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Communism and its gradual development.

Read at a study circle conducted by the Dacca Branch of the Workers' and Peasants' party and adopted after amendment through debate and discussion.

Chapter I

In sitting down to write of *Communism* on Collectivism, it first of all occurs to me that historians will seek to dismiss with a single word what I shall write about this, with the query: "What genuine information can you supply about this, what precedents have you?"

• It is true that if the question of precedents is raised, the *Communist* will not seek now anew to challenge them to a wrestling game to prove that cult of his as capable of proof. The historian has never felt it necessary to keep himself informed of the history of the joys and sorrows of mind of primitive man, in seeking to write the history of the evolution of men of the age following that primitive man, he did not want to speak of those men, he was always busy recording the numbers and accounts as to how many men came into the world, how many fights took place, or how many events happened. The historian could by no means keep himself informed as to the time from which and the manner in which one man has sought to establish relations with his brother man, and aspiration awoke in his mind about equality friendship and freedom or to give form to a full development of his humanity, and the impulse of a vain effort was roused to give expression to a restlessness ranging from his daily life to his collective life. For, from the very first day of creation, a class of clever man were not wanting who have wanted to utilise for their own enjoyment everything of the external world beginning from trees and including men themselves. It was because they regarded their external aspect as everything that they were utter paupers in mind. It is true that they have been made to pass through different aspects of authority like Talukdars, Zemindars, Feudal chief, overlord, priest etc., and thereby their unappeased hunger for mastery has come into contact with new situations, and on that account, new Revolutions also have been brought about. But (it) did not allow them to draw pictures of humanity of equality, of friendship and of liberty, these for them were meaningless terms. Hence they were not reflected to them in any other guise-hence their desire for mastery has used them in consonance with their own nature. But those words awoke in the minds of the ruled, persecuted, oppressed and harassed proletariat in another form, hence in the unexpressed anguish of changing the situation of the time, they occasionally rose

in revolt. But they could not give expression to it, whole heartedly, merely the touch of the new was felt by their minds. Hence the restlessness which, in the *analysis* of life, we find in the revolutions of the proletariat in different ages,—the real aspect of demanding it has not been converted into an actual fact for the historian.

The attacks and fights of men in the age of nature, the oppressions of religions feudal rule, thereafter, the abolition of the system of slavery, and (the establishment of) the strange system of servitude of the middle ages, and the advent of the industrial slave, bound by contract, introduced by the capitalism of the present civilised times in lieu of the guild system and other systems of slavery whose greatest achievement is the establishment of Imperialism in the name of democracy and next, the beginning of the proclamation of a revolt by the proletariat roused by a *Communistic* class interest in the present day world, against the age of civilisation no explanation has yet been available from the historian of these strange changes in human life, but the *Communist* has analysed each incident and each revolution and answered each question. The *Communist* has shown that the sole reason for each change of era is the revolt of the masses against the conditions of the time and because the masses are ignorant and not enlightened by class interest, different exploiting classes in different ages, captured the machinery of administration and extended their authority and brought about a change of era. A clear analysis will be found only in the books of the Communists as to how in the XVth century and in the age following and consequent on the French Revolution, the Paris Commune, the Magicians' Revolution, and other world-wide revolutions, taking the help of the religious and Napoleonic wars of the time, servitude under the Bourgeois class or revolution was established for a century, how, ground down by oppression and with a change of conditions, through the efforts of the middle class bourgeoisie, the proletariat class rebelled, whereupon the opportunist and capitalist bourgeoisie, taking the help of the undeveloped tendencies of the proletariat drew into their own hands, unseen by others, the reins of the revolutionary efforts and so used them as to capture authority for its own class or the system of Government. The work of *Communism* does not end merely with discussing what was hitherto the relations of men and men, how all mankind is being trampled and pressed down to satisfy the caprices of a handful of capricious men and thereby is approaching destruction and how the class of men exercising authority have brought about present day Imperialism. In seeking to show up the real aspect of oppression or the reasons for different variations of the administrative machine, pictures of the future have also been painted by their brush. Hence what issued from the pens of Karl Marx, the founder of *Communism* and Frederik Engels, is now happening in many places in the

present day world, slightly modified according to change of place and circumstances. The first and chief aim of *Communism* is to rouse the masses as to the consecutive history of the time from which oppression on earth started, to assist the proletariat in realising that the differences between men now prevailing are the result of that oppression, the oppression involved in the system of sacrificing the many for one which now has undergone a change and assumed the form of Imperialism, and which has made men's social life a failure and to make them engage in proclaiming a revolt against that oppression. Communism, in indicating the means for bringing fullness to human life, has painted a picture of a society free from all oppression. When in order to make a reality of the picture of removing the obstacle of Exploitation in order that the free superiority of individual humanity in the collective life may be kept unimpaired, of bringing about an improvement in social life and indicating a means of progress, the eager desire for new conditions of the proletariat through all the revolutions since 1840 gave to their unspoken agony a new form in Russia in 1917, amidst various vicissitudes, a form which from time immemorial seeks to smash up all differences between men and to make human life flow in a hundred currents in order to bring it all round fullness.

Chapter II.

Materials for a history of social life become available only with the history of the development of the Feudal civilisation of the Roman age. A consecutive history of the different stages of social life prior thereto must depend only on a communistic analysis. It is difficult to get any account of the manners, habits, modes and social customs of the travellers of Central Asia about whom we have any information! But a communistic Analysis shows that when social life was not yet in existence, in the jungles of Central Asia, primitive men and women gathered fruits and satisfied their hunger therewith. In that age of Nature, they had then no family life at all. In gathering fruits or roaming about in the forest, if they accidentally came across a beast, they broke down a bough and gave it chase, when later on through their efforts, the beast was killed, then probably they had left one forest, and entered another. Even in that forest, he used to satisfy his hunger with the raw flesh of that animal and pass the night and for the time being it ended there. There were no rules about sexual relations, in the darkness of the night, a young man possibly dragged a young woman standing by and passed into the gloom, and there after there was no dearth of snatchings away and fights. No man was then able to overcome more than one woman, like the chiefs, in the subsequent ages, the woman also used by the application of her strength to overcome him whom she happened to dislike at any time. There

were many women who could drive away half a dozen men, Immediately after this state of things either because of mutual strife and assaults, or to defend themselves against the attacks of wild beasts, or when they felt the need of united effort to provide for food, forthwith small bodies of men came into being. Weapons of stone and of wood and other rules came into existence only as a result of those small bodies living together as Clan & Family families. Those small bodies of men also then fixed on a permanent chief from amongst themselves to look after their homes and families, to provide for the care of the infants to suggest measures against attacks by bodies of beasts or by other bodies, to decide measures as to food stuffs and so forth. But occasionally it was noticed that whenever a chief, regarding himself as superior to the rest, in order to enjoy his opportunity and conveniences tried to subject others to himself, they killed him and appointed another chief. *As eradicating all kinds of exploitation and oppression of the present, the song of the victory of the oppressed is beginning to be sung unseen* - it is this possibility which has made the proletariat workers and Peasants of the different nations of the World-restless. This attempt at a great Revolution by the proletariat is now manifest in the life of all nations on earth. It is the eager desire to break up and cast this world in a new mould which has resulted in such conflicts with Capitalism and Imperialism in different places in the world. A detailed discussion is now necessary of the Communism which is revealed now to proletariat as the chief means for this great revolution. Hence in the next chapter, an attempt will be made to set forth its development.

To be continued

Communism and its Gradual Development.

(Here follows a repetition of chapter 1 from start to end. There are the following small differences:—

For the word "analysis" (L. 16 p. 2) read "Communitistic" Analysis".

For "Age of Nature" (L. 26 p. 2) read "primitive age." Insert "From about the period contemporary with 1840" before the words "consequent on" etc; (1. 7. 3) Insert the words "the anguish of action and reaction after" amidst various vicissitudes (p. A. 1. 8). The Communist has shown to the proletariat of the different nations on earth, to the Workers and the Peasants, the possibility of the realisation of the aspect which, the eradicating all kinds of present day exploitation and oppression *has begun unseen to sing victory to the oppressed.* The sole reason for each change of era is the rebellion of the proletariat or the masses

