVOLUTION & INDEPENDENCE !!!

Is what everybody speaks of, to-day, and yet after years of agitation and organisation India is still a Slave Nation—is farther from Revolution. Why is this? India during the last war witnessed her sons moving heaven and earth to fight for freedom and so

their revolutionary activities in Germany and other lands; Young Bengal was in gallows and Andamans in its attempts of guerilla warfare; you have also witnessed the National Congress in its mighty role of rallying the exploited masses of India to fight against the British Imperialist and now the same Congress is divorced from mass support, supporting All parties Conference which claims to speak for exploited masses and what do they demand you think—?

You can have the clear consistent marxist analysis of it from—

CALL TO ACTION !!

As. 4.

Why do your leaders invariably say one thing and do another ?

Why do people claiming to be revolutionary don't support social revolution in India and speak of exploitation of man by man as something ordained by Gods or nature of their invention ?

In
TWO WORLD CURRENTS
COMMUNISM—FASCISM by
Dr. Bhupendra nath Datta, M A.,
Ph. D. will tell you of it— As. 2

Comrade, S. A. Dange of
Cawnpur Bolshevick conspiracy
fame in his
HELL FOUND tells you with
grim humour about the man-
slaughter house & abominable jail
methods. Re. 1

Krishaker Katha (in Bengali)
—Com. Aftab Ally—gives you an
elaborate picture with his foreign
experiences of analysing this par-
ticular problem. As. 3.

Dominion Status—a sharing of quota
for the Indian Capitalists in the Exploita-
tion of Indian Resources and Indian Labour
(wage slaves)—Why all these phenomena ?

Why do these people don't give you a
clear account of the World Currents that
are in conflict in Europe and Asia and that
have a future role in India ?

Why do the British Imperialist find in
communism—its mortal enemy ? And
how do a communist in India fare in the
hands of the British Imperialist and in jail.

What are the draw backs of Agrarian
organisations and how are the peasants the
leading factor in the coming revolution are
exploited ?

For explanation of all these disturbing phenomena.

For clear conception of Marxist Theories ASK FOR SYL-
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ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA.

Bani Press, Nawabpur, Dacca.

P. 264.

TWO WORLD CURRENTS !

COMMUNISM-FASCISM

Mr. Bhupendranath Datt, M. A. Ph. D.

Dr. Dutt's

Presidential address of International
political section delivered at— Dacca Dt.
Youngmens' Conference (Special Session),
1927. Dacca.

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International Situation and its Bearing on India

BY

Bhupendranath Dutta M. A. Ph D.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,

Now-a-days it has become a fashion in India to say that India is a peculiar Country and for that reason it demands a peculiar solution. Hence esoteric religions, religio-political mysticism and all kinds of fads are being given as recipes for the solution of the Indian political question. But so far we see, these recipes instead of saving the Country are confusing the issues and the political freedom nowhere is in sight !

India not peculiar Country.

A careful research in the past history of the Indian people will prove that India is not a peculiar Country and her peoples have not evolved in a peculiar way; that the principles underlying the ethnic and socio-economic evolutions of the Indian peoples have not been different from the rest of the world; that India has never been in the past isolated from the rest of mankind; and that the special claim of peculiarity of India is also shared similarly by other Countries as well, that the psychology of the man in India reacts in the same way to the outside stimuli as the rest of mankind, that urges in the subconscious mind of the Indian is not different from the peoples of other Countries; that under similar conditions events in India evolve in similar ways as in other lands !

International Knowledge necessary.

This being the case, mankind in India responds in similar way as the man in other lands to the socio-economic factors that appear in Indian history. Therefore, it behoves us to make a study of the situation of the world outside India first, and then to make an analysis of the Indian condition; because without a knowledge of the world events and their bearing on India we cannot clarify our political ideologies and advance in the direction towards freedom. As we want to profit by the experiences of other nations we must know the trends of their developments. For this reason, we must make a study of the world situation.

Evolution of modern Europe.

Europe is a part of the Eurasian continent, and Europe is half Asia; but America though is a projection of Europe is completely a new world. The evolution of the European society in the

mediaval age has not been different from that of Asia. Rather the latter continent was leading the van of civilization in that time. But the discoveries and inventions engendered in the latter part of the eighteenth century and the whole of nineteenth centuries made the Occident rush forward and progress by leaps and bounds leaving Orient in its old place. This rapid onward development of Occident in the modern time has made the English poet Tennyson exclaim with satisfaction.

“ Better fifty years of Europe
Than a cycle of Cathay ” !

Along with the economic changes a new momentous change began to take place in the European society. Impelled by economic factors, feudalism was dying out in Europe though the descendants of the feudal aristocracy was paramount everywhere till the seventeenth century. This age saw the overthrow of the rule of the descendants of the Norman-French feudal barons in England by the “ Great English Revolution ” and Oliver Cromwell ushered in the rule of the middle-class in English society. A century later, the great French Revolution broke out in France which created modern Europe. It introduced a new system of ideology in the occident, and Abbe Sieyes’ pamphlet entitled “ what is the third estate ” which heralded to the world that a new political power engendered by new socio-economic factors has arisen in the society, opposed the medieval politico-social ideology of the feudal minstrel Roland. The French Revolution was the upheaval of the third estate, the bourgeois (middle) class, in the body-politic of the European society. The sibboleth of the middle class which is a trading class is nationalism; and the nineteenth century saw the rise of the “ national ” states in Europe. Peoples began to group themselves into nationalities which in turn began to foster national rivalries and jealousies.

Rise of Industrialism.

The same century saw the rise and growth of the machine-made industry in the occident with the liberation of the serfs in Europe, and due to other economic factors land-capitalism began to break up and the mercantilist policy introduced a commercial era in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This coupled with the new inventions and discoveries ushered in the modern Industrial age. Capital began to be accumulated, individual capitalistic enterprises either began to be concentrated into trusts, or began to combine themselves into pools and cartels. The well meaning but futile attempts of Henry George in America, Ruskin, Morris, Kingsley group in England, the “ people’s socialist party ” in Russia and by their followers elsewhere to oppose the rising tide of Industrialism with its concomitant results of economic exploitation, sweat-shop

and wage-slavery by handicraft and cottage industries, were of no avail! As a result, the occidental society began to rend asunder into two groups: the propertied class and the propertyless class, the capitalist and the proletariat classes.

Rise of Labour Movement.

The class-struggle engendered by economic exploitation of the propertyless proletariat by the capitalist class which had the political power in hand led to the formation of Labor unions everywhere in the continent. This was a momentous period in the European history. A revolutionary wave was passing over the continent, Bakunin, Mazzini, and Carl Marx were the leading international figures.

At that time Carl Marx had given to the world his exposition of "scientific socialism" as opposed to the socialistic theories enunciated by Plato to Ruskin, which he termed as "utopian socialism". But the cleavage in the political ranks was not sharp as yet. The Chartist movement in England in spite of its revolutionary tendency was led by a group of capitalists! the nationalist-revolutionaries of Germany were calling themselves as social-democrats! the nationalist Mazzini was cooperating with the socialist Marx who in turn was cooperating with the anarchist: Bakunin.

Later on, these leaders fell foul of each other, Mazzini denounced Marx as an "ambitious German" and Marx denounced Bakunin as an agent of the Czar who at his behest was preaching "panslavism"! But by and by the revolutionary fervor began to be subdued by the ruling class and the revolution got its final blow when the Paris Commune was suppressed in blood in 1871.

Socialist Internationale.

The suppression of the mass rising resulted in the appearance of another phenomenon. Social-democratic parties began to be formed everywhere and the movement having an international outlook, movements of the different countries were concentrated in one organization for the interchange of ideas and the formation of common policies. Thus the second socialist international was founded in 1889 in Geneva as the first one founded previously in London proved to be a failure. Thus the mass movement came to ahead, class struggle was proclaimed, and the occident was divided into warring groups, the capitalist nationalists and the labor-socialists.

Socialist Ideologies.

The socialist movement had for its ideologies the nationalization of the means and the instruments of production, the establishment of social-democracy on the basis of economic justice; and as means to an end the proletariat of the world shall unite and after

the overthrow of the bourgeoisie shall take over the reins of the Government till the class state be abolished and the society takes up the function of the Government.

The socialists though fighting against industrialism were not against machine made industries because they saw that as the utopian socialist of the Henry George and Ruskin school could not prevent the industrialization of the country by opposing it with handicraft and cottage industries, industrialism was a necessary evil to them which can be cured by the nationalization of the factories and the industries when the proletariat come into power. Because, industrialism will in its train give rise to the class-consciousness of the proletariat which will hasten the social revolution. To many of the socialist leaders industrialism with its concomitant evils was the only means of modernization. This view came to a head in the discussion at the 7th socialist international congress held at Stuttgart in 1907 where Venkol of Holland said "we would go to the colonies with sword in hand and preach civilization" who was in this opinion was supported by Dr. David of Germany, but they were opposed by Kautsky and Ledebour of the latter country who said that a country can jump from medievalism to a modern state without passing the intermediary stages sojourned already by the advance countries. The philosophy of the latter group was not lost to Lenin who tried to apply it in his own country when he came into power.

Effect of world-war.

The Socialist Internationale part from the above-mentioned principles had for its object world peace and as a means to this end all the parties affiliated to international had a tacit understanding that in the case of an imperialist—capitalist war of aggression, the Socialist parties of the warring countries would prevent the proletariat of those respective lands from enlisting in the army, and would veto the war budget and it this wise would try to bring about peace. But when the war conflagration broke out in 1914 most of the Socialist of the world turned traitors to their principles, and found themselves to be nationalists and became patriots! But yet a handful of socialists in each country remained true to their principles and under the leadership of Lenin assembled at Zimmerwald in Switzerland from where they denounced the world war as a capitalist-imperialist war of aggression which did not have for its object the liberation of the oppressed peoples and classes inspite of their vauntings of "self-determination of the oppressed peoples"! But the world went mad with war till the Russian Collapse took place in 1914 after which the German Imperial Government gave *Laissez-passer* to Lenin and his seventeen Bolsheviks to return to Russia via Germany. Lenin was sent by the Germans in a closed carriage from Switzerland to the Russian border.

Rise of Bolshevists.

The September Revolution of Russia in 1917 found Lenin at the helm of the Russian Government who sued for treaty peace with Germany. As a result the Brest-Litowsk negotiations were opened by Trotsky with the German representatives. Before coming to Brest-Litowsk conference the Bolshevik Government asked the other Entente Powers to make a common treaty with the central powers but that request was answered with scorn by the former powers. At the conference, Trotsky pleaded for a treaty with mutual understanding amongst the warring nations and he entered a powerful plea for the right of self-determination of the oppressed nationalities. At the request of the Indian revolutionaries he took up the cause of India at that same Conference.

But every plea of amity and mutual understanding was of no avail before the moiled fist of Germany and Bolshevists were compelled to sign a humiliating treaty. They in turn informed the international proletariat that they had no other alternative but to sign this "treaty of dictation" and they said they would answer it with propaganda books!

Communist Internationale.

In 1918 the central powers broke down which was foreseen by Lenin and in 1919 when the universal peace took place Lenin reorganized the international proletariat and the communist Internationale known also as the 3rd Internationale was founded. Only the revolutionary socialists and the proletariat who were loyal to this principles were admitted in this reorganized body, the traitor socialists being branded by Lenin as the social-traitors and social-patriots. The new group took the name of "communists" which was the original name by Carl Marx to his followers, while those socialists who turned patriots during the world war kept for themselves the old appellation of "socialists". In this wise the international Labor movement was divided into two groups: the communists and the socialists, the former as revolutionary group, the latter as evolutionary group! In the matter of practical politics the socialists ally themselves with the bourgeois nationalist and coalescing with them formulate a common national policy while the communists never cooperate with the bourgeois parties.

Communist movement.

The revolutionary socialists began to group around the Bolshevists and began to affiliate themselves with the communist Internationale. It ignores the bourgeois institutions, disavows the parliamentary tactics, organizes masses, sets its face against individual terrorism and by a mass action wants to capture the political power.

Communist ideologies

According to Lenin, he and his comrades were the true interpreters of Marxian socialism. They said they had acted according to the philosophy laid down by Marx and Engels in their "Communist Manifesto" in which it had been expressed that the Proletariat would seize the reins of the Government and would establish their dictatorship till the class state died out and the society was reorganized on the basis of economic equality. Further, they would establish the workers' councils (soviets) as their form of Government. According to them Parliamentary system is a bourgeois institution which represents the interests of the propertied classes only. Universal suffrage is only a camouflage, it can never represent the interest of the people. The society must be organized on the basis of labor. No man shall eat who does not work. In the lower phase of communism which Lenin names as "socialism" each person will get according to his work while in the higher phase which is called true communism each will get according to his needs. All the means and instruments of production and distribution will be nationalized, there will be no personal belonging, every thing must be belong to the commune (society).

Socialist disapproval

The socialists disown the communist interpretation of Marxism. To them Marx was an evolutionist, who wanted to seize the political power through parliamentary tactics, they ignore Marx's advice regarding the seizure of political power by the Proletariat and formation of workers' Councils by the latter; and seek to work out a bloodless social revolution. To them Lenin was more under the influence of Bakunin than Marx, and he was Blanquist, in action than a socialist leader! But in reality Marx was an evolutionist and also a revolutionist, and Lenin acting in the Russian milieu was a revolutionary as well as a socialist. To-day the Russian revolution has come to an end and that country has entered in its evolutionary phase. All the parties with the exception of the die-hard Monarchists, Menchevists and the social revolutionaries have joined the Bolschevist Government; the Tolstoi's followers, the anarchists and Mohammadan Tartar socialists, all have allied themselves with the Bolschevist party. The present Government has been accepted by the people as the National Government.

Nep of Lenin

When Lenin first came into power he established in Russia the first socialist state and tried to establish communism in society. But due to blockade, famine, ignorance and the undeveloped condition of the masses, he had to retreat a little backward, and enunciated his *New Economic Policy* which was a little compromise with the

present capitalist society. Foreign capital was invited, foreign capitalists got concessions to develop the economic resources of the country, land question was temporarily solved in acting according to the plan somewhat similar to that of the German sociologist Franz Oppenheimer i. e. land which has already been nationalized was given to the peasants under rent system to cultivate for the maintenance of their families; Soviet system has been kept in abeyance, and "one man one vote" system has been introduced; a constitution has been given to the people; the weak and subject people have been granted Self Government and all have entered into a common federation of soviet Republics.

Counter movements

While the communists avow to free the toiling and enslaved masses of the world, a wave of reaction has set in the capitalistic countries. Counter revolutionary movements are appearing in other lands to combat communist movement. The Nationalists i. e. the bourgeois parties in every land are developing aggressive policies in order to destroy the labor solidarity.

Rise of Fascism.

Aggressive and counter-revolutionary nationalism first took its rise in Italy where proletarian reevolution was iminent in 1920! The turned-coat socialists and syndicalists under the leadership of a renegade socialist named Mussolini, the former editor of the socialist organ "Avanti" started the fascist movement in which D' Annunzio's party was amalgamated. It captured the Government, brutally crushed the proletarian movement and enunciated an aggressive policy for abroad and economic development on the basis of capitalism at home. The fascist slogan has become the rallying war cry of the counter-revolutionary nationalists in every country.

Two world-currents

Thus two mighty world-currents have come to the world competing with each other. Both are running parallel, each wants to destroy the other. Both have opposite world-views. Fascism wants to keep intact the *status que* of the existing society, it wants to keep up the *class state* form of Government, it does not want any fission in the social body-politic, it is a form of aggressive nationalism which has for its war cry "my country, right or wrong." While communism stands for the remodelling of society on the basis of economic equality, it wants to abolish class form of Government and to replace it by the rule of the society, it wants to put all the means and instruments of production and distribution as property of the society, it wants to destroy private property and to put male and female on the basis of complete equality in all respects, it wants to bring organization in economical matters, it wants to organize society under

collectivist basis. In short, fascism is individualistic and has for its motto *laissez faire*, while communism is collectivistic and has for its motto *social control*. In short, Prof. Sobmart's paradox is right that socialism is nationalism as it labours for all, while fascism in its capitalistic aspect is internationalism as capital knows no national boundary.

Movements abroad,

Communist movement is spreading in all civilized and semi-civilized countries. It is working for the freedom of the oppressed and exploited classes and people. It is working as a leaven amongst the exploited people. While the socialists amongst the imperialist and other capitalist countries are allying themselves with the bourgeois and in fact they are transforming themselves as the left wing of liberal democratic party of each land.

World politics today.

The world politics today is dividing itself into two currents : the policy of the exploiting and imperialist powers, and the policy of the exploited and oppressed nationalities. Each is formulating its politics according to its economic and local situation. The capitalistic powers are co-operating with each other and forming imperial and colonial policies. They have started the "League of Nations" as their publicity bureau, while the socialist Internationale (the resuscitated 2nd Internationale) is acting as the hench man of the imperialist powers. On the other hand the communist International has become the central organisation of that section of the exploited proletariat which wants to be free and is helping the weak oriental countries.

Policy of soviet government.

The Russian Soviet Government in accordance with its avowed principles have helped Turkey in its extreme distress, has helped Kemal's government to put itself on its legs, has helped the Persian government, has annulled the loans advanced by the Czaristic government ; has been the first foreign government to acknowledge the independence of Afghanistan, has abolished the extra-territorial treaty rights and privileges in China, and in general have entered into treaties on equal footing with the nationalist governments of Asia.

Mighty duels abroad.

But the attempt of the soviet government to help the down trodden masses and peoples are being checkmated by the capitalist government of every country. The communists are being hounded down everywhere, and in the weaker countries of Asia, the imperialist powers are trying to thwart the attempts at regeneration. Today,

the fight is going on everywhere between the capitalistic powers and the class-conscious proletariat which wants to be free. But as late Woodrow Wilson has said that the communist movement has come to the occidental world as a force as strong as the force of Christianity which came there in ancient time to transform the society.

Movement in Asia.

Asia is passing through a period of transition. Old orders are changing, yielding places to new. Storic Asia is pulsating with new life and she is passing through phase which though old to Europe yet is new to her. Asia has entered the phase of nationalism. National states are being formed. Feudal Manchu rule in China, Theocratic rule in Turkey, despotic rule in Persia, Khiva and Bokhara are today things of the past. Turkey solong the pivot of a theocratic and panislamic government has completely been modernized. As Kemal Pasha has said, "the Alps pressure which pressed so long on her shoulders and on that account benumbed her has been removed at last," and Turkey has began to breathe freely. Turkey is setting down into a middle-class democratic national state.

The same is the case with Persia. The modern education is working as a leaven in the mind of the people. Backward, priest-ridden feudalistic Persia is turning on a new leaf. The intelligentsia is trying though against odds to modernize the country. In the present *milieu* bourgeois-democracy is the ideal, and the democratic party, the dominant political party inspite of the opposition of a corrupt and venal priestcraft is trying to make Persia a modern national state. There is great sympathy and admiration for Kemal and the radical element amongst the intelligentsia wants to form a republic and to disestablish religion. But the odds are too much against them as yet. Still the latest news from that land are assuring and the world is expecting a momentous change in that land within next ten years.

As regards Afghanistan, that closed and backward land has caught the contagion so far that the Amir himself is the biggest revolutionary of that country, he is trying to introduce modern light amongst his people. Young boys are being sent to Europe and America for modern technical education, modern institutions are being established in the country. Though the persian language has been abolished as the court language and pushtu the language of the dominant class has been lately introduced as the official language, yet Afghanistan is developing a common nationality inspite of the heterogeneity of her population, the Turkish-speaking Uzbegs and Turks, the pushtu-speaking Afghans or Pathans and the handful of Hindus all are evolving into a common national type, all are politically Afghans. All the restrictions against the Hindus have been removed and all kinds of peoples enjoy the same political and

economic privileges. Though Afghanistan has not yet a constitution and has not developed modern political institution so far, yet Afghanistan is evolving into a modern national state. At the same time, republican ideas coming from central Asia is gaining ground amongst the peoples of northern Afghanistan i.e. Afghan-Turkestan.

In central Asia, the old sultanates of Khiva and Bokhara have been abolished and in its place bourgeois-democratic republics have been established. In this country there is a mistaken notion regarding central asiatic politics. Though Russia is a paramount power in that part of Asia, yet the revolutions against the Sultans have been made by the merchant class of Turkestan, and those republics have not established Bolshevist form of Governments.

Amongst the native populations of Asiatic Russia, the Bolshevist propaganda is the lever by which are becoming modernized and adjusting themselves to new conditions.

In south-east Asia, Siam is a national state and is trying to become a modern one. But in Cambodia, Java, Phillipines there is a volume of dissatisfaction directed against the European occupation of those places. Revolutionary activities are present, and from time to time these are put down with fire and sword. In the Phillipines, the American government put down rebellion with "water cure" system by which according to Senhor Quezon, a Filipinos leader, more than a lac of persons have been killed! Though these outbreaks are directed against occidental occupation of these lands, yet many of the revolutionary leaders are imbued with modern culture and outlook of life.

China is passing through a period of political interregnum and social transition. Such an interregnum after the downfall of a ruling dynasty is not known in China's history. The youth of China mostly educated in America, on their return are trying to transform China into modern nation. The struggle of Kuomington with the reactionary feudal manchu war lord Tsang-choling is a symptom of the new era that is dawning on the celestial country.

As regards Japan, though it has completely modernized itself in its outward garb, yet the spirit of old society is not yet shaken. Bushido is still the soul of Japan as Dr. Nitobe characterizes it. But by jumping from feudalism to industrialism Japan has evolved a big proletariat class which is organized and becoming class-conscious. Socialism in its various aspects is spreading amongst the laboring class, and class-conscious proletariat hopes to establish its rule someday in Japan.

India in world situation.

Thus we have got a bird's eye view of the world situation. Then the question that turns up is regarding India. What bearing

has India got in regard to world situation? Our present day leaders have isolated India from the outside world, and their gibberish is that "India is a peculiar country and it demands a peculiar solution"! For that reason, Yoga practice, religious exorcisms, loin-cloth mentality, spinning-wheel and many other fads are being given to the public as the cure-all of India's problems. But India is not apart from world politics; India is the pivot of British Capitalist-imperialism. It is on account of India that many wars have been fought in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries between England and other colonial powers. Napoleon understood to his cost the role of India in the world situation, and Lenin has said that unless the Indian masses, be freed, Capitalism and Imperialism will not be abolished! Much of international situation that is arising from time to time is due to India. The exploitation of India by the Capitalist group of Great Britain necessitates the Marxist international policy of British imperialism.

India a World problem.

To a man with a clear vision and a thorough knowledge of international situation there is no gainsaying that the salvation of the Asiatic people lies on the freedom of India, and the salvation of the occidental masses lies on the salvation of the oriental and especially Indian masses. The European proletariat are anxiously watching the oriental mass movements. To them the old prophecy that light shall come from the east still holds good, and that light shall dawn when the Indian masses be freed.

Our Duty.

As we see that India is a world problem, it behoves us to act in unison with world movements. We cannot remain aloof from the world-currents. We must allow the world-thought storms to come amongst us. India has got to be modernized, she must come out of her Asiatic barbarism and react to modern stimuli.

New Worldviews.

As it is the world view that changes a race, we must change our old ideologies. We must orient ourselves to new conditions. We must have new world views. We must have a thorough overhaul of our political, social and economic ideas.

Our Duties.

We have onerous duties to perform. We have duties both towards our country and toward humanity. On this account we must have a new system of work. We cannot fulfil these duties unless we be modernized, and be freed. India has got to be freed, and *awaraj* is the first step towards the fulfilment of this duty.

Possible Alternatives.

Youngmen of Bengal and of India in general, you have serious duties to perform. There are two mighty political thought currents that are running parallel in this world and you will have to choose what you will. Act according to your convictions.

New line of Works.

In order to reach our goal we will have to start on a new line of work. To me it seems the only alternative that lies before us is to work for the upliftment of the propertyless classes of this Country. They form the majority of the people and they are going to be the main stay of our fight for freedom. Therefore it is our bounden duty to work amongst them.

Work of Youngmen,

To carry on this work the youngmen must be mobilized. The youth must be organized, they must have new world views and must try to put them into practice. The youth of India must start a movement of their own and should try to join hands with the youth movements of other lands. Also they should realize that by preaching fads and living under religious hallucinations they would not achieve the independence of their Country. The road to Swaraj does not lie through hystronic shows, hysterics, religious exorcisms, loin-cloth mentality, and spinning-wheel. On the contrary we will have to develop ourselves into a sturdy race, with robust mind and radical mentality and must come in contact with the world outside, Being thus equipped the youth should go amongst the masses to organize them, to elevate them and to make them the vehicles of the work for Swaraj. The youth of India should try to fulfil the prophecy that is extant amongst the occidentals, Ex Oriente Lux.

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SEARCH LIST.

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

1. Date and hour of search, 20-3-29. from 5 a. m. to 1 p. m.
2. Name and residence of person whose house is searched Babu Hemanta Kumar Sarkar, son of Late Babu Madan Mohan Sarkar of Krishnagore at present Kushtia.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search,
 - (1) Bhola Nath Mukherjee of Khushtia.
 - (2) Nehajaddin Dewan of Khushtia.
 - (3) and so on

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial. | Description of articles seized. | Description of place where article seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>Mattalika</i> and, the exact circumstance under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case any unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|---|---|---|--|---|
| 1 | One photo of Dr. Prava Guha Thakurta along with sister Deva Mata an American lady taken at Los Angeles Railway Station, California. | Found in the almirah situated in the Northern verandah. | Babu Hemanta Kumar Sarkar. | |
| 2 | One photo of a building. | Do. | | |
| 3 | Two carbon papers. | Do. | | |
| 4 | One hand note of Rs 60/- executed on 6. 2. 29 by Berajuddin Ahmed in favour of Hemanta K. Sarkar. | found in a small fibre attache case in the bedroom. | | |
| 5 | One hand note of Rs. 100/- executed on 27. 11. 28 by Kanchanali in favour of Hemanta Babu. | Do. | | |
| 6 | One hand note of Rs. 30/- executed on 9. 5. 28, by Girija Kanta Mukherji in favour of Hemanta K. Sarkar. | Do. | | |

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|---|--|--|--|---|
| 7 | do. of Rs. 50 executed on 7. 2, 27 in favour of Gyanendra Nath Bose by Nishi Kanta Patra. | As in Page No. 1. | | |
| 8 | Deposit receipt of Rs. 11, 131-10-6, Mahalakhi Bank Ltd., Chittagong, No. 1596 dated 12. 10. 27 in favour of Mr. Hemanta Kumar Sarkar. | Do. | | |
| 9 | Letter No. 18 - 1,544, dated 24.2.28. Mahalakhi Bank Ltd., to Hemanta Bebu. | Do. | | |
| 10 | Letter No. 18 - 247 dated 12.10.27 Mahalakhi Bank Ltd. to Hemanta Babu. | Do. | | |
| 11 | Do. No. 19/70, dated 10. 10. 28. Mahalakhi Bank, Ltd., to Hemanta Babu. | Do. | | |
| 12 | Do. No. 19/101, dated 16.10.28 | Do. | | |
| 13 | Letter No. 17-2481 dated 9. 8. 27, Mahalakhi Bank Ltd. to Hemanta Babu. | Do. | | |
| 14 | Do. No. 17-2620, dated 27. 8. 27. | Do. | | |
| 15 | Do. Do. | Do. | | |
| 16 | Do. No. 18-174-3, dated 30. 3. 28 | Do. | | |
| 17 | Do. Do. dated 8th May 1928, written by Md. Habibur Kahaman from 38 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta. | Do. | | |
| 18 | Do. Do. dated 20th June 1928, written by Habib-ur-Rahman. | Do. | | |
| | Do. Do. dated 26. 8. 27, written by Gopalda - from 61 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. | Do. | | |

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|----|---|--|
| 19 | Do. dated 13. 9. 26, written by Nishu Kanta Patra with an account of Rs. 52/8/-. | As in Page No. 1. |
| 20 | Receipt of 2750, dated 4th May 1928, given by Habibor Rahman. | Do. |
| 21 | A message sent by Habibor Rahman dated 13-7-28. | Do. |
| 22 | Do. Do. dated 28-5-28. sent by Mazaffar. | Do. |
| 23 | Money order receipt of Rs. 50/8/- dated 7-12-27. | Do. |
| 24 | Letter dated 11-2-29, written by Muzaffar Ahmad of Bengal Provincial Branch of Workers' and Peasants' Party, India. | Do. |
| 25 | Do. dated 28-9-23 written by Baidya Nath Biswas of Ryot Samiti. | Do. |
| 26 | An account for Rs. 14562/5/6. | Do. |
| 27 | Do. for Rs. 3805. | Do. |
| 28 | Pass book No. 116, Deposit of Rs. 2000/- in the Kushtia Co-operative bank in favour of Hemanta Babu. | Do. |
| 29 | Do. for Rs. 1000/- Chandarkona Loan Office in favour of Hemanta Babu. | Do. |
| 30 | Account for Rs. 15,517/- and 4640/-. | Do. |
| 31 | Receipt books of Sarabangla Krishak Sammilani, four. | In a suit case found in the the bedroom. |
| 32 | Receipt book of the First All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference. One. | Do. |
| 33 | Do. of Ryot Samiti. One. | Do. |
| 34 | Do. of Sarabangla Krishak Sammilani. One. | Do. |
| 35 | Do. of Jagaran Karjalaya Kushtia. One. | Do. |

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|---|---|--|---|---|
| 36 | Private account book. One. | As in Page No. 1. | | |
| 37 | Letter No. 7034 dated 15th Bhadra 1334 B. C. (1. 9. 27 written by Brajanath Dass of Bengal and Assam fishermen's association. | Do. | | |
| 38 | Letter dated 8th August 1928, written by Habibur. | Do. | | |
| 39 | A piece of paper with the name of J. Ryan Labour Research and Information Bureau Trades Hall, Gaulburn St. Sydney, Australia. | Do. | | |
| 40 | An account Rs. 408 and 133 in 3 pages. | Do. | | |
| 41 | Pass book of Hemanta Babu. Account No. 222, Bengal Central Bank Ltd. | Do. | | |
| 42 | Omitted through mistake. | Do. | | |
| 43 | An address book. | Do. | | |
| 44 | Letter No. 24/11, dated 19. 11. 28 written by Secretary, Reception Committee of Workers and Peasants' Party Conference. | Do. | | |
| 45 | 10 letters written by Mazaffar Ahmad date 5/1/29, 20.11.28, 23.11.28, 1.10.28, 3. 10. 28, 5. 10. 28, 9. 10. 28, 12. 10. 28, 22. 10. 28. | Do. | | |
| 46 | One cheque book of Bengal Central Bank from 15375 to 15380, counterfoils | Do. | | |

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- from No. 15361 to 15374.
- 47 One receipt book of Bengal Central Bank.
- 48 Two post cards dated 11. 12. 28, 13. 2. 29, written by Mazaffar Ahmad, addressed to Hemanta K. Sarkar.
- 49 One message sent by Mazaffar Ahmad to H. K. Sarkar, dated 19. 12. 28.
- 50 Four receipts issued by the Zamiate Hemayat Etma, Ltd, to H. K. Sarkar for Rs. 700/, 800/, 500/ and 100/.
- 51 2. Security receipts. One 5% G. P. note for 500/- of 1933 No. 004399. One ten year 5 of bond 1933 No F0006057 for 500/-.
- 52 Report of the First all India Workers and Peasants' Party Conference. 11 pages and slip (typed) attached.
- 53 F. A. India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference delegates ticket to comrade Hemanta Kumar Sarkar. One.
- 54 Constitution (booklet)—1928 of the Workers and Peasants' Party, Bengal. One
- 55 Receipts for Rs. 1/8 for Lajpat Rai Memorial Fund No. 2352, dated 15-1-29 (Punjab collection) in favour of Hemanta K. Sarkar.
- 56 Insured letter receipt for Rs. 55 (35) No. 23, dated 22nd September 1928, from Khushtia Post office to Fani Bhusan Roy-al-Alamdanga, by Hemanta K. Sarkar.
- 57 Letter written by Hemanta K. Sarkar Krishnagore, dated 16th February 1929, to Brija Behary Barman Rai, regarding the publication of the second edition of his books.

Do.

Do.

Do.

Do.

Do.

Do.

Do.

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Do.

Do.

Do.

VI

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial. | Description of articles seized. | Description of place where article seized was found | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>malalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt etc. |
|---|--|---|--|--|
| 58 | 23 copies of the enlistment form of the membership of the Workers and Peasants Party of Bengal (printed in Bengali). | As in Page No. 1. | | |
| 59 | Some blank cards (26) with the writing Pritinidhi Sara Bangla Krisak Sammilani. | Do. | | |
| 60 | Some slips of yellow and white paper with the writing Sara Bangla Krishak Sammilani and some badges red and variegated colours. | Do. | | |
| 61 | Blank "All Bengal Peasants' Conference" forms, first session Khushtia Nadia. 6 copies. | In an almirah kept in south verandah. | | |
| 62 | Reports of the Executive committee of the Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal for 1927-28, two copies in English and one copy in Bengali. | Do. | | |
| 63 | Rules and constitution of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers Party, with the names of President and other office bearers and members one-copy. | Do. | | |
| 64 | All Bengal and Assam Fisherman's Association with the names of office bearers and members-one copy, in English. | Do. | | |
| 65 | Account of expenses incurred in bringing Nazrali's family. | Do. | | |

| | | |
|----|---|-------------------------------------|
| 66 | A wire from Muzaffar Ahmad No. 2 to Babu Hemanta Kumar Sakar, dated 22-2-29. | As in Page No. 1. |
| 67 | List of delegates to the All Bengal Peasants' Conference Khushtia, in 3 sheets. | Do. |
| 68 | List of persons to be invited for the All Bengal Peasants' Conference at Rushtia Nadia). | Do. |
| 69 | Thesis presented to the First All India workers and Peasants Party Conference, December 1928, With some manuscript writing in the end-17 pages. | Do. |
| 70 | Thesis in Bengali December 1928 in manuscript, 12 pages including blank regarding Sramik Andolon and Sramik Sanga. | Do. |
| 71 | One copy of Jagaran, dated 21st Falgun 1335. | Do. |
| 72 | Is omitted | Do. |
| 73 | Three volumes of "Capital" by Karl Marx, belonging to Hemanta Sarkar. | Do. |
| 74 | Swami Vivekananda the Socialist, with foreword and notes by Dr. Bhupendra Nath Datta M. A. Ph. D.-one copy. | Do. |
| 75 | The Russian experiment 1917-1927, by K. T. Shah. One Copy. | Found in the almirah of outer room. |
| 76 | The Harmony "Monthly" by Dvija Das Dutta-for August, Sept. and Dec./28. | Do. |
| 77 | Soviet Russia by Jahar Lal Nehru One copy. | Do. |
| 78 | Peasant proprietorship in India by Dvija Das Dutt-One copy. | Do. |
| 79 | The present educational system in Germany-by W. Chowdhury-One copy. | Do. |

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|---|--|--|---|--|
| 80 | Presidential address of the First all India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference, Calcutta, Dec./21, 1928, delivered by Comrade Sohan Singh Josh. | As in Page No. 1. | | |
| 81 | Address of welcome by P. dinda, Chairman, Reception Committee of the First All India W. & P. Party Conference December 21-1928. | Do. | | |
| 82 | A Call to Action being the resolution thesis of the Third Annual Conference W. & P. Party, Bhatpara, March 1928. | Do. | | |
| 83 | Ways and means for the unity of Workers and Peasants by Fozaddin Hossain in Bengal one booklet. | Do. | | |
| 84 | Swarajer Siri by-Dvija Das Dutta in Bengali. One copy (booklet). | Do. | | |
| 85 | The trade Union Movement W. & P. Party Conference, December 1928 (One copy in English. | Do. | | |
| 86 | Political resolution, one copy in English. | Do. | | |
| 87 | One booklet printed in English of the Workers' and Peasants' Party principles and policy, Dec./28. | Do. | | |
| 88 | One Remington Typewriter NO. RD 50169-10 (Standard) with tin case. | On the table of the outer room. | | |

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|-----|---|---------------------------------|
| 89 | Carbon paper in lot, 71 copies unused and used carbon full sheet 22 and half sheet one. | As in Page No. 1. |
| 90 | Tissuepaper 316 copies. | Do. |
| 91 | Megher Khela by Ramala Bose. | Do. |
| 92 | Lenin soviet by Priya Nath Ganguli, booklet in Bengali. | Do. |
| 93 | | Do. |
| 94 | Irish Bidroha by Manimoy pramanik booklet in Bengali. | Do. |
| 95 | Taruner Bapna by Subash Bose, booklet in Bengali. | On the table of the outer room. |
| 96 | The pressure of Labour upon Constitution and Law, 1776-1928 by Benoy Kumar Sarkar in English. | Do. |
| 97 | Sun-Yet-Sen and Bartaman Chin by Jyotish Kumar Ganguli, booklet in Bengali. | Do. |
| 98 | India and the next war, by Miss Agnes Smedley booklet in English, 2 copies. | In the almirah of outer room. |
| 99 | Hell Found, by S. A. Danga, in English-one copy. | Do. |
| 100 | Subjection of women, by John Stuart Mill, in English, one copy. | Do. |
| 101 | The Rime of the Ancient Mariner, by S. T. Coleridge, in English-one copy. | Do. |
| 102 | Soharab and Rustum, by Jitendra Lal Banerji, in English, one copy. | Do. |
| 103 | Moslem Samaj and Sud Smashya, by Mov. Sirajul Islam, in Bengali, one copy. | Do. |

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial. | Description of articles seized.* | Description of place where article seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>matalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|---|--|--|--|---|
| 104 | A letter written by Panna Lal Mukherji, dated 19. 11. 28, addressed as Dear Comrade's invitation letter to join All India Socialist Youth Conference. (This writer, Pannalal is mentioned by Hemanta Babu as ex-detenu Pannalal Mukherji). | It was found on a table with other papers in the outer room. | | |
| 105 | A letter of Muzaffar Ahmed, dated 12. 1. 29, addressed to one whose name is not found. | Do. | | |
| 106 | Banglar Krishkar Katha, by Hrishikesh Sen. One copy. | Do. | | |

(Sd.) HEMANTA K. SARKAR.
20-3-29.

Signature with date of the person whose property, is seized if present at the search.
20-3-29.

*N. B.— This form must be signed by witnesses.
* Articles seized, numbered and labelled should be attested by signatures of witnesses and Police-officers:
Permanent marks, such as cuts, must not be made.*

(Sd.) T. P. BHATTACHARJEE, Insp. I. B.
(Sd.) F. P. PRICE, S. Police, Nadia
(Sd.) SURESH CHANDRA DUTTA, Ins. of Police Kushtia.
(Sd.) GIRJA GUPTA, Kushtia. 20-3-29

*Police-officer conducting the search.
Date 20-3-29. Place Kushtia.*

(Sd.) B. MUKHERJI. 20-3-29.

(Sd.) LEHAUJADDIN DEWAN.

(Signed in Bengali.) 20-3-29.

Signature of witness with date.

Signature by the accused optional.

P. 267.4T *Rejected*

Letter in Bengali dated 1-10-28 from Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 268.

Letter in Bengali dated 5-1-29 from Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 269.4T

Rejected

Letter in Bengali dated 20-11-28 from Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 270.

Letter in Bengali dated 3-10-28 from Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 271.

Letter in Bengali dated 5-10-28 from Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 272.

Letter in Bengali dated 12-10-28 from Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 273.

Letter in Bengali dated 28-1-29 from Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 274.

Letter in Bengali dated 23-11-28 from Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 275. *Rejected*

POSTS TELEGRAPHS.

| | | | | | |
|--|-------|-----------------|---------|--------------------------|--------|
| C. O. n k | | | | 2 | |
| NOTICE. | | CHARGES TO PAY. | | OFFICE STAMP. | |
| This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting the Telegram. | | Rs. | As. | Kushtia 22 Feb. 22. | |
| | | | | | |
| Ln 3 12 | | | | | |
| Handed in at (Office of Origin). | Date. | Hour. | Minute. | Service Instructions. | Words. |
| Calcutta. | 22 | 12 | 50 | | 14 |

Recd. here at 14 H. 20 M.

SEARCH LIST.

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

1. Date and hour of search—20th March 1929, at 6-30 a.m.
2. Name and residence of persons whose house is searched—Association Office of Kalidas Bhattacharji at Ghatak Para—Bhatpara. 24 Perganas.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search, {
 - (1) Narendranath Mukherjee. (2) Rajendranath Banerjee. (3) Surendra Mohan Datta.
 - (4) (This witness produced the key of the aforesaid office.) Indra Narain Mukherjee.
 - (5) Bhibhuti Bhushan Ghose of Bhatpara. And so on.

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial. | Description of articles seized.* | Description of place where articles seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>ma talika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|---|---|---|---|--|
| 1 | A draft-rule object and constitution modified upto 3rd January, 1929 24 pages. | In a rented room in the house of Lakhinarain Mukherjee of Bhatapara facing east in front of the house of Rajendranath Banerjee. | Ordinarily occupied by Kalidas Bhattacharjee Gapendranath Chakarvaty of Bhatpara. | |
| 2 | One copy of Bengali book (Jati Gathan) by Narandra Nath Banerjee. | | | |
| 3 | A file cover with the heading of Bengal Jute Workers' Association 1928-29. Kalidas Bhatta-Charjee personal containing some letters etc. | | | |
| 4 | The people's welfare Society (miscellaneous file cover containing some papers. | | | |

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial. | Description of articles seized. | Description of place where article seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mullatika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|---|---|--|--|---|
| 5 | 6 files on postal Union (24 Perganas postmen, branch postmaster and lower grade staff District Union. | | | |
| 6 | One file of receipts and bonds for 1928 for Bengal Jute Workers' Association. | | | |
| 7 | Some copies of press reports. | | | |
| 8 | A file cover with headings Angus Engineering Workers' Union containing Papers. | | | |
| 9 | People's welfare society (letter copies). | | | |
| 10 | A file cover with vouchers 1928 Bengal Jute Workers' Union. | | | |
| 11 | A flat file containing some application forms for compensation by workmen. | | | |
| 12 | List of post office; subpost-office and branch post office under the Barackpur sub-division. | | | |
| 13 | A Khata with headings letters sent from Bengal Jute Workers association under postal certificates. | | | |
| 14 | A loose slip pad of Bengal Jute Workers association regarding receipts of money. | | | |
| 15 | A bound Khata book regarding proceedings of Bengal Jute Workers' associations. | | | |

- | | |
|----|--|
| 16 | Cash, Book, Branch Hajinagar B. J. Workers Association. |
| 17 | The B. J. Workers' Association Diary book No. 2 central office. |
| 18 | Receipt and vouchers The B. J. Workers, Association—A bound Khata book. |
| 19 | The Bengal papers mills workers Union Diary Book. |
| 20 | A bound Khata Book Bengal Jute Workers Association Branch Bhatpara—members roll. |
| 21 | A bound Khata book with the heading the Bengal paper mills workers Union cash book 1929. |
| 22 | A bound Khata book with heading personal account. |
| 23 | A Bound khata book with heading the Bengal Jute Workers Association member roll. |
| 24 | A bound Khata book with heading The Bengal Jute Workers Association Diary Book No. 1. |
| 25 | One School attendance Register. |
| 26 | One khata book with heading The B. J. Workers Association cash Book 1928. |
| 27 | One bound khata book with heading (Records social and political). |
| 28 | One bound khata book containing alphabetical list of names (member roll commencing from 1926). |
| 29 | One khata book with headings The Bengal Jute Workers Association member roll. 1928—29. |

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial. | Description of articles seized. | Description of place where articles seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc. of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>maltalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burt etc. |
|---|---|---|---|--|
| 30 | One khata book with heading letter copy. | | | |
| 31 | One khata book with the heading letter copy 1925. | | | |
| 32 | A flat file containing 23 copies of old news papers both Bengali and English in parts relating to Labour strike etc. some of which are underlined with red ink. | | | |
| 33 | A file containing copies of articles in Bengali and English contributed in different newspaper some of the articles are also typed. | | | |
| 34 | One Corona Typewriter Machine No. 131917. | | | |
| 35 | One Eraser one typewriting tape and carbon and some blank. Ishapur ordinance Workers Union letter papers and some pads with heading 24 Parganas post men etc. District Union, and some envelopes with heading long live Jute workers. | | | |
| 36 | Three copies of Atma Sakh dated 16th November 1928, 16th Kaitek 1335 and 29th June 1928. | | | |
| 37 | One paid with heading The Angus Engineering Workers' Union Est 1928. | | | |

- 38 One Lawyer's diary of 1928.
- 39 A list of names of books.
- 40 One pamphlet-India and the next war by miss Agnes. Smedley.
- 41 One Book the communist party of India Annual report 1927.
- 42 One book named Rule by murder by Leo-Tolstoy.
- 43 Two copies of Hundred per cent India by C. G. Shah.
- 44 One copy of the student of other countries.
- 45 One copy of Imperialism and Labour.
- 46 One copy A Truck act for India by P. G. Khaniker.
- 47 One copy of the Directory of Trade Union by R. R. Bakhale.
- 48 1. The Workers and Peasants party in Bengal 1928.
2. The workers and peasants party principles and policy.
3. One copy address of welcome by P. Dinda.
4. One copy of manifesto of workers and peasants party to Indian National Congress 1927.
5. One copy presidential address of First All India Workers and Peasants party Conference 1928.
- 49 Hell found One copy.
- 50 1. Bengal Trade Union federation rules.
2. Young comrades League Pro gramme and policy. 2 copies.
3. Raj Naitek Prostab Published by Dharani Kanta Goswami one copy.

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial) | Description of articles seized. | Description of place where article seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS - Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mattalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|---|--|--|--|--|
| | <p>4. The Indian Seamen's Union History and development 1908 to 1924.</p> <p>5. The Trade Union movement in India by Josi 1927 two copies.</p> <p>6. The Labour monthly-April 1927 No. 4</p> <p>7. Terms of settlement-Jamshedpur Labour. dispute.</p> <p>8. One Bengali Book-Bismark published by Satish Ch. Mukherjee.</p> <p>51 Bharater kaparer Itikatha by Jnananjan Neogi.</p> <p>52 Speech by Mr. Joshi. 1927.</p> <p>53 Extracts from the Presidential Address of L. Lajpat Rai at Etawah 1928 October</p> <p>54 The Trade Union movement thesis December 1928.</p> <p>55 Press reports I. F. T. U, 20/12/28, 3/1/29, 14/2/29.</p> <p>56 Wages, Censors graph December 1916 to 1925. Bengal.</p> <p>57 The International Trade Union review April and June 1925.</p> <p>58 Report on the activities of the International federation of Trade Union during 1922-23.</p> | | | |

59 Receipt books:—
 1. Postal 1928.
 2. Postal 1928—29.
 3. Mill workers Union from 7-1-27
 4. Paper mill workers Union from
 14-1-28.
 5. Post-men's Union from 8-2-29
 6. Jute workers association from
 No. 1501.
 7. Do..... I.
 60 One Saving Bank pass Book No. 48875
 in name of Gauripada Bhattacharjee.

NARENDRANATH MUKHERJEE

*Signature with date of
 the person whose property,
 is seized if present at the
 27-3-29. search.*

*N. B.—This form must be signed by witnesses.
 *Articles seized, numbered and labelled should be attended by signature of
 witnesses and Police-officers:
 Permanent marks, such as cuts, etc., must not be made.*

(Sd.) MIR OBED ALI
*S. I. Jagatdal.
 Police-Officers conducting the search.
 Date 20-3-29 Place Bhatpura.*

(Sd.) RAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE
 (Sd.) BIBHUTI BHUSAN GHOSH
 (Sd.) INDRANARAYAN MUKHERJEE.
 (Sd.) SOURENDRA MOHAN DATTA

27-3-29

Signature of witness with date

Signature by the accused (optional)

P. 279.

A file of correspondence regarding the Bengal Jute Workers' Association, 1928-29 containing amongst others the following:-

Telegraphic address : "GANAVANI", Calcutta.

THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL

Organ:

"GANAVANI" 2-1 European Asylum Lane,
(Bengali Weekly) Calcutta, 3. 4. 1928.

Comrade Kalidas Bhattacharya
and Gopendra Chakravarty.

Dear Comrade,

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal will be held at the office of the Party on the 5th instant at 7-30 P. M. The agenda of business will be

1. Election of the Enlarged Executive Committee.
2. Appointment of groups and sub-committees.
3. To devise ways and means of proceeding with the work of the Party successfully.
4. Other.

This meeting being a very important one from every point of view your presence will be indispensable.

Yours fraternally,

Muzaffar Ahmad.

General Secretary.

POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

C.

| | | |
|---|----------------------------|---|
| Notice. This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram | Charges to pay. Rs. As, | Office Stamp. Bhatpara 13 Sep. 1928. |
| Handed in at (Office of Origin). Dacca. | Date 13. 8 45. | H. M. Service Words. instruc- tions. 15 |
| Received at 12 H. 35 M. | | |

To

Gopendra Chakravarty

Bhatpara Bgl.

Eighth day Dakeswari Strike start all with money immediately.

Gopal.

P. 281.

*Rejected as P.
D. 41*

A file relating to 24 Parganas Postmen, Branch Postmasters and Lower Grade Staff District Union, containing amongst others the following:—

A meeting, 24 Parganas Postmen, Branch Postmasters and Lower Grade Staff, District Union was held at Kancharapara on Sunday the 3rd March 1929 at 6 P. m. Mr. Gopendra Chakrabarty presided over the meeting. The following members were present.

Kancharapara,

Parsuddy Panday Postman,
Ram Kissen Sing.
Biswanath Panday.

Profullya Kumar.
Sekpujan Tewari. (Reserve).
Rajaram Sing.
Puchhow Show (mail Peon).
Parish Sing (mail Peon).
Ramasankar Paikar (Loco Soap).
Jagannath (Telegraph Messenger).

Subarnapur.

Narayan Das Mukherji (Branch Postmaster).
Meoktar mandal (Postman).
Karnnamaya Mukherji „

Bara Jagulia.

Mahananda Das (Branch Postmaster).

Hajinagar.

Sarabjit Sing (Postman).

Gariffe.

Ramasankar (Postman).
Lorepoochan Ojha (Letter Box Peon).
Sankarprosad (Postman).

Naihati.

Harihar Upadhya (Postman).
Ram Sagar (Postman).
Sanichar Takhur (Reserve Postman).
Ramnarayan Mahato (Runner).
Sahadeo Singh (Mail Peon).

Narainpur.

Ram Lagan Sing.

Bhatpara.

Ramvarma Panday.

Kankinara.

Raghunandan.

Shamnagar.

Ungunvakat.

Barrackpur.

Lalbehari Sahai.

RESOLUTIONS.

That the Quota to the Provincial Committee be paid at the rate of Rs. 8/- per month from the fund of the Union.

Proposed by—Lalbihari Sahai.

Seconded by—Sanichar Thakur.

Lalbihari Sahey.

Samichar Thakur.

P. 282.

*Rejected as P.
D. 42.*

1st ALL INDIA SOCIALIST YOUTH CONGRESS.

(Reception Committee.)

97, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

Dated, 8/12/28.

Dear Comrade,

I have been directed by the Reception Committee of the First All-India Socialist Youth Congress to be held in Calcutta during Christmas, 1928 to inform you that you have been elected a member of the said Committee at a meeting of it on 3rd December 1928. My Committee fervently hopes that you will be pleased to give your full support to it. The minimum subscription is Re. 1/-

The next meeting of the Committee will be held on Monday the 18th instant at 7 P. M. at the office of the Committee or at 97 Cornwallis Street. to consider the following agenda.

Your presence is solicited.

Yours truly,

S. N. Chatterji

for General Secretary, Reception Committee.

Agenda:

(1) To consider the suggestions received from different provinces regarding the President Elect.

(2) To fix the dates and place of the Congress.

(3) Miscellaneous.

On the back is written:—

Sj. Gopendranath Chakravarty.

P. 283.

A minute Book of the Bengal Jute Workers' Association.

P. 284.

A bundle of manuscript articles containing amongst others the following article:—

IDEA OF TO-DAY.

As we take our bold stand on the threshold of the inception of the second quarter of the twentieth century — a century replete with tremendous upheaval in world factors — a century when phenomenal problems are passing through kaleidoscopic changes — a century rich in the recalcitrant impetuosity of the proletariat to break away from the fetters of oppression and dogmatism — a century ushering in a new innovation in the realm of science; we discern before our eyes that the whole world is on the march of a mighty onrush, and everything rotten, superannated, superstitions is shattered to pieces with iconoclastic zeal of a stupendous magnitude. The down-trodden and hitherto outcasts are shaking off the thralldom from the power that be, and asserting their legitimate demands and rights. New ideas and ideals completely radical in their outlook are surging among the masses with torrential force and rapidity, the whole world being in a state of unstable equilibrium. Situated as we are amidst interesting and extremely difficult circumstances, our eyes are cast to behold the glimpse of the lights flashing before us to imbibe the requisite spirit, enthusiasm, adolescent nerve and vigour, and above all a revolutionery exuberance to rescue humanity from the bondage and overhauling the present structure of society. Our ideal is not to be cribbed. Cabined and confined within the four walls of the old traditions and hidebound systems sitting over us like a mighty pall and eating up our vitals. We are not for isolation from world forces but to merge ourselves in everything radical, genuine, invoking to rise triumphant for offering fight and resistance to the insolence of the imperialists and threats of the bourgeoisie.

YOUTH MOVEMENT.

To-day youth is the prime factor in heralding the dawn of a new era, unfurling the standard of revolt against the old, breaking the barriers of customs, restrictions thereby raising the moral force of the world on a plane of ethereal, effulgence. The history of the modern

world is the history and awakening of the Youth movement. In Chussia, tIida R,Japan, aly, and Germany,— the youths imbued with the brhapsody of the incomparable passion exhibited their super and majestic sacrifice to raise their countries on a high level and to emancipate the masses from their fetters. They are the harbingers of a new message, a new philosophy to infuse into every young man the pulsations and throbbings of a rejuvenated life. They have completely identified themselves with enmeshed and trampled humanity — upholding their cause tenaciously and undergoing thousand and one ignomines and sufferings. Persecution and death notwithstanding they won the laurel of Victory and endured with remarkable courage, unremitting fortitude and unflagging bravery the brunt of the fight. They have now fromed a serried phalanx to be a constant source of menace to the obstinate adversary, The youths of India chained-up--depressed-stricken look with hope to emulate their noble examples to throw off the shackles of the imperialists.

YOUTH MOVEMENT IN INDIA.

Youth movement in the real sense of the term and spirit began in 1906, when a great national uprising was inaugurated. A new vision came to the Young minds, but unfortunately, being led by their ebullient frenzy and misguided by the hypocrite and treacherous bourgeois politicians allowed their sporadic and spasmodic outbursts of tember and activities to lose their palpable effectiveness in centripetal and centrifugal forces culminating in loss of their lives or life-long incarceration. Though in the economy of nature there is the utility of positive and negative forces and nothing is totally lost, yet their monumental and unique sacrifice could not bring about any tangible practical effect but only gave a blank cheque to the bourgeois politicians to aggrandise themselves at their costly expense. within the span of a few years the country is interspersed with a network of youngmen's organisations, but the most regrettable is the fact that they are going blind-fold without any definite programme of their own and mainly traversing by a route chalked out by the self-seekers and exploiting politicians, who have got no ideas of real life and revolution; but only hold influence over the youths to have their designs executed. If the youths permit their energies to be directed by these pests, they will be hoist by their own petard. In order to get rid of the diabolical cataclysm engineered by these men the young men should study the role youth should play.

BOURGEOIS INFLUENCE—A GROWING MENACE.