against the conditions of the time and because they are ignorant of class-predominance in social life, different classes of exploiters have at different times captured the administrative machinery and extended their own rights and brought about a change of era. How from about 1840 and consequent on the French Revolution, the Paris Commune, the Magicians' Revolution, other world-wide revolutions, taking the help of religious and Napoleonic wars, Bourgeois mastery or rule spread, how when the proletariat rebelled, being ground down by oppression and because of a change of conditions, the opportunist and capitalist bourgeoisie, taking advantage of the undeveloped mind of the proletariat drew unseen into their own hands the reins of their revolutionary efforts and guided them to establish their own class predominance or system of Government, a clear analysis of this will be found only in the books of the Communist. (Here follow passages from "The work of Communism)..... (1. 20. P. 3) to" change of place and circumstances (1. 33 p. 3) Differences between men generated as the result of class differences the system of sacrificing the many for the one which has now developed into Imperialism which has rendered man's social life a failure to set forth the consecutive history of this oppression, and to rouse the proletariat to consciousness about the oppression is the first and foremost aim of Communism. Immediately after that, Communism indicates the path of bringing fulness to the social life of men, by painting a picture of a society free from oppression. In that society depicted by it, the individual cultivates (?) devoid of all occupations) (?). As in this society, all forms of exploitation are destroyed, and as under the provision of the rules of Communism for mutual interchange, the individual comes intimately to be mixed up with the social life, with the progress of the individual, in equal pace, society advances along the path of full development. This picture is now enlightening the masses, and is so building them up as to enable them to recognise their past, present and future and their surrounding conditions. Hence this picture has sought to regulate all the rebellions after 1840 and through unceasing action and reaction all over the world, it was this which was able to give form to the demands of the Russian masses in actual life in 1917 this form, smashing up differences between men and men, and bringing all round fulness to human life, wants to make it rush forth in a hundred streams the form which eradicating all kinds of present day exploitation and oppression has begun unseen to sing victory to the oppressed-it is this possibility which has now made restless the proletariat of the different nations of the world, the workers and the peasants and is making them alive to the prevailing relations of social life. It is attempt at a great revolution by the proletariat has become manifest in the lives of all nations. It is

this eagerness of theirs to destroy the world and mould it anew which has resulted in conflicts in different parts of the world with capitalists and *Imperialists*. The Communism which now is being counted as the great instrument of the great Revolution of the future it behoves the youthful mind now to that but itself informed of it—it has made it restless to become free from all doubt as to the pace of its movements, this attempt at a great revolution by the proletariat has now become manifest in the lives of all nations on earth. It is this eager desire on their part to destroy the world to mould it anew which has even now led to conflicts in different parts of the world *with Capitalists and Imperialists*. It is necessary that now there should be detailed discussion of communism which to-day has been revealed to the proletariat as the chief instrument of this attempt at a great revolution. Hence in the next chapter, an attempt will be made to give an account of its development.

In the attempt of the Brahman Parasuram to kill of all Kshatriyas, the persecution of Parasuram at the hands of Ram—in incidents like these of this conflict (Here follow passages beginning with the opening of Chapter 11 (p. 4) and ending with the words half a dozen men (p. 5 1-26). Immediately after this, (came) mutual strife. In time the Chiefs became unwilling to remain Rule by chief. puppets in the hands of the masses. They began looking for opportunities to save themselves from the hands of the masses. Thus as time passed, they came more and more to think that if adequate strength could be gathered, they would be able to use the masses as material for their own comfort and convenience. From that time, the Chiefs of the different bands, creating new wants, engaged so much in mutual strife and fight that it became impossible to continue at the same time to abandon home, time and again and go out to fight and on return to provide food again. Hence very soon, each band, feeling the need of a body of permanent soldiers, picked out strong men each from his own band and constituted a standing army. In this way the chiefs slowly withdrew all power unseen from the hands of the masses. From that time, the masses ceased to fight, the chief used to fight with the different bands with his own soldiery. Providing the soldiers with greater opportunities and facilities than the ordinary people the class of chiefs began with their help to exploit the masses. A long time passed away thus. The masses thus losing all powers were content to leave to the chiefs the responsibility of remedying various wants and grievances. Even then, occasionally, for lack of power, the masses became terribly restless. Society developed as need arose and the people acquired somewhat refined tastes regarding houses, food, movements etc. As need arose, they began to attend to new things. They learnt how to make weapons from iron, to cultivate the soil,

to build fine rooms, to learn how to weave cloth, having felt the need of covering for the body. The more wants were satisfied, the more new wants were created daily. With increase of want, the measure of unrest also increased.

In this way, society was going on through various actions and reactions. Then at the instigation of the chiefs, member of men arose from out of the masses in the name of religion, and tried to instill a new kind of peace into the minds of the masses preaching to them the meaning of self-less supreme truths. Most people were overcome by the teachings of religion. In the name of religion, the class of chiefs with the help of this community took steps to exploit the masses. But in their explanation of the existence of God, nobody took care to inquire about this aspect. The masses managed to secure some how or other a kind of balm to their suffering souls. Through the efforts of this community the masses came to understand that their life, wealth, honour, were all unreal-religion was the only substantial thing. It was this community which in time came to be Brahman. In this way, the minds of the masses came to be diverted from things worldly. The chiefs used to help this community with money. They also tried to (persuade) the masses of the necessity of chiefs and of the fact that it was the chief's sons who were their (legitimate) heirs. After a time had passed thus, one chief increased his power and brought the men of a dozen other bands under him. Gradually kings came into being.

Every body stood in awe of the King. The King Kingly Rule. in order to preserve his existence in the name of good order in the State, began daily to fetter the masses in the snaky coils of new rules. But the king knew no end of fear. Occasionally, the masses grew restless in spirit. When the king saw that he would not be able to govern unhindered unless he could conquer the minds of the masses, he devised a new scheme. For facility of business he made a division of work.

Some were to carry on worship, and discuss religion and some were to fight, some were to tend cows, practise cultivation and carry on trade and commerce.

Under the arrangements made by the king, the religious community before mentioned went on doing the work of worship. They also got new kinds of privileges. It was their class of men who were called Brahmans. In the name of religion, they began exploiting the masses in a new way. Preaching interpretations of selfless supreme truths, they ruined the masses, through the observance of new forms of Worship daily and by grinding them down by rules, and thereby facilitated the acquirement of money (for themselves) The masses used to regard them as very good people

indeed. But nobody even imagined at the time that in time it was they who would work ruin.

The king found an excellent opportunity. He gave the Brahmans plenty of money and they, in the name of religion, used to create in the popular mind an idea that the King was a father, a mother, a party of divinity—the subjects were his children, that it was not right to come into conflict with the King. The Brahman class. king that it behaved the masses in all ways to wait on the pleasure of the king. The king would cherish his subjects, the same as he did his children. It was he who punished the guilty and cherished the well behaved. The need of a king so forcibly instilled into the minds of the masses that subsequently a time came when under no ill-treatment at all was any sign of restlessness apparent in the minds of the people. Under physical servitude, one can realise the suffering of oppression, but in a state of mental servitude, or with a slave mentality, the power to feel oppression is lost, hence a long time passed thus. The masses regarding the Brahmans as people devoted to their interests, dedicated their lives to their service. The masses moved at their back and call. The Brahmans as the centre of power for the power of the masses came to be regarded with honour and love everywhere. Even oppressive rulers bowed their head to the Brahmans. So the Brahmans wielded authority even over kings.

A new terror was created for the king. He saw that, fed with the power of the people, the power of the Brahmans was so increasing that possibly, one day, its exhibitions (of authority) might throw the kingly umbrella, rod and other paraphernalia to a distance and smash up his throne.

On the other hand, the Brahmans also made religion a monopoly of their caste. They did not allow others to tread a path of religion other than that laid down by their rules. Many people, unable to obey these rules, were consumed in the anger of the Brahmans. Hence, ever a King like Ram, for the sake of these rules had to kill an ascetic Sudra subject of his for the offence of reading the Vedas. The minds of the people came gradually to be disturbed like fire covered over with ashes. But they could say nothing openly. The King also was looking for this opportunity. When he found that the restlessness of the people in regard to the Brahmans was daily increasing he added fresh fuel to it, " You also ought to have equal rights with Brahmans in matter of religion—these thousands of pious Brahmans whom you see can you say what they have done for their uplift, to procure a morsel of food ? They have simply said "Do not touch us, Do not touch us." What have

they made of even such an 'eternal religion'. What does religion now consist in? — only in untouchability." The subjects found that this was correctly said. Hence before long a terrible quarrel and conflict arose with the Brahmans. Signs of this conflict are apparent in the attempt of the Brahmans Parsuaram to kill off Khatrias and in the humiliation of Parsuaram by Ram. As a result of this conflict the Brahman power could not cope with the popular power. The king thus taking advantage of the popular power destroyed the Brahman power. Destroying the Brahman power the King felt that unless some power was conceded to the people they would become restless and it would not be easy to exploit them. So picking out some from among the subjects he conferred new Jagirs on them and thereby secured opportunities and facilities for exploiting the masses at will. The masses also made no protest.

Conflict betw:
Brahmans & Khatri-
yas.

Feudal Aristocratic Rule.

As a result of propaganda by the new Jagirdars the masses continued to look to the king for aid. It is the new Jagirdars and other vanquished kings who have been converted into Feudal princes. It is this Feudal Rule which has created the system of trade and commerce everywhere in the world, and the Bourgeois revolt has been brought about with the help of this system. Capitalism has triumphed out of this Bourgeois revolt and after gradual development, it has assumed final form in *Imperialism*. Capitalist power has learnt the trick of keeping popular power content, faced with different situations in different stages of the fight between itself and kingly and Feudal power, and of acquiring kingly power and conducting it in the name of the people, hence the rule of this class has lasted longer than that of other classes and in the present day world also, they are carrying on rule and exploitation in most countries. It did not take long for power any where on earth to pass from the hands of the Feudal or other class into the hands of Capitalism, only in the case of India there was some deviation from this rule. From the age of the *Mahabharat* to the period immediately antecedent to British rule, efforts were in progress to establish this principle, but at no time did it, monopolising all power, fully extend its influence. Hence, Imperialism, the supreme manifestation of the Capitalist of the new class, could not establish itself before the advent of the English.

To keep the popular power under control, an opportunity arose for establishing feudal rule, with all kind of help available from the kingly power. At first, the King also left to the Feudal princes the duty of inspecting and arranging for lands and holdings

and the Feudal princes on their part used to help the king in trouble with soldiers, money etc. The Feudal princes bore without protest the Kings' oppression. Subsequently they saw that so long as the Kingly power remained, oppression would continue, and they also would not have opportunities for exploiting the masses at will. On the other hand, the oppression of the king also so increased day after day that nobody could pass his days in peace. Whenever war broke out the king picked out strong men from amongst his subjects and in many cases forced them to go to war. The Feudal princes also under compulsion had to fight for the king with soldiers and money. Expenses of wars used to be realised from the subjects as extra rent. The subjects were sorely harassed by the burden of new taxation every day. The king felt no compunction about sucking out the last drop of blood even from those who had no resources. In this way because of new daily oppressions, wails and lamentations rose from every home, but the cruel heart of the king did not melt. He continued exploiting the masses as before. Even though they had not handful rice at home, the masses had to provide the king with materials of luxury, while suffering oppression, a new flame of unrest appeared in their minds.

The Feudal princes were awaiting this opportunity. Hence as soon as it arose, they add fuel to the flame of unrest. They began to persuade them thus. It is because of the king's oppressions that we can not do you any good, have always to be engaged unwarfare, so long as there is the kingly power, there is no good for you or peace for us. ”.

Through the propaganda of the Feudal Princes, the masses soon rose in revolt. Finding the popular power in their hands, with its help, they destroyed the kingly power. After their revolt, the kingly power never again became concentrated. The Feudal princes each became strong and continued to rule different states. They that it would not be possible to rule undisturbed unless the restlessness of the masses was appeased. Hence providing some powerful men among the subjects with many opportunities and facilities. with their help they gagged the people. The masses continued in the darkness in which they had been. Because of the propsganda the leaders, they refrained from making any protest. It became easy for the Feudal Princes to commit oppression. The cultivators were reduced to serfs. As steps were taken to increase the income from the yield of their excessive labour, there came to be fresh fuel for the luxury the Feudal Princes, and the responsibility of providing and guiding this, was left wholly with the chiefs or enable to supply this fuel for the Feudatory princes, hundreds of helpless families were consumed by their anger. The tears of hundreds of men dried upon their cheeks, the wail which would

burst their heart could not come out of their lips, for fear of the Feudal Princes. There was not a single farthing at home but still materials of luxury for the Feudal princes must be provided. Gradually unrest in the land increased. At this time, the Feudal princes in order to provide materials for their increased luxury, provided some of the mercantile community who like shops (?) carried food stuffs scents etc from different countries and used to hawk them about, with lands so as to make them permanent inhabitants of their states and also established markets with the help of others. The greater volume of trade at the time used to be with these markets on the Mediterranean coast.

As the kings were now weak, they could not deprive any Feudal Prince of his State. On the other hand, Guild-Markets and Guilds. the Feudal Princes, in their competition for mastery and strong desire for enjoyment were engaged in perpetual warfare. Imitating the merchants who had started markets with the help of the Feudal Princes outside the forts of those princes the Chiefs also began trading with their surplus income and they used to sell their ware on the market day. Gradually as the result of these efforts at trade new lines were created outside the forts of the Feudal Princes. It was these traders who were the inhabitants of these towns or burghs. They united to form their associations entitled Guild-Merchants and it was only inhabitants of the new towns known as Burghers who could be members of the Guilds. In the Rhine Country and in North Italy, it was these profitable trades which destroyed the Burghs towns of the old type and gave birth to the Burghs or towns of free citizens of this new type. It was from these Burghers or free citizens that the class of the following age enjoying the labour of others originated. As the Feudal Princes always engaged in warfare, the expenses of the state went up considerably and the treasury also became empty. The people could not be free from anxiety even though they paid their regular taxes, they were oppressed with new taxes daily in season and out of season. The new towns or Burghers also had no immunity from them as need arose their business funds were appropriated to war expenses. Under various oppressions the sufferings of the people went on increasing, but they found no means at all for escaping oppression. In hopes of peace the ordinary cultivator left his village and took shelter where he could but nobody could escape. The oppressions of the Feudal princes or the Jagirdars created serious unrest in their minds, unable to provide a remedy for oppression they went on only suffering terrible agitation at heart. At this time some cultivators who used to tramp about in the woods (Trampers) began to be employed as workers in businesses in new towns conducted by the village Chiefs. The Feudal Princes

had encouraged the formation of markets in the interests of themselves as purchasers, so that with competition between the chief traders and the Merchantile inhabitants they could get goods from different countries and villages cheap.

Conflict between the chief traders and the Merchantile inhabitants they could get goods from different countries and villages cheap.

But the administration of towns by Guilds the conducting of trial by them in the Guild Courts and the selling of goods at fixed prices caused them inconvenience and a conflict of interest arose with them and hence it was that before the 12th century the first conflict broke out with them. At this time the rebellion broke out in the towns in Flanders and Northern France in order that the rights of Burghers over the Guilds might be kept unimpaired. In consequence for six years in 1077 at Cambrai, in France, general Self Government by the townsmen was introduced. But these rebellions were put down by the soldiers of the Feudal Princes. But the rebellion of the 13th and 14th Centuries in France and Italy proved effective to a large extent. Between the 13th and 15th centuries, this revolt in England, a revolt, did not attain much strength. In England, towns of this new character grew up amidst of the village and the Feudal Princes and priests were weak at the time and it was the influence of the king which was strong. Hence the Burghers secured charters from the king and snatched away rights from the hands of Abbots and Feudal Princes. But in this case also, nothing could be achieved without idleness. It is proved that in the conflict with the Abbots of Canterbury and Norwich in 1227 and 1327, the churches in these places were burnt down during the attack by the Burghers. Thus the rights of the Guild Masters extended in the towns and the Guild master's associations gradually progressed day by day. Along with the incoming of large sums of money, various defects also appeared in them. As the guild masters fixed prices at will the sufferings of the public knew no bounds. For fear lest their rate of profits would dwindle, they denied opportunities to others competent like them to become guild masters. Caught by the meshes of various Guild master rules, none but those belonging to that body, could and craftsman become guild-masters. In the Venetian German and Flemish Guilds, people with (P) i. e. those who did manual labour were not permitted to become members, yet sons or relatives of guild-masters though incompetent could easily become guild-masters. Seeing and suffering such oppression, the flame of discontent broke out amongst class of small traders or producers (craftsmen). They and the workers rebelled against the rich guild-masters and the capitalist companies which came into being in England and elsewhere when the guild system had ceased to exist. But as a result, the workers and

craftsmen did not benefit, nor was the democracy proclaimed by them established-it was only the bigger ones or the big merchants who had joined the revolt on their side into whose hands civic rights passed. In the towns in North Italy and other places elsewhere, during the period from 1300 to 1840, the democratic movement proved effective. Hence in 1671 at places like (illegible) for a short time, the towns were ruled by the working class, but in a short while big craftsmen like foremen weavers destroyed that rule, with the help of men of royal descent and big traders. These traders and under them the big craftsman capturing the right of ruling the town, and entering into a compact with the king arranged for a monopoly in certain commodities through their own companies in villages, towns or remote towns. Those who manufactured things with their own hands could not stand competition with them. Hence the different guilds for the production of different things were killed by competition and in this way quickly, cottage industries were ruined.