The whole world is in a critical plight owing to the nafarious influence the bourgeoisie are exerting upcn the mass conciousness. They are holding the reins of government undistrubed and unres-trained and their exploiting fever runs rampant among all their activities. In India a section of the bourgeoisie going under the

grandiloquent surname of "nationalist and patriot" is most dangerous against every mass action. These flying specters of humanity have recently got some supremacy among the youths. These bourgeoisie take their initiative in the aggressive and quite natural ambitions of the youths to free their country from the foreign yoke. So they inject an idea of dead rivalry among the young minds by their flamboyant oratory which is nothing but an ephemeral bubble. They ransack the relics of past history and got up pristine glory and prestige of India which as usual attracts and carries the youthful mind in their favour. Their sermon is believed to be the scripture and their idea of freedom, however, wrong, fallible and empty becomes the slogan of the young. Real enemies of India are not the British-bourgeoisie imperialists alone but the Indian bourgeoisie also who in alliance with the enemy of India, directly and indirectly suppress mass activities and are on the vigilant alert to perpetuate the mass slavery. The first and foremost task of the youth is to beware of these nuisance pests and sooner they are caught in their true colour the better it is for the masses. When the time of election for anything conducing to their self-advertisement comes they rally the young men round them but leave them as so many stale mangoes when their game is won. They give to the public a wide publicity that they have defeated the government in such and such matters, though their pyrrhic victory brings very little or no benefit to the country and masses. These people retard the progress of humanity and are so many hinderances of any popular action.

THE STARTING OF YOUNG COMRADES' LEAGUE.

Taking stock of these manifestly clear facts we started the Young Comrade's League under the auspices of some of the radical youths to open before the eyes of the youth the vast potentialities of the giant etching on the canvas of young intellect and mind and what a monochronic marvellous power they hold in their palms. As natural our undertaking was not a new one and we had to steer our ship clear through rocks and shoals that are so many insurmountable obstacles in our way. But in sable cloud there is also silver lining and after lightning and thunder there is sunshine. Therefore we could achieve some success though partial in our first callous attempt and as a piece of good fortune we have marshalled our ideas among a considerable number of youngmen in different parts of the province with their co-ordinate and branch Leagues. Unparalleled financial stringency was a stumbling block to promulgate our views in a comprehensive and wide scale-but our members were able to propagate and disseminate our fundamental policy and programme to the masses to some extent. Though our work is at present feeble but there is ample sign of reassuring events that within an incredible space of time our views will be brought

home to an augmented circle. We could in our brief sojourn hold some classes to train our workers to methodically work out our programme to the logical conclusion, and the result thereby is encouraging. It will be our work now to scatter our programme near and abroad and wish fervently that similar sister institution will be run throughout India to win independence of the country. So long the bourgeoisie nationalists though at helms of youth agitation could not formulate any programme of action so that the youngmen can scientifically offer any bold front. But our method of work is concise, brief and definite.

(1) The most essential item of our aims and objects is to foster in our mind radical and revolutionary views untrammelled and unperturbed by any communal motives or purely segregated national idealism. We shall strangle to death those heinous customs and religious frenzies that bring ruin to the organic growth of human evolution. Religious doctrines like political and economic domination exercises their pernicious influence upon the ignorance of the mass mind and is highly detrimental to the growth of mass consciousness and solidarity. The priests of different sects pamper upon the hard earned money of the masses and roll in luxury and princely style in lieu of the exploded so-called religious faiths and theological nonsense. Their citadel is to be captured and smashed so that they can no more practice their game of bluff upon the masses.

(2) We emphatically declare that our goal is complete independence of India from British Imperialism on a socio-economic basis. We believe in the total economic and political salvation of humanity untarnished by rivalry or aggression but founded on a perfect basis of equality, liberty and fraternity. We cherish that independence is our ultimate goal which guarantees equal political and economic right to the masses and not that sample of independence controlled and manned by the bourgeoisie cabinet. Our abhorance and challenge is to the signatories of the Nehru Report to verify their authority to speak for the masses of India and we regard the Nehru Report as derogatory to India's self-respect, *ultra viers*, and selling the birth-right of India for a mess of pottage. We oppose Nehru Report as it does not safeguard the rights of the masses, infringes upon popular liberty, and is nothing but an amorphous mass and a crude experiment in nursery diplomacy.

(3) We shall fight against Imperialism whether it be of Indian or foreign type. The common and most impregnable enemy of the masses is the reactionaries irrespective of caste, creed or colour be that brown, white or yellow. We think conscientiously that in order to overthrow the high pedestal of the bourgeoisie authority the only sovereign and sure plan and method is to rouse

mass consciousness, create a robust militant spirit among them and thereby lending the gigantic spark to the smouldering embers of discontent to burst out in revolutionary conflagration.

(4) To acquaint the masses with the different phases of political activity and instill in their minds a hankering of rebellion against Capitalism and Landlordism and if need be by direct action of strike and non-payment of taxes will be modes of work. They will be reared up to advocate their own rightful demands and not to be hoodwinked by the bourgeois to the belief that they are born to be slaves. The colossal hoax of the bourgeois mentality is to be presented before them in its true fashion with its dangerous repercussion upon the masses. In this way our aim is to blow up the bourgeois hold upon the mass mind.

(5) Social emancipation in its truest sense will be our watchword to free and to throw off the ban put artificially upon the so-called outcasts and womenfolk. They would be taught to think and appreciate their own worth and to rebel against the injurious social systems which marred the harmony of their life.

(6) It is an historical truth that for the attainment of complete independence for the masses the class war is inevitable and as true as the Pole Star. Therefore it will be our imperative duty to be prepared for any untoward happening emanating from that quarter and not to shirk and indifferently brush aside this ostensible truth.

(7) The condition of the Youths of India is miserable, deplorable for chill penury, lower standard of living, unemployment staring in the face and consequent starvation. For this the British Imperialists as well as the Indian bourgeois are equally responsible. To redress these grievances the youths are to be mentally declassed and fight against these engines of oppression with the workers and peasants. The step-motherly affection periodically shown by the Indian bourgeois to be depressed youths, is nothing but shedding crocodile tears and young men are warned not to pin any faith upon their pretended love towards them. They Indian bourgeois are ruthless exploiters of the Youth like the British imperialists.

(8) Now-a-days through the propaganda of the intelligent bourgeois class the virus of hero-worship has been inoculated in the mind of the young man. If the truth of life is to think independently and not to take everything as an admitted fact, than this sort of hero-worship far from rendering any genuine service to the mental faculties of the youth, tends rather to engender in them a pattern of slave-mentality euphemistically called hero-worship. Whether hero-worship is good or evil is a question of faith and opinion, but the disease of hero-worship with exaggerated notion is instrumental in encom-passing moral aberration.

Our appeal to the youths of India is to cogitate, scrutinise, study and realise the undiscovered avenues lying before and the intricate maze of labyrinth we are to pass through to reach our goal. Not to lose ourselves in volatile sentimentalism but to follow a clear cut path is our stern duty. Undeterred by.....unmoved by the bully and bluster of the Imperialist, unflinching in the justness of our cause we are to advance forward with accelerated speed to our final goal, fight with undiminished courage every danger and disaster confronting our step. What the youths require is not cringing obedience to authorities, not to be led to the valley of death by the self seekers, but to wage a fight against injustice, corruption, tyranny and above all the relentless campaign of repression and exploitation by the reactionaries. Youth is the fountain of humanity whence springs the rousing activity- the invigorating will which enriches by its flow the verdant idealism. Youth is immortal- Youth is perpetual. Times cannot age it. Changes cannot stale it. What India wants is not the Youth who will remain static at a strategic vantage ground to enjoy Dominion Status but man who will sacrifice themselves at the altar of proletarian revolution, to bring the message of liberty to the masses. Behold, young comrades, the maiden morn shows her crimson-coloured picture and the Sun of human emancipation will soon shine in its meridian splendour. Eternal life to the Young Comrades' League!

Saraswati Printing Press, Meerut.

House Search List.

The house (Office) of Lakshman Rao Kadam s/o Narain Rao Kadam was searched by me in presence of Lakshman Rao Kadam accused and Dr. Sarju Prasad and M. Ghulam Mohommad Head Drafts-man.

The following documents, books etc. are taken in possession :—

1. Booklet "Mehnat-Peshaon-Ko-Sandesh" ten taken possession of two.
2. Notices G. I. P. Ry. Union Twenty-two; taken two.
3. G. I. P. Ry. Men's Union Memorandum dated 17. 3. 29. one.
4. Letter from G. I. P. Ry. Men's Union Head Office, two leaves, dated 16. 3.
5. G. I. P. Ry. Employees General Union donation receipt books thirty-five; taken two.
6. Reception Committee invitation letters twenty-two; taken 2.
7. Modern India by R. Palme Du tt, One. (Book).
8. Young India, one book.
9. Hindi booklet 'Attempt to it or BURN YOURSELF ALIVE'. One.
10. "India and the next War" English book, one copy.
11. A letter No. O. IV. 1154 Dt. 20. 10. 28 & No. Lhs. 53 Dt. 19. 10. 28 from S. H. Jhabwala, Hon. Gen. Secretary, Bombay to Kadam, of Jhansi, One.
12. Collins' Indian Diary for 1928, one.
13. Proceedings of Bundelkhand Peasants and Workers Conference held on 28th and 29th Oct. '28 at Jhansi, ten leaves.
14. Congress Diary 1926, one.

(House residential)

Nothing incriminating found nor was anything taken in custody.

NOTE:—Nos. 1 to 6 were taken in possession in presence of Lakshman Rao Kadam and the rest in presence of Shanker Rao Kadam brother of L. R. Kadam.

Jagdish Shankar.

C. I. Jhansi.

20/3/29.

Sarju Pd. Dube.

Ghulam Mohommad.

D/-20/3/29.

Shankar Rao.

P. 288.

Two copies of a Hindi book called "Mehnat Peshaoon ko Sandesh", published by L. R. Kadam, Secretary, Railwaymen's Union, Jhansi.

P. 289.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE,

The Bundelkhand Peasants' & Workers' Conference.

Jhansi, 17. 10. 1928.

Dear Comrade,

The Bundelkhand Peasants' & Workers' Conference will be held here on 28th and 29th October 1928 under the presedentship of Comrade S. H. Jhabwala along with the U. P. Provincial Political Conference to be held under the Presidentship of Jawahar Lal Nehru.

The reception Committee therefore requests you to kindly grace the occasion with your presence.

Your faithfully,

L. N. Kadam,

General Secretary,

RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

P. 290.

— "Modern India", by R. Palme Dutt, published by Communist Party of Great Britain, 16 King Street, W. C. 2.

P. 291.

"India and the next War", by Miss Agnes Smedley, (Berlin, Germany), published by "The Kirti Office, Amritsar, India".

"UNION IS STRENGTH"

G. I. P. RAILWAYMEN'S UNION.

Shetye Buildings, Poibavdi, Parel.

BOMBAY No. 14.

No.

Dated

192

PRESIDENT:
F.J. GINWALA, M.A.
LL. B., M.L.C. (Solicitor)

Vice-Presidents:
B.F. BRADLEY, ESQ.
D.B. KULKARNI.
V.B. PURANDARE.

Hon. Gen. Secretary:
S.H. JHABVALA,
ESQ., B.A.

Organising Secretary:
K.N. JOGLEKAR,
ESQ. B.A.

HEAD OFFICE.

B O M B A Y .

BRANCHES.

Kalyan, Igatpuri,
Manmad, Bhusawal,
Wardha, Murtizapur,
Nagpur, Amla, Itarsi,
Khandwa, Bhopal,
Bina, Damoh, Mahoba
Jhansi, Jubbulpore,
Lonavla, P o o n a ,
Dhond, Sholapur and
Shahabad.

Bundlekhand Peasants & Workers' Conference.

Held on 28th & 29th Oct. '28.

At JHANSI

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
OF
MR. S.H. JHABVALA
OF BOMBAY.**

INTRODUCTION.

Comrades and brother delegates:—

I have to thank you for inviting me to preside over the deliberations of the Workers' and Peasants' conference of the Upper Provinces. The task before us is very great in view of the fact that not only are the workers and peasants all over the country passing

through a critical stage of transition in national politics, but also because our national politics itself is to-day so developed that it has to face a situation as one arising from the Simon Commission which is bent upon splitting the political ranks of our country. However if we the workers and peasants met in a spirit of harmony and deliberated cautiously leaving aside all petty considerations of self interest we are bound to play a very great part in the shaping of even the immediate politics of the land. The workers and peasants of the country are the real producers of the wealth of the land therefore their political well-being is a matter of great concern and it is because of this that I consider the present situation all over the country to be a thought awakening one. I trust you will all assist me in carrying through the business of our conference by mutual goodwill and hearty co-operation.

STARVING MILLIONS OF INDIANS.

Out of the 30 crores that India keeps on her bosom 28 crores actually live by tilling the fields and by following other industrial pursuits, but this vast mass of humanity is avowedly in a staggering plight owing to starvation and though for two hundred years nearly, British Government has established itself for the so called benefit of our countrymen, yet these 28 crores eat but once in a day or eat so insufficiently as to reduce their vitality. As for longevity of Indian life while 80 children out of every one thousand under one year die in London, 71 in New York, in India on an average the percentage is between 572 and 666. The same proportion may be lifted even above the age of one. The average longevity of an Indian as accepted from Government census is ranging somewhere between 25 and 27 while that in great Britain it ranges between 52 and 55. This low proportion is an index to the effect of great poverty existing among the masses. Dadabai Naoroji was the first fearless exponent of the poverty problem of India and since his time over 50 sessions of the Indian National Congress have sat yet beyond passing mere paper resolutions no effective measure has been taken even by such a powerful national institution for the redemption of the poverty of the land.

It is highly surprising that the tiller in the field has no corn in his granary, the weaver in the textile factory has no piece of clothing on his body and in actuality the real producer of this wealth is at a discount under the present imperialist system of Government. It clearly shows that under the garb of justice the present administration is based on injustice and therefore it is up to the masses of the country to take rigorous measures as soon as possible to overthrow the present iron and steel system and institute in its place a well-ordered and devised onewherein the 28 crores of starving people might get at least their due share of food and of clothing. When I turn my eyes to the distant quarters which I have visited

during my perigrinations in India I find that a poor digger with a family of 4 has to sustain himself on Rs. 5 a month, by filling heavy baskets of stones the poor woman in another quarter earns only 5 as, a day by collecting and lifting stones on the Railway lines; in a third instance children under 12 years are carried away by contractors of human labour—a class of organised slave drivers to labour for the belly by working 14 hours a day on a daily income of the magnificent sum of two and a half annas. Go about any where in the country, visit the rude cottages of the poor and you will find that all their property consists in a mere chattie holding water which is kindly given by Nature free of charge and pieces of wood which too are freely bestowed by mother Nature in the forests. Beyond that these 28 crores have nothing which they can call their own. It is for the redemption of these masses that we meet here to deliberate and Comrades, we shall not fail to evolve our conclusions by determining upon the fact that unless the present system of Government is soon terminated, these millions must starve and many must die.

WORKERS AND PEASANTS.

The cultivator community is under the tyranny of the land lords, the state rules and various other institutions all of whom have ground down the illiterate helpless mass to the last vestige of poverty due to a manipulated system of taxation. Again this population has been deprived of the village craft on one hand and introduction of foreign manufactured goods on the other. The nonco-operation movement of Mahatma Gandhi created a little stir among them in the non-payment of taxes to the oppressors and it became a catching and convenient theory for them, but unfortunately the movement was abandoned by the great leader at a time when the peasants could have secured freedom not only for themselves all over the land but for the whole country. That the peasantry can bend the present imperialistic Government to its knees by study self-sacrifice even to death could be evidenced from the heroic display of their sturdy spirit at Bardoli very recently. Bardoli has proved to the peasantry all over the country that only if they combined with a definite militant policy to guide them, they would soon find the day of redemption and would help in the establishment of another well ordered system of national progress and prosperity.

Workers and Railways, Docks, textile, mining and such other departments have to starve from insecurity of employment, victimisation etc. and they have through frequent ebullent eruptions given expression to their struggle, but here due to want of sustaining power and lack of funds to conduct their strike movements they have failed to keep up to their own against the heavy odds imposed upon them by the employers. In that behalf I shall

quote to you the instance of the great Mill strike in Bombay wherein one lakh and thirty thousand operatives have been involved. Though the operatives lost no less than 6 crores of Rupees and the owners another six crores of their own, yet the workers could not assert their demands owing to imperialistic system under which both were battling against each other. The Mill-owner put before the employee the report of the Tariff Board while the employee put before the owner his starving belly. The mill-owner was unable to bend the administration to the acceptance of 1 s. 6 d. ratio and at last he penalised the poor mill operatives by inflicting heavy cuts so that the wages of the starving men were still further reduced.

THE NATIONAL POSITION.

I feel sure that the present Government is a hopeless institution and so no salvation could be expected of it but the more pitiable fact is that our own nationals are another deterrent section in as much as they are fighting the battle of capitalism. We the workers, and peasants have to face a two-fold battle namely against British imperialism and another against Indian capitalism. The bourgeois element that looms so largely in the political arena of our country and takes to itself the honourific position of Swarajist or setting a Swaraj of capitalism amongst us is required to be fought against as much as British imperialism. The Swaraj that is desired to be ushered in by these capitalist Nationals, is the one that will earn for them large funds of wealth at the cost of labourers and add volumes of power at the loss of blood of the workers. The swaraj of the worker, I hasten to say, lies first in his economic freedom. Unless he gets a full morsel to eat and complete clothing to wear, easy hours of duty, and other conditions of a happy, life the Swaraj that is thrust upon him is not the kind of Government he wants.

INTERNATIONAL POSITION.

To

Workers and Peasants are an international institution among themselves and they form the greatest common brother-hood of struggling and suffering humanity all over the world and therefore they are a determining factor in the political and economic issues of the world. Indian workers, over 28 crores are numerically a very potent factor in the decision of international politics.

The capitalist states are now coming to an end and a relatively new position has been achieved so that with the help of the workers' revolution an important consequence is slowly, but steadily being arrived at, that war is created by capitalism, it favours capitalism and therefore it should no longer be in the midst of humanity to avoid international chaos. Though exploitation of labour and unemployment have increased since the war, international competition has increased and armaments are gradually being forced up,

yct . by concerted action the worker and the peasant community can take very restrictive measures to stop the threatening tide of war. Therefore they must aim at organisation of the Soviet Republics for a practical and scientific emancipation of the world and for socialistic re-construction of society. In international politics we have also to contend against a new class of imperialism known as Labour Imperialism, of the kind which is launched into being by Mr. Macdonald of Great Britain. In India too, these weak jointed and feeble kneed labour leaders form a deterrent force in the onward progress of revolutionary movement. The foreign capitalists are investing more and more of the capital in India for the total enslavement of labour and to them the Government and capitalists are giving all their support, but if labour came to its own and struggled in an organised manner, both the Government and capitalists could be foiled, in their endeavours. The agricultural commission, the increase in the number of co-operative Banks, Sukkur-Barrage Scheme, the Small Holdings Bill, the Public Safety Bill, the Trades Disputes Bill are some of the instances I can quote to you, by which capitalism is fortifying itself on the soil of India.

HOW TO COMBAT THE EVIL.

It is no use deploring our losses. They are writ large in universal poverty, prostitution, drink, famine, murder, theft, corruption, and all vices, human nature is prone to, they are the brood of capitalism. If India desires to be a haven of peace and prosperity, the old shackles must be broken and the millenium, for which our ancient Rishies sang in the Shatras, must be ushered by following, what Russia in the course of the last few years has marvellously achieved, dethroning the Czardom which was a collective fountain from which all the springs of imperialism flowed over the world. Indian workers are capable of giving freedom to the world. They are made of sterner stuff than any other class of workers in the world. The marvellous resistance offered by one lakh and fifty thousand of Bombay textile workers for six continuous months without any money with them and any saving in their usual times, with only a crumb of Russian help to back them up, shows that at a time the workers can offer Satyagraha without anything in their belly for months together to re-construct society and to re-organise Government. But if these very workers were helped by a little food in their belly they would form an excellent revolutionary basis for the establishment of an early independence in our country. In achieving such a revolution, I refuse to take any foreign assistance. India must help herself and though my heart goes out in gratitude to the Russian textile workers for their prompt help in the Bombay struggle, I feel ashamed to look upon my own countrymen not giving even one hundredth part of Moscovian help. I give warning to Indian lords and masters and middle classes that revolutionary

feelings are throbbing in the heart of the workers, they are to achieve the future salvation of this country and that therefore they must come to the rescue of the workers join hands with them and leaving off their superior Bramanic sentimentality, link their economic, political and social interests with those of the workers and peasants of India.

Comrades, I have not much faith in commissions, councils, and corporations. They have swallowed away our gold and given us stones instead. Also I do not much believe in our conferences and congresses, but I have a very great faith in the organisation of the workers and peasants. The frequent strikes all over the country are an index to the fact that there is great grievance among the masses. If a party of well organised individuals inspired with the ideas of self-sacrifice in the service of the workers and peasants were to organise themselves into a powerful central *All-India Organisation*., we can in a short time organise the 28 crores of workers into 21 different organisations of industrial classes like what Russia did 12 years ago. Each organisation can then be filled up with lakhs of workers. I assure you, the workers are ready to join these regiments of Unions, but organisers are I think seriously lacking in number and more than often insincere in their ideals and efforts. First of all there must be a central *All-India Party of Peasants and Workers*. It must have its branches spread all over the different provinces with provincial committees functioning dependent upon the constitution of the central party. Each provincial committee must have its own district committee and the constitution must be laid down on purely elective principles. This will help in the re-construction of the present congress committees which are to my mind very weak, and feeble organisations. Our central party must enforce mass demands upon the congress programme. We must also not hesitate to cultivate the political ideals of the workers and peasants for their question is not merely economic and social but also political. Our policy must be unequivocally militant for that will expunge false and selfish leaders from our ranks.

As for peasants among them the work is of a most difficult character. If our party is going to be the Workers and Peasants party, we must have peasants' Unions as well and for that we must enlist the co-operation of the youths of the land.

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

1. Abolition of forced labour.
2. Freedom from exploitation of money-lenders.
3. Formation of village Panchayats.
4. Freedom from the tyranny of land-lords.
5. Security of tenure.

FINAL WORD.

Comrades,

We are maligned as communists, extremists, revolutionaries, etc. I do not hesitate to cheerfully subscribe to all these attributes rolled into one. I have my support in a very valuable correspondence that appeared the other day in the "Times of India" from the pen of Sir Ebrahim Rahimdulla, the Ex-Leader of the Government party in the reformed councils, and the erst while chela of the great Bombay Nation Leader Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta. He has clearly challenged the Government for creating the spirit of revolution and communism by its continual insistence for repressive politics and economic measure such as opposition to nationalisation of land and industry, civilised existence of worker's share in the Government, an economic system for the peace and prosperity of the masses. If therefore the toiler in the factory and cultivator in the field cannot get his rightful share of good, due established justice, I for one will struggle till the blood in my body is reduced to water, for the highest principle of the Sastras boils in my veins that if I get a full loaf my neighbour must not sleep without it and that justice, equality, freedom, and peace which has been the vision of the great prophets of the past must prevail over this happy earth rendered unhappy by the present faulty organisations that have assumed for themselves all power.

“UNION IS STRENGTH”

G. I. P. RAILWAYMEN'S UNION.

PRESIDENT:

F. J. GINWALA, M.A.
LL. B., M.L.C. (Solicitor).

Vice-Presidents:

B. F. BRADLEY Esq.
D. B. KULKARNI.
V. B. PURANDARE.

Hon. Gen. Secretary:

S.H. JHABVALA, Esq. B.A.

Organising Secretary:

K.N. JOGLEKAR, Esq. B.A.

HEAD OFFICE:

B O M B A Y.

BRANCHES:

Kalyan. Igatpuri.
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Khandwa. Bhopal.
Bina. Damoh. Mahoba.
Jhansi. Jubbulpore.
Lonavla. Poona.
Dhond. Sholapur.
Shahabad.

SHETYE BUILDINGS, POITAVDI, PAREL.

No.

BOMBAY No. 14.

Dated.....192

At the end, Comrades, I have to make a fervent appeal to you to close up our ranks and if there are oppositionist elements amongst us they must be ruthlessly exposed and then expelled. Let each one of the leaders entitle himself to that august position only if he can command a Union of at least reasonably fair number which I would just now put down at 5000. Keeping in view how the Chinese people developed their revolution from the ranks of working classes let each leader cultivate a militant political policy in his followers. In so doing Congress help may be invited so that in the immediate future there will be a Congress Cuan Labour programme before the country. Having evolved a national guarantee we may have a wider out-look in the international sphere and must soon affiliate ourselves with the League against Imperialism and Colonial oppression. I consider this organisation to be a most fitting link between the European and Asiatic interests. In these international connections India is bound to emerge a most successful and competent revolutionary helping in the establishment of a happy millenium of Soviet Raj in the world.

LR.

S. H. Jhabwala.

List of articles seized from the room of Pt. Puran Chandra Joshi, M. A. of Holland Hall, Allahabad on the morning of March 20, 1929.

1. India's Problem and its solution by Manabendra Nath Roy.
2. Hundred Percent Indian by C. G. Shah.
3. Political Letters by Manabendra Nath Roy.
4. The Worker dated Friday, February 22, 1929.
5. Sunday Worker dated February 17, 1929.
6. Workers' Life dated Friday, February 22, 1929.
7. "Krantikari" dated 11. 3. 29.
8. "Piadah Muzdoor" dated 3. 3. 29 (4 copies).
9. "Payam Muzdoor" dated 10. 3. 29 (4 copies).
10. Typed letter (3 pages) dated 9. 3. 29. from Muzaffar Ahmed, 2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, to Comrade Joshi.
11. Registered cover, insured for Rs 50/- from J. N. Joshi, B. A. C. T. Headmaster G. H. School Etah, to Pt. Puran Chandra Joshi, M. A., with slip enclosed dated 12. 3. 29 signed by H. N. Joshi and two G. C. notes for Rs. 10/- (Nos. E/93 410775 and D/61 100033).

The above articles were recovered from underneath the bedding on the bed on which P. C. Joshi was sleeping.

12. Presidential Address of the First All-India Workers' & Peasants' Party Conference, Calcutta, December 21, 1928. Delivered by Comrade Sohan Singh Josh. (10 copies).
13. Two World Currents—Communism—Fascism—Mr. Bhupendranath, M. A. Ph. D. (11 copies).
14. Yellow Pamphlet entitled "The Trade Union Movement". Thesis presented to the First All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference, December 1928 (37 copies).
15. Yellow Pamphlet entitled "Political Resolution" (23 copies).

16. Urdu translation of No. 15 (Entitled Syasi Tajawiz jo Pahle All India Mazdoor Kisan Party Conference men pesh ki gai) (109 copies).
17. Yellow pamphlet entitled "Workers & Peasants' Party Principles & Policy. Thesis submitted to the First All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference. December, 1928. (49 copies).
18. Pad of correspondence forms headed "U. P. & Delhi Workers' & Peasants' Party, Allahabad.
19. Agarwala's Indian Pocket Diary for 1923, with "Puran Chandra Joshi" on the fly-leaf.
20. Hindi letter from "Kranti Kari Karyalay" Jhansi dated 14. 3. 29 signed by Krishna Gopal Sharma—with envelope addressed to P. C. Joshi, M. A., stamped "Kranti Kari office Jhansi and postmark of Jhansi City dated 14. 3. 29.
21. Bengali story called "Krishaker Katha" presented to Mr. Puran C. Joshi by Aftab Ali on 6. 7. 28.
22. The Allahabad Youth League Weekly Bulletin No. 5 dated March 14, 1929 (5 copies).
23. Book "The First time - in History" by Anna Louise Strong with "To Mrs. Sinha From Bett Turner" on fly-leaf.
24. Book "The Two Internationals" by R. Palme Dutt.
25. Registered envelope. Insured for Rs. 60/- addressed to Pt. Purna Chandra Joshi, M. A. and sent by H. N. Joshi B. A. C. T. Headmaster G. H. S. Etah,, Postmark on stamp dated March 1, 1929.
26. Later dated Nov. 13, 1928. from General Trades Association Benares City, addressed to P. C. Joshi, Esqr. with envelope addressed to P. C. Joshi Esqr.
27. Letter dated 1. 3. 29, from H. N. Joshi, G. H. S. Etah to "My dear Puran".
28. "Krantikari" dated 17. 11. 28.
29. Do. ,, 24. 11. 28.
30. Do. ,, 1. 12. 28.
31. Do. ,, 4. 1. 29.
32. Do. ,, 5. 1. 29.

33. "Krantikari" dated 14. 1. 29. (two Copies).
34. Do. ,, 21. 1. 29.
35. Do. ,, 11. 2. 29.
36. Do. ,, 18. 2. 29.
37. Envelope addressed to Mr. P. C. Joshi containing two letters in English dated 29. 10. 28. and 6. 11, 28 from Muzaffar Ahmed and addressed to Joshi.
38. Presidential Address of the First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference. Calcutta, December, 21, 1928 delivered by Comradé Sohan Singh Josh.
39. Four sheets of Hindi notes by Joshi of Organization of Workers' and Peasants' Party.
40. Manuscript notes by Joshi on Trotsky's Book "Towards Socialism or Capitalism" (8 sheets).
41. Copy of Newspaper "Kamgar Uday" dated 30. 11. 24.
42. Extracts in Hindi by Joshi from the British Trades Union Delegation's Book on Russia (4 sheets).
43. Envelope addressed to P. C. Joshi, Esqr., containing type letter (2 pages) from Bishwanath Mukerji dated Gorakhpur 1-11-28, addressed to P. C. Joshi.
44. File of papers (26 sheets) regarding Mazdoor Kishan Sammelan Meerut.
45. Draft telegram addressed to Kedarnath Saigal, Lahore, from P. C. Joshi.
46. Telegraphic M. O. for Rs. 60/- addressed to Kedar Nath Saigal, Lahore, by P. C. Joshi.
47. Cover addressed to Mr. P. C. Joshi containing posters regarding the 5th Anniversary of Lenin's death (27th posters).
48. Note block of 4 leaves containing addresses and name of "P. C. Joshi" on the back.
49. Printed forms for enrolment in Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal. (19 forms).
50. Visiting card of Mr. Aftab Ally, general Secretary, National Seamen's Union.

51. Manuscript note on Organisation of League of Young comrades of U. P.
52. Letter dated 2-11-28 from D. N. Kadam, Gudri Bazar, Jhansi to "My dear Joshi".
53. Printed Hindi address of Jhabwala at the Bundhelkhand Kishan Muzdoor conference dated October, 28 and 29, 1928.
54. Writing blocks, complete, of paper headed "U. P. and Delhi Workers' and Peasants' Party Allahabad". (9 blocks).
55. One bundle of enrolment forms in English in the League of Young Comrades of U.P. and Delhi, Allahabad.
56. As for No. 55 (in Hindi).
57. Yellow receipt books Nos. 4-20 for subscriptions to League of Young Comrades of U. P. and Delhi (unused).
58. Ditto in Hindi Nos. 1-20 (unused).
59. A Globe Rapid Binder containing
 - (1) typed Thesis on the revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi-colonies (10 pages).
 - (2) typed address dated 2-12-28 to the All India Conference of Workers' and Peasants' Parties from the Executive Committee of the Communist International (10 pages).
 - (3) typed report of First All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference (11 pages).
60. Letter (Private and confidential) dated February, 14, 1929, from Calcutta addressed to "My dear Joshi and signed "Aftab Ali".
61. Envelope addressed in Hindi to Sri Puran Chand Joshi and containing a letter dated 3. 1. 29 from Javanand Shukla and an enrolment form.
62. Letter dated 21. 2. 29 from Youth League, Gorakhpur addressed to P. C. Joshi and signed by Gupta Misra (2 sheets).
63. Bill No. 6902 from Book Company Ltd. Calcutta addressed to P. C. Joshi for Rs. 11/11/-.
64. Weekly Bulletin No. 2 dated 21. 2. 29 of the Allahabad Youth League with attached leaflet No. 1.

65. Bulletin No. 3 dated Feb. 28, 1929, of Allahabad Youth League (3 sheets).
66. Bulletin No. 4 dated March 7, 1929, of Allahabad Youth League with two attached leaflets entitled "Ruthless Relentless" and "Youths of Bombay" (4 sheets).
67. Envelope addressed to Mr. P. C. Joshi containing typed communication from "Bukhar, Karachi" entitled "The Immediate Tasks of the Communists" (2 typed sheets).
68. Letter dated 16. 2. 29 addressed to "My dear Puran and signed by "Shyamanandan Sahaya' alias Bacha).
69. Letter dated 22. 1. 29 from Hindu University Benares addressed to "Dear Comrade" and signed by "Maheshwary.
70. Letter dated 31. 1. 29 addressed to "Dear Comrade Joshi" and signed by "Shaukat Usmani".
71. Memorandum dated 26. 11. 28 from D. B. Taraporevala and sons with a list of Books.
72. Envelope addressed to R. D. Bharadwaj, Esqr., Secretary Allahabad Youth League, 125, New Hostel, Allahabad containing two copies of Circular No. 2 of All India Youth Congress, entitled "Mis-rule Day" on Feb. 13.
73. Letter dated 2. 1. 29 in Hindi from Krishna Gopal Sharma, Jhansi.
74. Draft rules re. organisation.
75. Telegram addressed to P. Jawahir Lal Nehru from Joglekar stamped 13. 10. 28.
76. Telegram stamped 15. 10. 28 addressed to President Labourers and Farmers Conference, Meerut, from Arjun Lal Sethi (2 sheets).
77. Letter dated 29. 11. 28 signed "Laxmi Narayan Manager".
78. Bill No. 4164 dated 24. 11. 28 of Book Company Ltd. for 27/15/—,
79. Telegram No. 00187 to Puran Chand Joshi from Kedar-nath Saigal dated 27. 2. 29.
80. Letter dated 27. 11. 28 addressed to "My dear Comrade Joshi," from Muzaffar Ahmed.

81. Letter dated 25. 11. 28 from Gudri Bazar Jhansi addressed to "My dear Joshi" and signed by "Kadam."
82. List of books (3 Pages).
83. Cover addressed to Mr. P. C. Joshi M. A., containing a letter dated January 14, 1929, addressed to P. C. Joshi and signed by Muzaffar Ahmed (2 sheets)
84. Pamphlets in Urdu (7) of Kirti Kishan Party Punjab, August 1928 by Sohan Singh Joshi.
85. Commencement of Hindi Translation of McSweeny's "Principles of Freedom"
86. Draft article on " The Trade Disputes Bill" to the Editor Pioneer signed by P.C. Joshi (2 sheets).
87. Copy (typed) of resolution passed at meeting of Youths of Allahabad.
88. Letter dated November 29, 1928, addressed to P.C. Joshi and signed by C.P. Dutt.
89. Addresser entitled "The role of the Congress" (8 sheets)
90. Bill dated 12. 12. 28 from Matribhumi Printing house Jhansi, for Rs. 21/10/—
91. "Karant Kari" dated 25.2.29.
92. "Karant Kari" dated 4. 3. 29.
93. Manifesto of the Workers' and Peasants' Party to the Indian National Congress, Madras, December 1927.
94. 36 notices of Resolutions passed at Mazdoor Kisan Sammelan .
95. Book "A call to action" (3 copies, one bearing the name of Brij mohan Mukherji).
96. Paper book entitled "Peshawer to Moscow" by Shaukat Usmani.
97. Book with red paper cover entitled "Hell Found" by S.A. Dange.
98. Letter dated October 10, 1928, addressed to "Dear Mr. Joshi" and signed by "A. Ally" (2 sheets)
99. Victory Diary of 1925.

too. Seven copies of a notice to Pahari gentlemen to hear
talks on "Khadi"
Dated March 20, 1929.

Two witnesses Sd/- Illegible.

20/3

Sd/- Sant Bux Ray.

20/3/29

Two Sub Inspectors. Sd/- Illegible.

20/3/29.

Sd/- Illegible. 20/3/29.

P. 296.

"India's Problem and Its Solution" by Manabendra
Nath Roy.

P. 297.

"Political Letters" by Manabendra Nath Roy. Published
by the Vanguard Bookshop, Zurich, 1924.

P. 298.

"The Worker", vol. 3, No. 24, dated 22-2-29.

P. 299.

"Sunday worker", No. 206 dated 17-2-29.

P. 300.

"Workers Life" dated 22-2-29 No. 109.

P. 301.

"Krantikari" dated 11-3-29.

P. 302.

"Pyan Mazdoor" dated 3-3-29 (4 copies).

P. 303.

"Pyam Mazdoor" dated 10.3.29 (4 copies).

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. Almost 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 Narayan's letter forwarded by you. I am sorry that I can not 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 mass 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 scandalously 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 them 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 cannot 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. Jawaharlal 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 cannot bother our heads for what Jawahirlal might be thinking about us.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally,
Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 305.

Ten copies (English) of Sohan Singh Josh's Presidential Address of the First All-India W's & P's. Party, Conference, Calcutta, December 21st, 1928.

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THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

Thesis presented to the First All India

Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference.

December, 1928.

(1) The Trade Unions, which arise spontaneously from the conditions of modern industrialism, have as their primary function to fight for the immediate needs of the working class, that is to raise their standard of life. In the course of the Trade Union struggle, the need is felt for the entry of the working class into the political field, and eventually for it to take direct political action with revolutionary aims. The necessity then arises for the political organ of the working class, which takes the leading part in its political struggles. The importance of the Trade Unions in the political sphere lies in the fact that they are a means of preparing the workers for political action, and in that they are the basic mass organisations of the workers, which can rally even the relatively backward sections to take part in the struggle in an organised way.

(2) For the purpose of conducting the economic struggle, the best type of organisation for the Trade Union movement is Industrial Unionism, a plan of organisation in which all the workers of each industry are in one Union, covering the whole country. Industrial Unionism is opposed on the one hand to division of the workers by craft, by locality, or by employment etc., and on the other hand to organisation of the workers into multiple Unions, which necessarily lack complete unity of interest. Under this system a number of borderline cases occur, which have to be settled on their individual merits. And for certain other groups of workers, owing to special circumstances, such as separation of centres by long distances, or as in the case of casual workers who drift from one occupation to another, etc., etc., organisation may have to be conducted on other principles. But generally for the great majority of workers, the system of Industrial Unionism should be observed.

The basis of the Union is its branches. No Union has a genuine existence unless its members are all organised in branches, in which they meet regularly and frequently, and discuss and decide the Union policy. Branches should be established, preferably according to the place of work, but if necessary according to the place of residence of the members, and in such a way that all members have easy access to one branch. Branch committees should be established, but primarily for the conduct of

routine business. So far as possible all questions of policy, elections of representatives delegates etc., should be decided by branch meetings.

In addition to branches, there should be set up where possible factory committees, whose function it is to lead the struggle of the workers at the most vital point within the place of work, by voicing complaints and rallying support for their redress, leading a campaign against non-unionism, etc., The committees should be representative of all sections etc., of the workers, and should have special representation on branch committees.

All Unions should have a suitable system of district or provincial committees and meetings, and a central committee really representing the rank and file, but the effort must be to keep the organisation at once democratic and capable of rapid action, by providing an effective method of electing and recalling representatives from the branches.

(3) The Trade Union movement as a whole must be strongly bound together, for dealing with the increasingly numerous and important matters in which the interests of the whole movement are affected. For this purpose all Unions should affiliate to the Trade Union Congress, which must be made a strong and active body. Its Executive Council should be of such a size that meeting is possible at frequent intervals, and it should be endowed with powers sufficient to enable it to set as the real centre and controller of the movement. In addition in the Provinces the local federations of Unions should be built up to include all the Trade Unionists in their area. And in all industrial towns Trades Councils should be established. They are even more important organisations than the district or provincial federations, as they are in closer contact with the workers. Consisting of the representatives of all the organised workers in a town or small industrial area, they are in a position to meet frequently and to take a really active part in the struggles of the united working class.

In addition to the organisation of the Unions as a whole into a united body, there is a place for special federations or joint committee e.g. among all transport Unions, for the purpose of increasing the effectiveness of direct action.

(4) The economic policy of the Unions can only be one of unremitting aggression. A continued fight must be waged in all industries for the improvement of the fundamental condition, wages and hours principally of the workers. This does not mean that other matters, such as enforcement of Factory legislation, the Compensation Act, etc., should be neglected. But it means that the essential plank in the programme on which the workers are organised is the

demand for substantial improvements. For each industry a comprehensive programme should be worked out, in which these demands take a prominent place, and the workers asked to unite to enforce the programme. If necessary the workers must be restrained from taking too hasty action, without sufficient resources and solidarity to carry through the struggle properly, but when preparations are sufficient, action must be taken.

The policy of industrial peace, which has proved so ruinous even in prosperous and well-organised countries, must be definitely thrust out of the Indian Trade Union movement. It is practising gross deception upon the workers to tell them, as many leaders do, that the object of Trade Unionism is to preserve peaceful relations between employers and employed. The object of Trade Unionism is to fight employers for improvements.

Many Trade Union leaders claim, sometimes as a result of bitter experience, that the policy of strike is unwise, as strike usually fail. This utterly defeatist view cannot be accepted. Strikes can win if properly organised. And no strike, in spite of any immediately disastrous result it may have, can be looked upon as a loss. Its lessons to those who take part, and to the working class generally, must be utilised to the advantage of the movement.

Already the spirit and understanding of the workers has outstripped the miserable state of their organisation. The workers are now prepared to realise that if small strikes fail, they must have big strikes. The general strike is an extremely powerful weapon, which the Trade Union movement must not shrink from using.

(5) The strike, including the general strike, can also be used for political purposes, and on suitable occasions, if sufficient preparation is made, must be put into effect. The disastrous failure of the Calcutta Tramway Workers, political strike on February 3, 1928, must not be allowed to stand in the way. The same principle is true of the political as of the economic strike, that if small strikes fail, big strikes must be organised.

An occasion on which the political general strike is called for is an attack upon the Trade Union movement as a whole, such as is made in the Trade Disputes Bill. The Trade Disputes Bill involves three main proposals: (1) to establish courts of inquiry and conciliation boards on the occasion of disputes. This proposal must be fought, not merely on grounds of detail, but on principle. The bourgeois schools of Labour leaders have extended a partial welcome to it. This is utterly wrong. The procedure of inquiry and conciliation by supposedly impartial persons can only have the effect of weakening the workers, class-spirit and solidarity. It tends to minimise the importance of

organised strength and makes the workers depend upon the justice of their case from bourgeois point of view and the sympathy of bourgeois conciliators for their poverty. If this, or similar legislation such as is proposed by certain labour leader, is passed, it will have a most pernicious effect upon the movement. (2) The second proposal, to prevent all strikes in Railways, Posts, Telegraphs, etc, and (3) to prevent sympathetic and political strikes, are sheer repression, and must be fought with all the strength at the disposal of labour.

In reply to this attack, increased efforts must be made to achieve the real unity of the movement, by establishing and strengthening the inter-union organisations, especially the Trades Councils, and carrying a campaign for unity among the rival unions, and for 100 per cent organisation among the workers. At the same time the slogan of a general strike of protest must be put forward, and the opportunity used to make the workers familiar with the political general strike.

(6) The past year has been rich in experience for the Trade Union movement. The workers, in many cases in spite of the opposition of leaders, or the absence of any organisation, have spontaneously initiated an aggressive policy. It is necessary in future to assist to the utmost to develop this movement, and to give all possible help to the expression of the deep-rooted desire of the workers for improvements.

The principal obstacles to a forward policy by the Trade Union movement at present are the poverty of organisation, the multiplicity of Unions, and the dominance of reactionary leaders. To overcome these difficulties several points of policy must be observed (a) The workers of all industries must be rallied by bold programmes of demands. (b) The Unions must be made live organisations, in which branch meetings are regularly held, and the members really control. (c) In industries where the workers are led by reactionary leaders, propaganda must be carried to the workers directly, who must be encouraged to form a left wing, to press upon the Union their demands and policy of action, and democratic methods in the Union organisation. (d) In cases where there are reactionary and militant Unions side by side, the policy united front must be adopted. This policy is not one of subordination to reactionary leaders, but is a means of defeating them. Both the Union as such and the workers must be approached with the proposal of joint action for the attainment of the suggested programme. As a sequel to the joint action, or the refusal of joint action, the proposal of unity must be brought forward. Unity of the Unions can only be obtained, against the will of the reactionary leaders, if there is established solidarity in action of the members.

Both for the purpose of the purely economic struggles, and for the larger purposes of the Trade Union movement also, the establishment of democracy within the Unions is a most necessary matter. The value of the Unions, as a training ground in politics for the workers, is almost entirely lost in the Trade Union movement as it exists to-day. Genuine workers' leaders cannot come forward unless they have a thorough education in the conduct of their Union affairs. Improvement is to be obtained not only by alternation of constitutions but by continuous pressure from the left wing for the holding of regular branch and general meetings, the appointment of workers to important official positions, the election of all officials and delegates by workers' meetings, the proper reporting of committees and delegates, etc. The establishment of a democratic regime in the Unions is a most urgent task.

(7) The Workers' and Peasants' Party, as the chief organised radical group in the country, has a special responsibility towards the Trade Union movement. Its contact with the movement is through its affiliated Unions, and through its individual members who are also members of Unions. Its object is to organise a federation of Trade Unions, with Peasants' and other organisations, primarily for the purpose of a political struggle for the independence of the country but also for the general improvement of the position of the masses. It can therefore act as a leading organ of the workers' struggle, and can ask the workers to co-operate with it in pressing for a radical policy. Further in the mass struggle for independence the organised workers will take a decisive leading part. It is therefore the duty of the party to devote the maximum possible energy and time to the work of organising the workers. This is to be done by (1) organising the unorganised workers with the programme here given. (2) affiliating Unions to Party. (3) Fighting within the existing Unions for a radical policy and improved organisation, and forming left-wing groups within them: (4) Setting up a national left-wing organisation of Unions and groups, including Unions not affiliated to the party.

All Party provincial committees and branches must set up a Labour sub-committee member as its secretary which in co-operation with the central Labour sub-committee shall supervise the work of the Party members within the Unions. The membership of the party must be made up to a very much larger extent of workers, and the Young Comrades' League must be assisted to recruit and get better contact with workers. The attention of the Party generally must be concentrated far more on Trade Unions activities, and the rule enforced which makes it compulsory on all members other than students to be members of workers' or peasants' organisation. The central Labour sub-committee must meet and in consultation with representatives from all centres lay down concrete plans of work in the Trade Union movement.

The Trade Union movement must also take a clear line in the international sphere. The move on the part of right-wing to affiliate Trade Union Congress to the I. F. T. U. (Amsterdam) must be fought by all possible means, as also the tendency of individual Unions to affiliate to the international Trade secretariat of the I. F. T. U. On the contrary the Trade Union Congress must affiliate with the R. I. L. U. (Moscow) It is also desirable that the Trade Union Congress is affiliated to the anti-imperialist "Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat" (Shanghai) and not to the "Pan-Asiatic Federation of labour which is being instituted by the most reactionary of the Japanese Trade Union. The T. U. C. should also be affiliated to the League against Imperialism.

THE SAOGAT PRESS, 11 WELLESLEY STREET, CALCUTTA.

23 copies of .—

POLITICAL RESOLUTION.

The political situation in the past year, while conforming generally to the lines described a year ago, has undergone important developments. The following are its main features.

(1) continuance of the firm policy of Imperialism towards the bourgeois nationalist movement, and increasingly reactionary attitude towards the masses.

(2) consequent retreat of almost all parties of the bourgeoisie, including the Congress, in support of a timid liberal programme of constitutional demands, and communal reconciliation.

(3) considerable increase in the strength and militancy of the mass movement, workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie.

(4) an effort on the part of a wing of the bourgeoisie to threaten Imperialism with the mass movement, and at the same time to regain the control over the petty bourgeoisie and the masses which they are losing.

1. The provocative and apparently stupid policy of British Imperialism is dictated by the increasing difficulty of its position in the world. The approach of war, and the continued economic decline of Great Britain, render it imperative for Imperialism to keep its political control and economic predominance in India undisturbed. But this is becoming increasingly difficult, as the shortage of an exportable surplus of British capital tends to deprive the British interests of an important weapon used in maintaining their economic leadership. Increasing recourse must therefore be had to the political weapon, and the British political dictatorship has been used to force through the Rupee ratio, the all-British Commission on Constitutional Reforms, etc., and is expected to enforce the Reserve Bank Bill in spite of the strenuous opposition of practically the whole forces of the bourgeoisie.

At the same time the appointment of the Butler Committee and the statements of the leading loyalist Princes show that serious steps are being taken by Imperialism to safeguard its position by strengthening its hold on the States and increasing their military efficiency.

But the difficulties of British Imperialism also determine that its fundamental economic and political line of policy in India shall be maintained. It is British Imperialist policy to industrialise

India, in cooperation with Indian capital, though in such a way that British predominance is maintained. The policy of concessions is still pursued, as is shown by the continued grant of tariffs to predominantly Indian firms and industries. Similarly the basic policy of compromise with the Indian bourgeoisie on the political field is to be maintained, and even concessions to be granted, provided that effective British control is absolutely secure. Thus the Memorandum to the Simon Commission of the European Association suggests an increase in the nominated and Government seats in the Assembly, addition to the powers of the Provincial Legislatures, but no widening of the franchise, some concessions to the bourgeoisie—none to the masses—but increase in the power of British control at the centre. Further, the respectful attitude of officials and of all responsible sections of the Anglo-Indian and British imperialist press towards the Nehru Report, testifies to an anxiety to compromise. The unexpected aggressiveness of imperialism does not therefore imply a fundamental change in its policy towards the Indian bourgeoisie, but only a partial and probably temporary modification. The essential line of policy remains the same.

2. Before the firmness of the Government the bourgeoisie have again retreated. Their natural indignation and the pressure of the masses after the appointment of the Simon Commission drove them towards an uncompromising attitude, in the case of the Congress leaders to support of the Independence Resolution and the approval of hartals on the arrival of the Commission. But latter, when the All Parties Conference was convened, and the bourgeois left wing had to choose between the masses and their class, they chose the latter. The attitude of the Government impressed many with the fact that nothing was to be gained by declamation or threat. There was left no alternative but a united front of the bourgeoisie, on the basis of practical constitutional possibilities. All the bourgeois Parties, under the same compulsion, dropped their political and communal differences, and put forward a reasonable proposal for compromise with imperialism in the Nehru Report.

The Nehru Report, as accepted by the All Parties Conference, makes the following principal demands:—(1) complete responsibility for an Indian Parliament elected by universal suffrage, in regard to internal affairs, including finance, customs, taxation etc. (2) rights of the individual of a bourgeois democratic type, including a special safeguard of private property rights, but including also some freedom for Trade Union organisation, etc.

In return it concedes: (1) foreign affairs to be conducted on the same basis as those of the Dominions. (2) Executive powers nominally vested in the king, acting through nominated Governor-General and Governors. (3) no discrimination against British financial, commercial and industrial interests. (4) the armed forces

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In return it concedes: (1) foreign affairs to be conducted on the same basis as those of the Dominions. (2) Executive powers nominally vested in the king, acting through nominated Governor-General and Governors. (3) no discrimination against British financial, commercial and industrial interests. (4) the armed forces

to be under the control of a committee consisting partly of ministers and partly of British officers. (5) existing pay etc. of present civil and other officers to be guaranteed, their resignation voluntary. (6) Indian states remain under their present regime, but in relations with the India Government.

The masses thus enter into the programme hardly at all. In the States they are left at the mercy of the Princes. In British India they are given the vote, personal rights, a certain protection for Trade Unions, primary education, some vaguely-worded promises in regard to economic improvement, and security of tenure of land, the landlord system being otherwise retained.

The Report is entirely a bourgeois-democratic scheme, of a not very advanced type, and in relation to imperialism constitutes almost the minimum which the Indian bourgeoisie could demand. Its acceptance means a decisive retreat on the part of the Congress leaders from the position taken by them a year before, and represents a consolidation of the whole bourgeois class, on the basis of reconciliation of minor differences, the complete acceptance of imperialism and a minimum programme of demands, into a single reactionary bloc, completely divorced from the masses.

The retreat of the bourgeoisie from its position of would-be leader of the masses, is shown also by: (1) its betrayal of the Bardoli peasants' resistance to increase of assessment. (2) its practical neglect of and even opposition to the numerous mass workers' strikes which have occurred this year. (3) the half hearted and formal opposition expressed to the extremely dangerous and reactionary Trade Disputes Bill. (4) the conduct of the Bengal Congress Council party in connection with the Bengal Tenancy Law Amendment Bill, in which on practically every issue they supported the zemindars against the cultivators, frequently voting with the Government.

3. While the bourgeoisie as a whole have been retreating, the masses, including a large section of the petty. Bourgeoisie, have been making noteworthy advance. The workers' movement, which has been rising slowly for some time, has reached a level of activity and militancy which has not been attained for six or seven years past. Most disputes have been characterised by (1) extreme obstinacy and prolongation; the resort by the capitalist to all devices of intimidation and deceit to break the workers' strength, which however has in most cases been maintained with remarkable courage and endurance. (2) the active participation of the state forces on the capitalist side; wholesale arrests, prohibition of meetings; forcible entry into workers' houses, beating, etc. (3) a consequent tendency in some cases for the workers to emancipate themselves from the ideology of the old-style bourgeois leaders, and to acquire

class-consciousness and an attitude of struggle against both the employer and the state. The political consciousness of the leading sections of the workers has substantially increased. And at the same time the base of the movement is broadening; several disputes have occurred in previously unorganised industries.

The basic conditions which bring about this movement, viz. trade depression and an employers' offensive, rising prices, and a gradual spread of knowledge of the workers' movement and of revolutionary ideas, continue to operate. In spite therefore of some setbacks and local demoralisation, the progress of the movement is likely to go on without serious intermission for some time.

There has also been a less marked, but important, advance in the peasants' movement. Actual campaigns against landlords or Government have occurred or are threatened from Bombay, Madras, U. P. and Bengal; mostly defensive, but one or two actually taking the offensive; while several workers' and Peasants' Conferences have been held in different Provinces.

Some sections of the petty bourgeoisie have also manifested increased activity, as is shown by the continued growth and activity of the Youth movement, the enthusiastic acceptance almost everywhere in the Youth organisations and in Congress meetings etc., of the slogan of Independence, and the tendency, given expression, though not yet much realised in practice to take up mass organisation.

In response to the growth of the mass movement, especially of its leading section, the workers, the Government, in addition to its practical repressive measures, has taken serious steps. It has brought forward a Trade Disputes bill, of which the most important proposals are to penalise heavily all strikes with a political complexion, and to prevent all strikes in railways and other services, thus cutting off from the movement its largest and hitherto most active and best organised section. Further, by means of the Public Safety Bill, further steps are taken to cut the feeble connection between the International revolutionary labour movement and the Indian workers. In addition increased efforts are being made through the I. F. T. U. and the British Trades Union Congress to support, and strengthen the reactionary leaders of the Unions.

4. The publication of the Nehru Report, which by its frankness and moderation revealed the true nature and aims of bourgeois nationalism, brought about a crisis within the Congress ranks. The hypocrisy of the bourgeois nationalist propaganda for some time past, especially of its support of complete independence, was very clearly shown. It was feared that the

petty-bourgeoisie, whose enthusiasm has been greatly roused by the slogan of independence, withdraw would support in disgust. At the same time the rapid rise of the workers' movement impressed many with its power, and with its danger for the bourgeoisie. It was clearly seen to be emancipating itself from the control of the old type of moderate bourgeois labour leader.

Accordingly the Independence for India League was launched, and rapidly found support among the bourgeois politicians, although its policy, not yet formulated in detail, must mean nothing short of mass revolution if taken seriously. There was even some talk of revolution and of socialism. The possibility arose of a serious breach in the ranks of the bourgeoisie if such wild talk were allowed to continue, even if only for purposes of demonstration, before the masses and the petty bourgeoisie, whose psychology it fitted so well. A halt was therefore called by the Bengal group, who published independently and in advance of the general body, a suggested programme clearly with the object of forcing the hand of the All-India League, and confining Independence propaganda to harmless bourgeois lines.

The programme and manifesto published by the Bengal Independence for India League, while using phrases such as "economic emancipation," "removal of economic inequalities," and "rousing the masses," contains nothing totally unacceptable to the more moderate wing of the bourgeoisie. The section on political democracy contains nothing but the demand for complete independence, and that on social democracy familiar items of social reform propaganda. The economic demands include, for workers, the eight hour day for factory workers, unemployment pay, sickness insurance, pensions, etc., and control of the rate of interest on loans and supply of cheap credit by cooperative institutions. In connection with industry it is proposed to nationalise the key industries, railways, shipping and air services, to introduce compulsory arbitration, profit sharing, and labour participation in management. Taxation on private capital, including inheritance duties are also proposed.