the age of Rich merchants quickly started big factories and
civilisation for division of labour, appointed the guild-masters to a separate department each. This led to the easy manufacture of things on a large scale and to filling the stomachs of the rich merchants. Finding that large incomes might be easily made, many villagers gave up cultivation and devoted their attention to this work. (This was) the industrial revolution. Simultaneously the amount of business of the rich merchants increased, they found that unless big ports and markets could be secured, business would not be facilitated. Very soon in different places big ports and fleets appeared. This greatly facilitated trade with different countries. As language differed in different countries, business was seriously hampered at times. To remove this difficult and facilitate the acquirement of money, books were written in different languages. Along with the writing of books in the hope of making money many quickly began to earn an education. There grew up an interchange of thought between different countries. Schools were started in different places. As America and other countries were discovered at this time an extensive field for the investment of capital by those who enjoy the labour of others was found and the path opened to the acquirement of immense riches. With the making of money arts and commerce spread. Formerly traders used to keep accounts orally but when business and trade widely extended, it became impossible to keep accounts orally and hence *Mathematics was invented*. Trades too, found it easy to keep accounts. It is the gradual development of this mathematics which had ended in present day science. Account keeping too, has developed into the accountantship of the present day. Under the stress of necessity, in order that

articles manufactured by machinery might be exported abroad and articles manufactured abroad might be imported to the home-land, and in order that rights might be upheld in colonies in different places, which were the spheres and got capitalism to make money in, there was a tremendous impulse to the creation of fleets, and steam-power such as never was seen before. In this way with necessity one thing after another appeared. In the case of India there was a deviation from this rule, or in the language of the communist, there was no opportunity in India from the remote past to the present for the enforcement of that rule. Though at the present movement, that opportunity has come and proved effective. From time immemorial till the first part of the XIXth century in India there was no industrial revolution as in England and other western countries. The village system of Government in India has regulated social life. A broad picture of village rule may be given as below. By a village is understood land measuring about 2000 or 3000 bighas. The peasants in each village have a Mondal or Headman and the peasants in that area are bound together by natural family rules. The mondal watches everything that is done in the village, settles disputes, preserves peace and collects rents. There is a man in the village who looks after everything relating to cultivation. There are chowkidars in the village, there are also men to protect and measure the crops, for steps have to be taken, according to the field, to deposit with the king or the feudal prince the share due to the ruler. There are also different men to maintain the village boundaries, provide irrigation etc. There is a Brahman community to carry on worship and thereby keep the villagers in peace of mind, in other words that their might be no revolt against the powerful ruler, who has to be upheld and besides there are village Brahman pandits etc., as well. The craftsmen who produced necessaries and articles of luxury for the country by means of the loom or the spinning machine were also divided into classes according to difference of work. In spite of various political changes in the administrative machinery, this socially united life was not impaired- it remained indestructible. As in consequence there of on the one hand, *famine* and plague *could not take root* so, on the other this small family bound life never allowed them to unite and stand up against any kind of oppression. Countless brutal oppressions have passed over them, but there could be no organised fight against the oppressive rulers. It was as a result of this that even after the advent of the English in India, the foreign ruling community very easily captured the administrative machinery and as result of their training of the industrial age, made arrangements for exploitation Indian social life was destroyed in an unthinkable way. Previously no class of rulers had attempted to destroy their family-

bound social life, they used to take a share under the rules of the village society of the trade and agriculture spread over the whole country, but they did not destroy it, they never could dream of this aspect. But under foreign rule, their social life began to crumble down. When oppression, veiled by a masque of religion and politics, under new rules, straightway assumed a heartless, ruthless form, they were reduced to strange misfortunes. Thanks to the administrative machine and factory civilisation, their cottage industries were first destroyed, and looms, spinning machines were sent abroad to many countries. Indian cloth, yarn and cotton were banished from European markets. The English have brought the cotton markets under control by importing cotton into India, the original home of cotton. At the same time the inhabitants of the towns beside the villages which were the centres of cottage industries, as a result of the destruction of those industries, took steps to take up agriculture in the villages. Hence under English rule Dacca, that prosperous town of those times, reached the lowest depths of misfortune, different classes of the population, including even men of the class of Rajas and Zemindars have betaken themselves to agriculture. There was a time, when to forget their class-pride or to pretend to overlook it, they tried to deceive themselves by proclaiming that cultivation was work of aristocratic dignity, though in many cases, people of this class, going to the villages have bought lands and arranged for their tillage by other cultivators-as a result, the system of *Bhag-chas* has originated. The class of cultivators deprived of their own produce, the cultivators who share produce, the proprietary cultivator, the land-holding cultivator have all appeared and made the problem of the cultivators more difficult.

It is English rule which has brought about a great revolution in the *semi-civilised social life* of India. The small family-bound social life put up with the countless oppression of those, to facilitate whose unhindered oppression it was created, that oppression spreading among them like an infection, owing to the fact that they felt pain separately and through the efforts of the Brahmins and other classes who at first were identified with the ruling and exploiting class, a blind belief was created in them that it was a great gain to put up with that oppression. Hence this kind of society has gradually fettered them various kinds of narrowness and made them blind slaves to various superstitions. This circumscribed, strange, self satisfaction, inactive, comatose, inert life has many times brought them to the jaws of destruction without justification. Not only that. That murder, suicide, and destruction of bodily and mental life, they have even accepted as religion. Under English rule the destruction of this kind of family life and the

shock to the system of aristocratic oppression have indeed brought no end of suffering, but they have confronted the masses with the problem of marching along the track. English exploitation before the last war was opposed to any kind of industry being started in India but after the war or during the war, a change came about in that policy of theirs. For the reasons given below and on that account, it has become possible to build up industries in India. *Firstly*, as under the influence of the spirit of the industrial era, all kinds of cottage industries were destroyed, and the classes who are deprived of their own produce came into being or, unable to save their cottage industries, in competition with a capitalist who had control of steam, science of machinery, the majority of the population of the country having bound themselves by contract in exchange for their labour to some little arrangement for their livelihood, have been forced to produce all things for the capitalist class, and as a result the proletariat class or the class deprived of their own produce has come into being. As this community has no real class distinction and as the fact of their deprivation has united them by the same interest, capitalism in England and elsewhere finds itself in serious trouble. *Secondly* the Indian land-holders and bourgeoisie because of the arrangement for exploitation by the English have lost their right to exploit, hence they have cordially welcomed relations with the capitalist of other countries like Japan Germany etc., and the capitalism of those countries have begun competition with the English in the world of machinery with the help of the Indian-holders and bourgeoisie have given rise to the second problem of Indian trade. *Thirdly*, as a result of the national movement, through the efforts of the Indian bourgeoisie, a movement to boycott English goods has started which has enabled the indigenous bourgeoisie with the help of the sentiment of the country to withstand competition even at enhanced prices in certain places with the English, thanks to the help in money and goods received from Germany and other capitalists and the help afforded by the very labour of this country. Hence the rights of this very cheap labour have given rise to another problem for them.

It is the foregoing reasons which have induced a change in English policy. They are now coming forward to win over the indigenous bourgeoisie capitalist and sometimes through their help and sometimes independently are taking steps invest their capital in India and thus are giving rise to the capitalism of the industrial age. Indians, abandoning their villages, and cultivation are coming to the factories which are being built up in Indian cities and on the out skirts of bazars, to enter into contracts for the sale of their labour. Evidence that money of English capitalists is being transferred from England to India is found in the rise of the Tata Iron and Steel Co., Ltd, out of a combination of the Tata Iron Works and

the British Steel and Iron Co., The majority of factories at Dundee are being abolished and jute mills are being started in the suburbs of Calcutta and Howrah and to facilitate the import of machinery for them the modification of the tariff so as to take off the duty on iron etc and reduce it (herein also is proof of the tendency). Thus English capitalism giving birth to industry in India and swallowing up in the near future the whole bourgeoisie class as its junior partner, will try to destroy the national movement and assist in developing to the full in India the two classes capitalist and proletariat.

This is the history of the destruction of the old society of India and the beginning of the industrial revolution of the new era.

At *that* time the compass of the new age had not been invented. Efforts were in progress so that ships might cross the seas without difficulty and *it was a result there of that Astronomy was invented*. Sailors at the time used to steer, their ships after ascertaining the course of the sea. Ships could not proceed on their voyage on days when the horizon was misty or cloudy. This greatly injured trade. The compass was invented after a long time after repeated efforts.

Capitalists to facilitate their own work tempted many members of the public with money into going abroad to the different ports. Finding that by this means more income could be made, many left their villages and began to come to the towns. Very soon the ports came to be populous towns. Helping the masses with unexpected contributions of money, they kept them under their control and facilitated the making of incomes for themselves. As all rights of production and regulating it passed wholly under the capitalists steps were taken to wipe off all traces of the dying jagirdar and aristocratic classes. In lieu of the society bound by families ties, the two classes the proletariat and the capitalist enjoying the produce of others have been born in social life. The old religion, prowess, and commerce and slavery which keeping oppression under a veil used to attract the respect of the public came to be under new rules paid slaves of capitalism and to add to the measure of that respect. At the present time teachers, doctors, lawyers, soldiers and the factory workers are paid servants. On the strength of this right and to extend & augment their income, the attention was drawn to the administrative machinery. In places like England etc., the kings, then, to preserve their existence, the capitalists impelled by patriotism to preserve the wealth and prosperity of the country, the rivalry of London, Antwerp, Bruges, Paris has assumed the form of a real battle of the North Sea. In connection with free trade in those countries in which Imperialist powers have extended their authority, in the interest of Imperialism