This is a programme not intended to rouse the revolutionary energy of the masses in pursuit of their economic demands, but is calculated to bring Indian industrialism into line with modern bourgeois practice, including its methods of keeping the workers under control. It is essentially a programme for the bourgeoisie, in which items are included not as demands by the workers, but as promises of what will be done for them by the bourgeoisie when bourgeois independence is established, so that the independent workers' movement may be held in check. In particular it has no revolutionary significance at all.

Even more reactionary is the programme in connection with the land, in which the chief items are annulment of agricultural indebtedness and abolition of land-lordism, by indemnification. This

item provides a very clear indication that the independence League intends no break with the Congress, which in Bengal is notoriously influenced by landowning interest, but is on the contrary more in fundamental agreement with the general line of Congress policy.

The unreal and hypocritical character of the programme is perhaps most definitely revealed by the fact that throughout there is not a word mentioned of the method by which the aims are to be achieved.

The programme is quite in line in its counter-revolutionary character with the usual propaganda of its leaders (cf. the Presidential Speech of Mr. S. C. Bose at the Maharashtra Provincial Conference, 1928, in which the class-struggle is definitely opposed), and with their conduct in connection with labour disputes. In more than one strike the efforts of the Independence League leaders have been directed towards stopping the strikes in the interests of a national industry. Some leaders of this school do not hesitate to avow themselves Fascists.

Although the Bengal League represents a moderate wing in relation to some other sections, the nature of the League as a whole is fundamentally the same. This is shown by. (1) The personnel of the leading groups, the members of the All Parties Conference who signed the initial manifesto, and the decision to make the League a wing of the National Congress only. No section or group which is loyal to Congress principles can really lead the masses. Congress aims are nationalist, and opposed the class struggle. The mass movement can only grow by waging the class struggle. To confine the League membership to Congress members means in effect to exclude the masses. (2) The action of most of the members in supporting simultaneously the Independence League and the Nehru Report "except for Dominion Status". The whole Report depends upon Dominion Status, the is, compromise with Imperialism, as its basis, and its provision, are quite incompatible with any attainable independence. (3) the repeated hint that if Independence is advocated, Dominion Status may be granted as a compromise. (4) The failure of almost all the propagandists of the League to treat the matter seriously. They appear to think that a mere sentiment in favour of independence is sufficient qualification for membership of the League, and that the propaganda of this sentiment is its whole work. The practical revolutionary implications of independence are neglected almost entirely.

The Independence for India League is thus to be looked upon as the resultant of different tendencies: (1) a hesitating and as yet confused move on the part of a section of the petty bourgeoisie towards a revolutionary policy, with perhaps on the part of some the idea of exploiting the revolutionary mass movement for the attainment of independence for the middle classes. (2) An attempt by a

section of the bourgeoisie to extort concessions from imperialism by threatening it with a movement for independence among the middle classes and the masses. (3) An attempt by a section of the bourgeoisie to regain that control over the mass movement and the petty bourgeoisie which the increasingly reactionary attitude of the bourgeois class as whole, and of the bourgeois labour leaders, is causing it to lose.

In conditions of rising mass movement, the Workers' and Peasants' Party has (1) to assist the growth of the movement to the utmost, (2) to clarify its very confused ideas, and (3) to improve its organisation, especially that of the working class vanguard of the movement, and to widen strengthen the Party.

For the first purpose it is necessary to establish united front with all organisations which tend to increase the momentum of the movement, whether of the workers, of the peasants or of the petty bourgeoisie. But for the remaining purposes it is essential to insist more strongly than has been done previously upon the independent role of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, as the only organisation which has a correct policy and can unite and lead all the mass revolutionary forces of the country. The party can be content no longer to act primarily as a section or wing of another organisation. It is the only genuine representative of the the rising mass movement.

The developments of the past year bring the relations between the Workers' and Peasants' Party on the one hand, and the National Congress with its Independence wing on the other, to a new stage. The gradual divergence between the masses and the bourgeoisie, which had been making itself manifest for some years past, has sharpened decisively. The bourgeoisie as a whole has retreated, and that section which has not done so, maintains its advanced position more and more obviously for tactical reasons only. On the other hand the masses have advanced considerably. The appropriate expression of the old relations between the movements, was that the Workers' and Peasants' party constituted itself a left wing of the national movement, and worked as a section of the Congress.

This can no longer be the situation. The Workers' and Peasants' Party is the representative of the advancing mass movement. The dominant leadership of the Congress associates itself with the retreating bourgeois bloc, whose representative organisations is the All Parties Conference. The two movements separate, and their leading organisation must do so also. The Workers' and Peasants' Party must henceforth play a definitely independent part.

For some time however the Congress will maintain its composite character, of a loose organisation, with indefinite creed,

under bourgeois leadership, but with a petty bourgeois following including different social strata and different political tendencies, some of a potentially revolutionary nature. While this is the case, and while the Workers' and Peasants' Party remains relatively weak and unorganised in the country, it will be necessary to follow the traditional policy of forming fractions within Congress organisations, for the purpose of agitation of exposing its reactionary leadership and of drawing the revolutionary sections towards the Workers' and Peasants' Party. This policy however is only temporary. The Workers' and Peasants' Party can have no intention of dominating or capturing the Congress: the function of its members within the Congress is a purely critical one. Party member cannot therefore be allowed to take office in Congress organisations. The object of the Workers' and Peasants' Party can only to be build up its own independent organisation, so that it can as soon as possible dispense with the necessity of agitation within the Congress.

The relation with the Independence League is of a different nature. Although not homogeneous in membership, the Independence League has a definite policy and programme. It is in essence a bourgeois organisation whose policy is an insincere travesty of that of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, and whose object is in large part to prevent the independent growth of the mass movement. Workers' and Peasants' Party, members cannot enter the Independence League as members, as to do so would be to attribute to it before the masses a seriousness and importance which it does not possess. The Workers' and Peasants' Party can only work with the independence League in a united front on the basis of its propoganda for independence, which in spite of its frivolous character has objectively some value. But it is necessary continually to expose the League's faults of programme and policy, and its fundamentally bourgeois, even fascist character, and ultimately counter-revolutionary role.

As opposed to the policy of the independence League, the Workers' and Peasants' party must emphasise the following principal points :

1. It must expose the Nehru Report as a whole, and especially the pretence that it is possible to support simultaneously the Report and independence. The allied conception that Dominion Status is a "step to Independence" must also be exploded.

2. There must be left no doubt as to the meaning of independence; it involves the destruction of imperialist political and military control, and economic penetration, and hence necessitates revolution.

3. The independence of the Labour movement from bourgeois control must be insisted upon, and the necessity of its pursuing its class struggle against all exploiters.

4. The abolition of landlordism, in principle without compensation, must also be put forward, and the consequent necessity of the agrarian revolution.

5. In regard to the states, the policy of the Nehru Report, which is supported by the bourgeoisie and intelligentsia of the states, represented in the states Peoples' Conference, must be opposed. It is in effect to leave the States under their present feudal regime, only advocating some formal change in the relations between the princes and the Government. The policy of the party must be to draw the populations of the States into the struggle side by side with the masses of British India for the total abolition of the States and the establishment of democratic government on the same basis as is advocated for the rest of the country. Only the creation of a mass movement in the States can neutralise or destroy them as a base for imperialism.

It is essential for the Party also to develop its own activity in other ways. It must not depend upon the Congress and the bourgeois movement even to the extent that it has in the past for its campaigns and slogans, and must take its own completely independent initiative in all political matters. It is necessary for the Party (1) to wage a far more intense campaign against the Trade Disputes Bill, in spite of the indifference of the bourgeois politicians. (2) Similarly a campaign of propoganda must be conducted against the war danger, and particularly against the war preparations against Soviet Russia. (3) The international nature of the revolutionary nationalist and working class movement must be emphasised in concrete manner, and examples from current politics brought before the masses, particularly the workers. Of especial importance is the support of the Chinese workers and peasants against the white terror of the bourgeois nationalists in alliance with imperialism, and exposure of the part played by the Chinese bourgeoisie in the movement. In this matter the whole nationalist press and propaganda is definitely counter revolutionary, and the class sympathy between the Indian and the Chinese bourgeoisie must be exposed.

Submitted to the 1st All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference. December, 1928.

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109 copies of Urdu translation of "Political Resolution".

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Workers' & Peasants' Party Principles & Policy.

THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FIRST ALL-INDIA WORKERS' AND
PEASANTS' PARTY CONFERENCE, December, 1928.

The Workers' and Peasants' Party, with the mass movement of which it is the most conscious section, arises from the condition of exploitation and political subjection in which the great majority of the population finds itself. Its function, in the most general term, is to achieve at least the essential preliminary step, i.e. the attainment of political independence, for the abolition of exploitation and political oppression. Its strategy is determined by the fact of the alliance, already in being or in process of formation, among all the chief exploiting interests of the country, and is intended to ally all the different exploited classes in a common struggle against them.

The policy of the Party is thus based on a materialist analysis of society, and the fact of class-struggle between different economic classes. It is sometimes denied that these ideas apply to India, which either individually, or in common with other Eastern countries, is held to be exempt from the ordinary processes of human and social evolution. This is the counterpart of a supposedly idealistic view commonly expressed by ruling classes even in Western countries, and is merely an attempt to use religion and spirituality in the interests of economic exploitation and class-rule. It is manifest that material forces dominate India as they do all other societies, and with very similar results.

It is claimed that the organisation of Indian life is on the basis of caste, not of class. It is true that the obsolete system of caste still dominates Indian society, though to a steadily diminishing extent, in its private and domestic relations. But the fundamental economic and political relations, between employer and employee, landlord and tenant, etc., are practically unaffected by caste or religion and divide Indian society effectively, for economic and political purposes, into a small number of classes, with well-defined mutual actions and reactions.

The policy of the Party consequently also assumes a complete acceptance of industrialism, and denies both the possibility and the desirability of abandoning it. Modern machine and other technique is rapidly invading and conquering production in all fields in all countries. It is the dominant economic system, and to destroy it without also destroying the bulk of the human race is impossible.

Moreover, while capable of doing great mischief while used primarily for profit-making, it is capable of equally great good when socially controlled. The Workers' and Peasants' Party is thus in no way opposed to industrialism, and on the contrary regards the attempts which are made to introduce or bolster up hand industry and individual production in opposition to it, as in general reactionary not only economically but also politically.

The result of a very brief economic analysis is that the chief exploiting interests at work in India are the British bourgeoisie, big capitalists, industrial, financial and commercial, the Indian landlords and connected interests, the Princes and the Indian bourgeoisie. These classes, numbering in all a very small proportion of the population, singly or jointly control the entire country, Govt, legal institutions, armed forces, communications, industries, finance, education, press, etc. etc. Though at variance among themselves on minor questions, as to the division of power and profits, they are unanimous on the fundamental questions of their privileged class position, and have shown their determination to maintain it at any cost. Practically no section is willing to risk serious alteration in the economic and political system, merely in order to press its sectional claims, and each is dependent upon the support of the rest to such an extent that no serious division among the ruling class can now be expected.

This fact, of the essential unity of the bourgeoisie, the term "bourgeoisie" is used here to include also big landlords, etc. "Petty bourgeoisie" is used to mean the "lower middle class"—clerks, professional men, small traders, manufacturers and usurers, etc. of India and of Britain, with respect to their relations with the masses, is contested, but there can be little doubt about it. The part played by the bourgeoisie in the Chinese Revolution affords an instructive comparison. In China a considerable section of the bourgeoisie were able to go with the masses to the point of revolutionary direct action against imperialism, but even they split away before the movement had achieved complete victory. The Chinese bourgeoisie were able to go thus far only because of the exceptional condition in which China found itself in relation to imperialism. Thus (1) a large section of the industrial bourgeoisie were in sharp competition with the foreign firms' with whom there was no bond of union such as is provided in India by the participation of capital from both sides in the same companies. This is now almost universal in India' there being very few important concerns in which the capital is not mixed. (2) The leading imperialist powers in China pursued a policy of shameless aggression and exploitation, making no concession, economic, political, or even social, to the Chinese bourgeoisie. (3) The bourgeois nationalists were accustomed to militant and revolutionary methods of struggle by years of open warfare against Chinese feudalism. (4) Their struggle was an easier one than that

which confronts India, because of the relatively slight and insecure political hold which imperialism had established over the country, and because of the possibility of utilising the differences between the imperialist powers. In spite of these conditions however the Chinese bourgeoisie deserted the movement and compromised with imperialism, on the basis of joint struggle against the masses, taking large sums of money from foreign imperialist sources, and making use of imperialist armies and navies.

In its different conditions, it is inevitable that the Indian bourgeoisie should be far less revolutionary than the Chinese. That this is so in fact is shown by the history of the Non-Cooperation movement, which was betrayed and destroyed by its bourgeois leaders because of the danger of its developing into a mass revolutionary upheaval. It is also shown by the refusal of the bourgeoisie to advance the slogan of independence (except recently, by a small minority against the opposition of the great majority, as a blind to deceive the masses).

The bourgeoisie must therefore now be looked upon as definitely counter-revolutionary, and incapable of taking any part in a genuine movement for independence. It follows that the suggestion that the policy of the Workers' and Peasants' Party is intended or is likely to create a split in the nations' ranks, is without foundation. The division of interest exists; the bourgeoisie, including the Princes, the big landowners, and a considerable section of the small bourgeois and professional classes, are by reason of their economic interests impelled to compromise with imperialism. The masses are at the same time compelled to fight against imperialism and against the bourgeoisie. The Workers' and Peasants' Party creates no split; it merely proposes to take intelligent account of the actual situation. It should be emphasised that the Workers' and Peasants' Party does not deny the existence of considerable differences between the Indian and the British bourgeoisie, nor does it seek to minimise their political importance. But it maintains that, these differences notwithstanding, the Indian bourgeoisie will never take part, but on the contrary will vehemently oppose, any revolutionary movement against imperialism, without which neither the independence of the country nor the welfare of the masses can be secured.

The masses, including the entire class of wage workers, the great bulk of the peasants' and a large part of the petty bourgeoisie are ruthlessly exploited, and are in a condition of acute poverty. A large proportion are without sufficient food; only a minute proportion have any education; housing, health, sanitary provisions for all are extremely defective only a very few have even any nominal influence on the Government or the organisation of society.

The demands which the masses are putting forward in the first place for an improved standard of life, can only be granted by sacrifice on the part of the exploiting classes, and this is resolutely resisted by them. In particular the British bourgeoisie use the power of state to suppress the workers, efforts to raise their standards, and the peasants' movement, which threaten the existence of the landlord system. The question of political power is thus brought before the masses, and it becomes increasingly clear as time goes on that there can be expected no substantial improvement in any respect until there is established a political regime responsive to the wishes and needs of the masses, and not under the complete control of the propertied classes. The demand thus arises for a democratic regime. But the effective ruling power in India, the British bourgeoisie, cannot grant this demand. They have even been very unwilling to grant participation in government to the Indian bourgeoisie, and have done so only subject to rigorous safeguards and to a limited extent. On political and on economic grounds also it is evident that participation of the masses in the Government while the British bourgeoisie remain in the country is impossible. The masses must therefore strive for independence from British rule.

From all points of view the attainment of independence is the the first task of any movement which strives to improve the position of the Indian masses. The British bourgeoisie, the ruling section in India, and by far the most powerful of the various propertied classes, are directly responsible, by their policy of exploitation of the country, and retardation of its natural progress, for its present economic, and also political and social backwardness. The struggle against imperialism for the complete independence of the country is thus the central item for the immediate future in the programme of the masses and of the Workers' and Peasants' Party.

The struggle, having as it does the object of destroying the imperialist control of India, must be a revolutionary one. Scepticism is very prevalent as to the possibility of revolution in India. The supremacy of a very efficient autocratic Government renders the task of revolutionary organisation extremely difficult.

The strength of imperialism is however overestimated. The whole world system of capitalism has for years past been in a condition of recurrent crisis. That this condition is not yet overcome is shown by the continuance of partial economic crises, in Europe, and especially Britain, by the preparations, both technical and diplomatic for war, between European capitalism and the Soviet republics, between Great Britain and the U. S. A. and in the Pacific region, and by the continued growth of revolutionary movements, especially in Europe and China. British imperialism in particular is passing through a period of specially acute crisis, from which its permanent recovery is extremely improbable.

The movement in India nevertheless has to face a task of great difficulty. It must therefore be based on the broadest masses. Individuals may be suppressed, but the masses cannot be suppressed. A movement based on the intelligentsia only is necessarily a movement of a few individuals, since the petty-bourgeoisie have little or no class-solidarity. Only the masses can act solidly as classes. The petty bourgeoisie also can exercise little power, such as lies in the hands of the workers. The only tactical method of a revolutionary nature open to the petty bourgeoisie as such is, secret preparation for armed uprising---a method which in Indian conditions, where secrecy and arms are both almost unobtainable, is quite useless.

The illiteracy and general backwardness of the masses again are held by upper class prejudice to constitute an insuperable obstacle to revolutionary action on their part. But the masses of China and Russia, equal to those of India in illiteracy, ignorance and corruption, have organised on an enormous scale, and carried through almost equally difficult revolutionary tasks, and have further shown remarkable constructive ability in the post-revolutionary period. It is a quite erroneous and defeatist idea to suppose that it is necessary to wait for improvements in the education or social or economic position of the masses before any serious mass movement can arise. Improvement in these directions comes only through the mass movement.

Many bourgeois politicians in attacking the revolutionary nationalist movement, do so on the score of the supposed impossibility of using violence. This is manifestly done merely to cover their real objections, based on other grounds of class interest to any revolutionary movement. The Workers' and Peasants' Party does not deny the general utility in Indian conditions of non-violence as a tactic, but maintains that it will not be necessary for the Indian movement to use this tactic at all times and in all conditions. And it is strongly opposed to raising non-violence to the level of a principle. It was on this pretext that the Non-Cooperation movement was betrayed.

For the purpose of achieving the national revolution it is necessary to mobilise all forces to co-operation in a task of very great magnitude and difficulty. Contact must be established with movements directed against imperialism in other parts of the world, whether colonial or purely working class in character. Within the country also the policy of the Party is to unite together all potentially revolutionary social strata for a united struggle.

These sections are. (1) The industrial working class, whose attempts merely to achieve improvements, in standards of wages

and to regulate hours and other conditions, have been fiercely resisted, and have developed a semirevolutionary character. The working class is already the best organised and most militant section, and is rapidly acquiring the political consciousness necessary to enable it to exercise the function of leadership in the mass struggle. The working class generally has shown itself to be, of all oppressed and exploited classes, that most capable of undertaking patient and determined organised work, and of pursuing a vigorous and decisive policy. Its position also gives it great strategic advantages for action. Its numerical strength in India, though relatively small, is greater than that of the Chinese working class, which played and is playing a decisive leading part in the Chinese revolution, and is on a par with that of the Russian working class. It cannot therefore be considered insufficient to allow it to fulfil effectively its leading part in the mass movement.

(2) The peasant cultivators and landless field labourers demand reduction of the tribute which they pay to the landlords, Government, etc. and must ultimately come to the point of making the revolutionary demand for sole rights over the land they cultivate, and hence elimination of the landlord class. The peasant movement is an essential reinforcement to the working class. The numerical strength of the peasantry alone renders it of great importance. It is a mistake to underestimate the revolutionary potentialities of the peasant class which is in a state of acute discontent and sometimes of actual revolutionary excitement, over long areas of the country. On many occasions in history, e.g., in the French and Russian Revolutions, the peasantry has proved its ability, when under suitable outside leadership, to conduct an effective revolution against a big landlord class enjoying Government support. It is the task of the Workers' and Peasants' Party to secure that the proper decisive and determined, and at the same time constructive leadership is forthcoming. This can only be that of the working class.

(3) A large section of the petty bourgeoisie is a potentially revolutionary factor. Its position, owing to the economic backwardness of the country, is one of considerable hardship, through unemployment etc., and it is being forced to demand relief through political channels. But through social traditions, the dependence of large sections upon rent etc. etc., the petty bourgeoisie has developed a class consciousness which tends to sever it from the masses. It has also acquired considerable political experience in the nationalist movement under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. Thus even the revolutionary section of the intelligensia has almost exclusively a bourgeois-nationalist outlook, and tends strongly to develop towards a sort of Fascism. In order that this class can take any part in the mass movement it must be freed from the political and also from the ideological leadership of the bourgeoisie, and must learn the real identity of interest, both economic and political, between itself and the masses.

In any circumstances however, it cannot take a leading part in the movement. Individuals from the middle classes can take a lead only after abandoning the ideas and special interests of their class, and identifying themselves with the working class. It is only the workers which as a class can lead such a composite movement, in the sense that the leading demands and slogans must arise from the needs of the workers, their interests must take precedence, where they conflict, of those of other sections, and their mass action must be the greatest driving force. The conception that the petty bourgeoisie, because of their greater education etc., can lead a mass movement against imperialism is without historical justification. The bulk of this class is unorganisable and vacillating, and can only follow at the rear of any movement.

The line of action of the Party is to develop to the fullest extent the organisation and consciousness of the masses in a revolutionary direction. With the workers this is to be carried out by increasing by all means the strength and solidarity of the Trade Union movement on the basis of forward economic and political demands and a policy of direct action. The policy of reformism and the dominance of the reactionary Trade Union leaders are constantly to be attacked, and replaced by a militant policy and leadership. All occasions are to be seized to draw the workers into political action, by demonstrations, meetings, strikes, etc.

In a similar way the poor peasants and agricultural labourers are to be organised on the basis of economic and political demands. They must demand reduction of rents and taxes, and of indirect taxation, and abolition of the many abuses to which the village population is subjected by the exploiting classes, with the object ultimately of advancing the demand for land to the cultivators, and must enforce their immediate demands by direct action. The labourers must in addition press for increased wages etc. The middle classes have to be encouraged to join with the masses by the organisation of clerical and similar Unions on a trade Union basis, with similar programme, and by drawing especially the youth into practical contact with the mass movement. A fight must be waged against the evils of unemployment, by demanding state support for the unemployed, technical education, etc. The petty bourgeoisie can also take part in the workers' campaign against high rents. The leadership exercised over this class by the bourgeoisie has to be destroyed by exposure of the reactionary nature of bourgeois policy in the field of national politics and of the conflict of economic interest between the exploiting bourgeoisie and the exploited intellectual proletariat and lower middle class.

In addition to the special organs, Unions etc, of the various sections of the movement, the organ of the movement as a whole the workers and peasants Party, must be built up. The sectional

organisations should be affiliated to it, and its members should work as members and leaders of the different section, giving them thereby a united and correct policy.

The whole movement, united and led by the Workers' and Peasants' party demands complete independence from imperialism, and a democratic organisation of the country, including universal suffrage etc. It also demands adequate provision for the economic needs of the population of producers, by legislation for industrial protection; minimum wage rate, limitation of hours, etc., universal education, and nationalisation, without compensation, of the chief industries and services, and appropriation of land, without compensation, by the cultivators. To enforce these demands, a mass movement, using the weapons of demonstration etc. and direct action, must be organised, leading up to a general strike of workers and mass campaign of non-payment of rent and taxes by peasants.

Only by following a programme of action such as this can sufficient force be brought to bear to achieve the revolutionary task before the country, and only in this way can the people be aroused and stirred sufficiently to develop the constructive capacity necessary for the building up of a new independent and democratic order.

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U. P. & DELHI WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY,
ALLAHABAD.

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Meerut.

General Secy:—

Puran Chandra Joshi, M. A.,

34, Holland Hall,

Allahabad.

P. 311.

Agarwala's Indian Pocket Diary for 1923 containing the following entries amongst others:—

On page meant for January 11th the following entries appear:—

- (1) 17 Dwarka Das Mansion,
Sandhurst Road,
Bombay No. 4.

- (2) Satya Bhakta Ji,
Cawnpore.

On page meant for January 13th the following are written:—

- (1) Plebs 162a-Buckingham Palace,
London S. W. 1.

- (2) The Communist Book-Shop,
16 King Street,
Covenant Garden,
W. S. 2.

- (3) Labour Research Department,
162 Buckingham Palace Road,
London S. W. 1.

On page meant for January 15th, "S. H. Jhabwala, Khar, Bombay", is written.

The following appears on page meant for January 18th :—

Weekly Hindi "KRANTIKARI" Office, Jhansi.

- (1) To be advertised in KIRTI, GANAVANI Dange.
- (2) Contributions.
- (3) International contribution Agnes Smedley, Palme Dutt, Sak, Shaukat, Sahgal, for Mahendra Pratap in China and Japan.
- (4) Spratt on Nehru Report—Review of India.
- (5) Provincial letters.
Bengal—Muzaffar.
Bambay—Dange.
Punjab—S. S. (Sohan Singh)
U. P.—P. C. Joshi.
- (6) Kirti, Ganavani, Kranti.
- (7) Nationalisation of land—Dange.
- (8) For subscribers.

The following appears at page meant for January 20th :—

Railwaymen's Union President Dholikar Vice President Din
Mohamad Secretary L. R. Kadam Lakshmi Narain.

Membership nearly 5th.

20% local 80% to strike.

Com. Bombay.

Railwaymen's Union—Local paper in English (Private).

The following appears at Page meant for January 21st :—

Affiliation to the U. P. Party rupee one = 100.

Annas -/4/- two instalments = 500.

The following appears at page meant for January 24th :—

Party Library in U. P.

Muzaffar sent Rs. 60/-

The following appears at page meant for January 25th :—

Jhansi Branch.

President Har Parshad Singh Bandy (?)

M. L. C.

Secretary Krishan Gopal.

Executive Committee.

1. Kadam

2. Lakshmi Narain.

3. Rustamji

4. Gangadhar

5. Aushdhi.

The following appears at page meant for January 26th :—

Jhansi members to the Executive Committee U. P.

No. 1. Kadana.

” 2. Krisana Gopal

” 3. Lakshmi Narain

Delegates to Calcutta.

The following appears at page meant for January 30th :—

G. Adhikari,

17 Dwarkadas Mension,

Bombay 4.

P. 312.

Hindi letter from Krishna Gopal, Jhansi, dated 14. 3. 29 to P. C. Joshi. M. A., 34 Holland Hall, Allahabad on Kramtikari embossed letter form.

P. 313

5 Copies of :—

THE ALLAHABAD YOUTH LEAGUE
WEEKLY BULIETIN.

No. 5,

March 14, 1929.

The Swaraj Procession in Allahabad came off on the 10th instant as decided by the Congress Working Committee. It is with full appreciation of the seriousness of the approaching examinations that we have to say that the part taken in it by the Youths of Allahabad was very unsatisfactory. It would have been the easiest of things for about two hundred young men from the Youth world of Allahabad to have taken part in the Procession. The number that actually turned up was much smaller. The examinations over, we feel sure that we will all more than compensate for our present lack of active sympathy for this call. Indeed, it cannot be denied that for the most part, our present abstinence is more a matter of necessity than choice.

For the use of study circles the formation of which we proposed last time, we publish this week two sets of books, one on China and one on Russia. Even within a given set, a choice selection can of course be made.

CHINA. The history of China can be roughly divided into four periods. 1, The old feudal order, 2, The Imperialists in China 3, The Nationalist Revolt, 4, the awakening of the Masses. Books:-

Whither China by Scott Nearing, Rs 4/-. The best, latest and the most complete book on China.

The Problem of China by Bertrand Russell, Rs 5/4. A brilliant book though rather old. (1922).

Modern China by Leangli, Rs 3/12/, The orthodox account of China.

Memoirs of a Chinese Revolutionary, by Dr. Sun Yat Sen
Rs 7/4. Dr. Sen was the father of the Chinese Revolution.

Note:—The reports of the annual conferences and the theses submitted to the Koumontang and the Communist party of China from 1925 to 1928 would be invaluable to the student of China. They are very cheap. Write for the English version.

RUSSIA. For a proper understanding of the Russian revolution it is necessary to understand the principles of Communism. Any social philosophy before it can claim to be complete and universal must explain human development. The Communists do this and call it the Materialist or Economic interpretation of History. For the explanation of this philosophy read:-

Marxism and History by Clarke, Rs 0/12/.

Historical Materialism by Bukharin, Rs 3/7/.

A Worker Looks At History by Starr, Rs 1/12/.

To study how Communistic principles will be embodied in the various institutions of society read:-

The Communist Manifesto by Carl Marx, Rs 0/4/.

The A B C of Communism by Bukharin, Rs 2/1.

For a description of the Russian revolution read:-

My Reminiscences of the Russian Revolution by Phillip price, Rs 4/2.

Ten Days that shook the World, by Reed Rs 1/12.

To understand the existing institutions of Russia read the thirteen volumes in the Vanguard Series on Soviet Russia, published by the Vanguard Press. Each volume costs only Rs 1/8/0 and is written by very competent persons who specially visited Russia for the purpose, studied Russian, and wrote in a non-partisan spirit.

The more important volumes may be thus arranged in order of merit:-

How the Soviets Work by Brailsford (political).

Soviet Russia and her Neighbours (foreign policy).

Art and Culture in Soviet Russia by Freeman.

Women in Soviet Russia by Jessica Smith.

Religion under the Soviets by Hecker.

Economic Organisation of The Soviet Union by Scott Nearing

Soviet production and Distribution, by Lauck.
Village life under the Soviets, by Borders.
New Schools of New Russia, by Wilson.
Civil Liberties in Soviet Russia, by Baldwin.

P. 314.

"The Two internationals" by R. Palme Dutt (Secretary, international Section, Labour Research Department) - Published by the Labour Research Department at 34, Eccleston Square, Westminster, S. W. 1, and by the independent Labour Party at 8/9 Johnson's Court, Flat Street, E. C. 4- 1920.

P. 315.

Ten copies of "Krantikari" of different dates.

P. 316.

Telegraphic Address : "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

THE FIRST ALL-INDIA
WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY CONFERENCE

2-1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Reference No.

November, 6, 1928.

My dear Johsi,

Both you and Com. Gouri Shanker are keeping silence. I wrote three letters to Gouri Shanker, but, he never cared to reply even one of them. To you I wrote one letter to Allahabad. Please let me know what is the matter with you. Did you go to Jhansi? So far as I know Dr. Visvanath Mukherji went there. The days of the Conference are coming near everyday. I do not know what you are doing for its success. While at Meerut Com. Gouri Shankar told us that he would collect up to Rs. 200/- for the Conference. I do not know how far he is working for that. Are you enlisting

members to the Party? Is Com. Gouri Shankar doing the same?
Please do write to me every thing in detail.

Aftab returned here from Almora 5 or 6 days back.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally
Muzaffar Ahmad.

Superscription on the envelope:—

P. C. Joshi M. A.

34, Holland Hall,

Allahabad.

P. 317.

Tele. Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL

2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Organs:

"GANAVANI"

(Bengali weekly)

The 29th October, 1928.

My dear Comrade Joshi,

I am very sorry that I could not write to you so long. Really speaking I did not know where to write to you. I never thought that you would stay so long at Meerut. At this moment you must have gone to Jhansi from where I too got an invitation. I hope, you will return to Allahabad from Jhansi and get my letter there. As regards books most of them are not available now. I ordered for a few books of my choice which have been sent to you per V. P. P. to your Allahabad address.

Now, as regards the Conferece please let me know what you are doing, the time is very short. I wrote a letter to Dr. Vishwanath Mukerji and am expecting his reply very day. On receipt of a reply from him I may go to Gorakhpur once. If that is settled I shall ask you also to come there. Please go on enlisting individual members to the Party. Please do not take up any organisational work now. In that case you will have to

fight quite single handed. You can get individual members from Workers and peasants on one hand and from the intelligentsia on the other. But, be very very careful in enlisting the members from the rank and file of intellectuals. You must ascertain first of all whether they really believe in the Policy and Programme of our Party.

I read the report which you gave to the press. You omitted most important thing—that is the formation of the "workers' and Peasants' Party of U. P. and Delhi." I do not know why you did that.

Please reply soon. Would you kindly tell me who this Dutta was who went to Meerut from Allahabad?

With greetings,

Yours fraternally,
Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 318.

Four pages of Hindi manuscript containing an article on the organisation of peasants and workers.

P. 319.

TOWARDS SOC. OR CAPITALISM.—Trotsky.
Preface:

We are running the country says the bourgeois.

We are practically marching towards Capitalism—the social democrat.

They deliberately trust the truth.

At the present level of economic development and culture the growth of the productive forces is made possible only by the inclusion of the personal interest of the producers into the scheme of communal economics.

In regard to the industrial workers secured by making the wages dependent on output.

As to peasants - existence of individual holdings and their participation in the market.

We stand firmly at the posts of command.

The issue of the struggle depends on the date of development of the two tendencies which is going to score.

The Language of Figures:—Soc. is a balance sheet only under the N. C. P. the forms of it are diff. from those we attempted to adopt under militant Communism. N.C.P. a sort of matriculation. Matriculation is not equal to graduation. It is only the passage for secondary to higher education.

The main Q. into 3 subsidiary Qs.

1. Are our productive forces developing ?
2. What are the social forms of this development ?
3. At what rate does the development proceed.

1. First Q. simplest and most fundamental neither Cap. nor Soc. are thinkable without the development of productive forces.

Menshevists added that the N.C.P. would either break the Bolshevik dictatorship of the B. Dictatorship would break the N. C. P.

2. Social form of our econ. development is dual being founded both on the collaboration for the struggle bet. Capitalist and socialist methods, forms and aims.

3. This will determine the strength of our oppo. to the Economic pressure of the world Cap. and to the military political pressure of world Imperialism.

The contest figures of the State Planing Com. give a favourable reply to the first two Qs.

A favourable reply of the first two Qs. creates the conditions also for a solution of the third. The solving of the last is the highest goal of our economic development of the near future.

Our productive forces have recovered rapidly is a well established fact.

Produce of Agr: in 1924-25 (bad 1924) at pre-war prices 71 % of the yield of 1913 (favourable year) 1925-26 promises to exceed 1913.

Industries in regard to the value of their output reached 71% of the full-blooded 1913.

1925-26 will reach 95% of 1913-it will have completed its process of recovery.

19% production had fallen to 1/5 or 1/6 of the productive capacity of our factories.

The productive forces of Canada are growing stimulated by capital from U.S.A.

What social form is the development of our productive force assuring.

1924-25 state owned Capital funds of no less than 11.7 million roubles.

Cooperating 0.5 " "

Individuals 7.5 " "

(mostly peasants).

i. e. 62% of the whole means of production has been socialised.

In Agr: figures show not so much the nationalization of land as the liquidation of landlordism.

Through the nationalization of land we have secured for the Govt. unlimited opportunities for a land policy.

The productive means of Agr. are nationalised to the extent of 4% Agr. forms 1/3 of the means of prod. of Soviet Union.

It is hardly necessary to say that the full importance of the nationalization of the land will only be felt when Agr. has attained a high technical standard resulting in collective cultivation of the land, that is to say many years hence. But this is the direction along which we are progressing.

In Industry the means of prod. have been socialised to the extent of 89% including Rys. to 97% big industries to 99%.

What percentage of socialized means of production is included in the yearly output *i. e.* to what degree of productivity has the Govt. utilised the means of production it has appropriated to itself.

In 1923-24 national and cooperative industries 73.3% of the total prod.

In 1924-25—79.3%

In 1925-26 (promise to be) 79.7%

This percentage for the short period in question marks the growing strength of soc. as against Cap. The percentage may appear insignificant but its symptomatic importance is enormous.

| | |
|---|----------------------------|
| Trade Turnover-proportion of private Capital in trade for | |
| first 6 months of 1923 | was 50% |
| last | 34% |
| 1924-25 | 26% |
| 1925-26 | a further slight decrease. |

Peasantry place on the market less than a third of their total produce and this volume of commercial agr. produce forms 1/3 of the whole trade turn-over.

More than 2/3 of the consumption of the scattered peasant holdings is excluded from the market and only the lesser third has an influence on the economics of the country.

Proces. Peasant grain for foreign gold. Gold for machinery which means new equipment and covers the price of industrial products sent to rural distts.

the whole of industrial produce goes to the market & thus increase the importance of industry in the general economic process.

The rel. bet. Agr. and industry is dynamic and in this dynamic process the directing pr. is industry. It means that it is possible for industry to expand not merely to the extent of the increase in crops but beyond it.

Leaving chiefly with its light flank on rural production and developing by its growth industry increases in power as a market for its own needs.

The output of industry for 1924-25-48% greater than in 1923-24.

It 1925-26 an increase of 33% over 1924-25 anticipated.

In 1924-25 big enterprises grown by 64%.

Medium enterprises by 55%.

Small „ by 30%.

We have thus reached conditions when the predominance of the big enterprises over the medium and small is very strongly manifest.

Force for trade socialised completely.

Bank and entire credit system 100%.

The State budget has increased to 3.7 milliard rubles—13% of the aggregate national income or 24% of the goods volume.

It is becoming more and more a powerful lever for the raising of the economic and cultural life of the country.

The first chapter of the great experiment of the transition from a bourgeois to a socialist community. And this is in favour of Soc.

All Capitalist countries which suffered in the war recovered by the help of foreign Capital.

It was only the land of the Soviets the most backward in the past the most ruined and exhausted by wars and revolutionary upheavals that has risen from complete poverty by her own efforts, surrounded by the active opposition of the entire capitalist world.

It was owing to the complete elimination of landlordism and bourgeois ownership of property, nationalization of all the means of prod., the State socialist method of the mobilization and distribution of the essential resources that Soviet Union has arisen from chaos and as an ever increasing factor is penetrating the world economic system.

The spirit of Lenin provides these columns of dry figures.

WE AND THE CAPITALIST WORLD.

Rate of advance:—Very impt. of our development as compared to the development of our world economics.

This new standard will serve as a means of measuring our success in the near future just as pre-war standard has done in the past.

With our inclusion in the world market not only will our opportunities grow but our dangers likewise.

The dangers all come from the same source—

the split up condition of peasant agr.,
technical backwardness of our industries,
the still great industrial preponderance over us of the
world Capital.

A lion is stronger than a dog but an old dog may be stronger than a young lion cub. The best insurance for a young lion cub is to grow up and to have a strong tutor and sharp claws. This only requires time.

What particularly makes old Capitalism so far prevail over young soc.?

Despite all her riches ancient Rome could not understand the onslaughts of the barbarians when they developed light productive capacity than that of her decaying regime of slavery.

The bourgeois society after roused by the Fr. Revo. simply looked the wealth accumulated from the middle Ages.

The economic prosperity of bourgeois states lies in the fact that so far Cap. produces cheaper goods than Soc. and of a better quality.

The population of U. S. A. 6% of the world.

Produces 21% of world grain.

32% of other areas.

52% of cotton.

53% wood products.

62% of cast iron.

60% steel.

57% paper.

60% brass.

46% lead.

72% oil.

U. S. A. own 1/3 of the wealth of the world

38% of the hydraulic power of the world.

59% telegraphs and telephone wires.

40% Railways.

90% motor vehicles.

Central Static Board puts the national income of Soviet Union for 1923-24—100 roubles per head.

In U. S. A. 550 roubles per head.

Foreign statisticians 1000 roubles per head.

This means that output conditioned by equipment org: custom etc. is 10 times or at least 6 times heigher in U. S. A. than in Soviet Russia.

These figures in the way determine our defeat in the historic process.—

The future curve of economic development in America herself is an unknown quantity.

The productive forces of U. S. A. are not by a long way utilised to ther fullest capacity and non-utilization of productive capacity means a lowering of the productiveness of labour.

The U. S. A. are not by a long way assured of markets.

It is quite within the bounds of possibility that in the near future productivity on either side will be signalled by an increase in our own productiveness and a decrease in that of U. S. A.

To a much greater extent does this apply to Europe, the productive standard of which is much lower than U. S. A.

The ascent before us is steep the problems and difficulties are truly vast.

THE COMPARATIVE COEFFICIENTS OF THE WORLD'S ECONOMICS.

This world Market would crush it by its superior economic weight?

We are not by any means defenceless. Our economic are safeguarded by special national institutions, adopting an all-round system of socialist protection.

Protection makes it possible to withstand the pressure of the volume of goods from capitalist countries by regulating it in accordance with the requirements of home production and consumption. Thus Prot. is able to ensure socialist industries the period necessary for raising their productive standard.

The Rate of Development and Its Material Limitations and Possibilities.

Up to the present we have been working on existing basic capital with small additions.

In the future we shall have to create new basic capital.

This constitutes the fundamental diff. bet. two new econ. period and that which is passing.

The universal unit of the possible rate of economic development is the aggregate newly created wealth which remains after having covered the needs of simple reproduction, thus forming a basis for extended production and reproduction and reconstruction.

Before the war our industry developed at the rate of 6% or 7% annually.

To-day industry is expanding at the rate of 40% or 50%.

We say with confidence that possessing a socialist state nationalised industry and increasing regulation of the basic economic processes we can still maintain the coefficient of growth even after we have attained the pre-war standard, going far beyond the latter and the average coefficient of a capitalist country.

One strong point:—

(1) No parasitic classes.

(2) Knocking down the individualist capitalist fences makes it possible for the state at any given moment to mobilise with perfect freedom the necessary resources required by any economic unit. Unproductive charges of parallel enterprises, competition etc. have been eliminated.

(3) The planning pr.-Standardisation specialization of factories, the combination of factories into a single org.

(4) A Capitalist Community tries and develops by alternate periods of prosperity and crisis—ours regulated production.

Our entertaining into the world market—a widening access to the highest achievement of technical science and the most complex articles of production.

The farther we go the deeper and broader will the channel become.

Socialist Development and the Resources of the World Market.

Every foreign product which is able to fill a certain gap in the system of our economy can under certain conditions increase the rate of our development.

Foreign credit-Cap. for a time the creditor of Soc. will has not Cap. been nourished at the breasts of feudalism. History has borrowed the debt.

Concessions combine the transfer to our country of foreign plant, foreign productive formulae, financing our resources by world capitalist savings.—Limits—The State retains the higher commands and carefully maintains the determining weight of State industry over concession cry.

The Socialisation of Productive process :—

Actual nationalisation of scientific technical thought and all industrial inventions.

The centralised planing solution of problem of power for the economy as a whole and for each one in particular.

Crisis and other Dangers of the World Market :—

We are becoming apart a highly individual but nevertheless component part of the world market.

We are subject to the commercial and industrial flux and reflux of the world market.

P. 320.

Four sheets of Hindi manuscripts containing an article on the conditions of labourers and peasants in Russia.

P. 321.

GORAKHPUR :

1st November 1928.

FROM

DR. BISWANATH MUKERJI, President,

Divisional Kisan and Mazdur Sabha,

DEAR COMRADE,

Your letter intimating me that I have been elected President of the U. P. Peasants' and Workers' Party duly reached me. I have also received a letter from comrade Mozaffar Ahmad. Comrade Altaf Ali met me at Gorakhpur. But I am sorry I could reply to none of you owing to the indifferent condition of my health. You perhaps do not know that recently I was brutally assaulted while addressing a peasants' and workers' meeting in the village of Madopur Buzrug. The injuries that I received though healed up to a large extent are still giving me trouble and have almost confined me to bed since the time of assault. It was a consiracy of certain big landlords of this place to kill me in cold blood, so this cowardly attempt. However the the Almighty God has saved me.

I am happy to learn that a party has been formed here in these provinces. It was a long felt and cherished desire of mine and I am glad through your noble efforts it has come to its fulfilment. I gladly accept the offer of honour which you have conferred upon me. But I want to know from you as to when you are expected to see me at Gorakhpur or when we can conveniently commence our tour in the province for propaganda purposes. I regret I could not attend the Jhansi Conference owing to ill health.

Hoping this will find you in good health.

Yours in true comradeship.

BISWANATH MUKERJEE,

President.

To

P. C. JOSHI Esq.,

34, Holland Hall,

Allahabad.

Superscription on the envelope:—

P. C. JOSHI, Esq.,

34, Holland Hall,

Allahabad.

P. 322.

File of papers (26 sheets in all) containing the draft resolution of the Workers' and Peasants' Party Meerut in English, Hindi and Urdu.

P. 323.

A MONEY ORDER FORM

By Telegraph :

Amount: Rupees sixty only (60/-).

Name & Address

of the Payee : Kedar Nath Saigal

(in full) Bharat Naujawan Sabha
Lahore.

P. C. Johsi.

Signature of Remitter.

Acknowledgement (on Postal
Service).

Name of payee : Kedar Nath
Saigal, Lahore.

Amount of order Rs: 60/-—.

Name and address
of Remitter

Coupon:

Rs. 60/—.

Regret can't send more.

P. C. Joshi,

34 Holland Hall,

Allahabad.

P. 324.

A cover containing 27 Urdu posters regarding "the fifth Anniversary of Lenin's death", addressed to Mr. P. C. Joshi, M. A., 34 Holland Hall, Allahabad.

19 Printed forms as follows :—

To

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal,

CALCUTTA.

Dated _____

Dear Comrades,

I desire to be a member of Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal. I am willing to subscribe to the object (printed over-leap), constitution and programme of the Party, to pay the prescribed dues, and to work under the Party direction in one of its organisation.

Yours fraternally

1. Name
2. Address
3. Age
4. Occupation
5. Present place of work
6. Member of the Indian National Congress If so what local organisation of same, and what official position if any
7. Member of Trade Union Name of Branch and official position if any
8. Member of any other political or economic organisations, with similar particulars

DECISION OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Date _____

The Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal

"The object of the Party is attainment of complete independence from British Imperialism and thorough democratisation of India based on economic and social emancipation and emancipation and political freedom of men and women."

I do hereby agree to accept the above object of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal of which I desire to be a member.

Signature

P. 326

Kedarnath Saigal
Bharat Naujawan Sabha,
Lahore.

Regret delay. Cheero. Fraternal greetings.
Joshi.

Not to be telegraphed—Address :

P. C. Joshi,
34, Holland Hall,
Allahabad.

P. 327.

League of Young Comrades of U. P.

Object: to prepare ourselves for creating a newer, better and more youthful order of society.

Method: Study circles and social Service Clubs and Visits to foreign lands.

Constitution: Membership—everyone is eligible who feels himself young, subject to the approval of the executive Committee.

President: to be elected by the members.

Vice-President : The same.

Secy : The Secy. of the Workers' & Peasants' Party of U. P. will be the ex-officio Secy. of the League subject to the approval of the members of the League.

Subscription: Rs. 2. a year—may be paid in two instalments.

Branch Leagues : Constitution—the same, the Secy. too wholly elected—all the subscriptions to remain in the branch, for special purposes a special levy with the approval of the E. C.

Executive Committee : Each branch to elect two members.

Quorum : 3.

Every member must pledge himself to regard man as man,
and recognise no racial, communal or caste distinctions.

P. 328.

L. N. Kadam,
Municipal Commissioner,
Secretary G. I. P. Railway
Men's Union, Workers' &
Peasants' Party and
District Congress Committee.

GUDRI BAZAR

Jhansi, 2. 11. 1928.

My dear Joshi,

I hope you must have reached safely and feeling well. There are only two books out of the list please arrange to get the rest sent on the address already known to you.

The 1st issue of the KRANTI KARI shall be sent to you within a day or two as soon as it is published. Some notices distributed by me regarding conference are sent in a separate packet. Please let me know if you require some more copies of Mr. Jhabwala's address.

The practical work will begin after December as now a days we are busy in Congress, Municipal and Distt. Board elections and as soon as the elections are over we shall leave to go to Calcutta,— in the mean time we shall try to do as much as we can.

Please send the resolutions etc. so that the work may begun. I am going to my village within a day or two and shall return within a week.

Nothing more to pen except good wishes. Please see that your study do not suffer.

Yours sincerely,

Kadam.

P. 329.

Printed copy of Jhabwala's address in Hindi delivered at the Jhansi Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference in November 1928.

P. 330.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

League of Young Comrades of U.P. & Delhi.

ALLAHABAD.

Dated.....

Dear Comrades,

I desire to be a member of the League of young Comrades of U. P. and Delhi. I am willing to subscribe to the object (Printed overleaf), constitution and programme of the League, to pay the prescribed dues, and to work under the League direction in one of its organisations.

Yours fraternally.

1. Name
2. Address
3. Guardians name relation address & occupation
4. Age
5. Occupation Caste & Religion
6. Present place of work.
7. Member of the Indian National Congress If so what local organisation, of same, and what official position if any.
8. Member of any other political or economic, social or religious organisations, with similar particulars.

DECISION OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Date.....

Paid.....

Receipt No.....

The League of Young Comrades of U P, & Delhi

OBJECT—To prepare ourselves for creating a newer, better and a more youthful order of society.

METHOD—By forming ourselves into study circles, social service clubs and by visits to foreign lands.

I do hereby agree to accept the above object of the League of Young Comrades of U. P. and Delhi of which I desire be a member.

Signature.

P. 331.

One bundle of enrolment forms in Hindi concerning the Workers' and Peasants' Party of U. P. and Delhi. On the back of these forms aims and objects of the party are printed.

P. 332.

Seventeen yellow receipt books for subscribers to League of Young Comrades of U. P. and Delhi (blank).

P. 333.

Twenty yellow receipt books for subscribers to the Workers' and Peasants' Party U. P. and Delhi (blank).

P. 334.

A Globe rapid binder containing the following:—

THESIS ON THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN THE COLONIES AND SEMI-COLONIES.

Extracts referring to India.

INTRODUCTION:—

(3) In India, the policy of British imperialism which retarded the development of native industry, evoked great dissatisfaction among the Indian bourgeoisie. The class consolidation of the latter

which replaced the former division into sects and castes and which was expressed in the fusion of the Indian National Congress (organ of the Indian bourgeoisie) with the Muslim League effected in 1916, confronted British imperialists with national united front in the country. Fear of the revolutionary movement during the war compelled British imperialism to make concessions to the native bourgeoisie which found expression, in the economic sphere, in higher duties on imported goods, and in the political sphere in insignificant parliamentary reforms introduced in 1919. Nevertheless a strong ferment, expressing itself in strong revolutionary outbreaks against British imperialism, was produced among masses of the Indian people as a result of the ruinous consequences of the imperialist war (famine and epidemic, 1918) the catastrophic deterioration of the position of wide sections of the working population the influence of the October revolution in Russia and of a series of insurrections in various colonial countries, (as for example the struggle of the Turkish people for independence). The collapse of the national revolutionary movement and the gradual decline bourgeois nationalism enabled British imperialism once more to return to its policy of hindering industrial development of India. The recent measures of British imperialism in India show that the objective contradictions between the British colonial monopoly and the tendencies in the direction of the independent economic development of India are becoming more accentuated from year to year and are leading to a new deep revolutionary crisis.

The real threat to British connection comes not from the bourgeois camp, but from the growing mass movement of the India workers, which is developing in the form of large-scale strike at the same time the accentuation of the crisis in the village bears witness of the maturing agrarian revolution, all these phenomena are leading to a radical transformation of the whole situation in India.

II.

THE CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF COLONIAL ECONOMICS AND OF IMPERIALIST COLONIAL POLICY.

The progressive results of capitalism, on the other hand, are for the most part imperceptible. Where in the colonies the *ruling imperialism is in need of social support* it first of all allies itself with the ruling strata of the previous social structure, with the feudal lords and with the trading and money-lending bourgeoisie, against the majority of the people. Everywhere imperialism attempts to preserve and perpetuate all those pre-capitalist forms of exploitation (especially in the villages) which serve as the basis for the existence of its reactionary allies.

Thus the fundamental tendency of colonial exploitation acts in the direction of hindering the development of the productive forces in the colonies of despoiling them of their natural riches and above all, of exhausting the reserves of human productive forces in the colonial countries.

This unfortunate position of the peasantry denotes at the same time a *crisis in the internal market for industry*, which in its turn represents a powerful obstacle to the capitalist development of the country. Not only the national bourgeoisie of India, China, Egypt, etc., but also imperialism itself is sensible of the peasant misery as obstacle in the path of the expansion of their exploitation; but the economic and political interests of both of them are so closely bound up with large ownership, as also with trading and usury capital in the villages, that they are not in a position to carry out an agrarian reform of any great wide significance.

All the chatter of the imperialists and their lackeys about the policy of decolonisation being carried through by the imperialist powers, about co-operation in "Free development of the Colonies", reveals itself as nothing but an imperialist lie. It is of the utmost importance that communists both in the imperialist and in the colonial countries should completely expose the lie.

III.

ON COMMUNIST STRATEGY AND TACTICS IN CHINA, INDIA, AND SIMILAR COLONIAL COUNTRIES.

The general basis tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution in the colonies and the semi-colonies.

(a) *A shifting in the relationship of forces in favour of the proletariat*-emancipation of the country from the yoke of imperialism (nationalisation of foreign concessions, railways banks, etc.) establishment of national unity of the country, overthrow of the power of the exploiting classes at the back of which imperialism stands, organisation of the soviets of workers and peasants and organisation of the Red Army establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Peasantry, consolidation of the hegemony of the proletariat.

(b) The carrying through of the *agrarian revolution*; emancipation of the peasantry from all pre-capitalist and colonial condition of exploitation and bondage. Nationalisation of land political and economic union between town and village.

(c) In correspondence with the further development of industry, transport, etc. and with the accompanying growth of the proletariat, the wide spread development of trade union organisation of the working class, strengthening the Communist Party and its conquest of a firm leading position among the toiling masses; the achievement of the 8 hour day.

(d) Establishment of equal rights for nationalities and of sex equality (equal rights for women); separation of the church from the state and the abolition of caste distinction; political education and raising of the general cultural level of the masses in town and country, etc.

In particular the emancipation of the colony from the imperialist yoke is facilitated by the development of socialist revolution in the capitalist world and can only be completely guaranteed by the victory of the proletariat of the leading capitalist countries. The transition of the revolution to the socialist phase demands the presence of certain of *certain minimum pre-requisites*, as for example, a certain definite level of development in the country of industry of *trade union organisation* of the proletariat and *a strong communist party*.

The *position of the colonial B. in the b. d. revolution* is still for the most part an ambiguous one and its vacillations in accordance with the course of the revolution are even more considerable than in the B of an independent country (e. g. the Russian B. in 1905-07). It is very important in accordance with the concrete circumstances, to investigate very carefully the special influence of the national factor, which to a considerable degree determines the special character of the colonial revolution, and to take into account in the tactics of the Communist Party.

Along with the national emancipatory struggle, the **AGRARIAN REVOLUTION** constitutes the axis of the b. d. revolution in the chief colonial countries. Consequently, communists must follow with the greatest attention the development of the agrarian crisis and the intensification of class contradictions in the villages, they must from the very beginning give a consciously revolutionary direction to the dissatisfaction of the workers and to the insipient peasant movement, directing it against imperialist exploitation and bondage as also against the yoke of pre-capitalist (feudal and semi-feudal) relationships as a result of which peasant economy is suffering disintegration and perishing.

(23) *The correct tactics in the struggle against such parties as the Swarajists and wafdists* during this stage consists in the successful exposure of their real national-reformist character. These parties have already more than once betrayed the national

emancipatory struggle, but they have not yet passed over to the counter-revolutionary camp in the manner of the Kuomintang. There is no doubt that they will do this later on, but at the present time they are so particularly dangerous because their physiognomy has not yet been exposed in the eyes of the wide masses of the toilers. For this exposure there is still needed a very large amount of communist educational work and a very good deal of new political experience on the part of the masses themselves. If the communists do not already succeed in this stage in shaking the faith of the toiling masses in the bourgeois national-reformist leadership of the national movement then this leadership in the coming upward growth of the revolutionary struggle will represent an enormous danger to the revolution.

It is necessary to reject the formation of any kind of bloc between the Communist Party and the national reformist opposition; this does not exclude the *formation of temporary agreements* and the coordinating of separate activities in connection of definite anti-imperialist demonstrations provided that these demonstration of the b. opposition can be utilised for the development of the mass-movement, and provided that these agreements do not in any way limit the freedom of the communist parties in the matter of agitation among the masses and among the organisations of the latter, of course, in this work the communists must know how at the same time to carry on the most relentless ideological and political struggle against b. nationalism and against the slightest of its influence inside the labour movement.

It is absolutely essential that the Communist Parties in these countries should from the very beginning DEMARCATÉ THEMSELVES IN THE MOST CLEAR CUT FASHION, both politically and organisationally, from all the petty bourgeois group and parties. In so far as the needs of the revolutionary struggle demand it, a temporary co-operation is permissible and in certain circumstances even a temporary union between the Communist Party and the national revolutionary movement, provided that the latter is a genuine revolutionary movement that it genuinely struggles against the ruling powers and that its representatives do not put obstacles in the way of the communists educating and organising in a revolutionary sense the peasants and wide masses of the exploited.

IV

THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES.

- (1) Formation of the Communist Party.
- (2) Work in the trade unions.
- (3) Wherever peasant organisations exist entirely irrespective of their character, as long as they are real masse organisations

the communist party must adopt measures to penetrate into these organisations. One of the immediate tasks of the party is the correct formulation of the agrarian question in the ranks of the working class, explaining to the latter the importance of the decisive role of the agrarian revolution and acquainting members of the party with the methods of agitation, propaganda and organisational work among the peasantry.

Special "Workers and Peasants Parties" whatever revolutionary character they may possess, can too easily at particular periods be converted into ordinary petty bourgeois parties, and accordingly communists are not recommended to organise such parties. The Communist Party can never build up its organisation on the basis of a fusion of two classes, and in the same way also it cannot make its task to organise other parties on this basis, which is characteristic of petty bourgeois groups. The fighting bloc of the masses of workers and peasants can find expression in carefully prepared periodically convened joint conferences and congresses of representatives of revolutionary peasant unions (or their committees) and of trade unions, in certain circumstances it may be found expedient to create revolutionary committees of action, coordinating the activities of the organisations of the workers and peasants which stand at the head of various mass activities, etc. Finally during the period of insurrection one of the fundamental tasks of the Communist Party is to promote the creation of ELECTED SOVIETS of workers and peasants deputies. Under any and all circumstances the Communist Party is bound to exert a decisive influence on the peasant movement, to find out and apply those organisational forms of bloc between the workers and peasants which will most of all facilitate the task of leadership in the peasant movement and to create the pre-requisites for the further transformation of these forms into soviets as organs of insurrection and power.

Communist Youth League. Proleterian composition of the Y. C. L.

VI.

34. The basic tasks of the Indian Communists consist in struggle against British Imperialism for the emancipation of the country, for destruction of all relics of feudalism, for the agrarian revolution and for establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry in the form of a Soviet Republic. These are the tasks which can be successfully carried out only when there will be created a powerful Communist Party which will be able to place itself at the hand of the wide masses of the working class, peasantry and all the toilers, and to lead them in the armed insurrection against the feudal-imperialist bloc.

The *strike movement* of the Indian proletariat now taking place, its independence from bourgeois nationalism, the all Indian character of this movement, its distribution over almost all branches of industry, the frequency and protracted character of the strikes, the stubbornness and great resoluteness with which the workers have carried them on, the coming forward of leaders of the strikes from the midst of the workers themselves, all these things denote a turning point in the history of the struggle of the Indian Proletariat, and prove that in India the pre-conditions have matured which are essential for the creation of a mass Communist Party. The union of all communist groups and individual communists scattered throughout the country into a single, illegal independent and centralised party represents the first task of the Indian Communists. While rejecting the principle of the building of a party on the two class basis the communists must utilise the connection of the existing workers' and peasants' parties with the toiling masses for strengthening *their own party*, bear in mind that the hegemony of the proletariat cannot be realised without the existence of a consolidated, steadfast communist party armed with the theory of Marxism. The agitational work of the Communist Party must be bound up with the struggle for the immediate demands of the workers, at the same time explaining them the general aims which the Communist Party sets out to achieve and the methods which it applies for their realisation. It is essential to establish nuclei in the various industrial and other enterprises, and these must take an active part in the labour movement, in the organisation and conduct of strikes and political demonstrations. The Communist organisations from the very beginning devote special attention to the training of leading Party and address from the ranks of the WORKERS.

In the Trade Unions, the Indian Communists must mercilessly expose the national reformist-leaders and carry on a decisive struggle for the conversion of the Trade Unions into genuine class organisations of the Proletariat and for the replacement of the present reformist leadership by consistent revolutionary representatives from the mass of the workers. It is essential and especially necessary to expose the method so much favoured by Indian reformists of deciding conflicts by means of petitions to the representatives of the British Imperialism as well as to "Imperial" courts for the adjudication between workers and employers. In this struggle, it is necessary to push forward the demands for trade-union democracy, for putting the trade—unions apparatus into the hands of the workers, etc. The levers for party work in the trade unions must be the communist fractions as well as groups founded by the communists and sympathising with them. It is necessary to utilise the present strike wave in order to organise the UNORGANISED workers. The miners and engineering workers, the coolies in general who work on the plantations and the agricultural

labourers, represent the least organised sections of the Indian proletariat and the communists need to devote the necessary attention to them;

The Indian communists must unmask the national reformism of the Indian National Congress and oppose all the phrases of the Swarajists, Gandhists, etc., about passive resistance, the irrenocilable slogan of the armed struggle for the emancipation of the country and the expulsion of the imperialists.

In relation to the PEASANTRY and peasant organisations the Indian Communists are faced above all with the task of acquainting the widest strata of the peasantry with the general demands of the party in the agrarian question, for which purpose the party must work out an agrarian programme of action. Through connected with the village, as well as directly, the communists must stimulate the struggle of the peasantry for partial demands, and in the process of struggle organise peasant unions. It is essential to pay particular attention to make sure that the newly created peasant organisations do not fall under the influence of the exploiting strata in the village. It is necessary to give to the existing peasant organisations a concise programme of concrete demands and to support the activities of the peasants through demonstrations of the workers in the town.

It must be remembered that under no circumstances can the communists relinquish their right to open criticism of the opportunist and reformist tactics of the leadership of those mass organisations on which they work.

2-12-1928

TO THE ALL-INDIAN CONFERENCE OF WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTIES.

The Communist International supporting everywhere the revolutionary movement of the toilers and the oppressed, through your organisation, albeit not part of our international body, send its greetings to the workers and peasants of India now waging a heroic struggle against imperialist oppression and feudal reaction upon one of the most important sections of the world front. The victorious progress of this struggle demands in our opinion, above all, *the creation of an independent class party of the proletariat*, the uniting and raising of the isolated actions of the peasants to the highest political level, and the formation of a real revolutionary bloc of workers and peasants, under the leadership of the proletariat, not in the form of a united workers' and peasants' party, but on the basis of co-operation in deeds between the mass organisations of the proletariat on the one hand, and peasant leagues and committees on the other, for the overthrow of the imperialists and the destruction of the political and economic basis of colonial exploitation

and slavery. The growing influence of the workers' and peasants' parties, and particularly the attendance of thousands of peasants at your provincial conferences, proves that the understanding of the necessity for this militant bloc is penetrating among ever larger masses of toilers.

Your Conference is taking place at a moment which may become the turning point in the history of the national revolution. The furious preparations of the British bourgeoisie for a new imperialistic slaughter, and the intensification of all forms of colonial plunder and terror, place the peoples of India in a position from which there is no other way out, but open and determined fight for the overthrow of the alien yoke. *The revolutionary crisis in the country is maturing.* In the strike movements various detachment of the working class (particularly the textile workers of Bombay) begin to come out as an independent force, conscious of the irreconcilability of its interests with imperialism and the chattering bourgeoisie, and of its historic role as the champion of the national revolution. More painfully, and slowly, but with equal certainty, the oppressed, ruined and disunited peasantry is entering the path of organised struggle. Growing unemployment, ruin and hopelessness stir also the town petty bourgeoisie to revolutionary activity. The pent-up discontent of the masses, the despair, and the sublime hatred for the oppressors, is already breaking forth to transform these isolated and defensive actions into an aggressive fight against British imperialism and its native allies, that is the fundamental task before your Conference.

The main obstacle to the victorious organised struggle against British imperialism and its feudal allies in the period of increasing terrorism and bloody repression - is the *influence of opportunist bourgeois nationalism.* Each day brings and will bring fresh proof of the treachery of the bourgeoisie, of its bringing before imperialism, of its intention to bargain and to come to terms with the latter behind the backs of the toilers of India and at their expense. Lately this treachery has assumed the character of the most cynical toying with the slogan of "independence" which the Swarajists now throw out to deceive the masses, now tucked away in their pocket (the Motilal Nehru Report), in order to penetrate into the Simon Commission through the back stairs, and now raise again in a distorted shape, simultaneously with the "dominion status" slogan. However crude and downright dishonesty this game may be, the penal regime and bloody repression of any exposing criticism, particularly Communist criticism, create a state of things under which the fraud of bourgeois nationalism still keeps its hold on a considerable section of the toilers. The struggle against this fraud compels you not only to determined and relentless exposure of the bourgeois treachery, but also through systematic everyday activity to bring home this exposure, to the masses of the workers

and peasants. The experience of the last movement in Bardoli showed how great the danger is still that not only the bourgeoisie, but even the usurers, who buy out the peasants' lands find themselves able to subordinate the movement of the peasants and to utilise it for their own ends. No declarations of readiness to combat opportunism have any revolutionary worth if there is no practical and actual proof of the waging of this struggle among the masses, and of the overcoming of the bourgeois influence is persistent every day work.

The greatest danger to the organisation of the masses, to the creation of a revolutionary bloc of the proletariat and the peasantry and to the proletarian leadership in this bloc, consists not only in bourgeois nationalism as such, but comes from the *organisations and groups of "prominent" petty-bourgeois intellectuals* actually influenced by the former the "Independence League". The wavering and oscillating petty-bourgeois intellectuals of India are either tied up with the system of landlordism and usury and preach a return to obsolete forms of pre-capitalist exploitation idealised by them, or they reflect the interests of capitalist exploitation being the agents of the bourgeoisie within the national movement. In either case they deny the importance of the class struggle, and whilst claiming to be "at the head" of the workers' and peasants' movement, they are fit in reality only to behead it. The better elements alone of the petty—bourgeoisie intellectuals with a revolutionary frame of mind may rise to the proletarian class viewpoint, and become a positive factor in the national-revolutionary struggle.

The "*Independence League*" at least in its present shape in fact assists official Swarajism in its nefarious play with the slogans of "independence" and "dominion status" Duly appreciating the very fact of the organisation of this League as proof that at the present time one cannot approach the masses without demanding independence and the overthrow of imperialism, your Conference at the same time cannot fail to disassociate itself from the confusion and twaddle which characterises the advertised League platform with its lavish promises.

The masses must realise that all the talk of the organisers of the League in their platform about "nationalisation" and "socialisation" is an empty sound if in the same breath they recommend FOR THE PRESENT "impartial board for arbitration with a view to making strikes and lockouts unnecessary" (platform of the Bengal Independence League).

There cannot be a shadow of confidence in the verbal promises of the League generally, when in reality some of its leaders (the chairman of the Bengal branch of the League, S. C. Bose) continue

to play the part of blacking organisers (betrayal of the last strike in Jamshedpur). The masses want from the political leaders of the petty-bourgeoisie not words but revolutionary deeds. The more determined and outspoken your criticism, the sooner the League will either expose itself as the Left-wing of bourgeois nationalism, or having shaken off the politicians at the head, will join, for a certain period and within certain limits, the national-revolutionary camp (retaining, however, even in this case their incorrigible half-heartedness, chronic wavering, and inevitable confusion in the whole of their politics and tactics).

The experience of all revolutions shows that the *peasantry is* inevitably deceived and defeated if it acts, without the alliance and the leadership of the proletariat. In explaining to the peasantry the need for the workers' and peasants' bloc it is not difficult at the same time to explain to them, upon the grounds of the severe experience of the Indian revolution, the need for the leadership of the proletariat in this bloc. The Indian proletariat has demonstrated to all the toilers that it represents the most revolutionary force in the country, it has shown that it will stop at nothing in this struggle neither in the town nor in the village, that it marches and will march in the front rank of the fight against British imperialism, feudalism, and the reformist bourgeoisie. The proletariat is helping and will help the peasantry which has been thrust by imperialism into a singular condition of humiliation, disunion and barbaric exploitation, shrouded in the falsehoods of religion, caste and nationalism, to organise its force and to break the shackles of slavery, bondage, land hunger, and imperialist and feudal oppression. The leadership of the proletariat, as the more concentrated, united, enlightened and hardened section of the toilers in this struggle, will secure the victory to the workers' and peasants' bloc. It is extremely important to demonstrate to the peasants in deeds and practice the significance of fighting alliance with the proletariat in their everyday struggle, already now.

The organisation of the workers' and peasants' bloc is based upon the common interest of the workers, peasants, and the town poor, in the fight against imperialism and feudal reaction. Nevertheless, it does not eliminate the class differences, and therefore, *it does not imply, by any means the fusion of the workers and peasants into one PARTY.* In the Great October Revolution the proletariat gained the following of the peasantry of all the nations which inhabited the former tsarist Russia just because it was organised into the independent Bolshevik Party, into a Party armed with the Marxian-Leninist theory, irreconcilable to petty-bourgeois waverings, disciplined, self-sacrificing, capable of screening itself underground from the blows of the tsarist terror,

at the same time never ceasing to take advantage of all the legal possibilities. The India proletariat, we feel sure, will follow this path.

The Indian proletariat will be the champion of the national-revolutionary fight and lead with to victory the peasantry, the town poor, and all the toilers, if it organises and consolidates its vanguard—the *Communist Party*, which will educate the working masses in the spirit of a clear and unmistakable class policy, in the realisation of the need for tremendous sacrifices in order to overthrow imperialism and bourgeoisie. The existing only on paper) Communist Party of India, since it does not show any signs of revolutionary life, has no grounds to consider and even to call itself Communist, although there are Individual Communists among its members. Under the conditions of imperialist terror, by the feeble organisation of the Indian workers and the bullying of the reformist trade union bureaucrats, the task of building a genuine Communist Party will be considerably facilitated if at the same time broad, revolutionary organisations of the workers are formed with the active participation of Communists, or a broad Left wing created in the trade union movement upon the platform of consistent class struggle.

We expect that your Conference will raise the question of participating in the building of such broad revolutionary mass organisation of the workers. These can be built only in the irreconcilable everyday struggle against imperialism and bourgeoisie, as well as against reformism and the petty-bourgeois groups under the cloak of Socialism. The heroic steadfastness of the Indian proletariat in the strikes, the rapidity with which it gathers its forces although as yet only locally, the persistent endeavours to promote strike leaders from its own ranks,—leaves no room to doubt that the elements for revolutionary mass organisations of the workers have matured.

We are convinced that your Conference will discuss, and severely condemn the grave opportunistic blunders committed by the representative of the workers' and peasants' parties in the leadership of the strike movement, particularly in connection with the heroic struggle of the textile workers of Bombay. The source of these mistakes is the insufficiently clear stand against the reformist blacklegs (Joshi) the relentless exposure of whom is an indispensable condition for every victorious strike (and for strengthening the organisation of the proletariat in the course of its development). Having yielded to the demand of the trade union bureaucrats at the commencement of the strike to refrain from exposing to the working masses the reformist treachery, the members of the worker's and peasant's parties had thus disarmed themselves also for the further struggle. Surrender to the reformists led inevitably to surrender to the employers, to the signing of the demands which were dictated

by the chairman of the Arbitration Commission, the flunkey of the Anglo-Indian bourgeoisie, a surrender all the more inadmissible since, as partial strikes which subsequently broke out proved the workers refused to give up the fight in spite of all their hardships. Only by learning from the severe lessons of the past struggle the working class will promote from its midst a consistent class leadership for the imminent, even more decisive strikes of the textile workers, railwaymen, miners, and metal workers. With the growing intensity, of the revolutionary activity of the proletariat on one hand, and the bloody onslaught of imperialism against the workers' organisation on the other (the Trades Disputes Bill), the preparation and organisation of the general strike becomes the most urgent task of the current struggle. The Indian workers who performed wonders of endurance during the defensive fights in the fights of 1928, will show similar wonders of valour in the forthcoming aggressive fights.

In the *work among the peasants* the task is to pass from general slogans and to draw in the peasants to the real revolutionary struggle in the defence of the everyday interests of the masses. Your organisations cannot afford to wave aside even seemingly backward manifestations of the anger of the peasantry. You must endeavour in every manifestation of this kind to discover its revolutionary substance and to transfer it to a higher level of class-consciousness. In view of the tremendous variety of forms of land tenure in India, and the multitude of forms pre-capitalist and semi-feudal bondage, the best way to embrace the peasant-movement in the various districts and localities is to organise from below peasant leagues led wherever possible by agricultural labourers and poor peasantry proved in the fight. It is necessary, not only in words, but in deeds, to endeavour to raise the isolated actions of the peasants to the level of an agrarian revolution. Under the slogans of abolition of every form and vestige of feudalism and semi-feudalism, of confiscation of the land of Zemindars, usurers, priests and its transfer to the use of the toiling peasantry while securing in the first place the interest of the poor peasants, the agrarian revolution has been and remains the pivot of the national-revolutionary struggle in India.

In purging the leading bodies of your organisations from suspicious and unreliable elements, you will, of course, above all, be guided by the criterion of loyalty and devotion to the cause of the workers and peasants, remembering that the petty-bourgeoisie, not to speak of the bourgeois intellectuals, are closely tied up with the system of big landownership so that they must by all means combat the developing agrarian revolution.

Concerning organisational forms, your Conference will have to discuss the question of separating the workers' organisations

from the peasants' organisations, so that the former be ensured a clear-cut and consistent class development, and the latter the full embracing of the struggling peasantry. Provincial workers' and peasants' parties, after an appropriate distribution of their branches and members upon this class basis, are bound to develop in the future in revolutionary mass organisations of the workers on the one hand, into peasants leagues, and committees on the other, which in turn will strive to gain the leadership inside existing peasant bodies or will build new peasants organisations. The periodical conferences and meetings of these mass organisations, called from time to time should constitute one of the forms expressing the militant bloc of the worker and peasant masses. If your Conference accepts this point of view, it will put before itself the question of forming a Committee for the coordination of the activities of the local workers' and peasants' organisations, having in mind chiefly their independent revolutionary development upon the class basis.

The Indian toilers, in their hard struggle, are nearing the fulfilment of their great historic task. The proletariat now organising its forces can rely on the support of the peasantry, of the poor of the towns, and of all the oppressed and exploited of India for whom there is no salvation except as the result of the triumphant revolution. It can rely upon the support of the proletarians of all lands and of the oppressed peoples throughout all the world. We appeal to your Conference to wage a determined fight against waverings and backslidings to criticise grave opportunistic blunders, to work out the revolutionary tactics for the forthcoming fights, to pass to such forms of organisation which, as international revolutionary experience has proved, open the possibility for winning the masses to the cause of the Revolution.

Down with British imperialism !

Long live the revolutionary fight of the workers and peasants of India !

Long live the revolutionary rising of the colonies !

Long live emancipated Soviet India !

Executive Committee of the

Communist International.

FIRST ALL-INDIA WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY CONFERENCE REPORT.

The All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference was held in the Albert Hall, Calcutta, on the 21, 22 and 23rd December 1928. Delegates present from Workers' & Peasants' Parties of Bombay, Punjab, United Provinces and Bengal (See Appendix T), and in

addition many representatives of Trade Unions and sympathisers attended. The hall was decorated with banners and slogans: "DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM" "DOWN WITH CAPITALISM" "DOWN WITH SIMON COMMISSION" "DOWN WITH NEHRU REPORT" "DOWN WITH BOURGEOIS NATIONALIST HYPOCRISY" "DOWN WITH DOMINION STATUS" "DOWN WITH LANDLORDISM" "WORKERS AND EXPLOITED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD UNITE" "COMPLETE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE" "ALL POWER TO THE MASSES" "UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE" "SEVEN HOURS DAY" "LONG LIVE THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF INDIA" etc. etc.

The proceedings opened on the first day at 2 p.m., with the singing of the "International" (in a Bengali version written and composed by Quazi Nazrul Islam) by M. B. Mukherji, A. B. Banerjee and the author. The Secretary of the Reception Committee, D. K. Goswami, then read the following telegram from the Workers' Welfare League of India, London; "Greetings to First Congress. Workers' Welfare League hopes unity of workers and peasants masses will be achieved for future struggles. Potter Wilson."

The Chairman of the Reception Committee, P. Dinda, Bar-at-Law, made short introductory speech, copies of which were circulated in English (see Appendix A.), in which he gave a brief analysis of the Political events of the year and made concrete suggestions for future work and organisation.

The President, Sohan Singh Josh, was introduced formally to the congress by H.K. Sarkar, and read his speech, which was circulated in English, Punjabi, and Urdu (see App.B). At the close he moved two resolutions of protest against the arrest of J.W. Johnstone of America, a fraternal delegate to the conference from the League Against Imperialism, and of three members of the Party, *M. A. Majeed*, *Ramchandra Kapur* and *Kedarnath Saighal* of Lahore, which had occurred a few days before the Conference. (See App. C. & D.).

He then called upon visitors and delegates from other provinces and countries to speak. J. Ryan of the New South Wales Council of Trade Unions, and the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, spoke briefly on his recent experiences of China, and the bearing of the events there upon Indian affairs. He emphasised the inevitability of an extremely sharp conflict between the bourgeoisie and the masses, and the desertion of the struggle by the former in the course of the National Revolution, and the necessity of preparing of it in India by securing the independence of the masses

from the bourgeois influence, in respect to both organization and ideology. He also urged upon the Conference to work for the strengthening of the Indian Trade Union Movement and for its connection with the International Working Class Movement, and in particular with the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

B. F. Bradley of the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the Communist Party of Great Britain spoke on the urgent necessity of establishing the Workers' & Peasants' Party of India. He also dealt with the international movement for freedom from Imperialism, and assured the conference of the sympathy and the solidarity of the revolutionary working class forces of Britain and Europe. Both of these speeches were translated into Hindi by D. P. Godbole.

D. R. Thengdi, the President of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay, spoke in Hindi, urging all to work for the ideal Socialism.

A. C. Gupta, President of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, proposed a Drafts Committee to consider and prepare resolutions to go before the Conference, which was elected unanimously as follows:

Bombay: S. V. Ghate, K. N. Joglekar, B. F. Bradley, S. S. Mirajkar. The Punjab: Bhag Singh Sohan, Singh, F. D. Mansur. U. P.: L. N. Kadam, P. C. Joshi, Gouri Shankar Sharma, Balvant Singh, Bengal: D. K. Goswami, Muzaffar Ahmad, P. Spratt, H. K. Sarkar.

The proceedings closed at 6-30 p.m.

The business of second day began at 1 P.M. Kazi nazrul Islam first sang of his own composition. The political resolution, a draft of which was circulated in *English* by P. Spratt, and Seconded in Urdu by F. D. Mansur Amendments were moved as follows: (1) by Bhagwati charan, that to the account given in the draft of the concessions made by the Nehru Report be added it proposes to pay all foreign state debts. This was accepted without discussion. (2) by K. N. Joglekar, that the clause forbidding the entry of the Party member in to the Independence for India League be deleted. There spoke for this: the mover and D. R. Thengdi and S. Kumara, S. Kumarahand, against: Muzaffer Ahmad, S. S. Mirajkar, S. V. Ghate, H. K. Sarkar, P. C. Joshi, A. B. Banerji and others. The mover than proposed that it be made subject to N. E. C. decision in individual cases. This was rejected as unnecessary. The resolution was finally accepted unanimously, (see app. E for final form).

This short statement on the principles and Policy of the Party, and English draft of which was circulated, was moved in

English by H. K. Sarkar and seconded in Urdu by M. Abdul Razzak. A formal amendment was moved by G. C. Basak that a word "outside" be omitted from the draft, (p, line) This was accepted. The statement was adopted unanimously after a few more speeches in support. (see app. F).

The resolution on the Trade Union Movement, an English draft of which was circulated, was moved in English by *D. K. Goswami*, and seconded in Hindi by *L. K. Kadam*, *B. I. Bradley* proposed two additions, one to the section on The International relations of the Trade Union movement, urging that everything possible be done to cut off connection with and to destroy the influence of the I. L. O.; the other to add a short programme of demands of general validity for most classes of the workers. These were accepted. There spoke on resolution also *K. N. Joglekar*, *D. R. Thangdi*, *R. S. Nembkar*, *S. Kumaranand*, who dealt with the Trade Union work which had been done in Bombay in the course of the year. The resolution was accepted unanimously. (see app. G for final text).

The session closed at 6.30 P. M. with a peasants' song by *Kazi Nazrul Islam*.

The third session began at midday. The Secretary of the Reception Committee read the following telegrams which had just been received from the League against Imperialism. "In name League against Imperialism we send hearty fraternal greetings your first All-India Conference. Hope your deliberations will result establishing strong organisation India's work in masses for struggle against Imperialism and attainment national social liberty. Call upon you protest expulsion Jhonstone American Trade Unionist send attend your Conference as our fraternal delegate. Long live Indian workers and peasants. Long live Independent India. Signed for International Secretariat, Muenzenberg, Chattopadhyaya."

A fraternal message was also later received from the Executive Committee of Communist International, which sent its greetings to the workers and peasants of India, now carrying on a heroic struggle against Imperialist oppression and feudal reaction upon one of the most important sectors of the World front.

Muzaffer Ahmad moved, and *S. V. Ghate* seconded, a resolution (see) app. H) proposing the formation of the All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party. *D. R. Thengdi* and *H. K. Sarkar* also spoke, and the resolution was carried unanimously.

It was moved from the chair that the Party affiliate to the League against Imperialism (see app. j) this was carried unanimously.

A resolution (see app. K) was moved by S. S. Mirajkar and seconded by S. K. Kumarananda condemning the Trade Disputes Bill and pledging the Party to work for a general strike of the protest if it is passed. R. S. Nimbkar also spoke, and the resolution was carried unanimously.

A resolution expressing sympathy with the strike of BAURIA was moved by G. Chakravarty and seconded by R. Mitra. S. N. Chakravarty moved an amendment, which was accepted, condemning the action of certain labour leaders in encouraging blacklegs. (see app. L).

At this point B. G. Kasle, a schoolboy and a son of a Bombay mill-worker, gave a short speech in Hindi, expressing the solidarity of the working class youth with the adult workers.

The draft of the Constitution of the All-India Workers' and Peasants Party, which has been prepared by a small sub-committee, was read out by B. F. Bradley, and Discussed point by point. An amendment was moved by D. K. Goswami, that the general Secretary of the Party should be directly elected by the Annual Congress. This was supported by G.K. Chakravarty K.D. Bhattacharji M.K. Sinha. A.Roy and opposed by H.K. Sarkar, K.N. Jolekar, A.B. Banerji, R.S. Nimbkar.

The discussion was adjourned to the following day, and the session closed at 4. 15, P. M.

The delegates and visitors then proceeded to Shradhananda Park, where a procession of workers was formed which marched with banners etc, to the Congress Nagar, shouting slogans: DOWN WITH THE SIMON COMMISSION? DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM, DOWN WITH DOMINION STATUS, DOWN WITH NEHRU REPORT, LONG LIVE THE INDEPENDENTS SOVIET REPUBLIC OF INDIA. A short meeting was held near the Congress Nagar, at which Sohan singh and R. Mitra spoke

On the fourth day the proceeding began at 1 P. m. at 121, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta. A. Das read out a manifesto from the Young Comrades League of Bengal to the Conference.

H.K. Sarkar moved, and D.K. Goswami seconded, a resolution embodying the proposals of the Party for the organisation of peasants. S.N. Chattarji moved a small amendment to the proposed demands, reducing the proportion suggested to the landlord from the peasants' produce. G.G. Chakravarty supported and A. C. Gupta opposed. The amendment was carried by a majority, and the resolution passed unanimously. (see app.N)

The president moved a resolution (see app.O) protesting against the detention of three comrades under Regulation 111 of 1818. S. M. Shamsul Huda supported, and the resolution was passed unanimously.

The president also moved resolutions, of sympathy with Dr B. N. Mukherji (see app.P.); of protest against the continued imprisonment of certain political convicts after their terms have expired (see app.Q) and of protest against the recent sentences on Trade Union leaders (see app. R).

The remaining clauses of the proposed Constitution of the All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party were read out and accepted without further discussion, the whole being referred to the National Executive Committee for final drafting (see app.M for draft).

The election of the National Executive Committee was then taken. It was proposed by B. F. Bradley on behalf of the drafts Committee that four members be taken from each provincial Party, except that of U. P. which should send two. Objection was taken to this, and it was agreed that should be four from each. During the nominations dispute arose, and adjournment was moved and carried at 3.15 p.m.

On resumption at 3.45 P.m. the president moved resolutions of protest, against the continued detention of two comrades after conviction on flimsy charges (see app.S) and against the preparations for war by the Government against the Soviet Republic (see app.U) These were carried unanimously.

Election was resumed. The members from Bombay, U.P. and Punjab were nominated by representatives from those Provinces and elected unopposed. Conflict again occurred over the election of Bengal members, and some of the Bengal delegates walked out. Misunderstanding had been created by outside influences, which were jealous of the growth of the Party, and made an organised attempt to wreck it. The dispute was eventually settled and the National Executive Committee elected as follows:—

Bombay: K.N. Jolekar, R.S.Nimkar, S.A.Dange, S.V.Ghate.

Punjab: Sohan Singh, Bhag Singh, F.D.Mansur, M.A. Majid.

U.P: P.C.Joshi, L.N.Kadam, Dr B.N.Mukherji, Gourishankar Sharma. Bengal: Muzaffar Ahmad, D.K. Goswami, H.K.Sarkar, G.K.Chakraverti. The session closed at 5.45 P.m.

APPENDICES.

Appendix A. (Chairman's speech)

B. (President's address)

C. (Resolution on arrest of Comrade Johnstone.

This Conference condemns the action of the Government in arresting comrade J. W. Johnstone, the fraternal delegate from the League against Imperialism and for National Independence, to the All-India Trade Union Congress and to this Conference. It considers that this arbitrary attack on the part of the Government is a denial of the right of the oppressed and exploited masses, in particular the working class, to organise for their emancipation. It sees in it an expression of the fear of Imperialist countries and the oppressed peoples of the colonial countries, for which the League Against Imperialism stands.

This Conference expresses its warmest fraternal greeting to comrade Johnstone, and assures him of its complete solidarity and agreement with the League Against Imperialism.

Appendix D. Resolution on the arrest of three comrades of Punjab.

This Conference regrets the absence of its members Abdul.Majid Kedarnath Saigal and Ramchandra Kapur of Lahore, who on the eve of their departure for this Conference were arrested by the police and detained, and expresses its wholehearted sympathy with them.

Appendix E. (Political Resolution)

F. (Principles and policy)

G. (Trade Union Movement)

H. Resolution for formation of All-India Party.

This Conference of delegates from the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay Punjab, United Provinces and Bengal, resolves that the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India be established with these parties as its provincial branches and other provincial committees and branches to be formed with the approval of National Executive Committee.

Appendix J. Affiliation to the League Against Imperialism.

Resolved that the General Secretary of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India apply for affiliation to the League against Imperialism and for National Independence.

Appendix K. Trade Disputes Bill.

This Conference condemns the Trade Disputes Bill as a measure intended to stifle the Trade Union Movement. It also condemns the attitude adopted towards it by many leaders of the Trade Union movement who have supported it and obscured the dangers to the working class of the proposals to establish conciliation machinery, and have wellcome the bill as a

whole, as a measure to suppress the growing militancy of the workers.

This conference considers that the only way to prevent the operation of this measure is to wage a vigorous campaign for the declaration of one-day general strike of the protest on the day the Bill is passed, and a further general strike if it is not rescinded, with the following demands:—

- (1) Trade Disputes Act to be rescinded.
- (2) Freedom of all workers to organise, and freedom for all Unions including those of Government employees, to affiliate to the Trade Union Congress.
- (3) Minimum wages of Rs. 30/-/-
- (4) Universal eight-hour day,

Appendix L. The Bauria strike.

This Conference expresses its sympathy and admiration for the five months struggle of 17,000 juit workers of Bauria, and assures them of its wholehearted support, and strongly condemns the mean tactics pursued by the employers to break the strike with the help of some reactionary Trade Unionists and the police.

Appendix M. (Constitution)

Appendix N. Resolution on Peasents.

Resolved that the Party should forthwith proceed to organise the Peasents of India with a view to enable them to take their proper share in the political, social and economic emancipation movement of the country, on the following lines:—

(By the word "peasant" is meant one who does agricultural work with his own hand, and whose acreage does not exceed 60 Bighas of land (20) acres. Field labours, small artisans and menials in the villages and the fishermen are also to be organised along with peasants.)

Trained workers, preferably with a working knowledge of the art of healing, should be sent to the peasant centers, if possible with magic lantern and slides and pictorial posters, for organising Peasents' Unions and picking up local men for continued work.

Peasents may pay a subscription fixed by their Unions under the direction of the provincial Executive when they become members of the Unions.

The peasants' cause is indissolubly connected with that of the industrial workers through the bond of common exploitation. The fact is also to be noticed that the industrial workers of India are generally recruited from among those of the peasantry who have been ousted from their land by zemindars or money-lenders or both.

The demands set forth here may be enforced by organised mass action, e. g. nonpayments of taxes, peasants strikes etc. Immediate demands :

(1) Abolition of Permanent Settlement of Bengal and elsewhere, and of all intermediate tenures, ryotwari system, talukdari of Oudh, and the like, without any compensation.

(2) Grant of permanent right in land to actual peasants at a fixed rent.

(3) Fixing the maximum scale of rental for all arable land in proportion to the produce, so that in no case should the scale fixed exceed 10% of the value of the actual produce.

(4) Legislation embodying the following:—

(1) Right of free transfer of land without any Nazrana to the landlord.

(2) Stopping the transfer of land to non-agricultural people.

(3) Fixing the rate of interest on loan at 7% per annum in the maximum.

(4) No decrees for an amount of interest exceeding that of the principal.

(5) Exemption from sale or attachment of a peasant's land required for the maintenance of his family on account of liabilities in the form of arrears of the rent, agricultural loans etc.

(6) Realisation of abwabs and illegal cesses to be declared a cognisable offence.

(7) Introduction of immoral women in the fairs (Hats and melas) to be made a cognisable offence.

(8) Reservation of sufficient pasture land for the village.

(9) Maintenance of stud bulls by local bodies.

(5) State aid to peasants by means of cheap credit on co-operative basis for the purchase of modern machinery of agriculture and irrigation and for intensive cultivation.

(6) Abolition of the Adhiar system (Nisambattai of the Punjab, Kudd of Maharastra, and Barga of Bengal) but until it is achieved the peasant should give only 25% of the produce to the owner of the land provided that the latter supplies him with seed etc. 20% in the case of non-supply.

(7) All-navigable rivers to be declared free fisheries, and fixity of tenure and rent for other fisheries.

POLITICAL DEMANDS:

- (1) Universal adult suffrage on non-communal basis.
- (2) Village police to be paid from provincial revenues.

SOCIAL DEMANDS:

Free compulsory primary education at state expense.

ULTIMATE DEMANDS:

- (1) Abolition of landlordism in any form whatsoever without any compensation.
- (2) Abolition of all indirect taxation on necessaries of life.
- (3) Establishment of peasant proprietorship in land.
- (4) Institution of graduated income-tax on agricultural incomes above Rs 2000 per year, subject to the abolition of all other taxes, direct or indirect.

Appendix O. State Prisoners.

This Conference emphatically condemns the action of the Government in continuing the detention of comrades Santa Singh, Gajjan Singh, Basandha Singh, under Regulation III of 1818 and congratulates these heroic fighters for Indian freedom.

Appendix P. Dr. Biswanath Mukherji.

This conference sympathises with Dr Biswanath Mukherji, the President of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of U. P. in his suffering at the hands of hired ruffians of zemindars, and congratulates him on his fight for the interests of the peasants against their oppressors.

Appendix Q. Life term Prisoners.

This conference congratulates those heroic fighters for Indian freedom who are undergoing imprisonment, and emphatically condemns the Government for not liberating those who were sentenced to transportation of life, and who have completed the customary twelve years. Appendix R. Sentences upon Trade Unionists.

This Conference emphatically condemns the action of the Government in getting the conviction of Shibnath Banerji; Singaravelu, Mukundalal Sircar and others, on very flimsy charges, and in spite of the fact that Shibnath Banerji was acquitted once before on the same charge, and Singaravelu and Sircar were found not guilty by the assessors.

This Conference considers these actions of the Government as deliberate and systematic attempts to suppress the rising working class movement.

Appendix S. Akbar Khan and Fazl-i-Ilahi.

This Conference condemns the action of the Government in convicting Muhammad Akbar Khan to 10 years (including seven years for conspiracy while in prison) and Malik Fazl-i-Ilahi Qurban to three years, merely on the ground that they were students in the Eastern University at Moscow, and demands that they be immediately released.

Appendix T. (Statement renumber of delegates etc.)

Appendix U. War Preparations.

This Conference protests against the policy of encirclement and preparation for war pursued with increased vigour by the British Government against the U. S. S. R. and warns the working class against the disastrous consequences, economic and political, to India and to the Workers' Republic, if this war is actually launched.

This Conference calls upon all organisations to conduct a country-wide propaganda, to protest against the war-policy, and to prepare for direct action by the workers in the event of war.

The Allahabad Youth League.

WEEKLY BULLETIN.

No. 4

March 7th, 1929.

"Let our comrades," *Wrote Lenin*, "permit the use of the rigorous term 'technical expert,' for when I speak of inadequate preparations the accusation applies also to myself. I have worked with men who set themselves very high and difficult responsibilities, yet we suffered painfully from the feeling that we were but amateurs. The more ashamed I am to confess this, the more bitter I feel towards those sham socialists who fail to realise that we dare not lower the revolutionary to the level of the amateur."

We quote the foregoing lines to prove how utterly impossible it is for any person or group of persons in modern society to bring about any radical changes in its structure without proper training and equipment. Idealists and enthusiasts make very good poets and unquestionably deserve great honour from society. But their achievements, by the very nature of their temper are limited to the field covered by the mind and the heart. They can enthuse us with lofty aspirations, they can make us yearn for noble ideals, they can place before us the most graphic pictures of faultless utopias. But such appeals are necessarily ephemeral, and nothing that is ephemeral can today supply the hardness, strength and tenacity that are indispensable for wrenching power from those in authority. The accumulated dead weight of age old social customs and practices, and the conservatism and self-interest of those controlling the destinies of society are never going to abdicate in favour of idealistic enthusiasm. The cold, stern, and ascetic zeal of the steady worker alone is capable of shaking the foundations of power in the present times.

The Youths of today, in particular, who aspire to be the torchbearers of freedom in no distant future, must realise the heavy task that they have placed before themselves. To achieve it, they have to prepare themselves both physically and intellectually. This quite process of self-education in the theory and strategy of their social ideals means heavy and arduous work. In the ensuing vacation let every one of us go home determined to take up some social question of his own choice, and study it well. Such of us as will be staying in fairly populous towns and cities can easily avail ourselves of public libraries. But even such as are not residents of urban areas need not despair in the matter. If half a dozen Youths in a small town form themselves into a study circle, subscribe five rupees each to a common fund, and purchase with it a set of books on some subject of common interest, they can very easily do some valuable

study during the three summer months, Subjects like China, Turkey, Egypt, Ireland, Russia, are not only capable of being studied with great profit to the student and ultimately through him to those among whom he lives, but what is more, they are *highly interesting and fascinating*.

Next week we will publish the names of some such books, in sets, each set relating to a particular subject. There will of course be plenty of choice left to every study circle to pick and choose the books it likes from a given set so as to suit its taste and resources. Youths are requested to suggest the names of any other subjects they might desire to study. Before we disperse for the vacation, if any such study circles are formed, we will further arrange for books being supplied to them at cheap concession prices.

LOOK UP NEXT WEEK'S BULLETIN FOR
THESE FASCINATING SETS OF BOOKS.

To do great things a man must live as if he
had never to die.

SEE THE YOUTHS OF BOMBAY AS PROPAGANDISTS.

BOMBAY YOUTH LEAGUE SIMON BOYCOTT COMMITTEE. (6)

RUTHLESS

RELENTLESS

This is what we must be towards those who betray us.

Social Boycott

The surest weapon
for NATIONAL DEFENCE.

**What we must do to those who co-operate
with the unwanted Commission.**

BOYCOTT THEM

- (1) Resolve in all our Associations and organisations to have nothing to do with them;
- (2) Resolve not to have any meetings in their honour, nor to invite them to any function of any kind, social political or economic;

- (3) Resolve not to invite them to preside at any public function;
- (4) Resolve to see that no business firm enters into any kind of business relations with them;
- (5) Resolve to see that every youth shun them as the enemies of our dear Motherland.

A list of these nonentities who have promised to co-operate with the Commission is available at the offices of the Bombay Youth League, Madon House, Hughes Road, Chowpatty.

BOYCOTT THEM.

SEE THE YOUTHS OF BOMBAY AS PROPAGANDISTS.

BOMBAY YOUTH LEAGUE SIMON BOYCOTT COMMITTEE. (1)

YOUTHS OF BOMBAY

SIMON SEVEN ARRIVE ON

Friday October 12

The nations' mandate for complete political boycott is reverberating throughout the land. Every self-respecting Indian leader has expressed his determination to stand by the National Boycott.

But a few flunkeys and toadies of Government are out to disgrace the Nation's honour and self respect by offering to co-operate with Simon and his gang of exploiters.

It is Youth's Duty to expose their trickery.

Therefore

Prepare Yourselves Prepare the Country

&

**Make the Boycott Phenomenally
Successful.**

From

(BUKHAR)

Karachi.

THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTS.

(An extract from a recent publication for our guidance.)

The basic tasks of the INDIAN COMMUNISTS consist in struggle against British Imperialism for the emancipation of the country, for destruction of all relics of feudalism, for the agrarian revolution and for establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry in the form of a soviet republic. These tasks can be successfully carried out only when there will be created a powerful Communist Party which will be able to place itself at the head of the wide masses of the working class, peasantry and all the toilers, and to lead them in the struggle against the feudal Imperialist bloc.

The strike movement of the Indian proletariat now taking place, its independence from bourgeois nationalism, the all-Indian character of this movement, its distribution over almost all branches of industry, the frequent and protracted strikes, the stubbornness and great resoluteness with which the workers had carried them on, the coming forward of Leaders of the strike from the midst of the workers themselves—all these things denote a turning point in the history of the struggle of the Indian proletariat and prove that in India the pre-conditions have matured which are essential for the creation of the mass communist Party. The Union of all Communist groups and individual communist scattered throughout the country into a single, independent and centralised party represents the first task of Indian Communist. While rejecting the principle of the building of the party on a two class basis, the communist must utilise the connections of the existing workers' and Peasants' Parties with the toiling masses for strengthening THEIR OWN PARTY, BEARING IN MIND THAT THE HEGE-MONEY PROLETARIAT CANNOT BE REALISED WITHOUT THE EXISTENCE OF A CONSOLIDATED, steady Communist party, armed with the theory of MARKXISM. The agitational work of the Communist Party must be bound up with the struggle for the immediate demand of the workers' at the same time explaining to them the general aims which the communist Party sets out to achieve and the methods which it applies for their realisation. It is essential to establish nuclei in the various industrial and other enterprises, and these must take an active part in the labour movement, in the organisation and conduct of strikes and political

demonstrations. The Communist organisations must from the very beginning devote special attention to the training of leading Party Cadres from the ranks of the workers.

In the TRADE UNION, the Indian Communists must mercilessly expose the National-reformist leaders and carry on a decisive struggle for the conversion of the trade unions into genuine class organisations of the proletariat and for the replacement of the present reformist leadership by consistent, revolutionary representatives from the mass of the workers. It is especially necessary to expose the methods so much favoured by Indian reformists of deciding conflicts by means of petition to the representatives of British Imperialism, as well as to "Impartial" courts for adjudication between workers and employers. In this struggle, it is necessary to push forward the demands for trade union democracy, putting the trade union apparatus into the hands of the workers, etc. The levers for Party work in the trade unions must be the communist fraction as well as groups founded by the Communist and sympathising with them. It is necessary to utilise the present strike wave in order to organise the unorganised workers. The miners and engineering workers, the coolies working on the plantations and agricultural labourers in general, represent the least organised sections of the Indian proletariat and the Communists need to devote the necessary attention to them.

The Communist must unmask the national reformism of the Indian National Congress and oppose all the phrases of the Swarajists, Gandhists, etc., about passive resistance, with the irreconcilable slogan of struggle for the emancipation of the country and the expulsion of the imperialists.

In relation to the peasantry and peasant organisations the Indian Communists are faced above all with the task of acquainting the widest strata of the peasantry with the general demands of the Party in the agrarian question, for which purpose the Party must work out an agrarian programme of action.

Through workers connected with the village, as well as directly, the Communists must stimulate the struggle of the peasantry for partial demands, and in the process of struggle organise peasant unions. It is essential to pay particular attention to make sure that the newly created peasant organisations do not fall under the influence of exploiting strata in the village. It is necessary to give to the existing peasant organisations a concise programme of concrete demands and to support the activities of the peasants through demonstrations of workers in the towns.

It must be remembered that under no circumstances can the Communists relinquish their right to open criticism of the opportu-

nist and reformist tactics of the leadership of those mass organisations in which they work.

Superscription on the envelope:—

Mr. P. C. Joshi
34, Holland Road,
Allahabad. (U. P.)

P. 337

17 Dwarkadas Mansion,
Sandhurst Road,
Bombay
31/1/29.

Dear Comrade Joshi,

Excuse me, could not write earlier. I hope you are alright.

I propose to give you a little trouble and that is to ask Thakur Narbada Prasad Singh Member A.I.C.C. to send me back the manuscript of my novel. 'Factory ka Hero' or 'Mazdoor Ka larka' or you take it from him and do kindly send me. I propose to finish it and that I can not do unless I go through it once more. Tell him that I shall return it as soon as I have completed it.

With greetings

P. S.

Shaukat Usmani.

Please enquire of some Allahabad press if any ready to buy the Copyright of 'Peshwar to Moscow' I am ready to make corrections and shall revise it. Moreover some photos of Soviet Union can also be supplied. Please reply.

S. Usmani.

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P. C. Joshi

34 Holland Hall

Allahabad.

P. 339.

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To

President labourers and farmers Conference Meerut.

Seriously confined to bed regret absence wish Conference grand success with strong announcement of socialistic republic as Indian ideal disruption of Communal tendencies another need of hour down with Councilwalas of any party.

Arjunlal Sethi.

P. 340

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SEND Rs. TWO HUNDRED TELEGRAPHICALLY URGENT-
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KEDARNATH SAIGAL.

RECD. 21/53.

P. 341.

Telegraphic Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

THE FIRST ALL-INDIA

WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY CONFERENCE

2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

The 27th November, 1928. My Dear Comrade Joshi,

Your letter was to hand in time. I am sorry that I could not attend to it earlier. The Book Company Ltd. of Calcutta has sent to you a V.P.P. of about Rs. 30/-. Please do accept it. I have received a letter from Dr. Vishwanath Mukherji. He says that he will be touring along with you all over the Province. This is very encouraging. Please come to Calcutta earlier. You may go to the Trades Union Congress Annual Meeting from here. Dr. Mukherji also will come here earlier. Please bring a large number of delegates. All of them must be the members of the Party. You must inform us how many of you will be coming. Comrade Gauri Shankar is altogether silent. I do not know what has happened with him. Please see to this. I have not received any letter from Jhansi comrades, neither I have seen a single copy of "Krantikari". On the other hand we have sent to them our announcements more than once.

Please reply at once. With greetings,

Yours fraternally

Muzaffar Ahmad

P. 342.

Weekly Organ Kranti Kari (Hindi) (Jhansi)

U. P. & DELHI WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY,

ALLAHABAD.

3 (1) Marx—Communist manifesto. 3½ d.

3 (2) Engels—Soc : from Utopia to Science
3½ d.

President:— 3 (3) Lenin—The Great Initiative 3½ d.

Dr. BISWANATH 3 (4) Lenin—The Proletarian Revo. 2/3/-

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| MUKERJI, Zaffra Bazar, Gorakhpur | 3 | (5) Kamenett. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat 2½ d. |
| | 3 | (6) Marx—Wage Labour & Capital. 2½d. |
| <i>Vice-President:—</i> DHARAMVIR SINGH, M. A., M. L. C., Taga Boarding House, Meerut. | 3 | (7) Radek—Development of Soc: from Sc. to Practice. 2½d. |
| | 3 | (8) Philips Price—Capitalist Europe & Socialist Russia 5 d. |
| | 3 | (9) Paul—Communism. 7d. |
| | 2 | (10) Marx—Value, Price & Profit. 7d. |
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| PURAN CHANDRA JOSHI, M. A., 34, Holland Hall, Allahabad. | 2 | (12) Bukarin—Programme of World Revo. 1/4½ |
| | 1 | (13) Postgate—the Workers' International 2/9. |
| | 3 | (14) Trotsky—In Defence of Terrorism. 3/6. |
| | 2 | (15) Postgate—Bolshevik Theory 7/6. |
| | 2 | (16) Philspi Price—Reminiscences of the Russian Revo. (Cheap Edition). |
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| | | (34) M. N. Roy—One Year of Non-cooperation. (3). |
| | | (35) M. N. Roy—Aftermath of Non-cooperation (3). |

- (36) M. N. Roy—India in Transition (2).
 (37) Palme Dutt—Modern India (2).
 (38) Stalin—Leninism. 5/- (3).
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 (40) Russian Year Book. 6/- (2).
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 shops. 1/8 (3).
 (44) Kropotkin—French Revo. riots. 3/- (2).
 (45) Vanguard Press. 13 vols. 1/8 each.
 (46) Palme Dutt.—The Two Internationals.
 1/6. (2).
 (47) Purcell & Hallsworth—Labour Condi-
 tions in India. (3).
 (48) Soviet Russia To-day, Br. T. U. Dele-
 gation. 6d. (3).
 (49) Moon—Imperialism. (1).

Weekly Organ Kranti Kari (Hindi) (Jhansi).

U. P. & DELHI WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY.

ALLAHABAD.

The Expansion of Russia.

- President :—* Kropotkin—Memoirs of a Revolutionists.
 DR. BISWANATH M. Philips Price—Siberia.
 MUKERJI, Mavor—Econ: History of Russia.
 Zafra Bazar, V. O. Klinevsky—History of Russia.
 Gorakhpur. F. H. Skrine.—Expansion of Russia.
 Beezby-Forbes and Bickett—Russia-Varangians
 in Bolsheviks.
Vice-President :— DHARAMVIR *Thetsardom.*—Russia of the Peasants and R. of
 SINGH, M.A., M.L.C. the officials and nobility—Revolutionary
 Taga Boarding Movement.
 house, Meerut. Works of Esh.—
 Tolstoi—War and Peace.
General Secy. :— Dostoicosky—House of the Dead.
 PURAN CHANDRA Turgrneieff—Fathers and Children.
 JOSHI, M.A., Kennan—Siberia and the Exile System.
 34, Holland Hall, Gogol—the Inspector General.
 Allahabad. Dead souls.
 Toras Bulba.

Cossack Stories—Everymen's Library,
 Stepniak—Underground Russia.
 B. Shaw—Great Catherine (in Heartbreak House).
 Jariningoff—Russia—the Country of Extremes.
The growth of Capitalism—unbanished peasants, town proletariat. These works a study of Social Masses.—bourgeoise and the Intelligentsia.

Anton, Tchekov—Tales. 13 Vols. by Garnett (Chatto
 Windus 3/6.)

Plays 2 volumes 7/6. (Duckworth)

Peasants and Proletariat.
 Maxim Gorki.
 Three of them—26 men.....Through Russia —
 My childhood.
1905 and After.

Postgate—Revolution 1789-1906 (18/-) Ch. VI.
 Navinsoy—The Dawn of Russia.
 Savinkoff—What Never Happened 7/6.
 Walling—Russia's Message.
 Trotsky—Our Revolution, 1904-17.
 Kropotkin—The Terror in Russia.
 Zinovief—Life of Lenin. 7d.
The War and Its Effects.

Philips Price—War and Revo. in Asiatic Russia. 8/6.
 Farbman—Russia and the Struggle for Peace. 5/-
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 Gen: Lonkemsky—Memoirs of the Russian Revo; 12/6.
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 Wilcox—Russia's Ruin.
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Latin and Trotsky—The Proletarian Revo.
 Trotsky—The Bolsheviky and World Peace.
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Kermsky and Korniloff.
 Trotsky—History of the Revo. Bolsh.....7/6,
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Philips Price—Reminiscences of the Russian Revo.
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 Kantsky Georgia. 5/-
 Trotsky Bet. Red & white. 2/-

Tele: Address:—"GANAVANI" CALCUTTA.

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF INDIA.

2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Jan. 14, 1929.

Organs:

"GANAVANI" "LAL NISHAN"
(Bengali Weekly) (Hindi Weekly)

P. C. Joshi,

Secretary, Workers' and Peasants' Party, U. P.

Dear Comrade,

Monday 21st January is the 5th. anniversary of the death of LENIN, and should be observed by the Party, in conjunction with the Communist Party, in a suitable manner. It is suggested that on that day (or if more convenient, on the day before) as many meetings as possible should be held, especially among industrial workers. It is desirable that these should be advertised previously by handbills, which should give the most essential points of LENIN'S teaching and life.

The most important questions which should be stressed in speeches on LENIN DAY are:

(1) his analysis of the nature of opportunism and reformism in the labour movement, and its role as the last line of defence of capitalism.

(2) his teaching on the colonial question: the tactics and ultimately the leading role of the working class in the colonial revolutions,

(3) the significance of the Russian Revolution, as the first breach in the structure of imperialism, and the U. S. S. R. as the "Father land of the working class"; hence the necessity of the defence of the U. S. S. R. against the war danger.

On behalf of the National Executive Committee of the
WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF INDIA.

Muzaffar Ahmad.

Member in charge of Education and Propaganda.

P. 344.

Seven Urdu pamphlets of kirti kisan Party, Punjab, dated August, 1928, bearing the name of Sohan Singh Joth as General Secretary of the Party.

P. 345.

THE LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of International Labour

Editor: R. PALME DUTT

Editorial & Publishing offices:

162 BUCKINGHAM PALACE ROAD, LONDON, S. W. 1.

Telephone: Victoria 9193

November 29 1928

P. C. Joshi,
34 Holland Hall,
Allahabad, India.

Dear Comrade,

I have just received your very interesting letter of date November 5, for which please accept my best thanks. It is very valuable to get first hand information of the new movement which is expressing itself in the formation and growth of the W. & P. Party. I hope you will be able to write again and if possible correspond regularly so that we may interchange ideas and be of mutual assistance. Please do your best to keep us informed how things develop.

I note your need of literature and will arrange so that you get by the next post some periodicals and also certain books. I will try and get as many books as possible. These you can regard as specimen copies and I will try also to secure that it shall be possible for you to get further copies at specially reduced rates. I will send further details with the books.

Please send a copy, two or three copies if possible, of your Hindi weekly to our office in exchange for the Labour Monthly. It will be very valuable also if you will send a couple of copies to

the Workers' Welfare league of India which has an office at the above address. Such papers are of importance to us for information and study of the situation in India and for propoganda among Indian friends here. Therefore, please try and send us a copy of any literature dealing with labour questions (including strike leaflets and so on) which you may publish or which you get hold of.

I hope that you are finding it possible to draw in actual proletarian workers into the W. & P. Party. The peasants, of course, should be organised in special pasant leagues, with their own special programme of demands, and not in the same branch as the industrial workers. Our strength will depend very largely on how far it is possible to attract actual workers engaged in industry, to help them to organise themselves, and to help them produce leaders of their struggle from their own ranks. The experience of China is of overwhelming importance for us just on this point, for the history of the Kuo-Ming-tang has given a gigantic lesson of the dangers confronting any mass movement which is led by the bourgeoisie or even by the petty bourgeoisie when the latter is left with sole control. I hope later to be able to write more fully on this subject to you and also to hear your views. It would be good to get some information, if you could manage it, to us on the composition of the W.P.P. the number of members, the nature of the work carried out and the actual organisation resulting.