the full development of Capitalism of different countries over the founding of colonies in those countries and providing for a monopoly of colonial pillage and through competition of free trade a conflict of those different Imperialist powers gave rise to the last great world war. Capitalism to fill its unsatisfied hunger for capital brought other countries under its administration and exploitation and founding colonies there, made its right to pillage them permanent or established Empires. As a result of the last Great war, that arrangement for pillage was only slightly altered the chief pillars of the Empire of the defeated Imperialists (?) passed under the control of the conquerors except this change between conquerors and the conquered; no other alteration was effected, and within a few years of the termination of the war, they have come to a settlement of their economic troubles, but the proletariat or the workers and the peasants have found out about their property as a result of this great war. It is this great war which has revealed the real guise of "Nationalism" the captivating weapon of the capitalists. Hence the present age awaits a class warfare, a hundred times greater than this great war. As the masses were in the hands of the capitalists, make this cabinet the body, really to carry on the administrative machine. The king or, Feudal prince ceased to have any kind of authority. They continued only as seekers of its favour and when the kingly power or the power of the feudal princes hindered their work in any shape, in all such cases, with the help of the masses, their destruction has been effected and steps have been taken to guide the country with an elected senate or congress. In many cases, the subjects felt elated, because a system of Government was established in their name, but the rules and provisions of the electoral system were so framed that in all cases, the ruling bodies were constituted on capitalist lines in the name of the masses. Though at different times, different bodies of capitalist capturing the administrative machine secured facilities for those bodies or trades, it was not possible at any time to change their fundamental principle. Thanks to the Bourgeois policy, no previous movement could change their system of exploitation by the administrative machine. Thus in the 17th century with the help of the Puritan Revolt in England the aristocratic rule of the Stuarts was destroyed and the middle class of the time, developing into the bourgeoisie of a later date, established an oligarchical rule of the bourgeoisie or those who enjoy the labour of others. In France, against the rule of the king, of the nobles and of the church and different forms of aristocratic rule of the feudal princes, the French bourgeoisie of the time, with the help of the French Revolution established their rule in the name of a democracy.

In America also, with the help of the masses the middle classes, taking the help of the American Revolution and destroying

the supremacy of the foreigner, have arranged for a Bourgeoisie administration passing off as democracy.

As a result of this a newly arisen class of men enjoying the labour of others having captured the administrative machine, the organisations for the interests of the country, the facilities and opportunities for protecting the country, in short all that was built up by social force, that combined social force was devoted to the preservation and development of capital invented by the bourgeoisie class and this capital, passing off as national wealth sought to delude the masses of the country. Every year bourgeoisie rule publishes accounts of the increase of its wealth, passing it off as the wealth of the country and thereby misleads the people of the country and teaches them to boast that that national wealth has advanced. If the merchandise that is produced by the bourgeoisie of the different countries through workers in exchange for wages has to be sold in other countries, it has to compete with articles produced in those countries by the same bourgeoisie plan, and if then the markets there have to be captured, the war which begins for the preservation of this kind of national capital even though they created it - it is they who fight as soldiers for the preservation of that capital in foreign markets. Thus the masses in the two adjacent countries of England and France, the workers and Peasants, have during wars extending over centuries sacrificed their lives in hundreds of thousands under bourgeoisie leadership. During those wars nobody in the two countries could carry on any kind of trade or export articles from one country to the other though during the early stages of the Napoleonic war traces are apparent of attempts to carry on contraband trade in French goods occasionally in places on the English coast or even in the interior of that country, but in many cases, the Government or the villagers or citizens, blinded by nationalism, cruelly murdered them, feeling great self-satisfaction that they had done patriotic work. As the result of rebellion against this kind of Feudal aristocracy or other rebellions there were transfers of the administrative machinery, in which there was a conflict of the different exploiting classes, consequent on which different systems of administration were introduced and rights established over property belonging to different countries. But before the rule of the capitalist class which lives on the produce of others was inaugurated, the property of the rulers was immovable, whereas the property of capitalism which enjoys the produce of others (which subsequently extending itself to other countries has come to be Imperialism) consists in the capital produced by the labour of 99 per cent of the population of the country, i.e. the worker and contract bound industrial slave, or peasant or the proletariat class, and which is moveable. It is only the proletariat class who create this moveable property i.e. the majority of the

community, in exchange for a bare living wage, whereas this property is being enjoyed by the capitalist class, who live on the produce of others and who did not create it. Having cleverly acquired the right to enjoy this property they have created a sort of oppressive family conditions. But they who created it have no kind of family life at all—deprived of the property they themselves earned, have become utterly destitute, and to manage with wife and children make a bare living they are being forced to sell their bodies in various ways. To deprive the community of the wealth produced by the majority of the community and allow it to be used by these who produce nothing for the community means the destruction of humanity. Hence the capital produced by the community is being utilised by the capitalist who are as parasites on society for the enjoyment of the individual—for the destruction of society. The nationalism or patriotism which capitalism has given birth to the infatuation of that bourgeois love of country has prevented the proletariat from recognising this property in its real guise. But during the last great war, when the proletariat saw that the capitalist or Imperialist, that the country's capital for which the proletariat were sacrificing their lives in numbers had been removed to different countries, so that it might not be of use to any body but to those capitalists, in such seriously troublous days for him for lack of that capital, his wife and children and relatives and men of his class were dying off in hundreds of thousands, still they could not have a farthing of the capital, it was only then that the glamour (lit. tint) of nationalism fell off from that capital. He became alive to the fact that it was he who had created it and that it was he who was being deprived of it, so that another class of a handful of men were utilising it. This self-consciousness of the proletariat incited them to struggle against those who enjoyed the produce of others and that struggle had *democracy* as its basis.

During the last great war, the capital of many English capitalists was transferred to American banks, hence it has lost all chance of assuming the form of national property. Besides, we have seen that this capital can not be restricted by the boundaries of any particular country, this capital has been invested wherever it can, in many other ways in numerous spheres exploit labour and thereby augment itself. So this capital is as much communal (because the community has created it) as it is international.

(Here follow in English certain lines.)

Sd. K. B. Roy (Translator)

25. 6. 30.

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P. 324 T (1)

‘Labourers and Oppressed men of the world Unite!’

LENIN'S

FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

Remember the 21st January.

A PICTURE

NICHOLAS LENIN

Who by establishing the Bolshevik party in Russia freed the Labourers and Peasants of that place from the claws of the Czar and who by establishing a labourer and peasant *Raj* (Govt.) saved poor men in crores from being starved. Where thousands of men died daily for want of food and on account of extreme cold, in absenee of cloths and where bullets were showered on the weaponless in reply to their petitions and complaints; today those very poor men are ruling there. They are masters of their country. They do whatever they like, neither they are in want of cloth nor food. That very leader, by establishing the Third Communist International pointed out the path to the labourers of the world to get out from the Snares of the richmen and to put an end to all their troubles. That helper of the poor was born in 1870. The Russian Czar sent him to jail several times. He was wounded in 1922 by the bullet of a white guard and at last he died on the 21st January 1924.

A large meeting will be held on the 20th January of all the labourers of Calcutta in Commomoration of Lenin, the supporter of the poor, at Matiaburj (karbala Maidan) at 3 p. m. and at Mirzapur Park (chaupatalao) at 4 p. m.

All India Labourers and Peasant Party

(Bengal Branch)

2/1 European Asylum Lane

CALCUTTA.

January 18, 1929.

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July 8, 1930.

{ Hariballabh Narain
{ Hindi Translator

CLARA JETAKIN.

SOUMYENDRA NATH TAGORE.

On the 27th birthday of this great woman, workers in all countries on earth have expressed their deep and heart felt respect and love for her.

About half a century ago, when the socialist punishment (sic) had not become so cheap as now, we find this woman among those who first trod that difficult path. With the names of Babel, Wilhelm, Liebknecht and others, that of Clara Jetakin will also remain immortal as one of the founders of the German Social Democratic party. Her husband Emil Jetakin was a Russian Socialist. In the last century, when a law was passed in Germany against Socialists, she and her husband were forced to leave Germany. At that time, they lived mostly in Switzerland and Paris. In 1892, when the law against socialists was abolished, she returned to Germany. There after she started a paper among Germany women workers entitled *Pflicht* or Equality. She devoted herself to the great task of infusing consciousness among women workers. It was as a result of her untiring labours that the women's movement in Germany has come to be so full of vitality. She has alone carried for many years the heavy burden of the International Labour Movement. With advancing age, most people tend to become conservative but her enthusiasm or devotion to the ideal of revolution have not been impaired by a jot. She has always cooperated with new workers. During the war, we find Clara Jetakin in the front of the labour movement along with Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. It is not possible to give the history of her long and active life in these few sentences and this article has not been undertaken with that object either. I do not know when the mistaken idea about women prevailing among the so-called educated party in our country will be removed. If they only take the trouble of attentively perusing the histories of all great revolutions on earth, they will find that it was on the self-sacrifice and devotion of women that those revolutions were built up, 'day after' day. Beside Lenin we always find his wife Krotskaya, as a friend of his activities. All the great endeavours in our country having been deprived of the association of women, have repeatedly come to nothing. We invite the women of our country to (participate in) our activities. Who knows how long more we shall have to wait for that day? On behalf of Indian Workers, we convey to Clara Jetakin our heart-felt respect. We shall be blessed, if inspired by her example, even a single woman is now roused in one of the homes of Bengal.