Hoping to hear from you again,

Yours fraternally,

C. P. Dutt,

(Acting Editor)

P. 346

THE ROLE OF THE CONGRESS.

I am not concerned with a historical justification of the role of the Congress. I am confining myself to the congress as it is. Does it deserve the allegiance of young India? Should we think of fighting under its banner.

I would discuss it under 3 heads Congress Ideology, Strategy and Organisation.

Congress Ideology.

It would be wrong to speak of Congress ideology for it has none. It has not yet accepted or formulated any social philosophy consequently congress thought is loose and nebulous. 'Swaraj to C.R. Das was an undefinable mystery: Gandhiji is dead against defining Swaraj. They have all been shunning coventigation of Freedom. The word Freedom alone is meaningless, as long as we are not told the institutions and the way it will be guaranteed and secured. What this mental chaos means was demonstrated wnen Pandit Malaviya could be cheeky enough to remain neutral in Sarda's Child Marriage Bill and yet retain public confidence and not be denounced and exposed. Vague social thinking lacks comprehension, force and dash.

With the exception of Gandhi Ji who should be called a pacifist interantionalist the other groups within the Congress could be called Nationalists, this is the only common term applicable to all. What are the implications of nationalism? What does it mean ?

Every form of society has its own ideology. Class-societies create myths to hide class-exploitation to hoodwink the exploited masses and to peasant about his grievances he clearly expounds the exploitation by the Zamindar and the Mahajan, punctuates it by curses and makes it so telling by relating tales of personal sufferings. Nationalism cannot be his ideology, that shall be Marxism Communism which guarantees to him a classless society free from all exploitation.

It is significant that the Congress has not drawn any mass programme worth the name. It is absolutely silent about Land, Bread, Education. It is amusing to read the Land programme of the Bengal Independence League-Nationalisation by indemnification to the landlord—this is exactly what the even Czardom voluntarily began doing in the 19 century and it is less than Lloyd George's agrarian programme. But the Congress is very articulate about Indianisation of the services, export and import duties and the like—all demands of the bourgeoisie.

Ideologically the Congress is a class organisation embodying class-demands, and even their realisation cannot make it a better place to live in.

Congress Strategy and Tactics.

Besides goody goody talk what is the Congress actually doing? How it endeavours to realise its programme?

Gandhi Ji's maxim is that the Congress ought to arbitrate between the just claims of the capitalist and the just claims of the

Labour justice is 'Down with the Capitalist' Capitalist Justice 'Exploit the worker but give him a good moral sermon'. Leaving these considerations aside and taking his dictum as it is it implies that labour is not a human factor in production, that industrial disputes are mechanical mal adjustments: that the labourer-rebels for the fun of rebellion, he wants to rebel simply, and not because his miseries become intolerable and his grievances remain unredressed—the same grand error of Burke in looking at the Fr. Revo.

How has the Congress reconciled the interest of the classes and the masses. Here are a few significant facts, they may perhaps suffice to tell the whole tale:—

(1) When the bounty to the Tatas was being sanctioned N. M. Joshi, reformist Labourité and a Liberal moved an amendment for a guarantee from the Tatas (since the community was subsidising it) to pay their employees a minimum wage. The Swarajists opposed the amendment.

(2) The Bengal Swarajists expelled a member from their party for moving the abolition of the permanent settlement.

(3) The Bengal Swarajists went into the lobbies 129 times with the Govt. on the Bengal Tenancy Bill, supporting Zamindars interests as against those of the tenants.

(4) 20 m. from Calcutta 17th Jute Workers in Bauria are engaged in a death-struggle with the jute-lords—the Forward refuses to give publicity to the strikers and the Bengal Congressman do not raise their little finger to help them.

(5) In Bombay 1 lac 30 thousand textile workers on strikes for 7 months and the Congress neither supports them or denounces them.

(6) On the Public Safety Bill such was the whipping of these champions of Liberty that 11 Swarajist Councillors were absent.

(7) In the Trade Disputes Bill the Congress Party supported the clauses on Mondism industrial peace, which is obviously the demand of Indian Capital and it means the end of militant working-class movement. The workers are asked to rely on the award of the Imperialist State arbitrating bet. the Indian or Br. Capitalist and the worker. We can foresee these findings. The workers to rely on bourgeois sense of justice and bourgeois charity for the redress of their grievances! Why should not the Congress men depend upon the Imperialist interpretation of Justice and self-Govt. They demand self-determination for the people but do not carry it to its logical conclusion-self-determination for the class.

The Swarajist opposition to the clauses on general strike and strike on public utilities is also explained by the desire to support their own class-interests. Public utilities are mostly state-owned and strikes here mean an attack on the Imperialist State. Ultimately a general strike too becomes a political strike. Br. Imperialism is the rival of Indian Capitalism. Indian Capital would not tolerate workingclass guns turned against itself but does not mind its being employed against its rival, it stands to gain by this latter course, it will be able to negotiate better terms with a disconcerted rival.

Whenever the interests of the Masses and the classes have clashed the Congress has supported the classes and when it has come to supporting the interests of the masses against the classes the Congress has remained inactive.

We cannot evidently depend upon the Congress for Social liberation, can we about national liberation ?

The Congress is bound to fight Imperialism by all peaceful and legitimate means. If this Ahimsa strategy is sincere then the Congress people have not read their history with profit and betray unpardonable ignorance of the org: strategy and tactics of Imperialism.

They do not advocate organised armed mass revolution because of the secret joy they derive from handling a rifle but on the knowledge that Militarism and Navalism are the essentials of Imperialism and that the only way to destroy force is by massing against it still greater force. Power rests on Force and can be captured by Force alone.

Any serious and uncompromising movement of liberation ought to provide and prepare for these successive stages—mass demonstrations, non-violent disciplined direct mass action e. g. strikes etc., and finally armed mass rising.

Ahimsa is a fact. It may be Metaphysics but it is not politics. Political strategy has to be based on the realisation of the native man rational as well as non-rational. Gandhiji demands a living faith in Ahimsa. Morally transformed individuals, and that too on a national scale, before they become soldiers of the nation. Revolution by Reason ! Wait till the Greek kalends !!

It is said the Congressmen are Gandhites only on tactical, to be on the safe side of law and thus secure a legal basis for their work. But then they ought to co-ordinate their legal work with illegal work. They are not carrying on any illegal work on a mass or even a small scale. It appears desire for legalism has resulted in inactivity. They are confusing national thought by standing on the same platform with Gandhi ji—when they will shout 'To arms' nobody will be prepared for it, nobody will understand it.

Congress strategy is absolutely unreal and unscientific. It is counter revolutionary Gandhism because it blackens violence and non-Gandhism because it ignores violence and thus gives people a wrong lead.

Congress Tactics.

The Congress people have been using lightning phraseology but working tactics of compromise which even mean an entire liquidation of its fundamental principles.

Das in his Faridpur speech held out the olive branch? Who demanded it? Who took it? He coined the phrase honourable compromise to hide the damned retreat and it is notorious that he was prepared to form a ministry after the immediate grant of provincial autonomy.

The Calcutta Congress has passed a programme of action. The country is to be prepared for Civil Disobedience. But they meet in informal conferences, Gandhi ji, saintly social reactionary, Motilal ji the astutest and the most class-conscious India bourgeois, Patiala, Bhopal and Kashmir representing autocratic feudal order, The Viceroy representing Br. Imperialism and the Commander-in-Chief Br. Militarism. During the non-cooperation days Gandhi ji refused to see Lord Reading saying that it was an endless war bet. the two systems, one could not accommodate the other. The Congress had banned all social intercourse with the agents of Imp.

This Conf: is not innocent—we may recall the Viceroy's speech and Earl Winterton's reply to an interpellation in Commons which held out hopes of some form of Round Table Conference on the definite term of Dominion Status or a dilution of it.

What to say of a peace before the war. Compromise with the political enemy is capitulation by the weaker party—it is political treachery.

What is the secret of these compromising tactics?

With the modern economic and intellectual development the masses can no longer be used as common fodder. The bourgeoisie of the whole world have seen a bourgeois democratic revolution closely followed by a proletarian revolution. No Napoleon or Cromwell appeared to capture point, tame anarchy and instal the exploitation by a new class. Kornilov the strong man, the great Patriot was lynched, Kerensky the great talker was looted and bounded. The Indian bourgeoisie have moreover seen a dress rehearsal during the non-co-operation days. They saw how the demands of the masses began becoming articulate and they set out to enforce them, class-antagonisms took an active shape. Civil

war had not to be declared, the masses were voluntarily spontaneously drifting towards it. Then came the working Com. resolution for Bardoli in which 6 out of 8 clauses refer to class-war, insisting on the peasants to pay revenues to the Zamindars and remain peaceful. It was closely followed by the Civil Disobedience Inquiry Com. A Hurried Scene-Drop!

The Congress leaders are not for launching a no-tax campaign, they only threaten it. Class-collaboration and mass-movement both cannot be yoked together. The Working Com. resolution seems to confirm this view-there are to be mass-demonstrations theatricalities abt. bonfires door-to-door propoganda etc. and thus produce an electric revolutionary environment in which the Indian governing class may have chances of a better compromise with Imperialism-full-blooded Dominion-Status.

This is the drift it may be conscious or unconscious. Political foolery or treachery can never go hand-in-hand with saintliness or good intentions.

P. 347.

A bill of the Matribhumi Printing House, Jhansi, dated 12. 12. 28 for Rs. 21/10/- in connection with printing charges of 4000 forms for the Young Comrade League and Workers' and Peasants' Party of U.P. and Delhi.

P. 348.

36 Printed notes in Hindi of resolutions passed at Workers' and peasants' Party Conference, Meerut.

P. 349.

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.

P. 352.

SEARCH LIST.

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

1. Date and hour of search 20th March 1929 6 a. m. to 8-45 a. m.
2. Name and residence of persons whose house is searched.—Hazinagar Branch office of the Bengal Jute Worker's Association and the Bengal Paper Mill Worker's Union.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search.
 - (1) Babu Surrendra Nath Mazundar medical practitioner Garifu, P. S. Naihati.
 - (2) Babu Jyotish Chandra Goswami, Post Master Hazinagar P. O. and so on

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.) | Description of articles seized.* | Description of place where article seized was found | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS - Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>maltatika</i> and, the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|--|---|---|--|---|
| 1 | Bengal Paper Mill Workers' Union Diary for 1927 and 1928. (Hazinagar Branch). One Register one "White Law." | In one room facing south west of the house of Harnarain Singh of Hazinagar occupied by the Bengal Jute Workers Association and the Bengal Paper Mill Worker's Union—Hazinagar branch; the article were found on a table and a bench placed against the Western wall and produced by Babu Mahadeb Bose—vice President of the Hazinagar branch of the B. J. W. Association. | Same as in the case of other articles Item No. 1 to 6. | 1. Sib Charan Bhatta Charji of Bhatpara P. S. Jagatdal. Dt. 24 Parganas. Secretary of the Hazinagar branch of these two Association. 2. Mahadeb Bose son of Raj Narain Bose, of Kona P. S. Bijpur. Dt. 24 Parganas. |
| 2 | Flat file containing 9 (nine) notices including a receipt for 2 pads and papers signed by the Secretary of the H. D. office Bengal Jute Workers Association. Dated 11-3-28. | | | |
| 3 | The Bengal Paper Mill Workers Union Members' roll, Branch Hazinagar for 1928. (The word 'Tittagarh' scored through) one Register. | | | |
| 4 | Register of alphabetical Indian of the names of Members and Workers. | | | |

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial. | Description of articles seized. | Description of place where article seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>maltalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt etc. |
|---|--|--|--|---|
| 5 | A Register called the Bengal Jute Workers' association diary book Hazinagar Branch. | | | |
| 6 | One "White Law" flat file containing correspondence of the Bengal Jute Workers' Association 81 sheets. | | | |
| 6A | A printed receipt book (with counter-foils) of Tittagarh paper Mills Workers' Union. Containing Page No. 401 to 500, the 1st two pages used up. | | | |
| 7 | One blank letter head pad of the Bengal Paper Mills Workers Union—Branch Hazinagar. | | | |
| 8 | One blank letter head pad of the Bengal Jute Worker's Association ; Hazinagar Branch. | | | |
| 9 | A typed letter addressed to the Secretary B. J. Worker's Association Hazinagar Branch, by the Secretary of the Central Office Bhatpara. D/ 20-10-28. | | | |

II

- | | | | |
|----|--|--|--|
| 10 | A draft application containing grievances of a Spinner of a Mill Sacking Side No. 4 written in English not signed. D/ 2-11-28 (said to be in the handwriting of Sib Babu). | | |
| 11 | Printed notice one in Hindi and the other in Bengali—D/ 22-3-28. about a meeting which was to be held on 31-3 and 1-4-28 of Bangiya "Krisak and Sramik Dal." | | |
| 12 | One envelop (blank) with the words "Long live the Jute workers" printed at the top. | | |

(Sd.) MAHADEV BOSE.

Signature with date of the person whose property, is seized if present at the search.
20-3-29

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

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

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

(Sd.) MAHADEV BOSE.

(Sd.) RAMESH CHANDRA, Inspector of Police,
Naihati. 20-3-29.

(Sd.) SURENDRA NATH Majumdar. 20-3-29.

(Sd.) JYOTISH CH. Goswami, 20-3-29.

Sub P. M. Hazinagar.

Signature of witness with date
Signature by the accused (optional)

**A whitelaw Flat File containing amongst
others the following:-**

P.353.

**The
Bengal Jute Workers Association.**

Central Office—BHATPARA

(24 Parganas).

No.....

Dated the 6th Sept. 1928.

NOTICE.

THE MEMBERS OF THE C.E.C., B.J.W.A.

A meeting of the C.E.C., B.J.W.A. will be held at the office of the Committee on Sunday the 9th September 1928. at 4 p. m.

Members are earnestly requested to attend.

AGENDA.

1. To consider the question of a recreation club for the members of the Association.
2. Mukundalall Sircar's Fund.
3. Miscellaneous.

G. CHAKRABARTY,

Secretary.

The Bengal Jute Workers Association.

Central Office—BHATPARA.

(24 PARGANAS.)

No. C.O./213

Dated, the 4th April, 1928.

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Bengal Jute Workers Association will be held in the Central Office at Bhatpara on Sunday the 8th April 1928 at 4 p.m. sharp to consider:—

- (1) The letter from the Secretary of the Calcutta Tramway Workers Union in connection with those comrades who have been victimised on account of the "Simon-Hartal".
- (2) The letter from the Secretary of the Bengal Trade Union Federation dated 29th March 1928.
- (3) The situation created amongst the Railway Comrades of the Lillooah Work Shop after the strike.
- (4) May-Day Celebration in this year.
- (5) Miscellaneous.
members are earnestly requested to attend.

G. CHAKAKBARTY,

Secretary,

Central Executive Committee.

P.S. Please inform Comrade Mahadev Bose and oblige.

G. C.

P. 355.

Two printed notices, one in Hindi and the other in Bengali, dated 22-3-1928 announcing the annual meeting of the Bengal Workers' and Peasants' Party to be held at Bhatpara on 31-3-1928 and 1-4-1928.

P. 357.

SEARCH LIST.

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

1. Date and hour of search 20th March 1929 5-30 a. m. to 8 a. m.
2. Name and residence of persons whose house is searched—Nathuni Passi, son of late Balchand Passi, of Bowbazar, Kension Jute Mill Bustec.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search, { (1) Bidhu Bhusan Mitra, Tittagarh Municipal Office.
(2) Ashutosh Chatterji Tittagarh Mahendra Babu's Kutchery.
and so on Rambali Pande, Tittagarh Bowbaza.

| I | Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial. | Description of articles seized* | Description of place where article seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|---|---|---|--|--|--|
| 1 | 23 Declaration forms of membership of the Bengal Jute Workers' Association with finger impression and signature of members. | Found on a Eastern wall shelf of the eastern room of the south facing house of Nathune Passi. | Nathuni Passi son of late Bal Chand Passi of Tittagarh Bowbazar. | All the articles were tied in a packet covered with cloth which was sealed and on it the signatures of the witnesses were taken. | |
| 2 | A pamphlet ' <i>Chat Kalr Katha</i> ' published by the Bengal Jute Workers' Association | Do. | Do. | | |
| 3 | A list containing names of Golam Sarowar and others in ink. | Do. | Do. | | |
| 4 | A paper containing 3 names with address, and 4 addresses. | Do. | Do | | |

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.) | Description of articles seized.* | Description of place where article seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|--|---|--|--|--|
| 5 | A copy of the rules of the Calcutta Tramway Workers' Union. | As in Page No. 1. | | |
| 6 | A copy of book in English "A track act for India" by P. G. Ganguly. | Do. | | |
| 7 | Five draft applications for the Mill hands. | Do. | | |
| 8 | Two letters of 20/1/28, written to the Manager, Standard Jute Mill by S. Banerji Secretary. | Do. | | |
| 9 | Five letters of different dates to Tittagar and Kension Jute Mills. | Do. | | |
| 10 | A letter pad of Bengal Paper Mills Association. | Do. | | |
| 11 | Two letters in English to the Branch Office Tittagarh by the Secretary Bhatpara Central Office. | Do. | | |
| 12 | A notice in English of a meeting of the executive committee of Bhatpara Central Office. | Do. | | |

| | | | | |
|----|--|-----|--|--|
| 13 | A letter written by the Calcutta claim Bureau to the Secretary, Bhatpara Jute Association. | Do. | | |
| 14 | A letter written in pencil by C. C. Ray to Shibnath Banarji. | Do. | | |
| 15 | A letter of 20/11/28 by Shibnath Banerji to the Post Master Tittagarh. | Do. | | |

Signature with date of the person whose property, is seized if present at the search.
20-3-29.

N. B.—This form must be signed by witnesses. Articles seized, numbered and labelled should be attested by signatures of witnesses and Police-officers.

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

(Sd.) NATHINI PASSI,

Police-officer conducting the search.

(Sd.) SARUT CHANDER GHOSE,

Inspr. of police B. K. pur Tittagarh Date 20-3-29.

(Sd.) MD. JAINULLA S. I., 20-3-29.

(Sd.) RAMBALI PARE.
(Sd.) BIDHU BHUSHAN MITRA, 20-3-29
(Sd.) ASHUTOSH CHATTERJEE.

Signature of witness with date.
Signature by the accused (optional)

P. 358.

23 declarations of the members of the Bengal Jute Workers' Association. One of these is signed by Shib Nath Banerji.

Printed at the Saraswati Machine Printing Press, Meerut.

P. 362.

SEARCH LIST.

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

Search list of:—7 Garden Reach Road, Block R officers of (1) Jute Workers' Association (2) Bengal Textile Workers' Union (3) Garden Reach Workers' Union.

1. Date and hour of search, 20th March 1929 from 11-10 a. m. to 1 p. m. and 3 p. m. to 7 p. m.
2. Name and residence of person whose house is searched—Monindra Sinha, of Susang. P. S. Durgapur Dis. Mymensingh (Bengal) and at present of 96 Paharpur Road Matiaburz, P. S. Garden Reach C. P.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search,
 - (1) Makhan Lal De. Matiaburz.
 - (2) Nibaran Chandra Dalal of Matiaburz
 - (3) and so on Purna Chandra Dey of Matiaburz 6, Garden Reach.

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial. | Description of articles seized. | Description of place where article seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>Mallika</i> and, the exact circumstance under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|---|---|--|--|--|
| 1 | A Register with the printed heading "Garden Reach Workers' Union" (Amalgamated with I. G. N. Ry. and Garden Reach work shop Union) containing 418 names. | In the Office room on the table. | Monindra Sinha son of late Kali Kumar Sinha, of Susang P. S. Durgapur Dist. Mymensingh. | The room was found locked and it was opened by Manindra Sinha with the key which was in his possession. |
| 2 | A manuscript Register containing some names etc. | Do. | Do. | |
| 3 | A star of India guard file containing the following:— (a) A typed letter from the Registrar Trade Unions Bengal D/ 12/3/29 to the Secretary Garden Reach Workers' Union. | Do | Do. | |

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial. | Description of articles seized.* | Description of place where article seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>maltalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|---|---|--|---|--|
| | <p>(b) A manuscript letter from N. S. Gupta Secretary Young Comrade's League Dt/ 1/3/29.</p> <p>(c) A Bengali letter addressed to Monindra Kumar Singh.</p> <p>(d) A typed letter No. 1163 Dt/ 5/2/29 from Manager Calcutta Claims Bureau,</p> <p>(e) A pleader's notice to Monindra Kumar Singh.</p> <p>(f) A typed paper containing the names of the office bearers and Executive members elected on the 4th General Meeting of the Central Executive Council of the Bengal Jute Workers' Association held at Bhatpara on 3-1-29.</p> <p>(g) A typed letter Dt/ 21/1/29 from Secretary Bengal Jute Workers' Association Bhatpara to the Secretary Association Matiaburz branch.</p> <p>(h) Typed true copy of letter No. C.O to 525 Dt/ 17/12/28 regarding accident Banshi.</p> <p>(i) Acknowledgment of Registered letter No. 177 addressed to Manager Clive Jute Mills.</p> | | | |

(f) A true copy of letter No. 18 D/- 11-1-29 regarding accident to Banshi

(k) A duplicate certificate No. 10 11/- 17-1-29 from Sambhunath Pandit Hospital to Bhagaban Din.

(l) A typed copy of letter D/- 29-11-28 to the foreman, Garden Reach Workshop Matiaburz.

(m) A typed letter from D. K. Goswami to comrade Monindra Singh.

(n) A typed letter No. 6190 D/- 26-9-28 from Inspector of factories Bengal.

(o) A typed letter No. 2673 D/- 1-11-28 to Kalan Mistri.

(p) Typed letter D/- 21-9-28 from D. K. Goswami to comrade Monindra Singh.

(q) Typed letter D/- 1-10-28 from Mozaffar Ahmed.

(r) A typed paper over the name of Executive Committee 2/1 European Assylum Lane D/- 11-8-28 regarding Trade Dispute Bill.

(s) Typed circular to all Party members Branches and affiliated bodies from Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal D/- 11-8-28.

(t) A typed paper containing 2 circular letters D- 8-10-28 over the signature of K. C. Mitra. E. I Railway Union.

(u) A typed notice D/- 15-9-28 over the name of D. K. Goswami.

(v) A typed letter D/- 13-8-28 to the Commission Workmen's compensation, Bengal.

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial. | Description of articles seized. | Description of place where articles seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc. of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>maltalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burt etc. |
|---|---|---|---|--|
| | (w) A typed letter D/- 12-7-28 to the Secretary Bengal textile Workers' Union. (x) A typed letter D/- 15-6-28 to (y) A copy of typed letter D/- 9-6-28 from Babu Monindra Kumar Sinha. (z) A post card D/- 20-6-28 from Kalidas, Bhatpara to Monindra K. Sinha. | Do. | | |
| 4 | A Royal crown guard file containing 6 pages of News paper cuttings. | As in page No. 1 | | |
| 5 | Applications for membership to the Garden Reach Works Union bearing Serial No. 21 to 56, 58 to 98, 112 to 141, 175 to 176, 190, 192, 195, 197, 198, 200 211, 213, 219, 221-226, 228-233, 235-236, 240-243, 245-261, 263-273, 275-287, 289-291, 293-294, 296-299, 301-302, 312, 319, 320, 314, 316, 317, 325, 381, 412, 418. | Do. On the table in a guard file. | | |
| A 5B | (a) Do without any serial number 63. (b) Do Do pinned together on the top of which is written "Kalipada" 13. | | | |
| 6 | 16 slips of paper containing some names and accounts etc. | In room on table. | | |
| 7 | A certificate granted to Kabez by A. M. Fadyen of S. S. Amrapura. | Do. | | |

| | | |
|----|--|---|
| 8 | A printed notice by Nripendra Chandra Mitra on the back of which is written "Mr. Kali Kumar Sen in Pencil. | Do. |
| 9 | A star of India Guard file containing 33 letters. | Do. |
| 10 | Nine post-card letters addressed to Mohindra Sinha. | In the Drawer of the table mentioned above. |
| 11 | A Note book containing among other things the following addresses— 1. Consulate, General for United States for America 9 Esplanade Mansions. 2. Consulate Germany 2 Store Road Ballyganj. 3. Italy—13/1 Govt. Block East. 4. Norway, 22 Caning St. 5. Consul, Switzerland 100 Clive St. | Do. |
| 12 | A printed form of Bengal Textile Workers Union Matiaburz branch containing some names and addresses. | Do. |
| 13 | A typed letter regarding "Knock out gaspistol". | Do. |
| 14 | Counter foil of Receipt books for subscriptions for membership of the Bengal Textile Workers' Association, Matiaburz 15 books. | On the wall Almirah in the room. |
| 15 | Counter foils of receipts for subscriptions for the Bengal Textile Workers' Union, Branch Matiaburz 5 books. | On the shelf in the room. |
| 16 | Counter foils of receipts for subscriptions for the Bengal Jute Workers' Association, Matiaburz—7 books. | Do. |
| 17 | A printed receipt book containing the pages 201 to 300 of which 201 to 214 used (For membership of the workers' and peasants Party of Bengal) | Do. |

A

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial. - | Description of articles seized. | Description of place where article seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|---|--|--|--|---|
| 18 | Loose application forms for membership of the Bengal Textile workers' Association Matiaburz-418. | As in page No. 1 | | |
| 19 | A blank printed Receipt book for the aid of 1st All India Workers' and Peasant Party Conference. | Do. | | |
| 20 | Printed receipt book containing both used and unused forms of the Garden Reach Workers' Union. | Do. | | |
| 21 | Loose printed application forms for membership for Garden Reach Workers' Union 52. | Do. | | |
| 22 | A manuscript Names etc. in Hindi. | Do. | | |
| 23 | A manuscript proceeding book of the Bengal Textile Union Matiaburz branch 1928. | Do. | | |
| 24 | A manuscript book entitled 'Accidents.' | Do. | | |
| 25 | A Register containing some names and accounts. | Do. | | |
| 26 | A Register of the members of the Bengal Textile Workers Union Matiaburz. | Do. | | |
| 27 | A Register containing names. | Do. | | |
| 28 | A letter file containing 46 papers including some letters. | Do. | | |
| 29 | A copy of "A call to Action" | Do. | | Said to be Jute Worker's Association. |

| | | |
|----|--|-----------------------|
| 30 | A copy of "Imperialism. The State and Revolution" by Nikolai Leuin. | As in Page No. 1. |
| 31 | 6 sheets of loose papers containing some writings. | Do, |
| 32 | Eight printed hand bills regarding Garden Reach Workshops labour Union. | In room on the shelf. |
| 33 | 12 printed Bengalee notice addressed to the labourers of the Garden Reach Workshop. | Do. |
| 34 | 3 Copies of the Pamphlet headed "Political Resolution." | Do. |
| 35 | 4 printed copies of a Pamphlet headed "The Trade Union Movement-Thesis presented to, the first All India Workers' and Peasants Party Conference. | Do. |
| 36 | Three printed copies of "Workers and Peasants Party-Principles and Policy" | Do. |
| 37 | A letter file containing 11 papers (items). | Do, |
| 38 | A letter file containing 10 items of papers. | Do. |
| 39 | "Atma Sakti" Dt/- 29-6-28, 20-7-28 31-8-28, 7-9-28, and 5-10-28. | Do. |
| 40 | 30, items of loose papers. | Do. |
| 41 | 10 Empty envelopes with names. | Do. |
| 42 | 10 letters in envelopes with names. | Do. |
| 43 | An ex. book containing some proceedings of meeting of the Garden Reach Workers' Union. | Do. |
| 44 | An ex Book containing names of the members of the Bengal Jute workers Association Matiaburz. | Do. |
| 45 | An accident record book China Jute Mill. | D |
| 46 | A peon book—record book China Jute Mill. | Do. |

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial). | Description of articles seized. | Description of place where article seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|--|--|--|--|--|
| 47 | Two printed Books in Urdu. | As in page No. 1 | | |
| 48 | 242 printed Hindi Hand bills for 'Lal Nishan'. | Do. | | |
| 49 | Printed Hand Bill for the 5th death anniversary of Lenin-7 copies in Bengalee, 6 copies in Hindi and 1 copy in Urdu. | Do. | | |
| 50 | A printed Hindi address to Workers and Peasants-9 copies. | Do. | | |
| 51 | Several printed Hand Bills for a meeting of the workers at Boro Sahibér that Rajabagan on 17/6. | Do. | | |
| 52 | Some printed Hindi Hand Bills entitled 'Lilooa ka Hal Chal.' | Do. | | |
| 53 | Some printed Hand Bills in Gurmukhi Probably. | Do. | | |
| 54 | Gananban D/- 13-9-28 18 copies. | Do. | | |
| 55 | Do. 9-8-28 2 copies. | Do. | | |
| 56 | Do. 14-6-28 8 copies. | Do. | | |
| 57 | Do. 12-7-28 3 copies. | Do. | | |
| 58 | Some printed Hand bills for "A call to Action" | Do. | | |
| 59 | Three printed leaflets probably in Gurmukhi. | Do. | | |
| 60 | A copy of Annual Conference, Bhatpara 1928-A call to Action. | Do. | | |
| 61 | A copy of Swadhinta D/- 10-1-29. | Do. | | |
| 62 | A copy of some Bengalee of Kartic 1334. | Do. | | |

| | | |
|----|---|---------------------------------|
| 63 | A printed Bengali notice regarding All India Peasants and Workers' Conference. | Room Shelf. |
| 64 | A manuscript telephone call book and accounts. | Do. |
| 65 | A printed pamphlet entitled the Educational Institute-organised to encourage self effort etc. | Do. |
| 66 | One Urdu and one Bengalee, Urdu and Hindi Hand bill regarding a Workers' Meeting on 25/11. | Do. |
| 67 | 5 letters in envelopes..... | Do. |
| 68 | Some blank forms of the Bengal Jute Workers Association of Budge-Budge | Do. |
| 69 | Some printed application forms for membership of the workers and Peasants Party-Bengal both English and Bengalee. | Do. |
| 70 | 4 loose papers containing some writing. | Do. |
| 71 | An account book Clive Jute Mills Bengal Jute workers' Association-Matiaburz 1929. | Do. |
| 72 | Cash book-Garden Reach Worker Union 1928 and 1929. | In the room in a tin suit case. |
| 73 | Five booklet containing counter foil of receipts of G. R. Work Union. | Do. |
| 74 | A note book of Monindra Sinha containing some accounts and other matters. | Do. |
| 75 | Cash book of the Bengal Textile Workers Union Matiaburz. | Do. |
| 76 | Two copies of "The Masses of India" June 1927. | Do. |
| 77 | 50 applications for membership of the Garden Reach Workers Union. | Do. |
| 78 | A list of the important towns of E. Bengal with their school and the Colleges in tabulation and local organisers. | Do. |

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial. | Description of articles seized.* | Description of place where article seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>malika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|---|---|--|--|---|
| 79 | 12 Visitors ticket for the 1st All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference. | As in Page No. | | |
| 80 | 3 Empty envelopes with addresses. | Do. | | |
| 81 | 5 loose paper containing writings. | Do. | | |
| 82 | 33 receipts for Bengal Textile Workers Association Matiaburz. | Do. | | |
| 83 | A slip Of paper containing the following name and address:—" Zulu's Trosin Hamburg 4 Kines St. 10". | Do. | | |
| 84 | 3 visiting cards of Monindra Sinha. Wild Animals dealer. | Do. | | |
| 85 | Two small khatas containing accounts. | In the room on the shelf. | | |
| 86 | An Exercise book containing some accounts. | Do. | | |
| 87 | An Ex. book containing some writings Addresses etc. | Do. | | |
| 88 | 46 copies of papers including letters etc. | Do. | | |
| 89 | A letter file containing 19 printed notices regarding meeting etc. one receipt for Mr. Jumrati and one list of names in Hindi (Manuscript). | Do. | | |
| 90 | One letter file containiug 101 papers-including applications for membershp for Bengal Textile workers association. | Do. | | |
| 91 | 5 printed Urdu posters. | Do. | | |

| | | | | |
|----|--|-----|--|--|
| 92 | One Red flag-“ Workers' and Peasants Party Mazdur “ Kishan Party ”. | Do. | | |
| 93 | A printed catalogue of the United Sporting Agency. | Do. | | |
| 94 | A typed chart under the heading “ Workers protection League. | Do. | | |
| 95 | One tin sign Board-Garden Reach Workers Union Amalgamation of (I.G.N. Ry and G. R. Workshop Unions). | Do. | | |

M. SINHA.
*Signature with date of
the person whose property,
is seized if present at the
20-3-29. search.*

*N. B.—This form must be signed by witnesses.
* Articles seized, numbered and labelled should be attested by signatures of
witnesses and Police-officers.
Permanent marks, such as cuts, etc., must not be made.*

Police-officer conducting the search.
(Sd.) CHARU CHANDRA SARKAR,
Inspr. of police Alipur.
(Sd.) M. AHMED S. I. M. BURJ P. S., 20-3-29.

(Sd.) PURNA CHANDRA, DEY. 20-3-29.
(Sd.) MAKHAN LAL DEY Matiaburz, 20-3-29.
(Sd.) NIBARAN CH. DALAL, 20-3-29.

*Signature of witness with date.
Signature by the accused (optional)*

P. 363.

A blank printed receipt book for the aid of the First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference to be held in Calcutta in December 1928. Each receipt is for Rs. 2/- signed by Dharani Kanta Goswami in rubber stamp, as the Secretary of the Reception Committee of the Conference. On each receipt there is a picture of red flag with hammer and sickle.

P. 364.

Proceedings book of the Garden Reach Workers' Union having the following written within:—

On 1928 the Union under the title of The Garden Reach Workers' Union, (Amalgamated with I.G.N. Ry. and Garden Reach Workshop Unions, was formed, at Matiaburz with the following Executive Committee.

The Garden Reach Workshop Union was formed in the year 1926 and the Garden Reach Workers' Union (i. e. I.G.N.Ry. Union) was formed in the month of February in the year 1926.

G. R. W.

Executive Committee:—

| | |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| Boiler Shop | (1) Nagendra Nasker. |
| ” | (2) Sanwasi Nasker. |
| Fitting (M) Shop | (3) Kalipada Nath. |
| | (4) Indra Singh. |
| Ele. Dpt. | (5) Kisori M. Kolay. |
| Pattern Shop | (6) Govardhan Calu. |
| Outfitting Shop | (7) Banker M. Mukerjee. |
| Black Smith | (8) |
| Blazer Shop | (9) |
| Machine Shop | (10) |
| Saw Mill | (11) Sashi Bhusan Adhikary. |
| Contract Dpt. | (12) Jnanendra N. Bairaji. |
| | I. G. N. Ry. |
| | (13) Rajendra Nath Guha. |

- (14) Radhika m. Dey.
- (15) Girish Ch. Ghose.
- (16) Sk. Amirali Sardar.
- (17) Mani Mohan Banerjee.
- (18) Naba Kumar Mandal.
- (19) Sk. Jalil.
- (20) Abhoy Ch. Lasker.
- (21)

Gr. will be form with 9 members in all.

15-12-28.

It was resolved that Comrade P. C. Bose, will be the Vice President of the Union (Unanimously).

- (1) It was resolved that Comrade Manindra Sinha will be the acting Secretary of the above named Union unanimously.
- (2) And it was resolved that Secretary is allowed to place order for printing letter heads, receipts, and application forms. 500 letter heads, 1000 receipt forms, and 1000 Application forms. It was resolved that, (1) Kishory Mohan Kolay, (2) Satish Ch. (3) and Rojendra Mohan Guha are entitled to collect subscription.

9-1-29.

- (1) It was resolved that Comrade Philip Spratt will be the President of the Union unanimously.
- (2) It was resolved that the fund will be deposited to the Secretary, until a permanent Treasurer is elected, and it was also resolved that the fund will be deposited in the Bank.

25-1-29.

It was resolved that the Sub-Committee of three persons (P.C. Bose, M. Sinha, R. Guha) will draw a programme, containing following chief points: 25 p.c. increment 8 hours a day, 1½ pay for overtime, pay for Holidays question forced leave Proper medical system attending in all time and proper supply of drinking water, sick leave, etc. demands will be printed in Bengali, and Hindi 2000 in all.

The Unicorn Exercise Book of Bengal Jute Worker's Association, Metiaburj Branch, having the following Written inside:—

1. Abdul Halip.
2. Abdul Sopan.
3. Ramjan.
4. Paigambar box.
5. Hanzi Mohammad.
6. Abdul Hanif.
7. Md. Hatim.
8. Darbari Khan.
9. Dargahi.
10. Istahar.
11. Rahamit Ullah.
12. Abdul Hanip.
13. Hossin.
14. Jahur Md.
15. Ahmad Ullah.
16. Asgahar.
17. Babu Phatigan.
18. Maharam.
19. Bhagan Chaduri.
20. Ramjan.
21. Mahabu.
22. Naizamuddin.
23. Lila Pandit.
24. Sattar.
25. Diljan.
26. Nabitox.
27. Md. Sukur.
28. Kabiruddin.
29. Abdul Sattar.
30. Pach Kauri.
31. Owahad Alli.
32. Md. Suffi.
33. Abdul Huq.
34. Basarait.
35. Bachan.
36. Babu Musta Khan.

37. Amhad.
38. Jakub.
39. Ramzan Khalipa.
40. Sultan.
41. Muslim.
42. Karamat Alli.
43. Ramzan Khalipa.
44. Rakhadan.
45. Muckdum.
46. Mahabub Khan.
47. Kurban.
48. Kalip.
49. Jan Md. 419 N. W.
50. Karim Ullah.
51. Habib Ullah 419 N. W.
52. Alli Hossan.
53. Kurban.
54. Khodadin. 452 N. W.
55. Sobangani.
56. Suddi.
57. Phada.
58. Sattar.
59. Md. Hossan.
60. Babu Phudur.
61. Moharam.
62. Hassim.
63. Pach Kauri.
64. Ramzak Mia.
65. Hanzim Ullah.
66. Fanyal Mia.
67. Sulaman.
68. Kada Miaha.
69. Nasardin. 352 N. W.
70. Gulam Rasul.
 - E. Members.
 - B. Shop.
 - fitting shop.
71. Dasai.
72. Kasim Alli.
73. Reaj Alli.
74. Rustom.

75. Rahamat.
76. Sahabal.
77. Mahamad Alli.
78. Karamat.
79. Alibox Maih.
80. Barul.
81. Ismile.
82. Rahimbox.
83. Jumrati.
84. Asgur Miah.
85. 'Nabbi Miah.
86. 'Fufim Miah.
87. 'Khoda box ".
88. 'Rasul box ".
89. 'Diljan ".
90. Alladin. 345' W. N.
91. Ismile.
92. Soban Miah.
93. Mustokhin.
14. 'Nauzar Alli Miah.
95. 'Idan Miah.
96. 'Ass Mohamad Miah.
97. 'Tass Mohamad.
98. Lila Miah.
99. 'Kariman Gani.
100. Rabim Miah.
101. Sobhan.
102. 'Ass Md.
103. Jahur Maih.
104. 'Jumrit Maih.
105. 'Gani Maih.
106. 'Kabir Maih.
107. 'Jahir Maih.
108. 'Sakur Md.
109. 'Mataru Maih.
110. 'Samat Alli Miah.
111. 'Khalil.
112. S. K. Kurban.
113. S. K. Gofur.
114. S. K. Ramzak.

| | | | |
|------|-------------------|-------|------------|
| 115. | S. K. Jumman. | | |
| 116. | S. K. Ahamad. | | |
| 117. | Pir Alli. | | |
| 118. | Abdul Khalik | | |
| 119. | S. K. Idup | | |
| 120. | Jumman Miah. | | |
| 121. | Nirajan Miah. | | |
| 122. | Safait Miah. | | |
| 123. | S. K. Abdul Aziz. | | |
| 124. | Bhagalu. | | |
| 125. | S. K. Khodadin. | 452 | |
| 126. | Adarali. | 241 | |
| 127. | Ramjan Miah. | 365 | |
| 128. | S. K. Korban. | 499 | |
| 129. | Sulaman. | 306 | |
| 130. | Waridali. | } 306 | |
| 131. | Nur Md. | | } 220 |
| 132. | S. K. Kottar. | | |
| 133. | Dargari Miah. | 147 | |
| 134. | Jinnath Hossain. | 91 | Old. |
| 135. | Golam Hossain. | 61 | " |
| 136. | Bosarat | 257 | (Old) |
| 137. | Sakhout. | 296 | " |
| 138. | Nirmalli | 118 | (Old) |
| 139. | Hosnu. | 503 | N. |
| 140. | Idali. | | Old |
| 141. | Rahaman. | | N. |
| 142. | Sorju. | 359. | N. |
| 143. | Kesab. T. | 6 | |
| 144. | Ranjan. | 558. | N. S. |
| 145. | Samu. | 128 | |
| 146. | Haniff. | 707 | S. |
| 147. | Nathuni. | 400 | N. W. |
| 148. | Amirulla Khan | 197 | N. W. |
| 149. | Habibox. | 30 | N. |
| 150. | Nasurulla. | 183 | W. Old. M. |
| 151. | Jan Md. | 217 | W. Old. M. |
| 152. | Azimulla. | 334 | W. New. |
| 153. | | | |
| 154. | | | |
| 155. | | | |

Volunteer.

1. Sattar Maih.
2. Pach Kori Maih
3. Abdul Anziz.
4. Rasurbox Maih.
5. Sari Maih.
6. Abdul Khali.
7. Mustakim Maih.
8. Mohamad Alli.
9. Kurban Maih.
10. Abdul Maih.
11. Lila Maih.
12. Darbari Maih.
13. Jaula Maih.
14. Fakir Md.
15. Aldin Maih.
16. Rahamat Ullah.
17. Gagan Maih.
18. Sukur Md.
19. Yakub.
20. Subrati.
21. Duli Maih.
22. Rahaman Maih.
23. Jahir Maih.
24. Kabir Maih.
25. Fali Gan Maih.

List of Volunteers.

| Badge. | Address. |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| 1 Md. Sakoor..... 1 | Majidtola. |
| 2. Dulal Ch. Roy.....12 | |
| 3. Md. Halim..... 1 | Majidtola. |
| | C/ Idu Khansama. |
| 4. Mahbub 1 | Line 1. |
| 5. Bhola Sheak..... 1 | Line 5. |
| 6. Inul Hoque..... 1 | Dewan Bagan. |
| 7. Budhu Bania. | Matiaburz, |
| | Haddikal, |
| | Sewdayal's house. |

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|--|
| 8. | Sk. Ajoo..... | Bengali Bazar. |
| 9. | Abdul Aziz..... | Bengali Bazar, C/o Rahiman Mia. |
| 10. | Ser Mahamud..... | Paharpur Road, Hapsitolla. C/o. Fiddu Khalifa. |
| 11. | Mohmud Soffi..... | Do. |
| 12. | Ajul Haque..... | Do. |
| 13. | Sk. Kurban..... | Mazidtolla C/ Baboo Khalifa. |
| 14. | Jumman..... | Paharpur Road. |
| 15. | Zakir..... | Bangali Bazar. |
| 16. | Abdul..... | Bangali Bazar. |
| 17. | Mahbub..... | Bangali Bazar. C/ Dhonga Bazar. |
| 18. | Sudhansu Haldar..... | 6, Shaheb Lane. |
| 19. | Suren Das. | Zamildar's Lane. |
| 20. | Md. Hossain. | Majid Lane C/ Khoda Din Khan. |
| 21. | Radha Benode Mukherjee. | Line No. 1. Room No. 8. |
| 22. | Annada Prasad Mani | ” |
| 23. | Jitendra Nath Samanta. | ” |

Strike Committee formed at to-day's meeting of the strikers of Clive Jute Mills:— *Dated the 13/1/29.* subject to additions and alterations.

1. Karimon Mia, Kachi Sarak (Paharpur Rd.)
2. Sk. Jumman Mia, Musjid Talab.
3. Mohubuk, Bangali Bazar.
4. Abdul Do.
5. Razak Do.
6. Sukur Mohammed, Kachi Sarak (Paharpur Rd.)
7. Suraju Singh, Karbala.
8. Sk. Jahir, Kassai Mohalla.
9. Tusto Charan Mistry, MudiALLY.
10. Korban Mia, Mosjid Talab.
11. Basir Mia, Do.
12. Salimulla, Do.
13. Musai, Do.
14. Majid, Do.
15. Monawar Hossain, Kachi Sarak, (Paharpur Rd.)
16. Agani, Dhobapara.

17. Nabi Bux Karbala.
18. Kalidas Bhattacharya.
19. Mani Singh.
20. Shamsul Huda.

Advisory Board.

1. Abdur Rezzak.....W. P. Party.
2. P. Spratt..... ”
3. Kali Sen.....Bengal Jute Workers'
Association.
4. S. M. Shamsul Huda....W. & P. Party.
5. Mani Sinha.....Bengal Jute Workers'
Assn.
6. D. Gossain..... ”
7. Ratan Hazra.....Comrades' League.
8. Akhil Bandhu Bannerjee. W. & Party.
9. Muzaffar Ahamad. ” ”
10. A. P. Varma ” ”
11. Pyari Mohan Das ” ”
12. Kalidas Bhattacharya. ” ”
13. Abdul Halim. ” ”
14. Nripendra Nath Majundar. ” ”

P. 366. ~~4~~ T. Rejected

Printed hand-bills in Bengali, Hindi and Urdu published at
2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta in connection with the Fifth
Anniversary of the Death of Lenin.

P. 367.

Printed leaflet entitled "An Appeal to the Workers & Peasants, Brothers & Sisters".

P. 368 ^{T. Rejected}

18 copies of "GANAVANI" dated 13th September, 1928.

P. 369.

Two Copies of "GANAVANI" dated 9. 8. 28.

P. 370.

8 Copies of "GANAVANI" dated 14. 6. 28.

P. 371.

3 Copies of "GANAVANI" dated 12. 7. 28.

27 Copies of

A CALL TO ACTION!!

Being the Resolutions and Theses passed at the

Third Annual Conference of the

WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL.

After years of agitation and organisation, India is still a slave-nation, is farther from freedom than ever. Why is this?

Why is the once mighty National Congress a laughing stock before the world?

Why do your leaders invariably say one thing and do another?

For a clear, consistent Marxist analysis and explanation of these disturbing phenomena.

For a clear practical lead as to what to do to remedy this state of things. See, "**A Call To Action**"

PRICE As. 8 ONLY.

To be had of

1. WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL
2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.
 2. THE BOOK COMPANY LTD.
4/4A, College Square, Calcutta.
 3. WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY, BOMBAY.
17, Dwarkadas Mansions
Sandhurst Road, Bombay No. 4.
 4. THE MANAGER "KIRTI"
Amritsar.
 5. M. A. MAJEED
Dhal Mahalla, Mochi Gate, Lahore.
-

P. 373. & T. *Rejected.*

A note book containing entries of various nature:—

At Page 31. There is a note to the effect that 2 annas was paid to Gopen and again 12 annas was spent for the tiffin of Gopen, Sachin and doctor.

Page 159. Shows the following expenditure:—

Fooding for comrade Goswami annas 8.

Comrade Huda rupee 1/-

Page. 160 Annas -/13/- has been shown against Goswami and 5 comrades for bus fare.

Page 162. It contains the following entries:—

Paid for police bribery Rs. 25/-

Paid to Kali Baboo „ -/8/-

Paid to Huda „ -/8/-

Page 164. Shows the following expenditure:—

One rupee to Goswami and -/11/- for fooding of Raza and Huda.

Page 181. Shows payment of Rs. 2/- to Muzaffar Ahmad.

Page 211. Shows payment of Rs. 20/- to Halim.

Page 228. Shows an expenditure of -/7/- to call Muzaffar and Halim.

P. 374.

First All-India

(a figure of
hammer and
sickle)

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY CONFERENCE
ALBERT HALL,
CALCUTTA.

December 21, 22, & 23 (1928)

VISITOR'S TICKET.

As. 2.

(Rubber stamp impression)

D. K. Goswami.

Secretary,

Reception Committee.

P. 375

5 Printed Urdu posters announcing the Conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Party to be held in Calcutta on December 21st, 22nd and 23rd, 1928, published from 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta. On the top of the posters it is written in bold type that the Workers' and Peasants' Party should take part in the Conference with a view to drive away the capitalists. Cartoon of a labourer with a hammer and a sickle is also printed.

FRONT.

No. 1136.

The Indian Seamen's Union.

Chairman.
S. SAKLATVALA, M.P.

Secretary-Organiser
N. J. UPADHYAYA.

MEMBERS' NAME:
ABDULHAKIM.

Date of Issue: December 1927.

Secretary:
N. J. UPADHYAYA.
Head Office: 88 East.
India dock (N.E) 14. LONDON.

OBJECTS.

1. To secure its members wages and conditions not less favourable than those applying to European and American Seafarers.
2. To demand and secure for its members full political, economic and social freedom.
3. To maintain close and harmonious relations with existing Indian Seamen's Unions and with the Indian Trade Union Congress.
4. To work for the linking up of all organisations of Indian Seamen in an all inclusive international union of transport workers.

SARASWATI PRESS MEERUT.

BACK.

Contribution—HALF ANNA MONTHLY.

| | 1927. | 1928. | 1929. |
|----------|-------|------------------------------|-------|
| January | | I. S. U. 1 ANNA | |
| February | | I. S. U. 1 ANNA | |
| March | | I. S. U. 1 ANNA | |
| April | | I. S. U. 1 ANNA | |
| May | | I. S. U. 1 ANNA | |
| June | | I. S. U. 1 ANNA | |
| July | | | |
| August | | | |
| Sept. | | | |
| October | | | |
| Nov. | | | |
| Dec. | | | |

Name:

MR. ABDULHAKIM.
ELAHIBUX.

Address:

6 SHAH AHMAD LANE,
P. O. Khiderpur, Calcutta.

Village.....

Post.....

Province.....

Grade-Saloon water.....

Ship S.S. Markara.....

P. 377 E.

Superscription on the envelope:—

Seal.

Government Examiner of Questioned
Documents.

No. H 3373

A V. O. 1. H.

To ~~Delivered Personally to~~

Mazaffar Ahmad, Esq.

2/1. European Asylum Lane

CALCUTTA

Ex A

H. P. Dastor

17/9/28

P. 377 E1.

On the reverse of the envelope is written as follows:—

From

M. A. Hakim

No. Saha Aman Lane

P. O. Kidder Pore

CALCUTTA

Ex A1

Seal.

H. P. Dastor

Government Examiner of Questioned

17/9/28

Documents.

No. H 3373

A1 V. O. 1. H.

P. 378

INDIAN SEAMEN'S UNION.

(In Hindi "Bharatiy Khalasi Sangh" in bold letters)

(In Bengali)

(In Urdu)

President :

Chief office :

S. Saklatvala, M. P.

88 East India Dock Road,

Secretary-Organiser :

London, E. 14.

N. J. Upadhyaya.

8th of Feb 1928

Dear Comrade

Just a few lines to introduce Mr. Mohomad Abdul Hakim of 6 Shah Aman Lane, Calcutta.

He has shown great care about the well fare of the Indian worker and I hope you will find the conversation very interesting; also we would very much like to know your opinion about this Comrade.

Please find a letter from C. P. D. and reply.

With best wishes

Yours fraternally

N. J. Upadhyaya

Address on envelope :—

Muzafar Ahmad Esqr

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

SEARCH LIST.

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

1. Date and hour of search 5-20 a. m. Dated 20-3-29.
2. Name and residence of persons whose house is searched:—List of properties (papers) found on the person of the accused and son of Muzaffer Ahmad of 2/1 European Asylum Lane.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search.
 - (1) Habibur Rahman of 3/1 Taltola Lane.
 - (2) Shamusuddin Ahmad of 3/1 Taltola Lane.
 - and so on

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.) | Description of articles seized.* | Description of place where article seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>matalika</i> and, the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|--|---|--|--|--|
| 1 | A letter in English written in pencil on 2 sheets beginning with the word Comrades, at page (1) and ending with the words "and the on page (2) beginning with word Dictatorship at Page 3 and ending with the words "its bud at at Page 4. | Found on the person of Muzaffer Ahmed. | | |
| 2 | An envelope addressed to Dharni Goswami, containing 2 notices from Small Cause Court, Calcutta, re. suit Nos. 5225 and 5263 of 1929. One general form of application re. suit No. 5225 of 1929 and are attachment before Judgement order re. suit No. 5225 of 1929. | Do. | | |

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial. | Description of articles seized. | Description of place where article seized was found | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt etc. |
|---|---|---|--|---|
| 3 | 2 letter papers in Gurmukhi and English bearing the words 'B. Balwant Singh, Pardesi, 105, Bocal Bagan Rd. Bhawanipore, showing certain items of expenditure. | As in Page No. 1. | | |

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

*N.B.—This form must be signed by witnesses.
* Articles seized, numbered and labelled should be attested by signatures of witnesses and Police-officers.
Permanent marks, such as cuts, etc., must not be made.*

(Sd.) ILLEGIBLE.
Police-officer conducting the search.
Date 20-3-29 Place No. 2/1. European Asylum Lane.

(Sd.) H. RAHMAN.
(Sd.) S. AHMED.

Signature of witness with date.
Signature by the accused (optional)

Comrades:

Not only our party but also our group is labouring under misconception of scientific socialism and are so making tactical blunders in our organisational role as Vanguards of the Working class movement. We are giving the question of personals, higher places in our works than the idea of work. We are so working out a social democrat. Persons should have no place with us, but only the work should be counted. Work done by any persons, be he of any sotck, if furthers the cause of the working class must be supported by us. It should be our look out that the person who is doing the work, may not undo that work, that person turning up a reactionary or if he be now a bourgeois or petty bourgeois. To do so we will appraise the work and expose the persons and his defects and the aims he may strive for. We are to make the working class concious of the work and the slogans to follow, for a Proletarian revolution. So, we find, after the February Revolution in Russia, the Bolshevists upholding the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers, though it was then predominated by the Menshevics, but they did expose the defects of the Soviet leaders in failing to draw out the correct line of action to be adopted by the Soviet, they exposed the compromising mentality nature of them, in supporting the bourgeoisie, the Imperialist war, and adherent to the Provisional Government. What they did was to ask the Soviet to be itself in power and form and support such a provisional Govt. which should be revolutionary. So we see in persons of Milinkoff, Kerensky, Tseidze Tserteth to be utilised by them in working out the bourgeois revolution and advance the movement ripe for proletarian revolution. Bourgeoisie yielded to the will of the organised proletariat without whose support they couldn't stand. But when they found that they couldn't stabilise the bourgeois regime or cheque the move of the revolution, they made their halt at the last point of their boundary, but they were overthrown and the revolution rolled on to reach the proletarian revolution and the Dictatorship of the proletariat. Fools we were to loose Subhash & Jawharlal to march on, at least the end of bourgeois revolution and given them the chance to be drawn away by the conscious bourgeoisie or the moderates and then clear the path of compromise between the Indian bourgeoisie and the Imperialist foreign power, both of whom can not, if they can, allow the working class to attain its emancipation which will mean their death. The most fool we will prove ourselves if we give the bourgeoisie chance to draw away also, in their ranks, the younger sections of the middle class intelligentsia who has not yet joined them and who are on the process of radicalisation and also to see as sightseer, the Jamshedpur Unions & other such organisations meet its pitiable death. Some of

Comrades in the Workers' & P. Party who take themselves to be leftist, are making the worst blunders. They are trying to do the works of the Party in water-tight-compartments. They think of India today is what Russia has become but today and so they scent Trotskyst tragedy to appear at any moment and so as a guard against all these they try to keep the Party pure, by not allowing or driving out those persons who merely by their births are suspected by them to turn up to be reactionaries or at least the pacifist, social Democrat of advanced countries. Not to speak of Jawharlal and Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt or Prabha Das Gupta, they were thinking of Comrade Kali Sen to become a reactionary and so they couldn't reconcile to the idea that they would have any place in the W. & P. P. Then next their attention has been drawn to the possibility of Com. Chakravarty and ourselves to become the like, prejudices of the class we are born in, getting the upper-hand—Nay there are something else which are playing in their sub-conscious minds in taking to this last course of driving us, for if not so then why should they don't mind for Com. Goswami whom sometime back they thought to be fit to become a fullpledged Communist member with C. P. of India Comrades. I warn you that the problems that are confronting the C. P. of Soviet Russia or the advance and Capitalist countries are not the same in India. You should by no means forget that India is a Colonial country and the tactic you are to play in your organisational role are much more difficult and complex than that of other countries & if by your tactical blunder you make India wait for centuries for proletarian revolution then the crime of betraying the workingclass are on you. No doubt it is and should be your firm object to achieve the overthrow of the Imperialist and the bourgeoisie the same time but it should be our important tactic not to allow these two combine against us when the working class are not organised, for then we allow the combined forces to suppress the movement in its bud.