Sd. K. B. Roy

16-6-30

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before this time of the policy of attack on Russia. The danger of war against the worker's Republic is increasing and demands the attention of the masses. Simultaneously are developing between capitalist countries a number of conflicts of which the most dangerous is that between Britain and U.S.A. *Strengthening of the Revolutionary Labour Movement:* At the same time the labour movement in the capitalist countries is increasing in strength (The Norwegian Labour Government recent Victories in the German Election, the British Miners etc). *Colonial Question:* The economic and political development in the colonial countries has given rise to movements of revolts against the imperialist powers led e.g. in Egypt and China by the native bourgeois class which has come into existence as a by-product of industrial development. In China the movement was later taken up by the masses whose condition under the increased exploitation become intolerable. The movement acquired a mass character, and once again showed that the only real leadership for a movement of colonial freedom is the working class. The treachery and desertion of the bourgeoisie, in alliance with imperialism, has brought the movement to a temporary halt, but it will inevitably be resumed. In Java the movement was from the first of a mass character. The British Empire generally and India particularly is experiencing the same development. The search for profits for British interests has intensified. More Capital is invested in India, particularly since 1914, and this tendency still prevails though in recent years it has been hampered by the decreasing surplus of British Capital available for external investment. Increased accumulation is therefore even more urgently necessary, and attempts are being made to exploit Indian Agriculture more intensely and more efficiently. *(The Agriculture Commission):* There is a general tendency to increase land revenue and assessments. Attempts are made to usurp the exploiting functions of the money-lenders (Co-operative Banks) to consolidate holdings with a view to more efficient cultivation (Berar Tenancy Bill & C.) and to increase the production of raw materials for industry. (Sukkur barrage scheme).

In the political sphere the British Empire is in a very serious position. It is threatened with the formal succession of the white Dependencies, and with freedom movements in the colonial countries, South Africa, Egypt, East Africa, Iraq etc. Its industrial and financial supremacy is lost.

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of their interests, but have been failed up to the present. They have been especially unions to achieve this control, since the exchange rate controversy when the stongest (Textile) section of the Indian bourgeoisie, with the small companion with business conducted in rupess, were defeated and the Government and financial interests (British mainly), with the big Firm doing their business largely in London in sterling, were benefited.

The policy of the Imperialism in India to retain its position of dominance is threefold. (One) It secures firm control of the chief industries communications, administration etc., and extends the area of its support among the ruling, landowning and bourgeois classes in India. Secondly by encouraging internal conflicts of various kinds, its disintegrates the forces of opposition to it. Finally it conducts a policy of direct suppression of movements dangerous to its rule.

The British bourgeoisie in India control a large proportion as aforesaid, of the active capital operating in India, and with it the apparatus of the Law, the administration, at any rate in rural areas, the educational system, the chief commercial organs of the press, the Police and armed Forces. In addition there is practically complete control of the rules of the native States, who are almost completely despotic, and are allowed wide powers within their own territories. Imperialism is actually opposed to the introduction of democratic forms of Government within the States, and assists their suppression of revolt within (Recent passing of order for deportation of States Subjects from British India into certain States at the wish of the ruler). Further Imperialism has firm support from the big landowning class and from those sections, especially in Upper India, whose Capital is invested in British firms, (Sir R. N. Mukerjee, G. D. Biria etc.). The industrial bourgeoisie, and with them the professional class, lawyers, University teachers etc., are increasingly in the position of constitutional supporters.

Nevertheless the support of these sections of the population is not sufficient, and especially after the great agitation of 1917-22, further means have been adopted not so much to gain support as to weaken opposition. There has, throughout the period of Imperialist control, been a systematic encouragement of differences of religion, community, castes etc., and it has been a settled policy to perpetuate religious and customary evils which retard physical, intellectual and social development. The mass of the people is moreover kept illiterate, and severe restrictions have been placed upon the education given to middle class Indians in schools and Universities. Specific cases of the encouragement

of difference among Indians are, the development of the Non-Brahmin movement in South India (Madras and Maharashtra) against the chief Political and Intellectual leaders, who are Brahmins. The depressed Classes representatives have been won over to support Imperialism against caste Hindus, even to the extent of opposing Boycott of the Commission. Even certain parts of the Labour movement are in the same position. These movements have all a genuine basis in the oppression of these sections by the higher classes, but Imperialism has been enabled to make use of them to perpetuate its own existence and therefore to secure the continuance of the evils against which these movements protest.

The most important case of this policy of formentation of differences is that of the Hindu - Muslim divergence. While partly an artificial result e. g. of the agitation of the British owned press on the alleged atrocities during the Malabar rising, the dangers of a Moslem invasion from the North-west etc. and of the communal electorates, the trouble has a certain class basis. In the Punjab most of the peasantry is Mussulman, while the exploiting money lenders etc. are mainly Hindus. While in Bengal, most of the peasants are Mussulman and the Zamindars largely Hindus. These are the chief centres of communal feeling. Further a considerable class of communal leaders has sprung up, whose popular influence and income depend upon the inflation of communal passion, and the direction of the natural discontent of the exploited masses away from political avenues where it could produce useful results into the communal channel.

Imperialism finds further firm support in the Anglo-Indian community, which supplies a substantial part of the skilled artisan and to a less extent among the Indian Christian community, under the influence of Missionaries.

But the central line of Imperialist policy has been to win the dwelling but gradually increasing support of the Indian bourgeois class. In the Councils and Assembly, the last opposition section of the bourgeoisie the Congress, has been won over the practical acquiescence in the existing regime partly by concessions political and economic, partly through fear of extreme measures.

At the same time the policy of Imperialism has been one of continued supression of efforts to extend the basis of the National movement to include the masses. The men returning from Russia with radical or communist ideas have been practically all imprisoned and victimised. Others with similar ideas have been treated in the same way, e. g. in the Cawnpore Conspiracy Case.

There is a continuous series of prosecutions in different parts of the country of writers and speakers, for "inciting" the masses to hatred against the Government. The Bengal detenues were mainly propagandists working among the peasantry on radical lines. Finally there is maintained a vigorous censorship of mails, especially foreign, and wholesale proscription and seizure of literature with a radical tendency.

It is manifest that an Imperialist rule of this strong and ruthless character, which is at the same time subject to the most intense pressure and competition in other parts of the world, will not at any time grant considerable concessions to any of those from whom it derives its sustenance. The hope of compromise by India as a whole, with Imperialism is vain.

LANDOWNERS, NATIVE STATES ETC

Nearly one fourth of the population of India is included in the Native States, which constitute on the whole the most economically and culturally backward, and politically reactionary section of the country. In no case practically is there any important industrial development, and even communication is poor. Almost all States are under a complete.

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have long ago developed an attitude of constitutional and co-operative opposition only where their interests are seriously threatened, e. g. over the ratio, will they seriously oppose. In Northern India the bourgeoisie is more divided. A section is practically loyalist while other, specially in Bengal, where the pressure of British supremacy is most felt, is still in vigorous, though constitutional opposition and constitutes the strength in that Province of the Swaraj Party and the Congress. Bengal is now almost the only Province in which the bourgeoisie takes a direct part in the Congress.

The political organisation of the Indian bourgeoisie is weak. Apart from the Chambers of Commerce which seek no popular support there are several political parties, mainly the product of successive splits from the Congress. Of those the Liberal party, an industrialist party, alone has achieved permanence and membership outside the Councils. The Moderates, Independents etc, are all shifting and unstable groups, their evolution determined by personal and other minor motives. Nevertheless their members are individually influential in their constituencies and in humanitarian, religious and other organisations, and own important organs of the press.

None of the bourgeoisie parties, in any case, has attempted or achieved a mass membership, except the Congress. Even Congress membership has never been more than a formality, though attempted of its greatest activity a large proportion of members was active. There has never been a close organisation or discipline. Subscription is low since 1925, when the Swaraj party was formed to enter the Councils, the Congress has split into successive fractions, and steadily lost ground.

The essence of the Policy of the bourgeoisie as a whole and now even of the left section, is compromise with Imperialism. The policy in the Assembly on all questions affecting the economic position of the Indian bourgeoisie has been one of concessions and a *modus vivendi*. All parties have been united on these occasions. Similarly on political questions. The United demand of Indian representatives in the Assembly has always been a Round Table Conference a means of compromise. Swaraj and independence agitation have been a means of bringing pressure to bear and no more. Even the Labour movement which is still largely in bourgeoisie hands, is looked upon in this light (e. g. Resolution on Labour Organisation by liberal Federation Session 1927). The bourgeoisie by the policy of acquiescence are obstructing the progress of India. Even the elementary rights of political democracy are no longer demanded by them. (See the Constitution drafted by an ex-President and an ex-Secretary of the Congress, one demanding "literate suffrage", and the other the peasant suffrage. The bourgeoisie on the country is opposed to the interests of the Masses, e.g. opposition in the Assembly to the proposed concessions to Tata's workers) and is afraid of their movement. It deserted and broke the N.C.O. movement for fear of mass action and for the same reason seeks to keep the labour movement under its control. The bourgeoisie as a whole can no longer be looked upon as a leader for national movement, the interests of the mass of the Indian people.

The Petty bourgeoisie:—Consists of various sections, and a large part of it suffers more or less acutely from poverty and the pressure of exploitation and retard economic developments of the country which leads to an excess of supply over demand of small-retail businesses of all kinds, and of printing and other small industrial undertakings. For similar reasons there is intense competition among clerical and professional classes. These sections suffer from unemployment and undercutting due to the competition especially of small landowners who attempt to supplement their incomes from urban occupations. The stagnation of industry in recent years has intensified this position and all but the upper grade of even the learned professions are in a position of economic insecurity.

Technical education for industry is scanty, and in most firms European technicians are largely employed, while the reservation of a large part of the services for European is a standing grievance.

The membership of the Congress has long been predominantly petty bourgeoisie. After the collapse of the N. C. O. movement due to the desertion of the bourgeoisie, it split into various factions. The no Change section consisted of mainly village craftsmen, small landholders and other of independent means, who left their professions and had no urgent need to return to them when the policy was abandoned. This section is dominated by personal loyalty to Gandhi and is typically peasant in its mentality, religious, submissive to fate obstinate and unchangeable in its outlook. As representing an economically obsolescent class, of small landowners and village artisans, its policy is reactionary (opposition to industrialism etc) though there is a radical section principally of those who left employment or Universities etc. under the influence of N. C. O. and were later abandoned by the bourgeoisie leaders, without means of support. This no change section as a whole is declining with the practical withdrawal of its one important leader from politics, and is ceasing to be an important factor in the Congress.

Another section, primarily urban small businessmen etc. followed the majority of the Congress Leaders into the Swaraj Party and the councils. Beginning with a programme of obstruction it rapidly degenerated into co-operating, openly or covertly for the purpose of securing gains from its supporters, who now constitute the strongest section in the Congress.

Though as a whole vague and vacillating in its policy, the petty bourgeoisie has split into these two main sections. The class difference, within the Congress membership has been accentuated, the upper strata following the bourgeoisie and its Council policy the lower falling into indifference or a radical policy. This growing difference is widely felt within the Congress, but is not commonly understood, being attributed to a conflict between Youth and age etc.

The lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie, the unemployed etc, a section of the Non-Co-operators and the remnants of the old terrorist parties, are the unformed left wing of the Congress and constitute part of the ground from which the Workers, and Peasants Parties are now rising.

Peasants:— The peasants which form the bulk of the nation, are notoriously in a condition of great poverty and backwardness. The land of the country from which the peasants derive

their living, is in the hands of three main agencies, the big landlords including the State Rulers, the Government and Religious Institutions all of which demand their quota from the cultivators. All suffer from the gradually increasing demands of the Government for direct taxes as well as from indirect taxation e.g. on salt and other imported goods. The excessive payments for irrigation water, often unnecessary and excessive in amount, are a similar burden in certain parts. Rents to landlords and intermediaries, of whom there may be several strata, are perhaps the heaviest burden which the peasants have to bear, and many suffer also from insecurity of tenure, and from forced labour etc. The class of moneylenders and village shopkeepers, often identified with the landlords, by entangling the peasant in debts at high rates of interest add to their misery and economic insecurity. Exactions for religious purposes and the support of a priest class constitute a further heavy burden.

The rural population is also disturbed by the introduction of manufactured goods, which deprive the village craftsmen of their employment and add to the class of landless labourers. The fractionation of holdings renders cultivation less and less efficient, and there is a strong tendency for the land to pass out of the possession of small cultivators into the hands of mortgage holders, landlords, etc. The consequent over pressure on the land is increased by the retention of large tracts uncultivated, and by the appropriation of large areas for the production of industrial crops.

The official claim, that the peasants as a whole are increasing in prosperity is untrue. The great majority are becoming increasingly poor, many are taking to wage labour, either on the land or in industry, while only a small section of successful peasants, moneylenders etc., of the village population, is improving its economic position. An increasingly intense class-struggle is developing in the rural areas, between the mass of the rural poor the 25 millions of wage labourers the artisans and poor peasants; on the one hand, and the big land holders, the religious institutions, the money lenders, shopkeepers etc., on the other.

The peasants have taken hitherto little part in politics. At the height of the N. C. O. movement, the peasants joined in large numbers (Bombay, U. P.) but on the abandonment of the policy of non-payment of taxes, out of regard for the interests of the landlord class which at any rate in its lower strata, was strong in the congress they left again.

Many peasant societies were then in existence, especially in U. P. but if radical, they were ruthlessly suppressed and those

now in existence are small and under moderate guidance. In the Punjab (The Akali movement) a partial success was achieved, and in Rajputana and Central India, and in Bengal peasant societies of Redical tendencies exist. Feeling in Rural areas is growing strong particularly in U. P. but the movement finds little organised expression, peasants often allowing themselves to be misled by their class-opponents (Alibag Agitation).

WORKERS.

The main mass of workers outside agriculture, in the cotton, Jute, Railway, Docks, Marine, Building, Metal and other minor industries in all 30 million souls, with dependents live in extreme poverty and bad conditions. Wages are low, Rs 10/- to Rs 40/- for most hours are long 10 per day being usual Housing conditions are almost universally bad, sanitation defective and death rate high, illiteracy and general ignorance is the rule, insecurity of employment, victimisations by jobbers, and excessive fines etc. render the life of the workers of this class intensely miserable. While in some industries, competition and mis-management, render profits apparently low, there in reason is suspect hidden profits, and in many high profits are acknowledged year after year, (Jute, Tea etc) workers are taught by experience that there is no difference between European and Indian employers, who equally profit during disputes, by the use of State forces, the law and the police. The number and importance of strikes is increasing and a sharp class struggle is developing in Indian Industry.

Nevertheless, trade union is weak in the chief industries though it is growing slowly, organisation is strong in Government Departments (Posts, Telegraphs, Currency etc.) and among similar classes, but these are superior grade workers earning (Rs. 50-200 or more) who have by a policy of isolation and the intimidation of superiors, acquired a reactionary mentality, and fallen under the leadership of the middle class individuals, lawyers, etc., who encourage this. Some Unions of lower grade workers have grown strong, but the movement still as a whole, is dominated and held back by ideas of sectionalism, local or craft, abstention from politics, fear of victimisation ect., inculcated by employers or leaders. It has been the conscious policy of the bourgeoisie to control the labour movement, and they have succeeded largely in inculcating their ideas, and restraining independent action by the workers.

The T. U. C. itself is strongly influenced by this school of thought, some sections of workers are achieving emancipation from this influence, and others at times force their leaders to act

in a militant manner. The increasing pressure from the employers (cotton, Railways) in the past two or three years has led to a considerable militancy and class consciousness and the need for organised action are clearly shown, and these effects are being made manifest. Political consciousness also is growing (two unions' decision for one day's strike on the landing of the Commission).

In spite of its faults of leadership, the bourgeoisie has remained in control of National politics, and this circumstance has led to a stagnation of political life since 1922, when the bourgeoisie and the landowners woke to realisation of the dangers of the mass movement they were creating, and caused its collapse. The movement was quickly suppressed by Imperialist forces, and an interval of quiet occurred. Since 1924 a number of factors have brought about a gradual revival of political feeling, and class differentiation within India and its bearing on the national movement, are being felt. The general tendency is for the lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie to take up the National struggle once more, unite with workers and peasants, hampered and opposed to a greater or less extent by the bourgeoisie and its followers. A section of the bourgeoisie (Bengal and Madras particularly) still maintains a verbally militant leadership, but exposes its class position by opposing the tendency to seek mass support. The bourgeoisie as a whole drifts away from Nationalism, into a working agreement with Imperialism. The advent of the Simon Commission while giving a great impetus to the growth of National feeling, has driven part of the bourgeoisie once again into the National camp. The situation is obviously not stable, and differences are already appearing. (Responsivists' hesitation, Jinnah's opposition to Hartal).

CONCLUSION.

To summarise. We have shown the gradual growth of class differences in all spheres of Indian life. The Imperialist bourgeoisie exploit India from all directions, middle classes, peasantry and workers, and generally obstruct economic and cultural development. Allied with the Imperialists are the State Rulers and big landowners, who exist on the exploitation of the great mass of rural population, and to an increasing extent, the Indian Bourgeoisie, in a position of subordination, but alliance with the Imperialist bourgeoisie, exploiting the middle class and the peasants, but most of all Industrial workers.

The Imperialists and their allies control the political life of the country, restraining it within such narrow bounds that the exploited masses cannot find expression except in direct action,

through strikes or no tax campaigns. The alliance of exploiters is opposed to National freedom, democratic institutions and the expression of opinion, or the development of indigenous culture, and even the elementary physical necessities such as adequate sanitation, elementary education, and a tolerable standard of life.

The movement of for the attainment of these necessities are being and must be co-ordinated in a great mass movement of the exploited sections of the population, the workers and the peasants and the middle classes against Imperialism and its allies, the State rulers, the big landowners and such of the bourgeoisie who will not sacrifice their immediate economic interests to the higher interests of the great mass of their countrymen. This movement will incidentally provide the only ultimate solution of the communal questions which have split India ranks in the past. Co-operative work for the fundamental needs of the masses will swallow up the minor difference of race and creed.