P. 392.

SEARCH LIST.

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

1. Date and hour of search—5-20 a. m. D/- 20-3-29 to 7 p. m. D/- 20-3-29.
2. Name and residence of person whose house is searched—Office room of the Peasants and Workers' Party.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search,
 - (1) Habibur Rahman of 3/1 Taltolla Lane at 2/1 European Asylum Lane.
 - (2) Shamsuddin Ahmad of 3/1 Taltolla Lane.
 - (3) and so on

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial. | Description of articles seized. | Description of place where article seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>Mallika</i> and, the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|---|--|--|--|---|
| 1 | A copy of the book entitled "Lenin" bearing the name of P. Spratt. | Office room of the Peasants' and Workers' Party. | | |
| 2 | A copy of the book entitled "Woman and Sociology" bearing the name S. Ahmad. | | | |
| 3 | A copy of a book entitled "Creative Revolution". | | | |
| 4 | A copy of a book entitled "The Essentials of Mara". | | | |
| 5 | A Bengalee book entitled "Matir-ghar". | | | |
| 6 | A pamphlet entitled "Life of Jack London". | | | |

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial. | Description of articles seized. | Description of place where articles seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc. of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mattalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burt etc. |
|---|---|---|---|--|
| 7 | A pamphlet entitled "The strength of the Strong". | | | |
| 8 | A pamphlet entitled "What life means to me". | | | |
| 9 | A pamphlet entitled "Common Sense". | | | |
| 10 | Copy of a book called "The Law and Order". | | | |
| 11 | Copy of a Bengalee Book callad "Lenin-o-Soviet". | | | |
| 12 | Copy of a book entitled Writings and Speeches by Raja Peary Mohan Mukerjee. | | | |
| 13 | One copy of the "Historic State Trial of the Ali Brothers and five others". | | | |
| 14 | One copy "Thacker's Survey Map of India". | | | |
| 15 | Copy of a pamphlet in Bengalee entitled "Krishaker Kath". | | | |
| 16 | Receipts Nos. 1233 to 1300 acknowledging donations in aid of the First All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference. | | | |
| 17 | A copy of the book entitled "Mother" by Maxim Gorky. | | | |
| 18 | Copy of a book called "Peshawar to Moscow". | | | |

- 19 Copy of a book called "The Duties of Man" by Joseph Mazzini containing a post card in Bengali addressed to R. K. Banerjee.
- 20 4 books bound in one entitled.
(1) "Surat Congress and Conferences."
(2) "A national flag for India."
(3) Lok Tilak's speeches on Home rule.
(4) The Second Annual Report of the Bengal Mohamaden College Students' Association.
- 21 Copy of a book called "India in 1924-25".
- 22 Copy of a book called "The Revolt of Asia."
- 23 Copy of a book called "New India or India in Transition".
- 24 Copy of a book called "Gandhi versus Lenin" bearing the name Paresh Chandra Chakraverty.
- 25 Copy of a book called "The Workers' International".
- 26 Copy of a book called "The Management Problem."
- 27 Copy of a book called "Anarchy and the Way Out," bearing the name of Surendra Nath Tagore.
- 28 Copy of a book called "The Coming of Socialism".
- 29 Copy of a pamphlet called "The Trade Union Movement in India."
- 30 Copy of a pamphlet called "Trade Union" (No. I.)

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial. | Description of articles seized.* | Description of place where article seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>malika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|---|--|--|--|---|
| 31 | Copy of a pamphlet called "Trade Unionism marked G/256. | | | |
| 32 | Copy of a book called "The Youth Movement in China". | | | |
| 33 | Copy of a book called "Village Life under the Soviets". | | | |
| 34 | Copy of a book called "Problems of Life". | | | |
| 35 | Copy of a book called "Materialism Empires Criticism." | | | |
| 36 | Copy of a book called "The Builders' History". | | | |
| 37 | Copy of a book called "The Evolution of Property". | | | |
| 38 | A pamphlet called "The Principles of Socialism." | | | |
| 39 | A pamphlet called "Communism". | | | |
| 40 | A pamphlet called "Logic of Socialism" bearing the name A. Halim. | | | |
| 41 | A book named "Social Revolution". | | | |
| 42 | A pamphlet called Guide to "National Health Insurance". | | | |
| 43 | Copy of a book "The Underlined principles of Modern Legislation," bearing the name Satish Chander Modak Varsity Law College, Calcutta. | | | |

- 44 Copy of a book called "The Founda-
tion of Imperialist Policy".
- 45 Copy of a book called Health Work
in Social Russia.
- 46 Copy of a book called "The Students'
Mara".
- 47 Copy of a book called "Life and
Teachings of Karl Mara."
- 48 Copy of a book called "Revolution
and Counter Revolution".
- 49 Copy of a book called "The Economic
Theory of the Leisure Class".
- 50 Copy of a book called "An outline of
Economic Geography".
- 51 Copy of a book called "Marxism and
History".
- 52 Copy of a book called "The New
Schools of New Russia" bearing the
name M. Ahmed.
- 53 Copy of a book called "The Theory
of the Leisure Class".
- 54 Copy of a book called Company
"Unions"
- 55 Copy of a book called "Soviet
Trade Unions.
- 56 Copy of a book called "How the
Soviets Work"
- 57 Copy of a book called "Three
Months in Russia
- 58 Copy of a journal called Trade
Unions in Soviet Russia.
- 59 Copy of a journal called "National
Minority Movement" containing report
of Third Annual Conference.
- 60 Copy of a book called "War and its
alleged Benefits".

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial. | Description of articles seized. | Description of place where article seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>maltaka</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|---|---|--|--|---|
| 61 | Copy of a book called "The Great French Revolution" Volume No. I. | | | |
| 62 | Copy of a book "The Great French Revolution" Volume No. II. | | | |
| 63 | Copy of a pamphlet called "A Week in India" | | | |
| 64 | Copy of a pamphlet called "Fascism" | | | |
| 65 | Copy of a pamphlet called "The Co-operative Movement". | | | |
| 66 | Copy of a pamphlet called "Imperialism". | | | |
| 67 | Copy of a pamphlet called "The Russian Revolution". | | | |
| 68 | Copy of a pamphlet called "Scientific Method". | | | |
| 69 | Copy of a pamphlet called "Biology". | | | |
| 70 | Copy of a pamphlet called "Swaraj Party Bulletin No. I". | | | |
| 71 | Copy of a book called "Wages". | | | |
| 72 | Copy of a book called "Guild Socialism re-stated". | | | |
| 73 | Copy of a book called "The Early Revenue History of Bengal. | | | |
| 74 | Copy of a book called "Voices of Revolt". | | | |
| 75 | Copy of a book called "Karl Marx on Value". | | | |

- 76 Copy of a book called "The History of the British Constitution".
- 77 Copy of a book called "The Diary of a Communist Schoolboy".
- 78 Copy of a pamphlet called "A survey of Indian Labour in Burma".
- 79 Copy of a book called "Reconstruction and National Life".
- 80 Copy of a book called "Literature and Revolution".
- X 81 Copy of a book called "Where is Britain Going?"
- 82 Copy of a book called "A Study of Indian Economics".
- 83 Copy of a book called "The New Labour Movement in Great Britain".
- 84 Copy of a book "Karl Marx" by D. Ryazanoff.
- 85 A copy of a pamphlet called "Will the Bolsheviks Maintain Power".
- 86 Copy of a book called "After the Peace".
- 87 Copy of a book called "The Soviet Constitution".
- 88 Copy of book called "Karl Liebknecht".
- 89 Copy of a Bengalee pamphlet called "Biplav pathe Russiar rupantar".
- 90 Copy of a book called "Peasant Proprietorship in India".
- 91 Copy of a book called "Morones of Mexico".
- 92 Copy of a book called "The Revolt of Potemki".
- 93 Copy of a Bengalee book called "Chitta Katha".

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial) | Description of articles seized. | Description of place where article seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS - Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|---|---|--|--|--|
| 94 | Copy of a book called "What is Socialism?" | | | |
| 95 | Copy of a book called "Whither China" bearing the name Scott Nearing. | | | |
| 96 | Copy of a book called "The State". | | | |
| 97 | Copy of a book called "Capital and Labour". | | | |
| 98 | Copy of a book called "Germany in Transition". | | | |
| 99 | Copy of a book called "Americanism". | | | |
| 100 | Copy of a book called "Representative Government". | | | |
| 101 | Copy of a book called "Guilds and Co-operatives in Italy". | | | |
| 102 | Copy of a report of "Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee". | | | |
| 103 | Copy of a book called "Labour Protection in Soviet Russia". | | | |
| 104 | Copy of a pamphlet called "Indian National Congress". | | | |
| 105 | Copy of a book called "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte". | | | |
| 106 | Copy of a book called "The Civil War in France". | | | |
| 107 | Copy of a book called "Soviet Russia and her Neighbours". | | | |

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|--|
| 108 | Copy of a book called "The Economic Organization of the Soviet Union". | | |
| 109 | Copy of a book called "History of the First International". | | |
| 110 | Copy of a book called "Russian Economic Development since the Revolution". | | |
| 111 | Copy of a book called "The Poverty of Philosophy". | | |
| 112 | Copy of a book in Bangalee "Banglai Biplar Prachistata". | | |
| 113 | Copy of a book called "Anavaire General Dila France et del' etranger". | | |
| 114 | Copy of a book called "Socialism versus The State". | | |
| 115 | 5 Copies Hundred Per Cent Indian. | | |
| 116 | Copy of a book called "Russia. The Official report of the British Trades Union Delegation to Russia and Caucasia Nov. and Dec. 1924". | | |
| 117 | Copy of a book called "How India Wrought for Freedom". | | |
| 118 | Copy of a pamphlet called "Elementary Course of Communist Party Training". | | |
| 119 | Copy of a pamphlet called "The Rights of Labour". | | |
| 120 | Copy of a pamphlet called "Monopoly or How Labour is robbed". | | |
| 121 | Copy of a pamphlet called "Useful Work versus Useless Toil". | | |
| 122 | Copy of a pamphlet called "Economics made Easy". | | |
| 123 | Copy of a pamphlet called "The Principles of Socialism". | | |
| 124 | Copy of a pamphlet called "The Logic of the Machine". | | |

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial. | Description of articles seized.* | Description of place where article seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>maltalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|---|--|--|---|--|
| 125 | Two Copies of the pamphlet known as "The Religion of Capital". | | | |
| X 126 | 2 copies of the pamphlet called "The Politics of Oil". | | | |
| 127 | One copy "Economics made Easy". | | | |
| 128 | One copy of a book in Bengalee called "Paribar Gushtirastra". | | | |
| 129 | One copy of "Deser Dak" in Bengalee. | | | |
| 130 | One copy of "Sindhod Hillol" in Bengalee. | | | |
| 131 | One copy of "Phani Manasa" in Bengalee. | | | |
| 132 | One subscribers Register Ganavani (1926-27). | | | |
| 133 | One V.P. Register Ganavani (1926-27). | | | |
| 134 | One copy of Agency Book. | | | |
| 135 | A copy book containing accounts of stalls holders. | | | |
| 136 | One poem book containing entries from 13-4-27 to 20-2-29. | | | |
| 137 | One register containing the foreign list of "Ganavani". | | | |
| 138 | An account book from August 1926 to March 1928. | | | |

- 139 One exercise book containing the names of Agencies and the number of papers sent to them.
- 140 One exercise book containing V. P. lists of "Langal."
- 141 One exercise book containing the list of persons to whom specimen copies of "Langal" were sent.
- 142 One Exercise Book containing the names of prospective advertisers.
- 143 One Exercise book containing the list of subscribers of the "Langal".
- 144 One Exercise book containing an account of sales of the "Ganavani."
- 145 One account book from August 1926 to February 1929.
- 146 One exercise book containing a list of persons to be invited.
- 147 A money order for Rs. 1-8-0 sent by Muzaffar Ahmad to Mr. G. G. Jog.
- 148 One registered cover addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad containing 2 typed letters under the signature of A. Dange dated 18-1-29.
- 149 One complimentary diary book of Union Drug Co. containing some entries.
- 150 Telegram No. 01852 from Dange to Muzaffar Ahmed in a cover.
- 151 A Bengalee manuscript writing in 4 pages under the heading "Chat Kaler Majoore-ra ki Chai".
- 152 An Urdu manuscript writing in 2 pages under the heading "Chat Kal ke Mazdoor kia Chahata hain".

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial. | Description of articles seized. | Description of place where article seized was found | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt etc. |
|---|---|---|--|---|
| 153 | One typed letter of the B. T. U. F. date 15-8-28 under the signature of Keshori Lal Ghose. | | | |
| 154 | One printed notice in Hindi issued by the Bengal Workers' and Peasants' Party under the heading "A request to workmen and peasants," males and females. | | | |
| 155 | A message to the workers and peasants party of India in 17 pages (Hindi). | | | |
| 156 | An article in 9 typed pages about "Labour Movement &c., | | | |
| 157 | One file containing paper cuttings. | | | |
| 158 | A file containing ten weekly paper "The Spark" issue Nos. 1, 2, 2, 3, 3, 5 and 6. | | | |
| 159 | 2 sheets of paper containing accounts of Muzaffar Ahmed re. R. C. Fund. | | | |
| 160 | One telegram from Muzaffar Ahmad to Agnes Smedley (Germany). | | | |
| 161 | A typed letter dated 14-1-29 from the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India in 2 pages without any signature. | | | |
| 162 | A letter dated 16-3-29 from the Bengal Textile Dhamgar Branch addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad, by Gopal Bysack in an envelope. | | | |

- 163 A typed letter dated 15-1-29 under the signature of Bakhale of the All India Trade Union Conference addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad in an envelope.
- 164 An envelope addressed to the Manager "Ganabani" containing order No. 2777, dated 28-7-28, from Thacker Spink and Co. on account of Otto Harrassorty (Germany).
- 165 A cover of the Dacca University Students' Union addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed containing a letter dated 6-6-28 in Bengali written by Abdul Kader.
- 166 5 postal receipts for registered articles Nos. 195 to 199, dated 2-8-28, addressed to (1) Secretary, W and P Party, Bombay (2) Mr. M. Abdul Majid Lahore, (3) Manager, "Kirti," Amritsar, (4) Mr. Krishna Swami Iyengar Triplicane and (5) Manager, Workers' Bookshop, Ltd., London respectively.
- 167 A book list written in pencil on a foolscap sheet.
- 168 A Bengalee manuscript in 2 sheets beginning with Majoor and ending with "Bignapan."
- 169 A blue cover addressed to General Secretary, B. P. & W. party registered No. 644 of Leningrad, containing a Bengali letter written by Piter Auxiff of U. S. S. R. Leningrad.
- 170 A post card dated 15-11-28, addressed to Comrade Muzaffar Ahmed from Jhalokati by A. T. Das.
- 171 3 sheets typed matter re. the Bombay session of the A. I. C. C.

| Serial No (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.) | Description of articles seized.* | Description of place where article seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc, of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>matalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|---|--|--|---|---|
| 172 | One typed sheet of paper headed "May Day." | | | |
| 173 | A post card of the N. C. L. C. publishing society addressed to the Secretary, The Plebs League, London, addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad. | | | |
| 174 | Copy of the manifesto urging International unity. | | | |
| 175 | A typed letter dated March 1928, under the signature of Jas Maston of the Independent Labour Party beginning with "Dear Comrade." | | | |
| 176 | A post card addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed by Manilal from Aden. | | | |
| 177 | A typed letter dated 20-7-26 under the signature of Tarini P. Sinha of the I. L. Party addressed to B. P. & W. Party. | | | |
| 178 | A typed copy of the Mohurrum Manifesto of the W. and P. Party of Bombay, to the Hindoo and the Moslem Masses in 3 pages | | | |
| 179 | An article in 6 typed sheets under the heading "Contemporary Political situation in India". | | | |
| 180 | A Bengali article in 4 pages under the heading "Samaje Abhi Jater prabhay". | | | |

- 181 A pamphlet entitled Class Struggle in Parliament.
- 182 One copy of the monthly circular of the Labour Research Department for July 1927.
- 183 One copy "Manifesto of the Communist Party".
- 184 2 Copies monthly circular of the Labour Research Depot for May 1927 and August 1927.
- 185 One copy "The All India Trade Union Bulletin" for July 1928.
- 186 One copy "Some Aspects of Indian Socialism".
- 187 One copy "The Communist Party of India".
- 188 One copy "The World Currents, Communism Fascism".
- 189 A printed sheet containing foreign addresses.
- 190 One copy "Farmers' and Peasants' International Correspondent".
- 191 One copy "The Masses of India, Volume III No. 7".
- 192 3 envelopes addressed to the Editor of the "Ganavana" bearing the postage stamp of "Mochba".
- 193 A telegram No. 03145, sent by Gauri Shanker Anand Nath to Muzaffar Ahmed from Meerut.
- 194 A card board box containing correspondences and papers of various descriptions— each signed by witnesses and also by Muzaffar Ahmed.

| Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial) | Description of articles seized* | Description of place where article seized was found. | Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized. | REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc. |
|---|--|--|--|--|
| 195 | A flat file containing correspondence and papers of various descriptions—each signed by witnesses and also by Muzaffar Ahmed. | | | |
| 196 | A Remington, Portable typewriting machine No. N. L. 81742. | | | |
| 197 | <p>8 rubber stamps of the following descriptions:—</p> <p>(1) Phone Cal. 3270.</p> <p>(2) An invitation for subscription.</p> <p>(3) Filed Date.....</p> <p>(4) Despatch.</p> <p>(5) Received. Date.....</p> <p>(6) V. P. for Rs.....As..... Rupees.....& Annas..... only.</p> <p>(7) Book Post</p> <p>(8) Gana Vani A Bengalee Weekly</p> | | | |
| 198 | One steel block depicting a flag bearing the emblem "Sickle and hammer." | | | |
| 199 | 2 stamp pads. | | | |
| 200 | One copy "Sacco and Vanzetti." | | | |

- 201 One copy "Sunday Worker," dated 27-1-29.
- 202 A typed letter of resignation dated 8-3-29, addressed to the Secretary, Workers and Peasants Party and signed by Kali Sen and others.
- 203 A typed letter of 3 pages with the original draft in manuscript in 5 pages from Muzaffar Ahmad to Kali Kumar Sen and others.
- 204 An envelope of the Workers' Library Publishers, bearing 3 U. S. stamps and addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad, containing a letter signed by the Manager of the Communist
- 205 A registered envelope No. 164, addressed to Secretary, W. & P Party of India, containing a letter written by Kali Das Bhattacharjee of Bhatpara.
- 206 An envelope addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad and bearing the postal stamp "Katchery Meerut" and containing a letter written by Kishan Swarup from Meerut.
- 207 A post card dated 19-10-28 addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad, from 1 Kantapookar Lane.
- 208 A small pocket book containing some addresses.
- 209 An envelope addressed to Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed, containing a letter dated 10-11-28, by Sohan Singh of the "Kirti" from Amritsar.

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|--|--|---|--|---|
| 210 | A registered letter No. 148, addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed, and containing a report in 3 typed pages of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay— signed by S. V. Ghaté. | | | |
| 211 | An envelope addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed containing a letter dated 11-11-28, from the Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bombay. | | | |
| 212 | An envelope addressed to Messrs. Vanguard Literature Company, containing a letter dated 12-10-28 from C.P. Bathija of Shikerpur (Sind) to Messrs. Vanguard Literature Coy. | | | |
| 213 | One envelope addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed; containing a letter in Bengalee, dated 9-9-28, written by Aftab from Almorah. | | | |

- | | |
|-----|--|
| 214 | An envelope addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad containing a Bengalee article entitled "Bharti tarun-o-agami-yugo" by Sudhir Raha. |
| 215 | An article in Bengalee headed "Kaino Communist Lobona"—8 pages. |
| 216 | An envelope addressed to Comrade Muzaffar Ahmed, containing a letter in Bengalee written by Gopal in 2 sheets. |

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

*N. B.—This form must be signed by witnesses.
* Articles seized, numbered and labelled should be attested by signatures of witnesses and Police-officers.
Permanent marks, such as cuts, etc., must not be made.*

(Sd.) N. SINGH.
*Police-officer conducting the search.
Date 20-3-29 Place No. 2/1. European Asylum Lane.*

(Sd.) F. RAXBURGH.
(Sd.) H. RAHAMAN.
(Sd.) S. AHMED.

Signature of witness with date.

Signature by the accused (optional).

P. 393.

A receipt book for donation in aid of the First All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference with red flag and hammer and sickle.

P. 394.

A register entitled "Foreign List" having the following written within:—

Foreign List.

1. The Editor, *Exchange Mail day.*
Lansbury's Labour Weekly,
173, Hampstead Road
LONDON S. W. I.
2. The Labour Publishing Company Limited, *Free.*
38, Great Ormond Street
LONDON W. C. I.
3. Sapurji Saklatvala M. P. *Complimentary.*
2, St. Alban's Villas
High Gate,
LONDON.
4. Vereinder Inder *Exchange.*
Zentral Europa
Veretr Zimmer
Berliner Kindl,
Halensee
BERLIN, Germany.
5. Prof P. Dutta *Pros. Subs.*
~~Oriental University
LENINGARD
Russia.~~
6. The Secretary, *Subscriber. Week days.*
~~Muslim Library,
ABADAN
Persian Gulf.~~

7. S. Abdul Ali *Subscriber. Week days.*
 Clerk, Secretariat
 of His Excellency
 the High Commissioner for
 Iraq BAGHDAD.
8. The Manager of Eastern *Exchange. Mail day.*
 and Colonial Department
 Krestintern
 Moscou, Bojarski
 Dwor 5/8
9. The Editor *Exchange.*
 DAILY HERALD
 2 Carmelite Street
 LONDON E. C. 4.
10. The Editor, *Exchange.*
 FORWARD,
 26 Brown Street
 PORT DUNDAS
 Glasgow.
11. The Editor *Exchange.*
 Socialist Standard
 17 Mount Pleasant
 LONDON W. C. 1.
12. The Secretary *Complimentary.*
 Socialist Party of Great Britain
 46-48 Renfren Street
 GLASGOW.
13. The Manager *Exchange.*
 Press Department
 Trades Union Congress
 and Labour Party,
 33 Eccleston Square,
 LONDON S. W. 1.
14. The Secretary *Complimentary.*
 Independent Labour Party,
 14 Great George St.,
 LONDON.
15. The Secretary, *Exchange.*
 I. W. W., (No. 110)
 1001 West Madison St
 CHICAGO, ILL,
 U. S. A.

16. The Editor *Exchange.*
 Monthly Labour Review,
 Bureau of Labor
 Statistics,
 United States Dept. of Labor,
 WASHINGTON
 D. C.
17. The Secretary *Mail day.*
 I. F. T. U.
 31 Tesselschadestraat
 AMSTERDAM.
18. ~~Fritz Kater (All).
 Kopernikusstr 25II
 BERLIN O. 34.~~
19. The Secretary
 Fabian Society
 25 Tothill Street
 Westminster
 LONDON S. W. 1.
20. ~~The Secretary
 Labour Research Dept.
 162 Buckingham Palace Road
 LONDON S. W. 1.~~
21. The Editor *Exchange. Mail day.*
 NEW LEADER
 24 High Holborn
 LONDON W. C. 1.
22. The Editor *Exchange Mail day.*
 Industrial Worker
 Post Box 1857
 Seattle, Wash.
 U. S. A.
23. The Institute of *Mail day.*
 Economics and Statistics,
 Post of. Box 1116 & 1129
 MOSCOW, Russia.
24. A. Hevesi *Mail day.*
 Moskau, Wosdwischenko 14 m.
 Informburo des IBR IAI,
 RUSSIA.

25. Mr. Tarini P. Sinha
 Indian Advisory Committee
 Independent Labour Party
14 Great George Street,
 Westminster, LONDON S. W. 1.
26. Prof. Daud Ali Dutta
 Lecturer in Persian and
 Indian Languages
 Oriental Institute
 No. 7 Maximilianovsky Per
 Leningrad
 Soviet Russia.
27. Institute of Economics
 and Statistics
P. O. Box 1116 and 1129 TWO COPIES.
 Moscow U. S. S. R.
 (Russia).
28. W. and G. Foyle. Ltd.
 Book-sellers
 Department No. 24
121-125, Charing Cross Road,
 LONDON W. C. 2.
29. The General Secretary
 National Minority Movement,
38, Great Ormond Street,
 LONDON W. C. 1.
 THE LABOUR MONTHLY.
30. The Secretary
 Labour Research Department
162, Buckingham Palace Road,
 LONDON S. W. 1.
31. Herr S. N. Tagore
 bei Dr. D. R. Dhar
 Charlottenburg
 Fritzsche Strasse—44
 Portal II
 BERLIN B/HOMANN
 Germany.
32. Farmers' and Peasants'
 International Correspondent
 Berlin W. 10
 Verlag Neues Dorf
 Luetzon Ufer, I.

- right
33. The League Against Imperialism
Berlin S. W. 48
24, Friedrichstrasse,
Germany.
 34. USSR Society for Cultural
Relations with Foreign Countries
Press Section
Moscow, 6 Malaia Nikitskaya
USSR.
 35. The Editor,
"The Worker"
376 Grays Inn Road,
LONDON W. C. I.
 36. The Editor,
"SUNDAY WORKER"
74, Swinton Street, Gray's Inn Road,
LONDON W. C.
 37. The Editor,
The Workers' Weekly,
24, High Holborn,
LONDON W. C.
 37. Chinesische National Agentur,
Friedrichstrasse 232
BERLIN
Germany.
 38. S. N. Tagore
Jagow Strasse 44 I
B/Arnheim
BERLIN N. W. 87.
 39. The United Farmer;
Bismarck North Dakota,
U. S. A.
 40. The Indian Information Centre
7, Tavistock Place,
LONDON W. C. 1.
 41. The Indian Seaman
88 East India Dock Road
LONDON E.
- The Secretary,
The Pleb League
162 A, Buckingham Palace Road,
LONDON S. W. 1.

Workers' Welfare League of India
18 Featherstone, Buildings
High Holborn, LONDON W. C. 1.

Weekly News Bulletin
The Press Section of the Society for
Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries
Moscow, Malaya Nikitskaya 6,
U. S. S. R.

P. 395 (1)

BOMBAY GIRNI KAMGAR UNION.

(REGISTERED HAD OFFICE)

KONDAJI BUILDING, PAREL,

B O M B A Y .

Telegrams:- Girkamu, BOMBAY.

18th JANUARY, 1929.

To

MUZAFFAR AHMED,

CALCUTTA.

DEAR SIR,

With reference to the remittance sent by our Union for the Bauria textile workers, I am to request you to send us a few issues of Calcutta papers wherein some details regarding Bauria can be found. You will also kindly acknowledge this help in the Calcutta papers, whose copies should be sent for our record. You will see through which channel this assistance should be utilised. If there is a Union leading the strike and commanding allegiance, so much the better. If there is none such, the Party that is leading the strike correctly should see that assistance is rendered in right direction. You will let us know officially, what course of action you have taken, for the information of our Members, who are much interested.

Yours Sincerely,

S. A. DANGE.

General Secretary.

P. 395 (2)

BOMBAY GIRNI KAMGAR UNION.

(REGISTERED HEAD OFFICE)

KONDAJI BUILDING, PAREL,

BOMBAY.

Telegrams:- Girkamu, BOMBAY.

18th JANUARY 1929.

To

MUZAFFAR AHMED,

CALCUTTA.

DEAR SIR,

The Managing Committee of our Union has sanctioned an amount of Rs. 1000/- for the assistance of the Bauria Jute Mill Strikers, and has authorised me to send this first instalment of Rs. 500/- which please acknowledge.

Yours Sincerely,

S. A. DANGE.

General Secretary.

P. 396.

POSTS TELEGRAPHS No. 01852.

Received at 15 H. 45 M.

O NC BOMBAY 25 19 MUZAFARAHMED EUROPEAN
ASYLUM LANE CALCUTTA.

SORRY RAURIA COLLAPSED YOUR TELEGRAM SPEND
ON THEM AS YOU THINK BEST. DANGE.

Diary for 1928.

P. 397.

P. 398.

Four pages of Bengali manuscript regarding demands formulated for Jute Mill Workers.

P. 399.

Two pages of Urdu manuscript regarding demands formulated for Jute Mill Workers.

P. 400.

A Hindi appeal issued by the Bengal Workers' and Peasants' Party entitled "A request to labourers and peasants, brothers and sisters."

P. 401.

A file containing the following issues of Spark:—

- (1) Vol. I. No. 1, dated 27-1-29.
- (2) " 2, " 10-2-29. (2 copies.)
- (3) " 3, " 17-2-29. (2 copies.)
- (4) " 5, " 3-3-29.
- (5) " 6, " 10-3-29.

| | | | | |
|--|--|---|---|--|
| A. F. D. Code. Class prefix. | | POSTS TELEGRAPHS. DEFERRED FOREIGN TELEGRAM. | | No. |
| Office of Origin, Date, Route and Service Instructions. | | Words. | H. M. | |
| Nothing to be written by the Sender above this line. | | Charges. | | The Stamps must be affixed by the Sender and must not overlap. Any Stamp for which there is not room here should be affixed at the back of this form. Stamps cut, torn or defaced are not accepted. |
| | | Rs. | A. | |
| Special instructions by Sender about "Route" "Reply Paid" etc. (See Rule 10 on reverse.) VIA EASTERN. | | TO | LC— AGNES SMEDLEY, HOLSTEINISCHESTRASSE 36 BERLIN-WILMERSDORF, (GERMANY.) | |

INFORM TAGORE MONEY NEVER RECEIVED.
MUZAFFARAHMAD.

I hereby declare that the text of the above telegram is entirely in plain language (the language used being English) and that it does not bear any meaning other than that which appears on the face of it. I request that the telegram may be forwarded on the faith of the foregoing declaration, and subject to the conditions overleaf.

NOT TO BE TELEGRAPHED. }

MUZAFFARAHMAD,
2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.

Signature and address of Sender.

P. 403.

Tele. Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY OF INDIA

2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Organs:

"GANAVANI"

(Bengli

Weekly)

"LAL NISHAN"

(Hindi

Weekly).

Jan. 14, 1929.

Dear Comrade,

Monday 21st January is the 5th anniversary of the death of LENIN, and should be observed by the Party, in conjunction with the Communist Party, in a suitable manner. It is suggested that on that day (or if more convenient, on the day before) as many meetings as possible should be held, especially among industrial workers. It is desirable that these should be advertised previously by handbills, which should give the most essential points of Lenin's teaching and life.

The most important questions which should be stressed in speeches on Lenin Day are:

(1) his analysis of the nature of opportunism and reformism in the Labour movement, and its role as the last line of defence of capitalism.

(2) his teaching on the colonial question: the tactics and ultimately the leading role of the working class in the colonial revolution.

(3) the significance of the Russian Revolution, as the first breach in the structure of Imperialism, and U. S. S. R. as the "Fatherland of the working Class"; hence the necessity of the defence of the U. S. S. R. against the war danger.

On behalf of the National Executive Committee of the WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF INDIA

Member in charge of Education and Propaganda

P. 404.

BENGAL TEXTILE WORKERS' UNION.

Dhamgaur Branch.

Head Office:- 61, Nawabpur, Dacca.

Dated 16/3/1929.

Com. Muzaffar Ahmed

Thanks for your kind note. Yes, I have authorised Comrade Goswami to take any steps as regards our Party work on my behalf- I did so before I started for Dacca, as I found in the existence of two groups in the party.

So much of it. I am of course perplexed regarding the situation as you have defined. I am shortly coming to meet you all.

With greetings and good wishes.

Yours fraternally,
Gopal Basak.

P.405.

Rejected

Registered Postal Receipt No. 195, dated 2nd August 1928, addressed to :—

The Secretary,
Workers & Peasants Party,
Bombay.

Registered Postal Receipt No. 196, dated 2nd August 1928, addressed to:—

Mr. M. Abul Majeed,
Lahore.

Registered Postal Receipt No. 197, dated 2nd August 1928, addressed to :—

The Manager,
Kirti,
Amritsar.

Registered Postal Receipt No. 198, dated 2nd August 1928,
addressed to :—

Mr. Krishna Swami Iyengar,
Triplicane.

Registered Postal Receipt No. 199, dated 2nd August 1928.
addressed to :—

The Manager,
Workers Bookshop, Ltd.,
London W. C.

by
W. & P. Party, Bengal,
2/1 European Asylum Lane.

P. 406.

- Marx—Communist Manifesto. 3½d.
Engels—Soc: from Utopia to Sc. 3½
Lenin—The Great Initiative. 3½.
„ --The Proletarian Revo. 2/3.
Kameneff—The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. 2½d.
Marx—Wage Labour & Kapital. 2½d.
Radek—Development of Soc: from Sc. to Practice 2½d.
Philips Price—Capitalist Europe & Soc. to Russia. 5d.
Paul—Communism. 7d.
Palme Dutt—Communism.
Foster—World Revo. 1/1½.
Bukarin—Programme of the World Revo. 1/4½
Postgate—The Workers International. 2/9.
Trotsky—In Defence of Terrorism. 3/6.
Postgate—Bolshevik Theory.
Marx—Fr. Revo. 3/6.
„ —Revo. & Counter-Revo. 3/6.
Engels—Life & Teachings of Marx. 3/6.
Hammond—The Town Labour.
„ —The Village Labourer.
Starr—A Worker looks at
„ — „ „ Econ.
Bogdanov—A Short Course of Econ. Sc.
Bukharin—Lenin as Marxist.
The Errors of Trotskyism.

M. N. Roy—One Year of Non-Co.
 „ —Aftermath.
 Stalin—Leninism.
 Bukharin—Historical Materialism.
 Russian Year Book.
 Kropotkin—Conquest of Bread.
 „ —Field, Factories & Workshop.
 „ —Fr. Revo.
 Vanguard Press—Soviet Russia.
 (1) Political Org:
 (2) Village Life.
 (3) Education.
 (4) Art & Culture.
 Moon-Imperialism.
 Purcell & Hallsworth—Labour Conditions.
On Trade Unionism.
One Copy each.

P. 407.

May-Day is now accepted throughout the world of Labour as preeminently Labour's day. In all countries in which there is an organised Labour Movement May 1st. is marked out as the Workers' holiday. On this day workers of all sections and tendencies, of all unions and parties, and with them those of no organisation, union or party, wives, children and all, gather together to demonstrate first and foremost the solidarity of Labour, national and international.

“An injury to one is an injury to all” is the old slogan which still expresses the spirit of this festival; “The international”, with its revolutionary fervour combined with the spirit of universal brotherhood, is its song.

In spite of the pleasant associations of May-Day, the end of winter and the coming of summer with its bright sun and the blossoming forth of flowers and trees, it has in the past often been the occasion of bitter conflicts and horrible scenes. In the early days of the Labour Movement in Europe, when May-Day was first celebrated, small bands of pioneers, with banners and decorations, would

march forth amid the jeers of their fellows and the execrations of the upper classes. The capitalist Government, ever jealous of the growth of the Labour Movement, and particularly of its internationalism, would send its police and military forces to prevent and crush the workers' demonstrations. Many times in those old days, when the Trade Unions and Socialist Parties were struggling into existence and were still the uncorrupted opponents of capitalism and all that capitalism stood for, May-Day was the occasion of these Massacres and repressions.

But capitalism grew wiser. It learnt to tolerate the workers' movement, but at the same time to corrupt it, to put its paid men inside it and even in the dominating positions, and to lead some of the workers astray by affording them increases of wages and better conditions. Capitalism was strong, the hope of overthrowing it distant, and even in the eyes of many, ridiculous. The Labour Movement, under these evil influences became respectable. May-Day was allowed by the Governments provided that the workers remained under the control of their corrupt leaders. The celebration of this historic festival became a hollow fraud. Pious resolutions were proposed by unbelieving speakers for the General Strikes in the event of war, but when the war came in 1914, no preparations had been made, the resolutions were forgotten, and the battalions of Labour, instead of fighting against it, were led almost unresisting into the service of war.

For the first years of the war there were no May-Day celebrations. Under the iron rule of the capitalist military machine, workers were too busy in producing war-equipment or munitions, or gassing and shooting and bayonetting each other in the service of their respective imperialist exploiters. But the workers' spirit and the workers' principles could not remain long unexpressed. After the glorious Irish revolt in April 1916, and the Russian Revolution of 1917, it is recorded that "The International" began once more to be heard in the streets of Paris, and all over the belligerent countries strikes in the coal mines and the engineering workshops became the order of the day. The workers of all lands began once more to think of the principles of brotherhood, solidarity and internationalism which May-Day principally stands for, and which under Government repression and propaganda, and the influence of evil leaders they had forgotten for four ghastly years.

In the confusion of the years after the war, with economic chaos and the rapid alterations in the standard of living, the workers' movement sprang into life once more with a vigour which it had never previously shown. May-Day in 1919, 20 and 21 were celebrated in an atmosphere of world-wide revolt. Capitalism was tottering and staggering under the blows of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world who at last seemed to be following, the behest of the first leaders of the socialist movement, to unite.

From Germany to Australia, from India to the United States, the subject peoples and the subject classes were in revolt against the few small gangs of imperialist bosses who ruled them all. Boycotts, blockades, strikes, revolutions, hartals, blazed up on every side. But this vast movement wonderful as it was in spirit and energy, lacked the necessary organisations and leadership to enable it to triumph against all the forces of wealth militarism, corruption and stupidity, and the innumerable ties and struts of conservatism which assist to maintain a system, however outworn and discredited. Only in Russia were the conditions favourable enough, the leaders faithful and clever enough, for the revolution to win through and consolidate its gains. Only there had there been years of patient organisation and teaching in the right direction, free from the corrupt "reformism" of Western Europe, building up an instrument, the Bolshevik Party, strong intelligent and pliable enough to lead the mass revolt through to victory, and to maintain that victory.

Outside of Russia the capitalists of the world with their Governments were able gradually to subdue the unorganised and ill-led masses, and years of black depression followed. Throughout Europe, America, Africa and Asia, a reign of "White Terror" of the most cruel description was instituted and is still maintained. Anything like a real opposition to the existing system is mercilessly suppressed. Only in a few countries in which the traditions of bourgeois liberty are strong, is there any freedom for the working class leaders and organisers. Even in Britain, the "mother of liberty" the white terror and the mob rule of the fascist organisations are making themselves felt.

But once again the tide is turning. The British workers, in spite of the defeat of the General Strike and of the miners, are now finally set on the path of mass struggle. They will go forward against Trade Union legislation, Fascist violence, official repression, and the corruption of their leaders, forward from defeat to defeat, until at last they are victorious.

The Chinese Nationalist Movement, led by the workers of China, is going forward against the mightiest obstacles, but not even all the power of world imperialism can now stop them. They will go forward from victory to victory until complete success is theirs.

May-Day in 1926 was devoted to support for the British miners and the British working class. In Britain itself, the mightiest and most enthusiastic May-Day demonstrations ever seen struck terror into the hearts of the wobbling leaders, and forced them to bow to the will of the workers and declare the General Strike.

May-Day in 1927 must be devoted to support of the Chinese masses, whose wonderful struggle against the imperialist powers has aroused the enthusiasm of the oppressed classes and nations throughout the world.

Indian Labour must not be behind this time. May-Day is the day of International Labour, it is the day when we should with particular attention remark the experiences of our comrades in other lands. The workers of China have shown us the way to organise and fight for national freedom. They have shown us that upon us, the industrial workers, rests the task of leading the glorious struggle for independence from imperialist oppression. Let us learn the lesson, and fit ourselves for this great task.

The cause of Labour throughout the world is one. Indian Labour, Chinese Labour, Russian Labour, British Labour, all unite together on this day for courage, for support and for enthusiasm. We must send our good wishes and greetings to all countries, but especially to our comrades in China, who above all are at this moment fighting the battles of the oppressed throughout the world.

Success to the workers of China! And may the workers of India quickly follow their example!

P. 408.

A pamphlet entitled "Manifesto of the Communist Party"; by
Karl Marx Frederick Engels.

P. 409.

"The Communist Party of India".

Annual Report 1927.

Published by Comrade Vijay Singh Mohta, 236 Kalbadevi
Road, Bombay, for the Communist Party of India.

P. 410.

S Tagore
B/Agnes Smedley II
Holsteinischestrasse 36
Berlin-wilmersdorf (Germany).

R. Palme Dutt
Boire 3
Ixelles II
Brussels, Belgium.

The Editor,
The Sunday Worker,
254 Gray's Inn Road,
London, W. C. I

M. N. Roy
C/O The Executive Committee,
Communist International,
Moscow, U. S. S. R.

U. S. S. R. Society for Cultural
Relations with Foreign Coun-
tries, (Press Section,) Moscow, 6
Malaja Nikitskaya (U. S. S. R.)

The Editor, "The Worker,"
376 Gray's Inn Road,
London, W. C. I

The Editor,
The Workers' Life,
24 High Holborn,
London W. C. I

The Secretary,
The Indian Seamen's Union,
88 East India Dock Road,
London, E.

The Communist Party of Great
Britain
16, Cing Street,
London, W. C. 2.

Workers' Welfare League of India,
18 Featherstone Buildings,
High Holborn,
London, W. C. I.

The Secretary,
The Plebs League,
162-A Buckingham Palace Road,
London, S. W. I.

Max Ziese,
Berlin S. W. 48
Wilhelmstrasse Nr. 131/32
(Germany).

Zeitungs-Vertrieb
Sebruder Petermann
Berlin-Friedenau,
Rheinstrasse 28 (Germany).

Bibliothek der Profintern
Moscow, Russia, Soljanka 12,
Dworetz Truda. (U. S. S. R.)

Mr. Tarini P. Sinha
The Indian Information Centre
14-15 Drayton House,
Endsleigh Gardens, London,
W. C. I.

Virgilio Verdaro
Hotel Lux (Tverskaia)
Kom 334
Moscow, Russia, (U. S. S. R.)

Professor Daud A. Dutt
Lecturer in Persian and Indian
Languages,
Oriental Institute,
7 Maximillianovsky Per
Leningrad, Soviet Russia.

Otto Harrassowitz,
Buchhandlung Und Antiquariat
Leipzig C. I. (Germany.)

The Manager,
Eastern and Colonial Department
Krestintern,
Moscow, Bojarski Dwor 5/8.
(U. S. S. R.)

The General Secretary,
National Minority Movement,
38 Great Ormond Street,
London, W. C. I.

The Secretary, I. F. T. U.
31 Tesselschadestraat,
Amsterdam (Holland)

The Editor, "Labour Monthly,"
162 Buckingham Palace Road,
London, S. W. I.

The Editor, "New Leader,"
14 Great George Street,
London, S. W. I.

The Secretary,
Labour Research Department,
162 Buckingham Palace Road,
London, S. W. I.

The Institute of Economics and
Statistics,
P. O. Box 1116 & 1129
Moscow, Russia (U. S. S. R.)

A. Hevesi
Moscow, Wosdvischenko 14 m.
Inform buro des IBR IAI.
Russia, U. S. S. R.

Farmers' and Peasants' Inter-
national Correspondent,
Berlin W 10
Verlag Neues Dorf
Luetzow Ufer, 1 (Germany.)

League Against Imperialism
International Secretariat
Berlin S. W. 48
24 Friedrichstrasse (Germany.)

P. 411.

"Farmers' and Peasants' International Correspondent" Nos. 6-7 for June-July 1927.

P. 412.

"The Masses of India" Vol, III, No: 7, of July 1927.

P. 413.

*Rejected as P.
D & Spratt.*

(1), (2) & (3): Three envelopes with the following superscriptions:—

KANBKRYTA

To the Editor of the

"Gana Vana"—37, Harrison Road,

CALCUTTA.

P. 414.

POSTS & TELEGRAPHS.

C. 3.

03145

Received here at 3 H. 15 M.

Calcutta

10 Oct.

—O PA MEERUT 10 23 REPLY PAID

MUJAFFERAHMED.

2/1 EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE CALCUTTA

—PLEASE COME WITH SPRATT 14TH 15TH OCT
MEERUT MAJDOOR CONFERENCE WIRE EXPENSES

—GAURISHANKER ANANDNATH—

This form must accompany any inquiry respecting this
Telegram.

P. 415 (1).

*Rejected as P.
D. Spratt.*

K/Br.

7781/10

14.9.27

BULLETIN No. 67

14.IX.1927.

FOR THE PRESS.

NEWS FROM THE U.S.S.R.

ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION.

Big Hydro-Electric Station in North Ossetia.

The foundation stone of a big hydro-electric station on the Gize-Don River, North Ossetia, (Caucasus) was laid on September 13. The future station's power will be — 22,500 kilowatt

The Gize-Don station will supply electric power for Vladikavkaz and the district of the Alagir silver-lead enterprises. It will also supply power to the Voskresensk oil industry.

New Electric Stations in Central Asia.

A number of electric stations is being built in Central Asia, some of them in very remote districts. It is also proposed to put up big electric stations in Tashkent, Fergan, Samakan and Ashkhabad with at least 6,000 h.p. each.

ARRIVAL OF PARTICIPANTS OF VIENNA EVENTS.

Another group of Austrian and German workers arrived on September 12th in Leningrad to undergo a cure at the expense of the IRA in Soviet spas. The group consists of 39 working men

and women including 18 participants of the July events in Vienna. Many of them carry their arms in a sling, some of them are seriously injured and are in danger of paralysis of some of their organs.

Most of these participants of the Vienna events are Social Democrats (16 Social Democrats and 2 Communists). Most of the members of the German group are also Social Democrats.

On the way from Vienna to Berlin, near Regensburg the Austrian workers were attacked by the Bavarian police. The invalids could of course offer no resistance. The police who rushed the railway-carriage took away the Red Banner which the Austrian workers were taking to the USSR.

TRIAL OF THE BRITISH SPIES.

In connection with the trial of the British spies in Leningrad which had just been concluded we give an extract from the speech of the public prosecutor at the last session of the court.

"All of you remember Sir Austin Chamberlain's note in which he charges the Soviet Government of carrying on through its representatives destructive work directed against the British Empire. The British Conservatives were lying, but were they themselves innocent? Chamberlain's note spells blackmail and fraud. There was a time when Preston, the British Consul in Leningrad wrote that his "Russian birds, going in for espionage, run the risk of of annihilation by the G. P. U. (State Political Department)". But the consul Preston was not the only one. The British Empire fought against the Soviet Power not only through its diplomatic representatives, but also by sending hundreds of spies to Soviet Russia.

In his evidence the chief defendant Goyer said that Wilson's white guard organisation went in for espionage under the control of the British Government. This is also borne out by the evidence of the other defendants.

Through its agents Mickle-John and Goyer, Downing Street endeavoured to get secret information about the Baltic Fleet in order to destroy it and thus open the way to Leningrad. The question arises: perhaps this was a long time ago, when we were not recognised de jure. Nothing of the kind. Goyer was engaged by the official British representative Captain Boyce. This was in 1925 when our relations with the British Government were outwardly normal. That year London entered Goyer into the list of collaborators of the British Intelligence Departments.

AMERICAN DELEGATION AMAZED AT THE GROWTH OF THE USSR.

Opinion of the Experts of the American Delegation.

On September 14th the American Trade Union Delegation left Moscow on its way home. There are in this delegation a number of professors experts who specialise in various branches. This is what they say on the strength of their four weeks' scientific investigation work, in connection with the most important branches of USSR construction.

DOUGLAS, Professor of Chicago University: "In no other European country has the economic position of workers improved in the post-war period as rapidly and to such an extent as in the USSR. In Germany, for instance, wages of the majority of workers employed in the heavy industry have not yet reached pre-war level, whereas they have already exceeded that level in the USSR. It is true that this pre-war level in Russia was lower than abroad, but having made a careful study of the system of social insurance in the USSR, I venture to say that workers in the Soviet Union are better provided for than in West Europe."

COYLE, Editor of the railwaymen's "periodical: power in the USSR is in the hands of the workers. The gigantic growth of trade unions and their control over the remotest districts of the country are truly amazing. Although strictly disciplined and centralised the trade unions are very democratic.

Trade Unions in America spend their energy in petty, economic, and frequently purely craft struggles. In regard to economic struggle our results are ridiculously small compared with yours. For instance: throughout North America we have only three rest homes accomodating about 400 people. To get into such a rest home one must be aged and sick and one must have paid preliminary fees for a number of years.

I have inspected your sanatoria, spas and rest homes for workers. I am amazed at and delighted with everything."

DAVIES, Professor of the Agricultural University: "I visited Russia before the Revolution and in the beginning of civil war, I witnessed the complete ruin of the national economy of the country and now I venture to say that the Soviet Government has worked a miracle in regard to the reconstruction of the national economy.

Of particular importance is the planning system in your economic life. I know that inevitable mistakes are made in your economy, but owing to the planning system you steer clear of those terrible crises which bring starvation and unemployment to the working class of America.

I visited Russian villages before the revolution and I was always struck with the down-trodden look on the faces of the peasants. This is different now. The people have become energetic and fully alive. Your youth struck me as particularly energetic.

I am amazed at the broad democracy of your State institutions. In no other country in the world is the population drawn to such an extent into State administrative work as this is the case in your soviets.

MAURER; Chairman of the delegation: "I am already past the age when people get very enthusiastic about something, but what I was able to see during my short stay in the Soviet country exceeds all my expectations. I am sure that the report of the commission of our experts will be useful to the United States as well as to the working class of the USSR.

Fs/Br.

7814/10

BULLETIN No. 68

15-IX-27

For the Press.

NEWS FROM THE USSR.

PRODUCTION CONFERENCES IN THE USSR.

For the beginning of the new financial year USSR trade unions are summing up the work accomplished by production conferences during the first half-year of 1926-27. Such summing up has taken place in 7 industrial unions (metal workers, textile workers, paper workers, wood-workers, sugar workers, garment makers and tanners) and also in the Railwaymen's Union.

The above unions cater for 347 enterprises which employ 597,000 workers. In connection with the Railwaymen's Union the results of the work on 19 railways employing over 60,000 workers have been summed up.

NUMBER OF PROPOSALS.

During the first half-year of 1926-27 24,722 proposals were placed before the administrations the said enterprises.

The number of proposals per 100 workers is: in the Wood-workers Union—7.5, in the Paper-workers' Union—3.9, almost the same in the Garment makers' and Tanners' Unions, in the Metal workers' Union—4.5, in the Sugar makers' Union—3.9, and finally in the Textile workers' Union 3.6.

The Railwaymen's Union is responsible for about 2,700 proposals which constitute 4.4 proposals per 100 union members.

WHO MAKES PROPOSALS.

The table we give below shows how the proposals which came from the above-mentioned industrial unions (except the Metal workers' Union which did not send any information) were distributed:

| | Technical Staff. | Factory workers. |
|-----------------|------------------|------------------|
| Paper workers | 11.2 | 88.8 |
| Wood-workers | 14.6 | 85.4 |
| Tanners | 16.7 | 83.3 |
| Textile workers | 17.4 | 82.6 |
| Garment makers | 20.9 | 79.1 |
| Sugar workers | 29.9 | 70.1 |

On an average four-fifths of the proposals came from factory workers and about one-fifth from the technical staff.

In the Railwaymen's Union 77 per cent of the proposals came from manual workers and about 21.5 per cent from the technical staff.

ATTITUDE OF ADMINISTRATIONS TO THE PROPOSALS OF THE WORKERS.

In industrial unions covered by statistics about 78 per cent of the proposals handed in were accepted and put into practice by the administration.

N/Kr.

In regard to all the aforesaid unions, there were altogether rejected about 7% of the proposals made to the administration.

Out of a total of over 19,000 proposals accepted by 347 establishments served by 7 industrial unions, there were carried out (either fully or in part) 12,600, or about 65%.

ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION.

THE ERECTION OF A NEW GRAND IRRIGATION CANAL IN UZBEKISTAN.

Work has been renewed on the erection of the Yangidargom irrigation canal near Samarkand (Central Asia). The canal, together with the dam in course of construction, constitutes a grand enterprise involving a total outlay of over 6, million roubles.

It is expected that the work will be completed in 1929. In that year the Yangidargom will irrigate a new area of 15,000 hectares of land.

PRIVATE CAPITAL IN THE USSR.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE NEW ECONOMIC YEAR.

In 1921-22 75% of the whole trade in USSR was in the hands of private dealers. In 1925 the share of the private dealer in the turnover commodities went down to 28%. On the threshold of the new economic year of 1927-28 the private dealer occupies a very modest place, only 16.5%.

As to industry, there is only 12% controlled by private enterprises, chiefly in the petty industries. Only 2% of private capital takes part in the big industries.

POWERFUL HYDRO-ELECTRICAL STATIONS

IN THE URALS.

Prospecting work has been started on the upper reaches of the rivers Ural and Tchusova for the erection of two powerful hydro-electrical stations. A hydro-electrical station of 17,000 h.p. is to be erected near the Magnet Mountain to supply power to the huge Industrial works that are being constructed in the vicinity. On the Tchusova river, in the vicinity of the contemplated iron-smelting works, a hydro-electrical station will be erected of 53,000 h. p.

WHAT THE TRIAL OF THE ENGLISH SPIES HAS SHOWN.

The political significance of the trial was characterised as follows by Comrade Ulrich, Chairman of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

It has been fully established by the investigating authorities that the organs of the British Intelligence Service, directed from London, have been conducting in recent years intense espionage work on our territory, employing for this purpose individual Russian counter-revolutionary emigrants, as well as sundry contrabandists and adventurers in the frontier area. The espionage work on our territory was under the direct guidance of "resident agents" of the British Intelligence Service permanently domiciled in some of the countries adjacent to the USSR.

Notably in Finland there are such resident agents in the person of N. N. Bunakov in Helsingfors and P. P. Sokolov in Terioki. The resident British agents received their instructions and tasks from British army and navy officers attached to the British diplomatic service in the Baltic regions. Thus, it has been established that during the period from 1925-27 Bunakov, Sokolov, and other "big" spies of the Goyer type, were directly subordinated in their work, at various periods, to captain Boyce of the British navy,

to the British envoy at Reval, Mickeljohn, to Captain Ross of the British Military Mission in Reval, and so on. The tasks of the British Intelligence Service had to do chiefly with the condition of our naval and aerial forces, whilst some of the tasks were of a clearly provocative character, in order to obtain documents, even if forged ones, to prove, for instance, the alleged contact between the German and Soviet naval commanders in the course of manoeuvres, and so on.

WOMEN ON RURAL SOVIETS IN THE URALS.

The general economic revival in the Urals has greatly contributed to the improvement of the material conditions of the Ural villages, leading to increased activity by all elements of the rural population. The women too were attracted to active administrative work.

Among members of rural Soviets in 1923 there were 2.4% women, and in 1926-27 11.3%. In the town Soviets in 1924 there were 10.8% women, in 1926-27, 21.6%. Among members of district Executives in 1923 there were 0.4% women, in 1926-27 10.5%. Among members of rural Auditing Committees in 1924 there were 3% women, and in 1926-27, 5%; among members of District Auditing Committees there were no women then, and now there are 5.9% women.

Until 1924 there were no women acting as chairmen of rural Soviets in the Ural regions, or at least there are no corroborating official documents to that effect. It was only in the election campaign of 1924-25, carried out after the regional redistribution, that we find 7 women as chairmen of rural Soviets. In 1924-25 their number increased to 8, in 1925-26 to 25, and in 1926-27 to 30 or 1%. Moreover, in 1926-27 a working woman was elected chairman of the District Executive Committee in the Tagil district.

HENRI BARBUSSE IN MOSCOW.

Henri Barbussé paid a visit yesterday to the "Trekhgorny" Cloth Mills, where in the course of 3 1/2 hours he studied minutely the work of the Mills; the local club, the creches and the dining room.

Before leaving, Henri Barbussé wrote the following message to the workers of the Mills:

"Dear Comrades, I was enjoined by the workers of France to make a thorough study of the Russian factories and mills in order that upon my return to France I might be able to describe to them your living conditions in detail. All that I have seen has immensely impressed me, and I am going to tell them that I have found here the highest organisation of labour combined with high technical quality.

"I was particularly impressed by the exquisite designs and the originality of your fabrics. I will tell the French workers about the energy of the Russian workers, who are building Socialism in their country. Greetings from the workers of France. Yours, Henri Barbusse".

N/Br. 7886/10

16-9-27.

Notice to Editors.

In today's issue:

Impressions of the American Workers Delegation to the USSR— "The workers of the USSR ARE BUILDING UP THAT ABOUT WHICH THE WORKING SECTION OF MANKIND HAS BEEN DREAMING FOR AGES.— IT IS THE DUTY OF THE PROLETARIAT OF THE WORLD TO SUPPORT THE SOVIET WORKERS.— THE CAUSE OF THE USSR IS OUR OWN CAUSE. IN THE USSR LABOUR IS ALL POWERFUL, WORKERS ARE FULL MASTERS.

How working and peasant women are learning to govern the State.— 620,000 WOMEN DELEGATES.

10, million illiterate adults have learned to read and write.

BULLETIN No. 69. 16: 9. 27. FOR THE PRESS

NEWS FROM THE USSR.

WEST-EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN WORKERS ON THE USSR.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE AMERICAN

WORKERS DELEGATION.

The first American workers delegation which stayed in the USSR over a month left for America on September 14th. The chairman of the delegation, Comrade James Maurer gave the impressions of the delegation.

"I must mention first of all two things in connection with the work of our delegation here: firstly, the political social and trade union workers did not hinder us in any way in our study of those branches of economy and labour in which we are interested: secondly, the presence in our delegation of highly qualified experts gave us an opportunity to make a serious study of all the problems of Soviet Russia's life. I am saying this because I know

before-hand there will be people in America who will endeavour to prove that the members of the delegation were not free in their investigations and that these investigations are too superficial. I reiterate that we received every possible assistance in our work and that we did not only study Soviet construction in general, but went in to all the details.

On the basis of material at the disposal of the delegation, our deductions are as follows:

The workers of the USSR are building up that about which the working section of mankind has been dreaming for ages.—a Socialist economic system which excludes exploitation of man by man. The Russian revolution is the only victorious revolution in the whole of history. It is our duty, the duty of the proletariat of the world to support the workers of Soviet Russia in their work for the cause of the USSR is our own cause. Any attempt to interfere with peaceful labour in the USSR must be prevented by the unanimous efforts of the working class of West Europe and America.

Socialist forms of economy have gained citizen's rights, and have shown their superiority over capitalist economy. In spite of post-war destruction, blockade and backward technique, the USSR has been able to raise the standard of life of the workers to a higher level than that of the pre-war period. This means that under favourable conditions the USSR will astound the world by its economic and cultural constructive work. This is agitation by means of facts, a powerful agitation capable of infecting the toiling masses throughout the world.

The Soviet workers who were able to defend their country with the sword and the hammer, to preserve its freedom and integrity have set us an example worthy to be followed.

We can strengthen these deductions of ours by statistics, facts, and examples from soviet life. We will give these facts and examples in our report to the American proletariat which has sent us here”.

The Secretary of the delegation, Comrade Albert COYLE, said.

“I am sure that familiarisation with the Ussr, its factories and works, its resthomes, creches and sanatoria is bound to make a deep impression on every working man.

The members of the delegation carry with them the conviction that the proletariat of one-sixth of the globe has proved its capacity for the construction of a wonderful life. In the USSR labour is all powerful, workers are full masters.

Is everything as it should be in the USSR? There are of course defects. But these defects are nothing in comparison with the successes already achieved by Soviet workers. Already workers conditions are better in the USSR than in many countries of west Europe. The rest-homes, sanatoria, many educational institutions and children's homes can serve as a model to many rich countries. The American workers delegation is convinced that these favourable conditions will continue to develop".

ADDRESS OF THE FINNISH WORKERS EXCURSION.

The Finnish workers excursion which left Leningrad has drawn up an address to the proletariat of the USSR which is as follows:

"We visited at our own choice various Soviet factories and works and could see for ourselves that manual and office workers control and administer these enterprises through their elective organisations. Women and adolescents work under exceptionally favourable conditions. Much attention is paid to the physical and cultural development of all workers and quite special attention is paid to children in creches shelters and children's homes. We are full of admiration for your factory clubs, cinemas, sports grounds, workers theatres, central clubs, utilisation of the dinner interval for lectures and cultural recreation.

We are particularly impressed by your rest-homes, sanatoria, spas and everything that is done for the health of the workers. The many conversations which we had with workers have shown us that they are satisfied and in sympathy with the Soviet Government.

We also inspected your prisons and could see for ourselves that they are organised on an entirely new basis namely on the basis of education and reform and not punishment.

But we have also seen the defects in your life. However, our general impression is that you are making rapid progress, improving and raising production, and also conditions of labour. The construction of a Socialist republic goes on full steam ahead. We promise to tell our comrades in Finland about everything we have heard and seen here.

We thank you heartily for hospitality, attention and comradely treatment.

ADDRESS OF THE NORWEGIAN DELEGATION.

The Norwegian workers delegation left for Norway on September 14th.

The chairman of the delegation Diedrichsen, thanked the proletariat of the USSR on behalf of the delegation for hospitality and comradely treatment:

“ As a result of their visit to the USSR, the members of the delegation have strengthened their conviction that the Russian proletariat has accomplished a Socialist revolution and is fighting for the welfare of all workers and of mankind. The sympathy of the Norwegian working class for the USSR and its strong desire to establish a united class front will increase ”.

BRITISH COOPERATIVE DELEGATION TO THE USSR.

The Cooperative delegation, consisting of representatives of the English Wholesale Society, will arrive in Moscow on September 17th.

The delegation will visit a number of USSR towns and ports.

LIQUIDATION OF ILLITERACY.

On January 1st, 1921 there were on USSR territory (minus the Red Army) 40,967 centres for the liquidation of illiteracy among adults.

On January 1st, 1925 there were already 44,375 such centres with 1,396,021 scholars and on December 1st 1926, 46,759 centres with 1,515,969 scholars.

Work in this direction developed most rapidly in the villages. On December 1st 1926 there were 41,220 village reading and writing schools, with 1,334,203 scholars. Village liquidation of illiteracy centres constitute 88.12% of the total number.

On the whole the network of these liquidation of illiteracy schools has taught 11 million people to read and write between 1921 and 1927.

It should be pointed out that this number will be considerably exceeded if one takes into account the work done in this direction in village reading rooms, circles, and in the Red Army.

In the current year 736 new schools for illiterates will be opened in the RSFSR and 231 schools for semi-literate people.

WORKING AND PEASANT WOMEN DELEGATES.

Delegate meetings of working women are one of the special electing social organs created by the labour democracy of the USSR.

Women delegates are elected by all the working or peasant women of an enterprise or a village.

The function of women delegates is—to learn to govern and develop the Soviet country. Women delegates are women who, in the opinion of the masses will have to fulfil responsible functions in the state organism, but who have not yet sufficient experience and knowledge for it. It is this experience and knowledge that the women delegates must acquire. Important cultural-educational work is done at the delegate meetings. Moreover, women delegates are attached to departments of Soviets and to various institutions (creches, kindergartens, schools, economic or control institutions) where they go through a course of practical work. While they study they also function as an organ of social control over working women.

Delegates meetings are becoming more and more popular among the mass of workers and peasants and the number of elected women delegates as well as the number of their women electors is rapidly growing. We give here figures in regard to the growth of the women delegates movement.

In 1922 there were in the USSR 95,000 women delegates, in 1923-24—208,704, in 1924-25—378,163, in 1925-26—500,000 and in 1926-27—620,000.

Of the 208,704 women delegates elected in 1923-24, 51,344 were working women, 121,511 peasants women, 19,681 women engaged in office work and 16,168 working men's wives.

The social composition of women delegates elected in 1926-27 is as follows: 96,510 (15.6%) working women, 385,890 (62.2%) peasants women, 26,150 (4.2%) women agricultural labourers, and women engaged in agricultural work in general, 52,250 (8.4%) women engaged in office work and 51,240 (8.3%) working men's wives. Most of the peasant women delegates come from the poor peasantry in 1927 their percentage was 68.8%. An overwhelming majority of women delegates (88%) are non-Party.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CELEBRATION OF THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION IN LENINGRAD.

INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES.

A big mechanised flour mill, the biggest of its kind in the USSR, is being built in accordance with the modern achievements of technique. This flour mill will produce 2,420 tons flour per month and its construction and equipment will cost about 3½ million roubles.

Moreover, a new big cooperative store—the Leningrad cooperative stores will be opened at the time of the tenth anniversary.

It is also intended to open by that date a big sawing mill constructed of iron baton. This new sawing mill will produce over 30,000 standards of sawed timber which is to be exported to West Europe. It is equipped with modern Swedish machinery and mechanism.

It is also proposed to open by that date another powerful sawing mill also constructed of iron baton which will produce over 15,000 standards sawed timber. The construction and a equipment of these two work will cost over $3\frac{1}{2}$ million roubles.

The Leningrad Trust of the garment-making industry will open for the October anniversary another garment-making factory which will employ 1,000 workers.

The North-Western joint stock company, "Electropomostch" is making arrangements for the opening on that date of the electro-technical works "Krassny October", which will employ up to 1,000 workers.

In addition to these big enterprises a number of smaller enterprises and workshops will be opened in honour of the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution. The giant of the Soviet coloured metal industry "Krassny Vyborzhets" is opening an electrified foundry, in the "Dzerzhinsky" textile factory a textile factory-school will be opened, etc.

EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS.

On the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution new workers clubs, schools, cultural establishments, etc. will be opened. A magnificent cultural establishment and a new school will be opened in the Moscow-Narva district—the biggest working-class district of Leningrad. One thousand workers' children will be taught there.

SCIENCE INSTITUTIONS AND EXHIBITIONS.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE STUDY OF ASTRONOMY.

In honour of the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution buildings for astronomical observations will be put up in Leningrad at the initiative and expense of the workers. These buildings with all their appliances will be at the disposal of amateur astronomers. The main object of these beginnings is to spread scientific knowledge among workers, to fight against superstition and ignorance and to raise interest in self-education.

Apart from the organisation of a big science exhibition which will bear testimony of the work of Leningrad science institutions during the last ten years, it is also intended to make the opening of a high volt station for the study of high pressure currents attached to the physico-technical institute coincide with the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution. The chief geo-physical observatory will open its museum.

The Art Academy is engaged on the production of a grand panorama "The king of the Winter Palace in 1917."

The Revolutionary Museum is organising an exhibition of the history of October. The exhibition re Soviet construction will be held in the former Mariïnsk Palace. A big industrial-economic exhibition is to be opened, in which cooperatives will participate. A trade union movement exhibition will be held in the Labour Palace. There will be also exhibitions in connection with the press science institutions, the army, the postal and telegraph service as well as a number of exhibitions in the Art Academy. An exhibition of labour customs and life during the last ten years will be held in the Vybor district.

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22.9.27.

BULLETIN No. 74

22.9.27.

FOR THE PRESS.

NEWS FROM THE USSR.

ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION.

The total output of industry during the month of August exceeds that of July by 16.8%. The increase compared with the output of August last year is 13.5%. The total output of industry for the 11 months of the current economic year exceeds that of the correspondent period of last year by 18.96%.

The output of the heavy industry has increased by 10.25%. The metallurgical industry has increased by 16.4%, the greatest increase being obtained in the production of Marten steel and rolling mills.

In the light industries the greatest increase is obtained by the textile industry. The cotton industry shows an increase of 35.7%, the woollen of 49.2%, and the linen industry 44.3%.

The output of the tobacco industry has increased by 64% and the makhorka (a cheaper brand of tobacco) industry shows an increased output of 34%. The output of other branches of light industry show increases ranging from 4-20%.

The total sales of industrial commodities during 11 months of the current economic year exceeds that of the corresponding period of last year by 29%.

CHELIABINSK ELECTRICAL STATION

TO BE BUILT.

The formal laying of the foundation-stone of a powerful electric station in Cheliabinsk (Siberia) was performed several days ago.

RICH GOLD DEPOSITS DISCOVERED.

Rich gold deposits have been discovered near the Gazumir goldfield in Siberia. This new gold-field extends over an area of 15 versts and is considered to be very rich. Detailed prospecting has been commenced.

WHOLESALE TRADE IN AUGUST.

The total wholesale trade in the USSR for the month of August amounted to 942 million roubles, which is an increase over the previous month of 70.4%, and an increase of 69.4% as compared with the corresponding month of last year.

Of the total trade, the trade in industrial commodities represents 65.5%, agricultural commodities 34.5%. The greatest increase in trade as compared with the previous month was obtained in metals, agricultural raw produce and grain.

Private trade, both in sales and purchases, has declined. In sales private trade represents 1.8% of the total and in purchases 2.2%. Simultaneously with the diminution of the share of private trade in the wholesale trade of the USSR there is an increase in the share of the trade done by the Coöperative Societies.

CONTROL FIGURES (ESTIMATES) FOR THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT FOR 1927-28.

It is estimated that during 1927-28 there will be an enormous increase in the membership of cooperative societies amounting to 3,800,000. The total membership of the cooperative societies will thus be brought to the figure of 28 millions.

The membership of rural cooperative societies, it is estimated will increase more rapidly than that of urban societies. In the present year peasants represented 61% of the total membership of cooperative societies, while workers and office employees represented together 39%. In the forthcoming year it is estimated that peasant membership will increase to 63% while that of workers and office employees will decline to 37%. The control figures indicate an estimated increase of 10% in the number of cooperative stores in the rural districts and of 5% in the town.

The estimated increase of cooperative trading in 1927—28 will be, according to the control figures, from 15,175,000 of the present year to 19,305,000, an increase of 28%. The trade of the cooperative societies this year represented 49% of the total trade of the USSR. It is estimated that in the ensuing year cooperative trade will represent 53% of the total.

THE GROWTH OF THE PORT OF ODESSA.

The trade of the port of Odessa on the Black Sea for the present year, 1926—27, shows an increase of 42% as compared with that of last year.

SOVIET AVIATION.

THE HINDUKUSH CROSSED.

The Dobrolot airmen, Comrade Semenov, pilot, and Comrade Sobetski, mechanic, on the 19th of September flew across the lofty mountain-range of the Hindukush. The flight was performed on a Soviet constructed Junkers machine, the "10—13". The distance between Tashkent in Central Asia and Kabul in Afghanistan, 950 kilometres was covered in six hours, 15 minutes. For about 4 hours of the flight the machine flew at an attitude of 5,000 metres with a load of 720 kilos instead of a normal load of 630 kilos. The highest altitude reached in the flight was 5,600 kilometres. This is the first time in the history of aviation that a machine of the type of the "10—13" reached such an altitude over such ground configuration and such a load.

THE ESTHONIAN LABOUR DELEGATION, ON THE USSR.

In the public declaration made prior to its departure from the USSR, the Esthonian Labour Delegation, which has been recently touring the Union states that the delegation obtained all facilities for an unhampered investigation of all aspects of life in the USSR.

Describing their impressions the delegation says that the thing that struck them most was the unceasing work being carried on for the improvement of the conditions of life of the people in all spheres.

Having investigated the political structure of the USSR, the delegation expresses its conviction that the Soviet Union is a genuine workers' state in which the workers in alliance with the peasantry are the administrators, and that the form of State of the USSR is the best form that can be established. It is precisely such a form of State, says the delegation, that is necessary for achieving Socialism:

The USSR is the only country that is democratic not merely in words, but in actual fact, and that it has solved the national question in the most just manner.

The USSR desires peacefully to continue its work of building up Socialism, continues the declaration, we must see to it that it is not hampered in this task by a single predatory imperialist State. The working class of Esthonia will fight by all means in its power to prevent the bourgeoisie from carrying out their despicable designs.

The declaration is signed in the name of the whole delegation by Comrade Grimpel.

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24-9-27-

BULLETIN No.76

24-1-27

FOR THE PRESS.

NEWS FROM THE USSR.

ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

Large Floating Dock Under Construction.

A large ferro-concrete floating dock to be used for the repair of ships is now under construction in the Leningrad ferro-concrete shipyard. When completed this dock will be the largest of its kind in the world.

Autumn Sowing in the Ukraine.

Autumn sowing is now in full swing over the whole of the Ukraine. In a number of districts the sowing is already finished. This year much has been achieved in the way of substituting sorted seeds for unsorted. Four million poods of selected seeds of winter wheat and rye have been appropriated for distribution among the farmers of which at the present time 2,500,000 poods have been already distributed. The area sown with selected seeds in the Ukraine will be increased this year by 300,000 to 400,000 dessiatins. (Dessiatin=2 acres) The Commissariat for Agriculture has distributed over 700,000 poods of seeds among the poorer farmers.

IRON DEPOSITS IN UZBECKESTAN DISCOVERED.

While the surveys for the Turkestan-Siberian main railway were being made, large mineral deposits were discovered in the region of the Kur dai Pass in Uzbekestan. The minerals include copper, zinc and iron. One vein of iron ore extends for a length of 6 kilometres.

EDUCATION AMONG THE NATIONAL MINORITIES.

The first Congress of Educationalists working among the Turkoman peoples will be convened on September 26th in Moscow. Ten nationalities will be represented at the Congress.

SAVINGS-BANKS FORTNIGHT.

A two weeks' campaign to popularise the Savings-Banks is now in progress throughout the whole of the USSR. During this campaign propaganda is being carried on among those who, as a result of increased prosperity have accumulated savings to induce them to deposit these in the State Savings-banks. The advantages of this form of keeping their savings as against the method of hoarding at home is stressed. The campaign is being conducted with extreme success. During the first five days 3,429 new depositors were registered in Moscow alone. The total deposits in the Savings-Banks amounted to 2,012,634 roubles. Internal loan script to the amount of 55,420 roubles have been sold through the Savings-Banks. During the same period the Banks have advanced loan to the amount of 51,945 roubles.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR SOLIDARITY.

A Swedish labour delegation headed by a member of the Swedish Parliament Stromberg, has arrived in Sebastopol, Crimea. The delegation attended the meeting of the City Soviet at which the questions arising out of the earthquake were discussed. The delegation conveyed the condolences of the Swedish proletariat to the Sebastopol Soviet,

The Executive Committee of the Clerk's Union of Belgium has invited the Central Committee of the Soviet Officeworkers Union to send representatives to the forthcoming Congress of the Belgian Union to be held on October 30th. The Soviet Clerks' Union has accepted the invitation.

Tenth Anniversary to be Celebrated in Belgium.

The delegation of Belgian Officeworkers who visited the USSR several months ago has informed the Central Committee of the Soviet officeworkers Union that it has organised a special committee in Belgium to arrange for the celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution. The committee consists of the chairman of the delegation, the secretary of the Clerks' Union of Belgium, Comrade Etterling, and a number of prominent trade union leaders and public men. The Committee has issued an appeal to all the Belgium labour organisations and to all manual and mental workers calling upon them to celebrate

the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution under the following slogans:

Ten Years of Soviet Progress; Ten Years of Capitalist Decline; Ten Years of Proletarian Victory. The Establishment of the Soviet Regime in the USSR is a Factor of world significance. The Whole Working Class is Vitally interested in Strengthening and Developing the Soviet Republic. Assistance to the Soviet Union Against all its Enemies is the Best Guarantee of international Peace.

The Committee has resolved to send a delegation of workers and officeworkers to Moscow to take part in the Tenth Anniversary Celebration and has appealed to all the labour organisations in Belgium to take part in selecting the delegation.

WOMEN SHARE IN POLITICAL LIFE.

Preparations are in full swing throughout the USSR for the forthcoming All-Union Congress of Working and Peasant Women. Preliminary Provincial Congresses are being held at which reports are made on the part women play in the public and political life of the Union.

The recent election campaign in Leningrad clearly demonstrated an increase in the activity of peasant women. In 1925 only 25 per cent of the peasant women took part in the elections whereas in 1927, 40.3 per cent took part. In the Leningrad Province there are 13 village Soviets which have women chairmen and 2 rural district Soviets which have women chairmen.

In Leningrad 819 working women were elected to the City Soviet. In the factories where women workers predominate the poll has never been less than 91 per cent of the eligible voters.

MONARCHIST TERRORIST TRIAL.

The examination of the accused in the Monarchist terrorist trial has finished. During the examination of Stroyevoy who belongs to the Latvian group, it was revealed that the instructions given to him by the Latvian Espionage Service coincided to the minutest detail with the instructions given to its agents by the British Intelligence Service,.....as was revealed during the recent trial of the Anglo-Finnish spies. For example, winter was interested to know whether Germany was helping to restore the Soviet navy by contributions of money and technical aid and he too put the question as to whether Germany was sending submarines in parts to Leningrad. When stoyevoy had won the confidence of winter the latter revealed to him that the Latvian Espionage service operated in conjunction with the French Espionage Service. The information he obtained regarding the Navy had also to be communicated to France.

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26-9-27

Bulletin No. 77

29-IX-27

For the Press.

NEWS FROM THE USSR.

One of the Main Achievements of the October Revolution.

/The Working Day in the USSR/.

Right up to the end of the last century, the length of the working day in Russia was not fixed by legislation. It was on an average a 13-14 hour day. The "famous" law of 1897 fixed an 11½ hour day. But employers could make free with this law, or to put it differently, the law provided for legal excuses for its infringement in the shape of "urgent" work, overtime in the case of "urgent orders", etc. The working day of piece-workers was not limited as they were not considered regular wage earners, but people working on a definite job.

After the February Revolution, 1917 the working class began to introduce the 8-hour day by downing tools after eight hours, which was resented and opposed by the capitalists and their lackeys-social democratic Mensheviks and social Revolutionaries who had a seat in the Provisional Government. As a result of this the workers did not succeed in having a law passed of a general 8-hour day during the whole eight months of the existence of the so-called Provisional Government. It was only after the October Revolution that the 8-hour day became part and parcel of the conquests of the proletariat as one of the immovable foundations of the new life. Immediately after October 25, a decree was issued on October 29, 1917 introducing the 8-hour day in all enterprises and households and a 42-hour weekly rest for all wage earners without exception; By the same decree a number of regulations re protection of woman and child labour were established. The first labour code issued in October 1918 was based on general compulsory labour service. It was dictated by the exigencies of civil war. However, in regard to working hours, rest and protection of woman and adolescent labour, the new law did not change anything in the provisions of the decree of October 29. In fact it made even more complete this achievement of the October Revolution by limiting overtime to a few exceptional cases clearly defined in the law. The 8-hour day became an inalienable conquest of the working class. None of the sunsequent decrees prior to and after NEP/the code of 1922 brought any alterations into the working hours laid down by law. Observance of the labour code and consequently the observance of the 8-hour day and the 42-hour weekly rest, etc. IS OBLIGATORY FOR ALL INSTITUTIONS, ENTERPRISES, HOUSEHOLDS AND INDIVIDUALS WHO EMPLOY HIRED LABOUR.

This is a short sketch of the establishment of the 8-hour day by the Russian Working class. Let us now consider the real working hours in the USSR in separate branches of industry. According to 1925-26 statistics, the average length of the working day in the mining and metal industry is *7.5 hours*, in the engineering industry—*7.4 hours*, in the cotton industry—*7.4 hours*, in the paper industry—*7.7 hours*, etc., the average throughout the industry being *7.5 hours*. The average length of the working day in the USSR is DECREASING every year: In 1922 it was *7.9 hours*, in 1923—*7.8 hours*, in 1925—*7.6 hours*, whereas at present it is only *7.5 hours*. There is also a decrease in the number of working hours per head per year. In 1924-25 the number of working hours constituted 77.5% of the pre-war working hours, in 1925-26 75%. These figures are eloquent testimony that in the USSR one of the main achievements of the October Revolution—8-hours day and 42-hour weekly rest is observed to the full. For people engaged in brain work and workers employed in industries considered to be injurious to health and also for adolescents, the working is limited by Soviet legislation to 6 and some cases to 5 hours, and even to 4 hours a day.

There is no doubt whatever that the October Revolution has secured for the proletariat of the USSR the 8-hour day, the 42 hour weekly rest, social insurance of workers at the expense of employers and other rights won in the struggle with the bourgeoisie and laid down in the Soviet labour code.

DELEGATION OF FOREIGN PEASANTS TO THE OCTOBER CELEBRATIONS.

Various peasant and cooperative organisations of Germany, France, Yugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, Greece, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, India, China, Central, & South America have notified the Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives in the USSR of their wish to send delegations to Moscow for the forthcoming October celebrations.

The delegates will arrive in Moscow between October 20 and 25 and will stay 3-4 weeks in the USSR.

COAL DEPOSITS IN THE FAR EAST.

Exploring parties of the Geological Committee have discovered enormous deposits of brown coal in the Far East, Tabritchansky mining district. According to an approximate estimate there are over 48,000,000 tons of high class coal there. The coal of the Tabritchansk mines is the best in the Far East.

MANUFACTURE OF SEPARATORS IN THE UNION.

In 1925-26 the Perm Works were the first in the USSR to manufacture separators. The current year's production will be 30,000 separators and the programme for 1927-28 provides for the manufacture of 60,000 separators.

Hitherto separators were imported,

P. 415. (2)

*Rejected as P.
D of spirit.*

Two envelopes with the following superscription:—

“To the Editor of the
“Gana Vana”—37 Harrison Road,
Calcutta.”

P. 415. (3)

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(3)

Agnes Smedley,
Holsteinische Strasse 36,
Berlin—Wilmerdorf.

Tell Tagore money not received Wire name of Bank and date.

MUZAFFARAHMAD.

9/-

Transmitted on 3-7-1928.

P. 415. (4)

Rejected.

MR. SRINIVASA IYENGAR IN EUROPE.

Sj. Srinivasa Iyengar, ex-President of the Indian National Congress, who is in Europe at the present time studying political and economic conditions, said recently in an interview with the writer, that he had absolutely no faith in the British Labour Party or in the Parliamentary Independent Labour Party. Mr. Iyengar spent a number weeks in England, during which time he talked with practically all the important men in the British Labour Party as well as with leaders of the other parties. He then came to Berlin,

and as this is being written, is on his way to Moscow to study the system prevailing in the Soviet Union. Just before leaving for Moscow, he said:

"I have no faith whatsoever in the British Labour Party or in the Parliamentary Independent Labour Party. The Labour Party is controlled entirely by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, it matters not what the different opinions may be of the various individual members of the Party. Take the Indian question for instance—all the Labour Party members see it through the eyes of Ramsay MacDonald. It is clear that his policy is exactly the same as the imperialist policy of Baldwin, Birkenhead and Churchill. I have talked with many members of the Labour Party, who said that the Party as a whole is not even in favour of the granting of full dominion status to India. Ramsay MacDonald himself told me that he and his Party offer us full dominion status. As for the decision of the Indian National Congress, making national independence the goal of the Indian people—well, he and his Party just ignore that."

Mr. Iyengar's impressions of the policy of the Labour Party are borne out by facts that are so numerous that they require no substantiation. That the Labour Party ignores the independent resolution of the Indian National Congress, and claims the right to decide what form of government India shall have, makes it an imperialist Party even more dangerous than the open enmity of the Tories. Speaking further, Mr. Iyengar said:

"Take the Commonwealth Labour Conference, just ended in London, as another proof of the imperialist tactics and policy of the Labour Party. The Labour Party machine did not even allow the Indian delegation to move a resolution on India, nor on the Labour Party policy toward the Simon Commission. This was the reason the Indian delegation withdrew. Then, the Labour Party has published a programme, and the part relating to India is even more vulgar than the rest of its dominion programme. MacDonald, although speaking verbally about 'dominion status' for India, has not made any public statement about the grant of immediate dominion status—not at the Commonwealth Labour Conference or anywhere else. I am not speaking of our own determination to make national independence the chief part of our programme, but I am here saying that MacDonald does not state in public what he privately professes to Indians—even in such a little thing like dominion status."

"Some of the members of the Labour Party and of the I.L.P. may, in their independent capacity, sympathize with India's aspirations, and may be in agreement with us even in our goal of complete national independence. But that is of no

importance whatever, for we find that on every critical occasion they vote as the Party machine directs them to vote, and they go with their Party. Some of them have even resigned from the League Against Imperialism. Lord Birkenhead would never have been able to force the Simon Commission on India but for the Labour Party's cooperation with him.

"Some friends tell me that the non-parliamentary I. L. P. is all right. But I do not know. Unless the non-parliamentary I.L.P. gets rid of the parliamentary I. L.P., I have no faith in that Party either—then we will see what their programme is."

While in London, Mr. Iyengar represented the Indian National Congress at the *English Conference of the League Against Imperialism*. Speaking of the League Against Imperialism, he said:

"*The League Against Imperialism* is the best institution I have seen so far organised for the purpose of dealing with the specific question of Imperialism. It is the only international institution that I have come in contact with that has some idealism and morality as its background. That is the reason the Indian National Congress is a member of it. I cordially agree with it. I represented the Congress at the London Conference, and I moved the resolution on India. *Maulana Mohamed Ali* also attended the Conference, taking his place on the platform. I was impressed by the fact that in Britain they were able to organize such a good Conference, representative as it was of powerful sections of the Labour movement."

While in Berlin, Mr. Iyengar lectured on "India's National Struggle" before Berlin University, declaring amongst other things that India's goal was complete national independence and that Indians were determined to struggle until they got it. His kindly and yet determined personality and bearing made a deep impression upon his audience, and his speech was greeted with prolonged applause. He also spoke before the Hindustan Association of Central Europe, his speech covering chiefly the question of unity regardless of religion, caste, or province, as well as the problem of mass organisation. Speaking of the political work of the Congress, he said that now that the national independence resolution is unanimously accepted, the next step should be to capture the seats in the legislative councils, but vacate them and form separate Indian National Assembly that will have nothing to do with the British apparatus. His speech was enthusiastically greeted by the Association. In the discussion that followed, many members of the Association advocated the organisation of the workers and peasants, who form 85 p. c. of the Indian people, and are the Indian people, urging a programme that would be an expression of the needs and desires of the workers and peasants.

Referring to Germany, Mr. Iyenagar said that he finds the German people and German educational and industrial institutions much more sympathetic to Indians than are institutions in England. He urged Indians in Europe to inform the Indian public through the press of the advantages offered students in Germany.

BERLIN, July, 18, 1928.

—AGNES SMEDLEY.

P. 415. (5)

MUZAFFAR AHMAD ESQR.

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

SADAR TRAM TERMINUS DELHI.

28th May 1928.

My dear Muzaffar,

Assure Com. Spratt that his book has reached Bombay as I was not sure about his presence in Calcutta.

My book about the Russian Revolution is ready, let me have your suggestion about its publication. My idea is that it should first appear in some newspapers. Better if some paper can pay me on it, otherwise its publication is my first concern.

Hope you will reply soon, as I have not much time to wait.

Greeting to all the comrades.

Yours Frat.

P. 415. (6)

THE COMMUNIST BOOSHOP

MUZAFFAR AHMAD

c/o M.A. MAJID & Co.,

Mochi Gate, Lahore, India.

16, King Street,

LONDON, W.C.2

.....192

Literature

| | | | | |
|--------------------------------|----|----|---|---|
| To account rendered | .. | | | |
| Creative Revolution | .. | | 2 | 6 |
| World Revolution | .. | | 1 | 0 |
| Post | .. | | | 3 |
| Postage on | } | .. | 3 | 9 |
| Historical Materialism | | | | 7 |
| Pro forma invoice | | | 4 | 4 |

This account is due for payment within 15 days:

- (1) A.B.C. of Communism by Bukharin and Prestrzhensky 3 0
 - (2) Short course of Economic Science by A Bogdanoff 3 0
 - (3) Imperialism: The last stage of Capitalism by Lenin 1 6
 - (4) State and Revolution by Lenin 1 6
 - (5) Theory and Practice of Leninism by Stalin .. 1 6
 - (6) On the Road to Insurrection by Lenin .. 1 6
 - (7) Lenin as a Marxist by Bhukarin 1 0
 - (8) Russia's Path to Communism by Zinoveiv .. 1 0
 - (9) Building up Socialis, by Bukharin 1 0
- 15 0

Muzaffar Ahmad

- (10) Crecetine Revolution by Eden and Ceden Paul
- (11) Peoples Marx

T. Rejected.

P. 415. (7)

Letter in Bengali dated 30th August from Soumendra Nath Tagore, Berlin.

P.415 (8).

NATIONAL MINORITY MOVEMENT

National Industrial Sections
Miners' Minority Movement
Transport Workers' Minority Movement
Metal Workers' Minority Movement
Building Workers' Minority Movement
Gen. Workers' Section
Printers' Section

Hon. Chairman: TOM MANN
Gen. Organising Secretary:
GEORGE HARDY

Hon. General Secretary: HARRY POLLITT
National Treasury: GEO. FLETCHER

¶ Address all communications to Gen. Secretary
TELEPHONE: MUSEUM 6708.

Room 14, First Floor,

Reference.....

38, GREAT ORMOND STREET,

(Please quote when replying)

LONDON, W. C. 1.

30th May, 1927.

The General Secretary,
Workers' & Peasants Party of Bengal,
37, Harrison Road,
Calcutta,
INDIA.

Dear Comrade,

Many thanks for your letter dated 12th of May. I am glad to hear you received my previous letter safely, and I shall look out with interest for a communication from Comrade Tagore.

I enclose you some copies of our last conference report, specimen application form, etc. I have also requested our paper the "Worker" to put you on the exchange list. Just at the moment we have not any other literature which would be of use to you.

With regard to your paper, the only addresses I can at present suggest to you, are, the Communist Bookshop, 16. King Street, W. C. 2., and Hendersons, Charing Cross Road, W. C.

I quite appreciate the difficulties you are working against, but I am sure that with persistent effort you will be able to attain your results in spite of all the efforts of the imperialist government.

Best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

HARRY POLLITT.

Honorary General Secretary.

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal.

2/1 European Asylum Lane

CALCUTTA.

11 August, 1928.

Circular To All Party Members, Branches, & Affiliated Bodies.

Dear Comrades,

We wish to draw your attention to the Trade Dispute Bill which is to come before the next Session of the Assembly. It is designed to deprive the Trade Union movement of practically all functions and activities, and there can be no doubt that, when the the Peasants' movement develops, similar legislation will be carried through against it. India will be put under Czarist conditions.

The Party intends to conduct as wide and intense a campaign as possible against the Bill, and has proposed to the Bengal Trade Union Federation to call a Conference of all Unions and Peasant organisations in Bengal, Bihar and Assam, with the following agenda

- (1) Measures of resistance to the Trade Disputes Bill such as
 - (a) campaign for increasing Union membership
 - (b) organisation of unorganised workers
 - (c) establishment of Trades Councils in all industrial towns
 - (d) amalgamation of overlapping Unions
 - (e) campaign of propaganda for a general strike, with the following demands (1) Trade Disputes Bill to be rescinded (2) all Unions to be allowed to affiliate to the Trade Union Congress (3) legislation for a minimum wage of Rs 30 (4) universal adult suffrage.
- (2) Assistance to all workers now involved in strikes.
- (3) Mass demonstrations of workers on landing of Simon Commission.
- (4) Consideration of All-Parties Conference decisions.

You will see that nothing short of action of this kind will meet the situation, and we call upon you to exert the utmost activity in the following ways (1) to carry on propaganda within any Unions or Peasants' organisations which you know in support of the Conference and the General Strike. (2) to form Unions or Peasants' Leagues which will send representatives to the Conference (3) to recruit members to the Party who will assist in this agitation (4) to distribute as widely as possible "Ganavani" and

"Lal Nishan" and the special leaflets etc which we are bringing out (5) to hold local public meetings condemning the Bill and supporting General Strik against it.

The Party will be failing in its duty if it does not make every possible effort to lead a successful mass movement against this Bill, and calls upon all members to do their utmost.

Yours fraternally,

Executive Committee.

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal.

2/1 European Asylum Lane

CALCUTTA.

11 August, 1928.

CIRCULAR TO ALL PARTY MEMBERS, BRANCHES, AND AFFILIATED BODIES.

Dear Comrades,

We wish to draw your attention to the Trade Dispute Bill which is to come before the next Session of the Assembly. It is designed to deprive the Trade Union movement of practically all functions and activities, and there can be no doubt that, when the Peasants' movement develops, similar legislation will be carried through against it. India will be put under Czarist conditions.

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 - (a) campaign for increasing Union membership
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- (2) Assistance to all workers now involved in strikes.
- (3) Mass demonstrations of workers on landing of Simon Commission.

(4) Consideration of All-Parties Conference decisions.

You will see that nothing short of action of this kind will meet the situation, and we call upon you to exert the utmost activity in the following ways (1) to carry on propoganda within any Unions or Peasants' organisations which you know in support of the conference and the General strike. (2) to form Unions or Peasants' Leagues which will send representatives to the Conference (3) to recruit members to the Party who will assist in this agitation (4) to distribute as widely as possible "Ganavani" and "Lal Nishan" and the special leaflets etc. which we are bringing out (5) to hold local public meetings condemning the Bill and supporting General Strik against it.

The Party will be failing in its duty if it does not make every possible effort to lead a successful mass movement against this Bill and calls upon all members to do their utmost.

Yours fraternally,
Executive committee.

MODERN INDIAN POLITICS.

(Modern India by R. Palme Dutt, Sunshine Publishing House, Bombay and "The future of Indian Politics" by M. N. Roy. R. Bishop, London. Both books obtainable from S. Govind and Co., Sandhurst Road, Bombay.)

In these two small books is contained a remarkable survey of India at the present day. Both authors are writers and Marxists of international reputation, and their treatment of this unfamiliar subject with the intellectual weapons of modern socialism is productive of the most interesting and valuable results. Mr. Dutt's book is wider in scope and deals with the fundamental economic and social changes which are now proceeding in India, and their probable future progress. Mr. Roy's book is more narrowly political, though none the less systematic and scientific for that. He sketches in his first part the economic background of recent events, mainly from the standpoint of the relations between the British and Indian capitalist classes. His second part contains an excellent critical analysis of the politics and development of the Swaraj Party in the light of the former section, and the third is devoted to the future course which the struggle must pursue in view of these conditions. It is interesting to notice that though the subject is tackled from somewhat different points of view, the conclusions reached by the two authors are in close agreement.

Mr. Dutt begins with a short "Statement of the Problem."

"The Indian National Movement has reached a point at which a new survey is needed of its conditions, aims, and tactics. The deadlock reached by the existing movement during the last few years, and the necessity of finding a new line of advance make this fresh survey of the ground necessary" and a statement of his broad conclusions.

"The national struggle for independence will have to take new forms. The struggle against Imperialism is and must be a struggle of the widest masses. The awakening of the masses to their own interests and their own emancipation is the task in front. The national struggle itself is only a stage in the struggle for emancipation. Our fight is a fight against every form of exploitation, economic, social, political, racial, or religious. As the struggle develops, the leadership of the productive workers of the proletariat in India and the peasants will become more and more clear. The present stage of the struggle is the struggle against imperialist domination. But the national struggle already contains within itself the germs of the developing social struggle, and can only be understood in relation to it. The failure to recognise

this, the attempt to build a national movement on the ever-weakening prope of the Indian bourgeoisie, the endeavour to combine a forward political movement with a reactionary social programme is at the root of the present weakness of Indian Nationalism."

He then proceeds to support these contentions by a brilliant survey of the history of British relations with India. He distinguishes three periods the first that of sheer plunder, when the government of British India was in the hands of the East India Company, which was interested in the division of India against itself in chaos rather than order. The second was the stage of exchange, when India was mainly a market and a source of raw materials for British manufactures. In this period the whole of British capitalism became interested in India, and control was taken over officially by the British Government, and such conditions created of order, transport facilities, etc., as would facilitate trade. This stage ended roughly with the war. The third stage, which we see in development now, is that in which Britain having practically completed its industrial development is forced to invest capital abroad and in the colonies. This means the industrialisation of India, the exploitation of a new Indian working class, and the conclusion of an alliance with the Indian capitalist class. "The political expression of the new stage is Dyarchy".

In his chapter on "Imperialism in India--The Old Basis", he rapidly sketches the effects of British rule during the 19th Century, showing the origin of the appalling legacy which we are now enjoying. Using only unimpeachable official figures and reports he demonstrates the disastrous impoverishment brought about by that policy--the driving of ever larger proportions of the population to agriculture; the subdivision of land to a ridiculous degree, the destruction of the old industry, and the purposeful and artificial prevention of the growth of an industry on a modern basis, which alone could solve the problem. He quickly and effectively disposes of the old official argument about "over-population" (due to the peace and order of British rule) showing that the rate of growth of population during the last century was less than that of any European country except France. The root of the matter was the deliberate obstruction of economic development for the benefit of British industrial capitalism.

"The real basis then, of Indian poverty under British rule has lain in the capitalist subjection of India as an agricultural colony to the manufacturing capitalism of Britain. This was the old system of Imperialism up to the war. In appearance the British Government had established political unification, "peace" and "order", and had endeavoured to pose before the nations as the champion of "progress" in relation to the "backward" civilisation.

of India. The reality was a system of more and more intensified exploitation, of arrested economic development, and of consequently increasing starvation and misery, and therefore of sharper and sharper repression—”

The picture has now changed. India is becoming industrialised. But Mr. Dutt has again no difficulty in showing that this change of policy is not a yielding to the needs of India but a necessary result of British developments, and further that it contributes but little to the solution of India's problems, as that industrial development is to an overwhelming extent under British control, run with British capital, and contributes profits to British shareholders.

At the same time Britain has extended its cooperation with India beyond the narrow ranks of the big landholders to the Indian capitalist class, and by now has successfully won them over to acceptance of British rule (Home Rule “within the Empire”, “Dominion Status”). Such a demand the Indian Bourgeoisie would be willing to accept and the British willing to grant. But it is obvious that in this case the demand is of no use to any body else, including the masses of India. It would simply give formal expression to the state of thing which is actually in operation already—the partnership of the British and Indian Bourgeoisie in the exploitation of the Indian masses.

Hence the author argues, the aim which we must have in view is complete independence from Imperialism, as a step towards complete social liberation.

It is impossible to summarise in a short review the authors excellent chapters on the nationalist movement and its relations with the working class and peasantry. It is enough to say that he shows perfectly the essentially capitalist nature of the leadership of the Congress and of the Swaraj Party, and traces the failure of the one and of the other to this fact. The capitalist class of India is afraid of Swaraj—afraid of the masses who alone can win Swaraj. Hence in the position of leader of the masses they can do nothing but betray Swaraj movement.

Mr. Dutt then discusses the nature of the fundamental requirements of the working class, the peasants and the other exploited sections of society. He shows that a real Swaraj movement must place these requirements in the forefront of its programme, since any form of Swaraj which does not satisfy these demands will be of no use. It must organise a real Party of the People representing all sections of society which are able to strive for Swaraj, the working class, the peasants, and the petty bourgeoisie.

It is here that we can take up Mr. Roy's book. After a rather more detailed discussion of the new policy of British Imperialism towards India, and the gradual collapse of the Swaraj Party, due to its essentially capitalist programme and leadership, he goes on to discuss the nature of the future struggle. He shows which classes can pursue the fight against Imperialism, the workers, the peasants, the artisans, the "petty Intellectuals" and the petty bourgeoisie, and which cannot, the capitalists, the big landlords, the "brown bureaucracy", etc.

There is obviously a need for an all inclusive People's Party which shall unite all sections which can fight Imperialism. He shows that the working class must take a leading part in this Party which will not however be a Socialist Party. The working class must have its own Socialist, or Communist Party, to organise and lead its special activities in alliance with the broader nationalist movement.

He then discusses the many attempts to form a labour Party in India, and shows that there is no place and no function for such a body in the existing conditions. It is mainly an attempt on the part of the British "Labour Imperialists" to lead the Indian Working class astray from its true line of political action. On the other hand, as Mr. Dutt points out, the Indian working class and nationalist movement must establish close relations with the newly forming "left wing" of British Labour, which is now becoming so important a political factor, and is necessarily in favour of Indian national freedom.

Neither Mr. Dutt nor Mr. Roy is yet clear on the way in which the new People organisation will arise, whether it will coincide with the present Congress organisation, furnished with a new programme and leadership, or whether it will come forth as a completely organised party within the Congress to transform and capture it. Our immediate task is not to quarrel over this problem circumstances will solve it for us - but to push on with the work of enlightenment and organisation of the working class and peasants for the struggle against Imperialism.

It is essential, in our opinion, for any serious Indian politician to read these two books, and it is a pity that they are issued only in English. Nothing like either has been produced in recent years. Mr. Dutt by the breadth and sweep of his argument, Mr. Roy by the accuracy of his diagnosis of persons and policies, compel our attention and admiration. But beyond all questions of style or manner there is to be born in mind the fact that both books in their different ways give a fundamentally correct analysis of modern Indian conditions, and a fundamentally sound guide for the future. The nationalist movement must follow this direction, or fail.

REPORT, ON CHINA.

1. The canton Rising.

The way to the canton rising was opened by the coup' etat carried out on November 17th by Chang Fat-kwai, backed by Wang Chin-Wei and a section of the Canton industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, against Li Chai-sum, representing the Nanking clique (Ch-inng kai-shek), who had been ruling Canton ever since the anti-Communist outbreaks last April. The coup was a reply to the increasing economic crisis (high cost of living, shortage of essentials financial bankruptcy.)

Chang Fat-Kwai attempted to enlist mass support by invoking the Kuomintang authority, but his attitude to the workers especially belied these pretensions: eviction of Hong Kong strikers: closing down their food kitchens, raids and arrests in trade unions, shooting down demonstrations executing communists; etc. The armed struggle that opened, all over Kwantung, between the warring groups within the feudal-bourgeois counter revolutionary bloc, intensified the economic crisis and at the same time encouraged the masses to independent activity.

The Canton party Committee was in being as an illegal body holding regular trade union conference of factory delegates (underground), Party conferences, etc. When the Nanchang Army (Yeh-Ting) was approaching Kwantung in September, the party in Canton began preparations for a rising, but these were postponed after Yeh Ting was defeated at Swatow. The party used several occasions, (sailors' strike on October 14th, revolutionary anniversary on November 7th, Chang Fat Kwai's coup) to bring the masses out into the street, organise numerous strikes. etc.

The party was in regular contact with the Haifung Soviet Government, organised in half a dozen densely populated agricultural districts (250,000 population in mid-November, extending to territory with 500,000 population by mid December), by the remnant of Yeh-Ting's army after their defeat. This Government applied the undiluted Comintern policy from the outset-full power to workers, peasants, and soldiers' councils, confiscation of large estates, abolition of title-deeds, guaranteeing of land to soldiers, equipment of Red soldiers by their villagers through the State machinery (instead of hiring them through the commander as heretofore). Over 700 landowners and counter-revolutionaries were publicly executed by the beginning of December. A Soviet Congress was held on November 7th (see "Workers' Life"). The Haifung Government sent 2,000 dollars to Canton to buy arms for the workers.

On November 26th the Canton Party Committee, faced with Chang Fat Kwai's increasing anti-Communist and anti-Labour terror, decided to work for an insurrection, and to organise a Red

Guard of armed workers. A manifesto on suitable lines was issued. On Dec. 7th it decided unanimously that the rising should take place on the night of Dec. 10-11. Energetic measures of preparation were already in progress.

Politically, the manifesto of Nov. 26 indicated the following immediate programme of a Workers' and Peasants' Government: liberation of political prisoners, arming of workers and peasants, freedom of press, speech, strikes, evacuation of occupied trade union buildings, execution of White provocateurs, restoration of rights of Hong Kong strikers, rising of wages, workers' control for production, nationalisation of large industry, banking and transport, confiscation of bourgeois houses, all land for peasants, death to landlords and gentry, raising soldiers' wages from 12 to 20 dollars per month, soldiers' committee to fight reactionary general and to control Army finance, etc. This programme was widely accepted.

Military preparations took the form of (1) establishment of a revolutionary military council (2) military mobilisation of Party members (3) establishment of an illegal Red Guard of 20,000 workers (4) organisation of special shock detachments (2) companies of Hong Kong strikers and 1 company each of seamen and rickshawmen) (5) organisation of transport workers and chauffeurs to concentrate lorries, etc. at the moment of the rising (6) manufacture of iron pikes and hand grenades, and accumulation of revolvers and ammunition (7) propaganda in nearly all military units and conference with revolutionary soldiers and officers (an illegal conference of 200 Communist and non-party soldiers and officers was held a week before the rising: the Training Battalion Guards' Regiment, part of the artillery, and a group of Whampoa cadets supported the Party.)

A *Canton Soviet* was illegally organised after the date of the rising had been decided: 10 members elected at a general meeting of delegates of the trade unions (200,000 members), 3 members from revolutionary troops, 3 peasants from peasant unions in the neighbouring districts. The members of the Soviet played a leading part in the insurrection, taking civil control in the various quarters of the city.

Throughout this period the Party published a daily paper "The Workers' and Peasants' Gazette," a weekly "The Red Flag" and a mass of illegal leaflets.

The rising began at 3-30 a. m. on the morning of December 11th, soldiers of the Training Battalion bringing comrade Chang-Ta-Lai, member of the C. C. of the Party and War Commissary of the Canton Soviet, to their barracks, where a meeting was held, the Kuomintang Government declared overthrown, and allegiance sworn to the Canton Soviet. Fifteen reactionary officers were shot on the spot, and the soldiers then moved off to occupy strategic points,

disarm reactionary troops, etc. as directed by the Red Military Committee. Simultaneously, the Red Guard attacked the police and Military Police Headquarters, taking them after an hours fighting, and seizing their rifles, machine guns and armoured cars. Within a few hours the revolutionary soldiers and workers had occupied all important points, liberated 800 prisoners, and seized a mass of arms and ammunitions, including one third of Chang Fat-Kwai's artillery.

The Council of People's Commissaries, appointed some days previously, immediately began energetic action, publishing a manifesto to the workers, peasants, and soldiers of all China, and an appeal to the international proletariat. The first 3 decrees dealt with (1) the establishment of Soviet power, (2) organisation of a Red Army (led in the main by workers,) and (3) organisation of an Extraordinary Commission (about 700 spies, police, officers, counter-revolutionary trade union officials, etc. were shot). The Chairman of the Government was a worker, Hsu Chao-Chen, leader of the Seamen's and Hong Kong strikes of 1925 and later President of the T.U.C. All decrees were printed in 250,000 copies in the nationalised printing shops and immediately distributed.

A feature of the events was the mass participation of the workers, particularly of the youth and women (catching White agents, supplying food to the Red troops, acting as technical helpers, nurses, etc.).

During the three days tenure of power a number of important decrees were issued, in application of the programme published on November 26th, and published in the "Red Flag", the daily paper of the Canton Soviet. Amongst these, too numerous to enumerate in full may be mentioned (1) greetings to the Haifung Soviet Government and appointment of its leader, Pungwei (member of the Party C. C.) as Commissary for Agriculture (2) annulment of City taxes on the poor (3) grants to the soldiers of land from the nationalised estates (4) dissolution of Fascist trade unions, etc.

As is known, the Soviet Government held out for three days against (1) the reactionary troops (3 divisions) of Li-Fu-Hin (supporter of Li-Chai-Sun), concentrated in the main on the island of Honam, in Canton Harbour, but also North and East of the city (2) the warships in Canton Harbour (3) the well-armed "Min-Tuang" or bourgeois village volunteers. On the second day, a whole division was driven out of the city with great loss, but on the third day the reactionaries returned in great force and succeeded in occupying the city.

They were supported by foreign troops as follows (1) Japanese sailors landed on the Bund and fired on Red soldiers, thus preventing them from driving out the Whites who had barricaded themselves in the dock-areas (2) British commercial and war vessels

transported the reactionary generals and bourgeoisie to Honam, Shameen (foreign settlement) and Hong Kong (3) British, Japanese and French warships shielded the gunboats which were bombarding Canton (4) British sailors surrounded and arrested Red Chinese sailors (5) British Commercial vessels, flying the British flag, transported Kuomintang troops.

A great difficulty was that many workers and coolies were unacquainted with the use of arms, and learned to handle a rifle only after the rising began. Only 4 of the machine guns seized, and 4 or 5 out of the 25 guns captured, could be used. Even leading Party comrades did not realise the importance of barricades and how to construct them.

It is considered that the following mistakes were made:

(1) Too much time spent on liquidating the last nests of reaction in the docks, instead of immediately beginning an offensive against hostile centres outside the city (Honam and Whampoa) and breaking through Sheklun towards Hailing-fen (the peasant centre). Yeh Ting: the Communist general, had to be removed from his post by the Party Committee for inexcusable slackness and carelessness.

(2) Very few cases of White troops from the *provinces* going over to the Red Army, thus showing the inefficiency of political preparations for the disintegration of reactionary armies—a general fault of the Party.

(3) The reaction succeeded in arming 1,000 members of the Fascist Mechanics' Union, owing to the insufficient attention in the past to winning the rank and file of the Union away from their leaders.

(4) Although several thousands of peasants congregated directly the rising began, seizing the Northern Railway Station and handing over the cash seized there, etc. there was no general rising of peasants in the areas round Canton, due to a considerable extent to the lack of Communist groups in the villages and weakness of Party contact with these villages (as distinct from the revolutionary areas, which are roughly 6 days' march away).

At the end of the rising the soldiers of the Training Regiment, in close formation burst through the enemy ring, followed by about 20,000 Red Guards, and made their way to the Haifung areas.

2. The Present Position.

An important feature of the Canton rising is that it shows the degree to which the Chinese Party has learned the lessons of the tragic failures of last year. The careful preparations for the rising, the 100 per cent. C. I. programme adopted by the Soviet

Government, the intense activity displayed immediately the rising began, show that, given similar circumstances at canton or elsewhere, the Party will be able to rise to the occasion.

The revolutionary ferment going on all over China has been currently reported in the Party press. A useful summary is provided in the following report, taken, from "Imprekorr".

(Latest telegrams report the Haifung Red troops at Chow-Yang, 15 miles from Swatow.

The struggle of the warring factions of the Kuomintang leaders-Chiang Kai-Shek, (Shanghai and Nanking), Pei Chung-Hsi (Wuhan, nominally supporting Chiang Kai-Shek), Feng Yu-Hsiang (N. of Wuhan), and Li-Chai-Sum and Chang Fat Kwai in the south continues unabated. Only along the Yang-Tse-Kiang, thanks to the presence of British warships, is there a certain "unity of command" amongst the bourgeoisie. But elsewhere (particularly in the far South) the disintegration of the White camp goes on.)

The Canton Soviet power set up after the December insurrection has been crushed, but there still exist in the country numerous Soviets formed before and after the revolt. The population regards the Soviet system with the greatest enthusiasm. In the east of the province of Kwantung, between Canton and Swatow, the districts of Haifung, Lufang, Puling, Hoyuan and the island Hainan, lying south of Kwantung, has been captured by peasants and a Soviet Government also set up there. In addition, there are Soviets in several districts in the east of the province of Hunan, for example, in the west of the province of Kiangsi, i.e., in the neighbourhood of the celebrated Ngan-yuan mining works (province of Kiangsi). The Soviet system has even spread to the province of Hupeh; the district of Huang-Mei in the east of this province is administered by the Soviets.

Under the banner of seizure of political power by the workers and peasants, a gigantic wave of peasants' revolts has again spread over the whole of China. Peasant revolts are continually taking place, not only in the province of Kwantung Kwangsi, Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi, Honan, Chili and Shantung, where peasant movements had long existed led by the formerly revolutionary Kuomintang or by secret organisations, but also in the provinces of Kiangsu, Szekiang and in Manchuria, which have long been oppressed by the counter-revolutionaries. Since last autumn in Szekiang and Kiangsu, in the broad environs of Shnanghai, large towns have often been occupied for days by the insurgents. Already, since the middle of January last, the district of Tonghua in Manchuria, has been in the occupation of the so-called "Da-Dau-Hui" (Big Knife League). If the latter movement does not bear the

revolutionary character of that of the movement led by the Communist Party in South China, nevertheless it is the commencement of an important action against Chang-Tso-Lin.

In the immediate future, the peasants revolts will increase.

In the first place, there will commence in the spring a general increase of prices in China, and secondly, the formerly important military cliques are disintegrating. Many of such disintegrating troops will be disarmed by the peasants, others will come over to the revolutionary peasants themselves. Thus, Chang-Fat-Kwai's troops in eastern Kwantung, and Tang-Sen-Chi's troops in South Eastern Hunan, are already in flight. In Hupeh and Honan numerous small bodies of troops are threatened by the Hankow generals and by Feng Hu-Hsiang. All this tends to favour the revolution.

South of the Yangtse, the peasant movement stands under the leadership of the Communist Party. North of the Yangtse the movement under the leadership of big peasants and landowners, for the greater part has religious character, and is directed only against the present military rulers. The most urgent demand of recent times is the abolition of the extra taxes and not as the peasants in the South demand-distribution of the land. In spite of this, in addition to the peasant leagues organised by the Communists, a portion of the "Red Spears" and a large section of the "Gate of Heaven League" are in connection with the Communists.

The revolutionary peasant movement of South China commenced in the year 1921 but has always been in the hands of reformists. Their demands were: reduction of rent, of land, participation in the municipal administration. The distribution of the land in the Hunan last year (June) was a spontaneous action of the peasants. When the Yeh-Ting troops marched from Nanking to Swatow their still existed a dispute in the revolutionary leadership whether the owners of more than 200 mow (33 acres) of land should be expropriated of those possessing more than 50 mow (8 acres). Even measures against those peasants were adopted who themselves undertook punitive measures against the counter-revolutionary landowners and gentry. In the province of Kwantung it was decided to expropriated all those possessing over 50 mow of land to reduce land rents by 30 per cent. The whole peasant movement was very opportunist. The two Plenary sessions of the Communist Party of China held in August and November last year completely did away with the opportunist tactics. The Minister for Agriculture, Teng Pin-San, who ever since his appointment as Minister pursued an opportunist course, was excluded in November from the C. P. of China. Many provincial Committees of Communist Party were reorganised and instructed that they must build up

up the peasant movement direct on the peasants masses. The leaders of the peasant organisations must for the greater part consist of poor peasants. The peasants' union and committees must be so organised that, in the event of a revolt, they can immediately be converted into peasants' Soviets.

Thanks to the change of course in the peasant movement it has been possible in the period from November to the present time to form numerous Soviets and to spread a gigantic wave of revolt over the country.

P. 415 (12).

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Dated the 29th May, 1928.

Dear brothers,

These days I was busy with Press affairs and Dakeswari Mill Workers' negotiation with the authority. The mill-owners these days were playing the tricks which the British Government itself play on us. They were trying to make the members of our Union i.e. weavers to say that they do not require anymore of the Union. However the workers have disclosed everything to me and they are not in any way to be played on, or they are not to betray the cause. At Dacca, the Managing Directors are giving me hopes to hold conference, with mill-owners and our representatives but were making delay showing some lame excuses, while in the mill they were privately threatening individual members, with dismissal and also trying to get some blacklegs. However I am seeing them now and then but it is very difficult with me to manage to spend on every occasion when I go there, Rs. 2/- and also to be absent so frequently from Press work.

Few days back I gave a letter to Com. Spratt informing him of the grievances of some Railway workers for necessary steps to be taken—in publishing the details in local dailies and informing A. I. T. U. C. of the facts and if possible tabling questions in Councils and Assemblies by our Trade Union members and sympathisers.

I have received on reply of my this letter, you will also please let me know what has been done of Dange's book.

I gave these days, hope to Dakeswari Workers, Spratt and you all are coming, but as you are not coming, the workers becoming disheartened and mill-owners who became somewhat afraid of your presence here, are becoming bold enough to say now that as they think that some foreign agents mean mischief to both workers and the mill through their influence on me, they are right in taking repressive measures, that have taken.

Hope to hear from you promptly,

Yours
Gopal.

BARDOLI.

The Satyagraha of the Bardolia peasants has been called off "with sigh of relief" by all the leaders. The nationalist Press is full of congratulation.

What terms? Principally, inquiry to be conducted as V. Patel demanded, i. e. by a Judicial officer and subordinate to him, a Revenue officer. Other terms are (1) release of Satyagraha prisoners, (2) restoration of forfeited lands, (3) compensation in grave cases, (4) reinstatement of Talatis and Patels who resigned.

On the other hand (1) peasants are to pay according to old settlement, (2) difference to be deposited by Mr. Bhatt, (3) campaign to cease.

Now it must be admitted that these are substantially the original terms of Mr. Patel, (Apart from deposit of excess money) and therefore they constitute in a sense a moral victory over the Government.

But there are two criticisms to make (1) The demands made by Patel were on the first place absolutely inadequate—inquiry—willing to pay increase if "impartial" tribunal finds it is justified etc. Arise from the sheer timidity and reacting nature of the Gandhi school. Now they are granted the terms are useless. The inquiry, which is not to begin till October (when all agitation will have died down) will be conducted by two Govt. Officials. What will the result be? obvious.

The movement was betrayed by its pious leaders from the beginning (see letters of Bombay W. & P. Party and our remarks in a recent No. of Ganavani).

(3) His being exploited by Congress outsiders, in a shameless counter-revolutionary fashion. They are triumphing—the Government had to yield etc. But, it is a victory for—What? for the revolutionary masses?—no for "non-violence" for the "principle that revenue assessments are subject to judicial not only administrative examination" etc. They accept the present system; they condemn the masses to non-violent ineptitude.

All are relieved—"sigh of relief" (Forward, for it was becoming a rather too serious conflict—unfortunate". Other peasants, in Kamatak etc, were suggesting sympathetic action. Things ought have become quite serious! So everything must be done now to quieten the peasants, They are assured that the settlement is "honourable to both sides". (though what they gain beyond a principle" of any doubtful value is difficult to see). And to take away

the last traces of revolutionary feeling they are told that the settlement is due to the "tact etc. etc., of the Governor and Sir Chunilal Mehta". Such a fight ends with thanks to your opponent for not crushing you completely!

The lesson is that nothing can do India good but revolution, and the only useful way to wage such conflicts is these is with a revolutionary objective in view. i. e. preparing the masses for revolution and would have been possible in their case to make far more drastic demands, and to rally the peasants of many other districts behind them. Even as it was, without much propaganda, they were moving. And if they were defeated, as they would have been, it would be a gain, if taken in the right way—not "congratulating" Sir Leslie Wilson on his "tact"; but openly acknowledging defeats and resolving to fight again another day.

Of course the Congress Party would have been against, but what does that matter?

Fortunately, peasants are sensible people and they will not be deceived by the gush of the Swarajists or the non-violent rubbish of Vallabhai.

Party and Unions.

(1) Unions exist for fighting a single employer or group of employers mainly over immediate simple issues. Usually their organisation and the mentality of their leading members etc. do not permit them to go far beyond this naturally.

(2) But they are forced in time to federate with other unions, and ultimately to join with all other unions in a given country, for

(1) increase of strength through solidarity;
(2) pursuit of common objects, such as altering or promoting legislation, running journals etc. But nevertheless The Federations or Congresses tend to retain almost all the weaknesses of the individual Unions. For they preserve a Union outlook, i. e. they

- (1) seek temporary advantage only,
- (2) have in view only sectional aims, of their or that branch of labour,
- (3) accept fundamentals of capitalism and the existing form of Government.

Of course occasionally T. U. Cs and the Congresses etc. get beyond this, but usually they cannot.

Therefore an organisation is required which shall instead of Trade Unionist outlook, have a more completely class-conscious outlook, and shall.

(1) seek the ultimate advantage of the workers.

(2) look to the interests of all workers equally and of the other oppressed and exploited sections of society,

(3) refuse to be limited to the "necessities" of the present order, but work consciously for the overthrow of Capitalism and the replacement by workers only. It confronts not the employers as such, but the employers' state.

The Workers' Party is able to do this partly because as opposed to the Unions it does not admit any and every worker into its ranks, but takes in general only the best and most class-conscious workers, and also outsiders, and other such as peasants, into its membership.

Of course its object is to raise the Unions and in particular the Union Federations of Congress (Trade Councils also) to its own level, but the point is that in order to do this, it must itself be in existence, and must wage a continual fight against the reformism which owing to capitalist and Government efforts, always creeps easily into the Unions. The Party is an essential to the workers, and is its highest organ and expression. *It assists also in fight on small, sectional questions, but always with the ultimate interest of the class in view.*

What is the position of a federal Party like-ours? It is a preparation for the real Workers' Party, in a period when

(1) the individual workers are not ready for a genuine Workers' Party,

(2) the tasks of the unions in most cases are so elementary and similar to one another that genuine class-consciousness is easily established in most Indian unions there is little excuse for a narrow or reformist outlook, they have to fight at present against a cast iron autocracy. There is therefore place for a federal party of the workers, in which however, as time goes on, a pure Workers' Party must grow up.

Essential for workers to join and make the Party a reality. It took many years in Europe. But we have to do it all in a very short time, because our ultimate task, the overthrow of capitalism, is already almost facing us, young though we are as a working class. Join! etc.

Campaign against T. U. Bill.

(1) Letter to T. U. Federation (put in Ganavani) proposing fully representative conference of all T. U's. and Peasants' organisations in Bengal & Behar & Assam for

- (1) Resistance of T. U. Bill—leading up to General Strike.
- (2) Assistance to Jamshedpur & other Unions.
- (3) Resistance to Simon Commission.
- (4) Force Govt. to rescind orders re. Govt. Employees Unions not aff. to T. U. C.
- (5) Consideration of All-Parties Conference decisions.

(2) Circular letter to all Unions Branches & Party members etc. proposing some thing and urging them to work for it and call on Federation to call it.

(3) Campaign in Ganavani & Lal Nishan for

- (i) Const. Assembly (on lines of previous articles).
- (ii) Gen. Strike against T. U. Bill.
(Every week).

(4) Special pamphlets against T. U. Bill and Commission in Hindi, Urdu, Bengali.

(5) Appeal to wealthy members of Party for funds for campaign

(6) Get out Lal Nishan as soon as possible.

Protest against T. U. Bill.....suggest *General Strike*.

Attack Swarajists in Bengal Council for policy re Tenancy Bill.

Betrayal of Bardoli.

Party and Unions.

Youth Manifesto & Constitution

Fascism—something. } ?

News.

British Railways
(example of reformism).

British miners' Conference

E. I. R. DISPUTE,

The great lockout and strike on the E. I. Railway so tragically finished, is full of lessons for the labour movement. In spite of the risk of giving offence, it must be fully discussed for the benefit of the movement.

It must be admitted, in agreement with the "Statesman", that the Lillooah strike was in the first place a tactical mistake. In the absence of effective organisation on the line, a strike in a workshop alone must be in very difficult position. Further retrenchment was in the air, and against it, united action alone is likely to be successful. Nevertheless, to accuse, as the "Statesman" does, the "outsiders" or "leaders", of this mistake, is unjustified. The strike was a spontaneous one, against oppression. Once begun, outsiders rightly held it their duty to assist.

But it must also be said that the most was not made of the opportunity. Though the strike was essentially in a weak position, other factors were in its favour. In particular the fund originally in possession of the Union at Lillooah was substantial, and could have been used to greater advantage. It was the proper tactic immediately to spread the strike so as to stop traffic. The extension of the strike to other works in Howrah, in so far as it did not occur spontaneously, was probably an error. Or, if not, it should have been pursued with greater energy. The object was, by bringing out workers in Howrah and neighbourhood on sympathetic strikes, to force the authorities to intervene and bring the Agent to terms. It was done however, in a half hearted manner. Engineering shops struck, but the numerous local Jute-mills which were at that time almost at the boiling point of discontent, were not called out. All or none.

But in any case, this tactic is inferior to the proper one of extending the strike on the line. Either at the very beginning, or after the Bamangachhi shooting incident, this should have been done with all available force. Especially the Union Secretary who has far more influence than any "outsider", should have done this. Actually he did not leave Lillooah until his original fund had gone, and even the second large contribution from the Russian Unions was also practically exhausted and the strike consequently in an almost hopeless position.

Nevertheless, it was correct, even at that late stage, to attempt to spread the strike, and probably the big centre,—Asansol and the subsidiary workshop at Ondal, were the best places to begin at. It was however, done even then with insufficient energy. The Union Secretary himself did not go until some weeks later, and only three

propagandists were sent in the first place. The almost complete absence of organisation at the places in question, the depression still felt after the disastrous strikes of 1922, and the late stage of the strike at which propaganda was begun, all rendered the task extremely difficult. And the success obtained, such as it was, shows what could have been done at an earlier and more opportune occasion, with more energy, and better finances.

The fact that the strikers at Asansol and Ondal have been penalised (up to the present) more than those at Lillooah, is a case of sheer vindictiveness on the part of the authorities, and could hardly have been foreseen. But in any case, it does not alter the fact that the attempt to spread the strikes, even at that late stage, was justified and the Union, if it had not done this, could not have claimed that it had done everything possible for its members. The decision to call off the strike at Lillooah, leaving the Ondal and Asansol men to their fate, has been much criticised. Actually, there was no alternative; the men could not hold out any longer. The only question was whether to go back unconditionally or to sign a useless and utterly humiliating agreement. The course actually taken, the former seems better. Similarly the men at Asansol have been criticised for resuming work at once on hearing of their, and having some 400 of their comrades dismissed. Again, nothing else could be expected of men who had little or no union organisation or experience, had been on strike for a month, and were being subjected daily to the most rigorous police persecution. The mistake lay, not in these inevitable consequences of what had gone before, but in the inaction and delay which confined the sympathetic strikes to such narrow boundaries, and rendered all their sacrifice ultimately useless.

It is probable that this and other errors would have been avoided if more democratic methods had been adopted at the centre. A strong committee of strikers, with or without "outsiders", as necessary, should have been set up at the beginning, and allowed and even forced, to work. There is no place for autocracy in the labour movement—not even for benevolent autocracy. And moreover, it is highly urgent that the best workers should be trained at the work of trade unionism in all its departments. Men who can strike for four months are not children.

Minor, but important points of criticism can be made against the attitude of personal devotion which was encouraged, or at any rate tolerated, throughout the strikes. This kind of policy is out of place, as it replaces devotion to the masses, and to the principles of the labour movement, by a mere bourgeoisie personal ideal, and also in this case tends to encourage false and reactionary ideas of a pseudo-religious type. The exploitation of the religious sentiments of the masses by unscrupulous demagogues, is a very serious obstacle to our political progress, and must be avoided by all sincere labour men.

Another question is that of the so-called "satyagraha" performed outside the police-court at Howrah when the case against those guilty of the Bamangachhi shooting was dismissed. A mass protest was certainly called for and justified, but the form it took was objectionable. On the one hand "Satyagraha" is foreign to the labour movement. It is the tactics of middle-class impotence, and is coloured by all kinds of false religious and moral ideas. And on the other hand the steps actually taken were such as to give the police the chance they were waiting for, to strike a little terror into the workers' hearts. About twenty arrests were made, and many men, including indispensable Union workers, were severely injured.

It is impossible in the absence of detailed acquaintances with the situation, to criticise the internal administration of the strike, though it appears to an outside observer that the money at the disposal of the Union was spent rather recklessly. In any case this is a minor point. The main question is that the strategy of the struggle as a whole was mismanaged. One of the great lessons of Kharagpur—that the workshop strike can only succeed when supported by the line; it is useful as a strong rallying centre, it cannot strike a decisive blow itself—this lesson was neglected. The line was almost completely unorganised and this alone made success difficult. But nothing was done to remedy it until nearly all enthusiasm had died away, public support had disappeared, funds were exhausted, and the chances of the strike generally reduced almost to zero. It is not the concern of the writer to lay the blame for this at the door of any individual, nor to argue whether it would in fact have been practical to act in any other way. The question is, that these are the lessons which have to be borne in mind for the future.

It is interesting to notice that this strike provides an instructive reputation of an old error which is current in the labour movement—the syndicalist notions in regard to the "active minority". In this case, responsible officials of the Union actually went so far as to suggest that the Lilloah workers alone could secure gains for the whole line. It is true that under capitalism only a minority of workers will generally take a very active part in the movement. But they cannot act effectively without, not merely the passive support, but the organised support of the majority. In the E. I. Railway—and the case could be paralleled on almost any Indian railway—there is a strong "active minority" concentrated in the workshops. But it can do nothing alone. This, and the very similar theory of the "spontaneous" reaction of the masses to a proper stimulus (both theories are merely excuses to escape from the hard doudgery of organisation) were decisively disproved by this strike.

Before leaving the subject it is worth while to mention one or two other interesting points. There can be little doubt that the

severity of the attitude of the Railway authorities and the Government was to some extent due to the active part taken in the strike by the Workers' and Peasants' Party (The "Communists" as the Anglo-Indian Press calls us). In order to discredit us they have told many lies about us, and at the same time made special efforts to crush the strike. It is interesting to notice, at this point, how the reactionary labour leaders, Mr. K.S. Roy Chaudhuri, Mr. C.F. Andrews, Mr. B. Shiva Rao, Mrs. Besant, Mr. E. Kirk, played up to the propaganda of the "Statesman" & Co., and indulged in stupid abuse of "Moscow Gold". The lesson is obviously just the contrary of that which they want the workers to draw. If they are so anxious to discredit us, that in itself is strong evidence that our policy is correct. Incidentally it may be pointed out that it was the workers' & Peasants' Party members who throughout pressed for the policy of extension of the strike on the line, and took a prominent part in carrying it out.

Finally, a point which should not be missed, is the new method being adopted by the police to crush this strike. While using rifles sparingly—they attract so much attention—they seem to have given the police and other hired roughs free rein to beat and assault and arrest as they will. The police-terror at Asansol was probably worse than anything that had been seen in industrial disputes for some time. It recalls the days of Russian Garison. It is a sign of the growing importance of the labour movement, and the increasing menace to the existing order which it represents. The only remedy for the time being is that which the W. & P. Party annual conference pointed out—the organised solidarity of the workers, Workers Defence Corps, for self discipline, and for the purpose of overawing opponents.

The results of the Lillooah strike seem for the moment to be terrible. Many hundreds of men are victimised, thousands have been for months without proper food; heads and bones have been broken by the dozen. Yet it is sentimentality to regret this. Everything possible must be done for the sufferers, but above all the Union must be kept strong and they must not be allowed to despair. Lenin once said that the Workers' revolution, in contrast to the bourgeois revolution, goes from defeat to defeat, until it is finally successful. They are golden words.

P. 416.

A Star of India file headed "Correspondence received".

P. 416. (1)

TELEGRAMS : GANAVANI, CALCUTTA.

**The Peasants' and Workers' Party
of Bengal.**

ORGAN:

"GANAVANI"

(BENGAL WEEKLY)

37. HARRISON ROAD.

Calcutta, 24. 9. 1927.

To

The General Secretary,
Bengal Jute Workers' Association,
Bhatpara, (24 Parganahs).

Dear Comrade,

You certainly know all about the aims and objects of the Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal and you must have gone through the programme of the party also. As the fundamental object of the party is social, economic and political emancipation of the toiling masses I hope you will be quite willing to affiliate your union with our party which will create a new bond of solidarity.

Fraternally yours
Acting General Secretary.

P. 416. (2)

TELEGRAMS : GANAVANI. CALCUTTA.

The Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal.

ORGAN :
"GANAVANI"

(BENGALI WEEKLY).

37, HARRISON ROAD,

Calcutta, the 6th. October 1927.

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal

The Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

Sir,

I shall feel highly obliged if you kindly direct your office to let us know whether the Government of Bengal or the Government of India have put any ban on the "Labour Monthly", edited by R. Palme Dutta and published at 162, Buckingham Palace Road, London. As we have not been receiving our copy of the paper for the last two months I have been compelled to make this enquiry of your office. An early reply will be considered by us as a favour.

Yours faithfully,

Muzaffar Ahmad.

Editor, GANAVANI.

P. 416. (3)

"Communism", by B. Palme Dutt.

P. 416. (4)

The Workers' & Peasants' Party, Bombay.

17, DWARKADAS MANSIONS.
Sandhurst Road,
BOMBAY, 4.

My dear Muzaffar,

I got your telegram and also Rs. 30/-. After discussion with the group, we decided that none could be spared from Bombay at this juncture, and sent you the telegram, which you must have received by now, asking you and Spratt to come over here, at once. I hope you will see the need for a joint meeting in Bombay, of all of us, immediately. It would be easier for you two, to come here, rather than for 4 of us to go over to Calcutta.

Swami Kumaranand has been here for some time, and may be going over to Calcutta, soon. He wants to settle down in Calcutta.

Greetings to Halim, Gosain etc.

Hoping to see you here.

I am staying in the Partap's office since yesterday.

Yours

S. V. Ghate,
2/9/28.

For favour of publication.

S. V. Ghate.

Workers and Peasants Party & Bardoli.

A THOUSAND MILL-STRIKERS PREPARED TO JOIN SATYAGRAHA.

Mr. S. V. Ghate, Secretary of the Workers' and Peasants' Party in the course of a letter to Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel writes :

The Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay has been following the struggle of the Bardoli peasants with keen interest. It is regrettable that the Party has not been in a position to actively participate in the struggle due to a number of circumstances, over which, the Party had no control.

But, now, a stage has arrived, thanks to the stiff attitude of the Government wherein, it is imperative that all the forces of the people must be concentrated on the present struggle. Therefore, the Party has decided to address you on some points.

The Party thinks that the very fact that the peasant is already excessively taxed is a sufficient justification for any revision, whether based on correct or incorrect partial or impartial data, to be condemned, when it tends to increase the heavy taxation. Therefore, the Party thinks that time has come, when the slogan of an impartial inquiry ought to be thrown away, and the slogan of no increase in taxation which by itself would be a most mild demand, ought to be adopted. The Party suggests that the basic stand on which you are leading the struggle should be revised, in view of the attitude taken by the Imperialist Government. The logical sequence of your demand for an inquiry is acceptance of the conclusions of the inquiry. If the conclusions warrant the revised increase, the peasantry will be saddled with a load over a one that is, already unbearable. The Party earnestly requests the present leadership of Bardoli not to vest all the heroic efforts of the fighting peasantry on such a pitfall with a flimsy and tottering covering, to which Government by its stiffness is at present unnecessarily lending a high-pitch colour, in order to magnify its worthless concessions later on.

PEASANTS POWERFUL ENOUGH.

Even if the above does not commend itself to your leadership, the Party, with due respects to the heroism of the actual peasants who are powerful enough to carry on their struggle without external assistance, suggests that should the peasants feel the necessity of

fighting comrades to stand by their side and help them in resisting the Imperialist Government, when the peasants will rightfully reap the harvests, the Party will joyfully place at their disposal such of the Party's rank and file as will be available, after meeting its requirements in the Bombay struggle. The Party has great pleasure to communicate to you that immediately a thousand workers from the Bombay mill-strikers are prepared to go to the aid of their peasants brethren under the Party's directions.

Superscription on the envelope:—

“Editor, Ganavani
2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.

Tele. Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal

2/1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA.

Organs:

"GANAVANI"

(Bengali Weekly)

"LAL NISHAN"

(Hindi Weekly)

The 25th October, 1928

Dear Friend,

Your letter of the 19th September together with the true copy of the letter addressed by you to the Postal Department here reached me a few days back. As I had been away from Calcutta I could not reply to it last week. Just this morning I have been informed by the Post Office that they are making an enquiry about the matter. But to facilitate it they want of me more particulars which I am not in a position to supply them with. Of course this kind of reply and enquiry are quite stereotyped for the Postal Department in India. Following particulars, however, are necessary in any case:

1. The names of the post office or offices in Berlin from which the money orders were sent.
2. Numbers and dates of the receipt granted to you by the post office.

It is better if you can wire these particulars to me. In the meantime please send a complaint to the Berlin Postal Authority saying that the money orders were not delivered to me. Please also inform them to correct my address as follows:

Muzaffar Ahmad
General Secretary,
Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal
2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Please request the Postal Authority at Berlin to send a wire to the Presidency Post Master? Calcutta at your cost. This will facilitate the matter. If in the meantime the money is returned to you please ascertain the the cause of it. Try to get an official document to this effect and forward the same to me under a registered cover.

With greetings,
Yours fraternally
Muzaffar Ahmad

To
Max Ziese
Berlin S. W. 48
Wilhelm strasse 131/132

Communist Party of India.

CONSTITUTION. 1929.

(1) Name. The name of the Party shall be the Communist Party of India (section of the Communist International).

(2) Object. The object of the Party is the attainment of socialism through the overthrow of imperialist and capitalist rule, the seizure of power by the working class, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; in accordance with the programme of the Communist International and the policy adopted from time to time by the Party with the agreement of the Communist International.

(3) Membership. Those shall be members who shall subscribe to the object, programme and discipline of the Party, shall pay membership dues, and shall perform organised work under the direction of the Party.

Candidates for admission who shall signify their willingness to observe these conditions, and shall be recommended by two Party members, shall be considered by Branch Committees, and if approved shall be admitted as members, subject to scrutiny, within one month, by the Provincial Committee.

(4) Dues. All members, unless specially exempted by Branch Committees on grounds of unemployment, shall pay a subscription of Rs. 3 per year, payable quarterly.

(5) Annual Session. The Party shall hold an annual meeting representative of all branches, to discuss and adopt the report of the retiring executive, and to form a programme for the ensuing year. Election of office bearers and a Central Executive, discussion of the statement of accounts, and other resolutions shall be the main business of the annual session, which shall be the highest authority for deciding Party affairs.

The basis of representation at the annual session shall be decided by the C.E.C. The annual session shall be called by the C.E.C. which shall give at least one month's notice to all Party organisations.

(6) Administration. The annual session shall elect a central Executive Committee which shall be responsible to the session and shall administer the affairs of the Party between sessions. The C.E.C. shall hold full meetings at least quarterly. The General Secretary shall give at least two weeks' notice of C.E.C. meetings.

(7) Officers. The C. E. C. shall appoint from among its number a General Secretary, who shall be empowered to act on behalf of the C. E. C. between its meetings, and shall be responsible to it.

(8) Provincial Committees. In each Province or other suitable division (political, linguistic or economic) of the country, shall be established a Provincial Party Committee, elected annually by a representative conference of branches within the area. The Provincial Committees under the direction of the C. E. C. shall conduct and be responsible for the conduct of the Party work within the Provinces.

(9) Branch Committees. In towns and suitable urban and rural areas shall be established branches, which annually appoint branch committees.

In factories, mills, mines, railway stations etc., shall be established factory groups, each of which shall elect a leader, who shall be a member of the Branch Committee.

In addition, subordinate to the branch shall be formed Area Groups, each of which shall appoint a leader, who shall be a member of the branch committee.

All members of the Party shall ordinarily be members of either factory or area groups.

(10) Fractions. In such other organisations (Trade Unions and federations, Peasants' Unions, Workers' and Peasants' Parties, National Congress, etc., and their committees) as the Party shall decide, fractions shall be formed by Party members. Fractions shall be directed by and shall report to, appropriate Party Committees. Each fraction shall appoint a leader, whose decision on questions which have not been decided on by the fraction or by some superior Party organisation, shall be accepted by the members.

(11) Discipline. Discipline must be observed within the Party. Decisions taken by appropriate organisations of the Party must be obeyed and carried out by all members.

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Communist Party of India.

CONSTITUTION. 1929.

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(3) Membership. Those shall be members who shall subscribe to the object, programme and discipline of the Party shall pay membership dues and shall perform organised work under the direction of the Party.

Candidates for admission who shall signify their willingness to observe these conditions, and shall be recommended by two Party members, shall be considered by Branch Committees, and if approved shall be admitted as members, subject to scrutiny, within one month, by the Provincial Committee.

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P. 416. (8)

Tele. Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL,

2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Organs:

"GANAVANI" "LAL NISHAN"

(Bengali (Hindi Weekly.)

Weekly.)

Received from Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad the sum of Rs. 100/- (Rupees hundred only) out of the sum of Rs. 500/- he received from Girni Kamgar Union on account of Bauria strike. One receipt will follow.

Dated Calcutta
The 25th Jan. 1929.

KISHORI LAL GHOSH.
Hony. Secretary, Bengal Trade
Union Federation & President
Bauria Jute Workers' Union.

P. 416. (9)

ZEITUNGS-VERTRIEB GEBRUDER PETERMANN.

Buch-und
Zeitschriften-
Groß-Vertrieb.

Fernsprecher: (H 3)
Rheingau 9054, 3027,
3027.

Abonnements für alle
in-und aus landischen
Zeitungen u.
Reitschriften.

Filialen:

Bln.-Wilmerdorf,
Lauenburger Str. 23
(H 3) Rheingau 9054
Bln.-Lichterfelde-W.,
Steglitzer Str. 25 b
(G 6) Breitenbach
2279.

Bln.-Friedenau,
Ronnebergstr. 3.
Dec. 5th, 1928.

Bank-Konto:
Commerz- und
Privatbank S
Bln.-Friedenau,
Rheinstr. 55.

Postscheck Kohto
Berlin 24143.

To

Ganivani,
Calcutta.

P/H

Dear Sirs :

Please stop sending of your paper to our address with

January 1st 1929 and forward 1 copy directly to the following address for our account:—

Institute for Economics and Statistics, P. O. B. 1116, Moscow.

Let us know by turning mail which money we still must send you for this copy to Moscow for the time from January 1st to June 30th, 29.

Yours sincerely,
ZEITUNGSVERTRIEB,
Gebr. Petermann
Berlin-Friedenau, Ronnebergstr 3,
Abt: Ausland

Superscription on the envelope:—

EINSCHREIBEN.
.....

To the publishers of

Ganivani

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta,
.....

Indien.

Zeitungs-Vertrieb.

Gebr. Petermann.

Bln.-Friedenau, Ronnebergstr. 3.

P. 416 (10)

U. P. PEASANTS AND WORKERS' PARTY.

From

DR. BISWANATH MUKERJI, President,
U. P. Peasants and Workers' Party,
Gorakhpur.

To

COMRADE MOZAFFER AHMED,
2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.

Dear Comrade,

I am sorry I could not attend the Conference at Calcutta owing to ill-health and other domestic trouble. Please excuse me for this short-coming. I regret your Conference did not cate

to move a resolution condemning the brutal assault upon me on the occasion of a workers' meeting during September last.

However I am not dejected at this cold treatment of the conference towards me. You must know that it was not I who was insulted at the village of Madhopur Buzurug but the very institution to which I have the honour to belong and it will be looked upon as unwise to omit the mention of such an occurrence in an important meeting of the Peasants and workers' party. I have taken the delivery of the books that you sent me through a Calcutta Book-seller.

Hoping you are in good health.

Dated, Jafra Bazar,
Gorakhpur, 30th Dec. 1928.

Yours in true comradeship,
BISWANATH MUKERJEE.
President,
U. P. Workers and Peasants Party.

P. 416 (11)

**WORKERS' & PEASANTS PARTY OF BENGAL, DACCA
BRANCH.**

Head Office:—61. Nawabpur, Dacca.

Dated 1-11-28.

Resolution No. I , of the Executive Meeting of the Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bengal, Dacca Branch, held on the 17th October, 1928.

I Resolved that Com. Debendra Bejoy Guha be elected as representative to the Enlarged Executive Committee, (vide Constitution of the Party rule No. 7 (d)) of the Workers' and Peasants Party of Bengal.

GOPAL CHANDRA BASAK.
Secretary.

P. 416. (12)

Letter from S. N. Tagore dated 29th November, Berlin, in Bengali.

P. 416. (13)

Two copies of a leaflet in Hindi and Urdu with Lenin's photo. This leaflet was printed in connection with Lenin's anniversary.

P. 416. (14)

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

August 26, 1928.

AGENDA.

1. Election of Ordinary Members.
2. Election of members to the Executive Committee.
3. Election of Secretary of Peasant Section.
4. Formal sanction to the starting of "LAL NISHAN", a Hindi weekly organ of the Party.
5. Discussion about the possibility of starting an English weekly Organ of the Party.
6. A statement of the Party regarding the Nehru Committee's report.
7. Raising of subscription and donation for the Party.
8. Circulation of the Party organs.

THE PUBLIC SAFETY BILL.

The Assembly Debate on the Public Safety Bill is ominous. Ominous not because of the fate of the Bill itself—that is inevitable but because of the indication it gives of the line to be taken in the future by the nationalist opposition in the Assembly. In particular it is very far from reassuring as to the reception which the monstrous Trades Dispute Bill will receive.

What attitude have the Opposition taken up? Perhaps the clearest statement occurs in a chance paragraph of the A. B. Patrika's leading article on the subject (11/9/28).

It says: "If therefore, they (Indians) could believe that the object of the Government in demanding the extraordinary powers under the Bill was exactly what was professed, they would hardly have offered any serious objection to the proposed legislation".

This is too definite a statement to be explained away simply an instance of the common method of accepting part of your opponent's case in order to demolish it. "If Indians could believe the Government's assertions, they would not oppose the Bill". What are Government's assertions? Merely that Communism is a bad thing; there are foreign communists in India; they must be picked out. The Patrika accepts this; its only fear is that the Government has some other trick up its sleeve. We have no doubt that it has. The Bill will be a precedent for the repression of Indian communism, of radical trade unionism, of independence propaganda (of the genuine type, not the sentimental obscurantism of Congress "independence") and therefore of this Party, and probably of much else.

But that is not the point. The principle of the Bill is accepted, but the opposition conscience is solved. To dispel any doubt about it, let us quote one or two of the speeches in the Assembly: Mr. J. K. Munshi: (15/9/28) "If the Home member were convinced there was a strong case for passing legislation would he take two leaders of the opposition into his confidence and show them those facts? If they decided there was a case the speaker had no doubt that the House would pass the Bill".

Pt. M. M. Malaviya: (15/9/28) "He had no sympathy for the Communists and it would be his endeavour to see that Communism did not spread in India..... He was at one with the Government in suppressing Communism....."

Mr. Amarnath Dutt (11/9/28): "No Indian wished subversion or revolution of the present society, and if it was proved to the

speaker that there was danger of such things occurring he would wholeheartedly support the Bill".

The tone is the same. With one or two welcome exceptions, all that the opposition speeches said was: "We are in agreement with the objects of the Bill; but it is a little too ruthless, it sets a bad example. Besides, our constituents expect us to oppose the Government".

This attitude was the Public Safety Bill, is bad enough. But what will happen to the Trade Disputes Bill—a far more deadly menace to the masses and to the national freedom?

P. 416. (16)

Weekly Organ KRANTI KARI (Hindi) (JHANSI)

U. P. & DELHI WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY,
ALLAHABAD.

My dear Muzaffar,

I duly recd. the papers but not the letter to the Independence League. Please do send it to me. I regret Com. Halim is not coming here, I am sure it would have done him immense good. It is a pity you too are so unwell. Why should you not come here for a change and a rest. The Bengal comrades must somehow manage to keep the Party going - it does not speak well of our party that it cannot spare a member. I do know if a nearer bond than of a comrade and I welcome you with all its warmth. Please seriously think of it.

General Secy:- What has Com. Spratt done for the PURAN CHANDRA tracts and pamphlets. Has he finished the JOSHI, M.A. 34 Holland ones entrusted to him. Damn the Public Hall Allahabad. Safety Bill! How treacherous and empty was the debate! Is there any way to detain Com. Spratt?

You can buy books worth 60/- from Com. Basak's stock there. I have got some 6 of his books I will now keep them all and not return them and use them as mine. I will send you the price of them too. Get me all the stuff on China, as much as possible on ideology and strategy all Lenin and Trotsky. The Book Coy. has not sent me the stuff I selected there. Ask them to complete my Vanguard Series and send me some on Youth Work. Is it not possible to get the annual reports of the Third International and the C. P. of G. B., as also of the Young Com. International. When will you get me the monthlies and weeklies and fortnightlies they will train me in tactics. Will you please ask Com. Spratt to write to them so that they may send it on to me straight. I will pay the money whenever the whenever they want. When I receive Basak's stock, I will send you the money. Please get it heavily insured.

You will please write to me what you think of the 'Plan of action' appended to the Peasants' Thesis to be published in the Krantikari. I do not know what to do with the Krantikari. I have been sending them notes, but he will indulge in meaningless vituperations I will send him still more copious notes in the future. You too write to them. Have you not been receiving the Krantikari regularly? Why not write something to them, the only way to correct him is to write for him, none but myself among the party members write for the Paper, but can it be substantial. I am again writing very frankly to Laksmi Narayan, let me see what he writes back. It is not yet time to have Krantikari— we must stick to it.

Yes Dharam Vir Singh accepted the Vice-Presidentship. He is a humanitarian yet but very sincere. I am writing to him again to-day and will ask you to send him some books. In the next election he will have to be chucked out. He is however, harmless, a silent, sincere worker but weak-kneed—a personal friend of Dr. Mukerji. It is significant Dr. Mukerji is silent abt. the thesis. I may have to run down to him shortly if he does not come here, to see and know him as he is after the conf: and est. when we have laid down a definite policy in our programme.

You did not ask the Bauria people to write to the Kranti Kari.

I read Com Aftab and Nripendra have been arrested. Congratulate them for me. What effects will it have on the Party? What is the significance of this move. Crerar's speech was very threatening. It is a pity I have not been hearing anything from the Party headquarters and am absolutely in the dark about the things being done or to be done. I also read Desai is to edit a weekly. Is it true? When is it to come out?

You will be glad to hear I have got 5 or 6 young boys of solid stuff, interested in the work, and they are seriously reading the courses planned by me.

Please do send me Basak's books as also the magazines and periodicals. I have to educate myself systematically and thoroughly and recruit young workers for the Party—we have none. Ideologically ill-developed I am a blot to the Party and tactically ignorant a danger to it. My own task is so up-hill. U. P. Branch is so nebulous, loose, and ignorant in short not worth its name. It has to be brought up-to-date as soon as possible, so that it may not be a drag on the rest—Educational work, whosoever you would look at us—is our first task. I would also be requiring a set worth 50/- for a student here and another worth 30/- to be paid. V. P. Pin advance. You will book the order with the Book Coy. or ask them to order from abroad. I am herewith sending you the list. Both are sure cases of the books won't be returned, but they must get all of these. Could you not get me Roy's books on non-cooperation?

Would you like to come to Gorakhpur?

With loving greetings.

Fraternally

Puran.

P. 417.

A block with a hammer and a sickle.

P. 418.

A pamphlet entitled "SACCO & VANZETTI.

The exploiter Vs the exploited.

Printed by D. S. Sakhalkar at The Lokasevak Press, Khatav Building, Bombay.

Published by Shantaram S. Mirajkar, Secretary, The Workers' & Peasants' Party, Bombay at 17, Dwarkadas Mansion, Bombay 4.

P. 419.

Telegrams: "KIRTI".

" KIRTI "

Telephone: "714."

The best medium for Advertisements.

Commands widest circulation.

The only labour organ in Urdu.

Ref. No.

Amritsar 10th November 1928.
(India).

Dear Comrade,

You promised to contribute an article to us. As we are going to bring out the January issue of the Kirti on the 15th of December on account of the Calcutta session of the Congress in Christmas, you are requested once again to fulfil your promise at your earliest and oblige.

Kindly ask Mr. Spratt also to contribute one article at least. Don't forget to send us the promised poem.

I am putting before the Workers and peasants party the question of financial help to-morrow. Shall write to you later on.

Yours fraternally,
SOHAN SINGH.

Superscription on the envelope:—

To

MR. MUZAFFAR AHMAD

2/1 European Asylum

CALCUTTA.

REPORT OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS PARTY OF BOMBAY.

The Workers & Peasants Party of Bombay was started early in February 1927, when the Congress Labour Group, a small fraction, in the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, came out with a definite programme of action, and under the name of the workers & Peasants Party of Bombay. Since its inception, the Party has made rapid progress in the organisation of Trade Unions, in organising a definite Left wing in the B. P. C. C. Its main work has been essentially confined to industrial workers in the City, and owing to certain insurmountable difficulties the work of organising the Peasants has been left in the background.

But during these two years the Party has made considerable head-way, and has made itself a force to be reckoned with. In the beginning it was neglected, sneered at, and all these tactics which the enemies thought would kill the Party were set at work; but in vain. The Party today stands on a very firm basis with a great influence amongst the industrial workers of Bombay.

To simplify the work of the Party, the Executive Committee members have been organised into different groups working in different spheres. There are five groups at the head of each, there being one member of the Executive who is directly responsible to the Party for the work in that sphere. Thus there are the Congress Group, the T. U. Group, Propaganda Group, Peasants, and Youth besides other members of the E. C. who look after the general work of the Party. The Executive itself meets every week to discuss important questions that arise during the week.

During these two years the Party has worked in the Provincial Congress Committee, in the Trade Unions, and has always left no opportunity to go by at any propaganda meetings.

In the Provincial Congress Committee though at first only a negligible minority it made itself a strong force, and has systematically opposed the downward trend of the congress. It has systematically tried to rouse the Congress to its duty towards labour and had passed an amount of Rs. 250/- for B. N. Ry. strike which was withheld by the Khaddar members of the Committee.

Early this year the Party members in the B. P. C. C. roused the enthusiasm of the Committee for an effective boycott of the Royal Commission, and with their influence in the Trade Unions the Boycott was made a thorough success when at the call of the party the Railway Workers and the Textile Workers and the Municipal workers about 2½ lacs came out leaving all work at a stand-still.

Later when the Congress President diluted the resolution at the Chowpaty meeting a resolution of censure against the President of the Provincial Committee was tabled by the Party members.

The members of our Party have also wielded their influence in the A.I.C.C. together with the Party members of other Provinces, and have opposed the tendency of the Congress towards Dominion Status by standing solidly for complete independence.

Owing to these factors, there has been growing a systematic opposition to our group from the nationalist section which is more and more finding expression in the B.P.C.C.

In the Trade Union organisation, the Party has gained considerable influence. Early in 1927, the Party members formed the Municipal Workers Union, a Dock Workers Union, and in the Textile, the Party members associated themselves with the Girnikamgar Mahamandal which has since the strike changed its name into the Girnikamgar Union.

During this year the party members were responsible for resurrecting the Tramway Workers Union, the Dock workers Union has since been taken up by the moderate section of trade unionists who managed to oust our group entirely from the Union; whereas the influence of the Party has been growing particularly amongst the Textile workers.

The Party was responsible for advocating a general strike of the Textile workers who were being gradually forced to accept reduced wages and worsened conditions. And in spite of the tremendous anti-general strike-propaganda by the Joshi group, the workers came out on a general strike which lasted for about six months. During these trying months, the Party members rallied under their banner. The textile workers who stood staunchly attached to the Party leadership. Even the two wings of Trade Union movement joined together against a common enemy; the general attitude that was taken up in the strike and also in the final settlement was dictated by the Party policy.

The organisation of the Textile Workers in fact started during the strike, almost exclusively by the Party, and has resulted in laying in excellent foundation for the post-strike organisation.

Since the settlement, the Party members have rallied under their banner more than 40,000/ workers with a militant policy. Factory committees have been and are being started to look after individual mills, and in spite of several rival unions in this field, workers are rallying round the union of the Red Flag as the Girnikamgar Union is known amongst them.

There have been other unions of Oil Workers and Mechanical Engineers which are yet in their infancy.

At the T. U. session at Delhi and Cawnpore, this Party with the assistance of similar groups elsewhere secured some official positions though without results of any significance.

The Party has been carrying on systematic propaganda through meetings and its weekly paper "KRANTI". Several meetings were organized by the Party for commemorating Lenin's day in January, Sacco Vansetti meeting, 20th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, not to speak of the daily and weekly propaganda meetings amongst the workers.

The arrival of Comrade Sak last year helped in bringing the party to the forefront amongst the intelligentsia who had all along neglected the Party. Since then, the arrest of Coms. Spratt & Mirajkar gave the necessary prominence to the Party. During the general strike itself, the arrests of Coms. Nimbkar & Dange on such flimsy charges as were framed against them helped in making the party more and more prominent.

The publication of the Roy letter was contradicted by the party as a fake letter and a manifesto was issued against the Trade Disputes Bill.

The work under the Youth section is conducted in the form of classes in which a few students have been taking part. These classes have not met with sufficient response.

Reviewing the work of the Party as a whole in Bombay it has made considerable progress, particularly in the Trade Unions where its influence has been growing, owing to the fighting and militant policy that is being put forward every time. A force for the present but a leader of the masses to emancipation.

17, Dwarkadas Mansions,
GIRGAON.

S. V. GHATE,
Secretary.

Superscription on the envelope:—

Registered

MUZAFFAR AHMAD,
2/1 European Asylum Lane,

CALCUTTA.

P. 421.

The Workers' & Peasants' Party Bombay.

17, DWARKADAS MANSIONS,

Sandhurst Road,

BOMBAY, 4

MY DEAR MUZAFFAR,

Owing to the eruption of Sporadic Strikes, in individual mills, and owing to the organisational work of the Girni Kamgar Union we have, all of us been, kept very busy, and as such I could not find time to write to you.

I had given the notification to the Bombay Press, which has sat light over this Conference of ours at Calcutta.

I don't know how much money, we can promise to contribute towards the All India Conference, but we shall be doing our best. I have not as yet received the receipt book you say you have sent to me by registered post. As it is more than six days since they have been sent, please make enquiries at your end regarding this.

I shall prepare the report of the Bombay Party's work, and send it on to you, by the end of this month. Will that do?

Since the settlement, there have been more strikes in a day, than there were for some time. Only yesterday, we had about 7 strikes, in seven mills. We are forming factory committees in every mill, which committees, are working satisfactorily so far.

Joshi and Jhabvala, have their own unions. You know since the settlement, Jhab. has been working against us, and yesterday, he has sent in his resignation from the party.

Tell me which particular copies (for I have forgotten, and you should forgive) of the times, you want and I shall send them forthwith.

How is Comrade Spratt, and others?

Yours,

S. V. GHATE

11/XI/28.

P. 422.

Letter dated 19-9-28 in Bengali from Gopal Chandra Basak to Muzaffar Ahmad, Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Subscription on the envelope:—

MUZAFFAR AHMED.

Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bengal,

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

CALCUTTA.

P. 423.

The 8th March 1929.

To

The Secretary, Workers' and Peasants' Party of India,

Bengal Provincial Branch,

2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Dear Comrade,

In the present situation of the Workers' and Peasants' Party Bengal branch we find it morally impossible to continue as members of the party and so we shall be highly obliged if you kindly treat this note as our letter of resignation and do the needful at an early date.

Amongst the various reasons which compel us to leave the party we would point out that the expulsion of Comrade Gopendra Chakravarty for failing to pay his subscription for two years cannot but be regarded as the outcome of your personal grudge against him. To be more explicit we have to point out that the self-less devotion shown by comrade Chakravarty to the workers' cause for the last two years at the cost of personal comfort, his untiring zeal and activities at Lillooah and other places should have entitled him to become a free member of the party.

Moreover you are quite aware of the fact that he devotes whole of his time to the Trade Union movement and does not find

time to earn an income for himself and naturally he is not in a position to subscribe to the party in cash save and except in the way of his valuable services which really amount to an asset to the cause of the party. Under these circumstances we cannot understand why he was served with a notice informing him of his cessation of membership from the party without any allowance of time for explaining his position while we know definitely there are other members who are although not expected to contribute financially to the party yet allowed to continue as members of it.

This high-handed action of yours is a shameless challenge against poverty and sufficiently indicative of your design to ridicule your poor fellow comrades who differ with your arbitrary conduct and are not entirely subordinate to your whims.

Now considering this matter very seriously we the following members of the party have decided to tender our resignation which we do.

A copy of this has been forwarded to the general secretary, All India Workers' & Peasants' Party.

Yours fraternally,

Kali Sen,

Nripendra Nath Majumdar

(with permission)

K. Sen.

P. Dinda

Ashutosh Roy.

Dharani Kanta Goswami

Nirod Knata Chakravarty

(with permission) D.K. Goswami

Pyare Mohan Das.

(with permission) D.K. Goswami

Gopal Chandra Basak.

(with permission) D.K. Goswami

R. Hazara.

Sudhir Raha

Nabindru Sen Gupta.

List of articles impounded at the house search of PANDIT K. G. SHARMA, and Krantkari Press and Office conducted on 20-3-29 by me (G. S. KHER Dy. S. P. C. I. D.) in the presence of MOHD. MUMTAZ HUSAIN and SETH BABU LAL VAISH, residents of JHANSI CITY.

1. Karam Vir 14.
2. Siyasi Tajawiz 3.
3. Lenin's Life.
4. Luteron Ke Do Mat —4 pages written one side.
5. A Hindi poem.
6. Another Hindi poem.
7. Draft article on the incompetency of Bureaucracy.
8. Draft telegrams —8.
9. Draft letter —3.
10. Proceedings of Town Congress Committee —11.
11. A set of Hindi poem two leaves.
12. Draft poem in Hindi.
13. Khutba Sadarat Urdu.
14. Kisan 2.
15. Tyag Bhumi Hindi —2 copies.
16. Address by Dinda Bar-at-law Chairman Reception Committee, Workers & Peasants Conference —2 copies.
17. Report of Manmad Meeting.
18. Confession of Crime-manuscript.
19. 'Kirti' one copy (Mr. K. G. Sharma says he got it from Library for perusal. He does not receive it regularly).
20. Kranti —2 copies.
21. A poem in Hindi in pencil.
22. Draft articles in Hindi —3.
23. Draft articles in Hindi —1.
24. A Hindi poem.
25. Draft articles in Hindi in pencil.
26. English drafts on Railway matters-7 leaves.
27. Poem in Hindi on communism.
28. Poems in Hindi.
29. Railway Man.

30. Mazdoor.
31. Railway Man Marathi.
32. A bundle of Posters.
33. Membership Forms—2.
34. Draft articles.
35. Correspondence Register.
36. Zaruri Itla (an important notice) in Hindi.
37. Presidential address of workers and peasants party.
38. Two world currents.
39. Workers & Peasants Party Principles and policy.
40. Political Resolution,
41. A set of Hindi poems.
42. Draft article in Hindi.
43. Krantikari —14 issues & 15th incomplete.
44. Hindi Draft articles.
45. Trade Union Bulletin.
46. Jhabwalla's speech in Hindi & English.
47. Correspondence and articles, U. P. & Delhi workers and peasants party —20 leaves.
48. Letter typewritten by Muzafar dated 14-1-29.
49. Draft article on the condition of peasants under Soviet Russia.
50. Draft articles about Independence for India.
51. Hand bill regarding holding labour meeting.
52. Blank post-cards with printed headings.
53. Letter form (blank) with printed headings in English and Hindi—2.
54. A printed letter from Mr. Dhulekar, Managing Proprietor, Free India.
55. Draft article on Kisan & Mazdoor Raj.
56. Draft Press report.
57. Letter in English from Kirti.
58. Letter from Pandit J. L. Nehru, typewritten.
59. Draft extracts in pencil—5 leaves.
60. Draft articles on principles of communism.
61. Typewritten letters from J. N. Singh.
62. A typewritten letter from Dr. Katju.
63. A letter in Hindi from a mad friend.
64. Two letters manuscript in Hindi, & one in English typewritten from G. B. Pant.
65. Telegrams.

66. Draft discussions on Soyiet budget & matters.
67. Account Books.
- A. Daily accounts provincial political conference Jhansi with 8 loose papers enclosed.
 - B. Hindi account, district congress committee.
 - C. Congress bill book with 8 loose papers enclosed.
 - D. II Hindi account book, district congress committee, with 3 loose papers enclosed.
 - E. V. P. Register Krantikari Press, with 5 loose papers enclosed.
 - F. Account book Krantikari Press with 7 papers enclosed.
 - G. Receipt book of Provincial Congress Accounts.
 - H. Register of expenses on political congress Pandal.
 - I. Account book of Sudeshi exhibition.
 - J. KHATA of Provincial Congress.
 - K. Subscribers Register, Kirantikari Press Jhansi.
 - L. Duty Roster of Kirantikari Press.
 - M. Attendance register of Kirantikari Press.
 - N. Bahee Khata of Kirantikari Press.
68. 408 written post-cards.
69. One ribbon (typewriter).
70. Akhil Bhartya Kisan Mazdoor Sangh in Hindi manuscript.
71. Mazdoor Andolan in Hindi manuscript.
72. Letter from Ahtisan Ali to K. G. Sharma (3 fragments in cover).
73. Sealed cover containing 8 pages of Congress patterns.
74. Congress flag.
75. Congress Sashes. 3.
76. M. O. telegram & receipts etc.

Sd/- G. S. Kher.

Dy. S. P.

20/3/29.

Sd/- Mohd. Mumtaz Hussain,

Sd/- Babu Lal.

20/3.

P. 427.

A draft article in Hindi headed "Luteron ke do mat."

P. 428.

A bundle of posters.

P 429

2 printed forms of membership, one in English for the Young Comrades League U.P. and Delhi, (Vide P. 330) the other in Hindi for the Workers' and Peasants' Party U.P. and Delhi. The objects of the League and the Party are given on the back of the forms.

P.430.

Presidential address of the First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference, Calcutta, December 21, 1928, delivered by Comrade Sohan Singh Josh.

P. 431

15 Copies of "Krantikari" of various dates.

Tele. Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

Workers' & Peasants' Party of India.

2/1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA.

ORGANS:

"GANAVANI" "LAL NISHAN"
(Bengali weekly) (Hindi weekly).

January, 14, 1929.

Laxmi Narayan,
Jhansi.

Dear Comrade,

Monday 21st January is the 5th anniversary of the death of LENIN and should be observed by the Party, in conjunction with the Communist Party, in a suitable manner. It is suggested that on that day (or if more convenient, on the day before) as many meetings as possible should be held, especially among industrial workers. It is desirable that these should be advertised previously by handbills, which should give the most essential points of LENIN'S teaching and life.

The most important questions which should be stressed in speeches on LENIN DAY are:

(1) his analysis of the nature of opportunism and reformism in the labour movement, and its role as the last line of defence of capitalism,

(2) his teaching on the colonial question: the tactics and ultimately the leading role of the working class in the colonial revolutions,

(3) the significance of the Russian Revolution, as the first breach in the structure of imperialism, and the U.S.S.R. as the "Fatherland of the Working class."

the defence of the on behalf of the National Executive Committee of the WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF INDIA.

MUZAFFAR AHMAD

Member in charge of Education and Propaganda.

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31. Railway Man Marathi.
32. A bundle of Posters.
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MUZAFFAR AHMAD

Member in charge of Education and Propaganda.

P. 433.

Subscription register of "Krantikari" press containing the following names amongst others:—

1. Wishwanath Mukerji-Subscriber No. 766.
2. P. C. Joshi - " " 827.
3. C. P. Dutt - " " 852.
(4 copies to be sent, one for Workers
Welfare League of India).
4. Vijayapal Singh - " " 946.
5. Saklatwala - " " 1036.
6. "Kiriti" Lahore - " " 15.
7. "Krantikari" Delhi " " 21.
8. "Hindustan" Jubbulpur " " 35.
9. "Spark" Bombay - " " 39.

P. 434.

Gorakhpur,

22nd October, 1928.

Dear Sharmaji,

Thanks for your letter dated 8-10-28 asking me to contribute to your paper, the "Krantikari". I congratulate you upon your excellent choice of its name. I hope it will fulfil its mission. I am sorry I could not comply with your request this time, but hope to do so in future.

Hoping you are in good health,

Yours in comradeship

Bishwanath Mukerji

On the reverse of the post card is written,—

From

Dr. Bishwanath Mukerji

Jafrabazar

Gorakhpur.

To

Pt. Krishna Gopal Sharma,

Editor,

The "Krantikari"

Jhansi,