The bourgeoisie, the traditional leaders of the National movement, have already to a large extent forsaken the movement and are betraying their unfitness for leadership. They are no longer interested in attaining Independence. They do not fight for political democracy, or for any other demands of the people. On the contrary their vacillating policy of opposition to Imperialism in words and acquiescence in deeds, is opposed to the progress of the movement. All experience of similar movements show that the industrial working class alone is fitted to lead this struggle through to the end, and fight consistently, for the interests of the Indian people. The working class through its own struggle learns discipline and organisation, the tactics and the strategy of political struggle and conflict. It alone can provide the steel frame necessary to guide the scattered and vacillating masses of the urban middle class and peasantry to freedom. It alone has the determination and aggressive spirit necessary to push the struggle to the end in the interests of all.

It is therefore, essential that working class organisations, the trade unions and T. U. C. fight and obtain freedom from bourgeois control, under which most of them now exist. They must also obtain freedom from the reactionary and confused ideas which the bourgeoisie cultivate amongst them. These things require an independence workers political party to educate, organise, and lead the workers in their struggle.

Under the leadership of the industrial workers, the movement of the masses can go forward to abolish foreign exploitation, to establish democracy, and those elementary prerequisites of

life which 95 % of the population of India still lack. By means of strikes, demonstrations, hartals and the more labourious means of organisation and education, the class consciousness and the solidarity of the masses will be raised to the level necessary before its task can be achieved.

Almost the most important problem which the masses will have to solve is the agrarian question, the relation of the cultivators to the soil on which they work. No solution can be satisfactory unless the central question of the ownership of the land is decided; against the reactionary system of the partition of land among a few big-owners with arbitrary powers of expulsion and exploitation; for the principle of land for the cultivator himself. Only if this is achieved can the minor problems of technical development, credit, education, etc., be solved usefully. And only the organised power of the immense majority of the peasants and landless labourers exerted in conjunction with the general nationalist and labour-struggle can bring about this solution.

This mass movement is slowly developing. But in the early stages it requires conscious and intelligent guidance-and this is the function of the Workers' and Peasants' Party. The W. & P. Party has its task, to gather all sincere fighting elements from the ranks of the workers, the peasants, the exploited middle class and the militant National movement and to fuse them into one united whole for conducting their united struggle. It will establish particularly close relations, with the youth, the future leader of the country, and the trade unions, the source from which most of its strength will be drawn.

The future of the country, its economic development, education, culture and the well being of the masses depend upon the rapid development of this mass movement of the exploited millions, united and guided by the Workers' and Peasants' Party.

PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION.

The collapse of the N. C. O. movement was not at first realised and expectation of its resumption and triumph continued for sometime. But as years went by, and council members became increasingly compromising, and class divisions within the Congress made more and more obvious. At first the reaction on the part of the Congress supporters was growing indifference, but later it developed into a vague but acute increasingly discontent. The lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie who had been drawn into the N. C. Os. were becoming impatient for a forward move. This tendency has been increased by various factors-prolonged economic stagnation, growth of a war atmosphere (preparations on N. W. and N. E. frontiers, speeches of the C. in C.) disappointment with the

complete failure of the labour government to do what had been universally expected of a party pledged to self-determination and a fight against imperialism, the Chinese events (Javanese) continued provocation by Imperialism (Exchange question, Bengal detenués and repressive measures) Saklawalas visit, Mayo's Book, all have had their effect. A new policy is being sought, national feeling is roused with a partial abandonment of the old ideas. The rise in various provinces of an organised youth movement after the absorption of the previous generation of the organised youth in congress agitation and subsequent stagnation, is symptomatic of the same process. The increasing militancy of the workers, as shown in numerous recent strikes, adds to the volume of protest against the existing order.

On the other hand the bourgeoisie, with their supporters among the professional and other middle classes, were moving in the opposite direction. The long awaited Statutory Commission was having its expected effect upon them, and draft constitutions all contemplating Dominion Status as the goal of nationalist efforts, were being prepared for acceptance by the Congress. (Dominion Status has for some time been the accepted aim of most schools of bourgeois nationalist thought. The essence of the idea is the maintenance of imperialist exploitation, but with the Indian bourgeoisie in a more favourable position, and with the Imperial forces ready to defend bourgeois interests, as now).

The appointment of the Statutory Commission without Indian members, especially as it followed closely upon the revelations of alleged official assistance of Miss Mayo, rendered a policy of conciliation by the bourgeois leaders for the time impossible. So great was the general indignation that even the most compromising groups among the bourgeois nationalists have been forced to support the policy of boycott, conditional or absolute.

The result has been to prevent a further exposure of the bourgeoisie, and to strengthen them temporarily the nationalist leaders, and further to hamper a serious campaign of mass opposition on the basis of the boycott agitation. The imperialist press has at the same time attempted to develop vigorously the communal splits.

This policy has been only partially successful. Communal division is not very marked, and the agitation has been so great that the Congress and even the Liberal and other groups have had to go further in the direction of mass opposition than they at first wished. (The Independence resolution and the agreement by the Benares meeting to an all-India Hartal). The masses too are

entering the movement to a certain extent. Two Trade Unions in Bombay have decided to strike on the day of Hartal.

Nevertheless the desertion of the majority of the bourgeois leaders, both within the Congress and without, is certain, as their present line of policy shows. The meeting of all parties at Delhi to draft a constitution is clearly designed as a means of compromise. The inclusion of the Trade Union Congress in the invitation, while giving the Conference the appearance of speaking for the masses, will not actually secure the voicing of their claims, as the T. U. C. is safely under bourgeois control. The boycott agitation will probably be abandoned by the leaders after the Commission has landed, or alternatively it may be kept up until a basis for compromise is reached, or until the movement grows beyond bourgeois desires.

The most fundamental work before the Party is to organise the working class and give it sufficient political education to enable it to come forward as the leader of the mass movement which is rising in India. It is the duty of all who are concerned with obtaining National freedom, in establishing democracy within the country, and rescuing the population generally from the poverty, ignorance and social backwardness, to come forward to assist in this work. The chief immediate task is for the Party to gather to gather all fighting progressive forces from all sections, and thereby to establish its own organisation which will enable it to carry out its ultimate function. A strong conscious and well disciplined Party is the most pressing need of the present.

Meanwhile the campaign for the boycott of the Commission must be carried forward to the utmost extent in spite of any sabotage. Strikes and Hartal must be encouraged and the masses brought into the movement by associating their demands with the national slogans. The campaign must demand complete National Independence and a Constituent Assembly elected by universal adult suffrage, which will decide finally the relation of India to the Empire and solve the pressing economic problems of the masses. No genuine leader of the people can but support demands, which are clearly the minimum requirements of a nation demanding freedom.

TASK OF THE PARTY

The work of the Party in particular spheres may be summarised as follows:—

- (1) We must endeavour to make the Congress adopt a programme of mass demands such as universal adult

suffrage and democratic necessities, abolition of landlordism and generally the espousal of the cause of the peasantry against their oppressors and improvement of conditions for industrial workers -8 hours day etc.

For this purpose we and our sympathisers must join the Congress and become members of the provincial and All Indian Congress Committees to give a sound lead, and take active part in such work as leads along the lines of the development of mass movement. We must co-operate with the Congress while it fights imperialism, but must not hesitate to criticise the tendency for compromise on the part of the congress members however prominent.

We must conduct propoganda among the youth to assist us in our work. The ideas of youth are sufficiently fluid and free from obsolete prejudices to enable us to enlist them on our side. We must assist in the establishment of youth organisations, with a programme on the following lines which will appeal to the oppressed youth of all kinds.

1. A month's holiday in the year.
2. Vocational training and universal primary education.
3. Abolition of caste, religious and racial distinctions.
4. State support for unemployed and poor students.

Youth also must be brought into the congress with workers to supplant the present generation of diehards with old creeds. Advantage must be taken of Gandhi's opposition to the Independence resolution to destroy still further his influence which though waning, is still among the petty bourgeoisie of all ages.

With the organisation and political education of the masses and industrial workers our task is twofold. (a) We have to organise the unorganised masses. (b) We have to rescue those organised from false ideas and false leadership. The former can only be done by consistent work on the basis of a radical programme of demands for improvement in working and living conditions. The middle class leaders have failed to bring about effective organisation of the enormous mass of lower grade workers. We must utilise their numerous spontaneous outbursts of protest, to carry on the work of organisation and propoganda among them.

In regard to (b) we must show by the superiority of our work and fighting policy that ours is the only correct policy to follow. We have to push forward all methods for increasing the possibilities of militant action. We must encourage the amalgamation of overlapping unions, the formation of central bodies such as the Trades Councils. Within the Unions we have to urge the adoption of democratic forms of organisation, and the participation of the workers themselves in the organisations, formation of branches based upon the place, work, residence the holding of regular and frequent meetings, the discussion by member of political and business subjects, educational work within the unions on working class lines. We must further establish fractions within unions of our sympathisers and members who will urge our policy and further our programme of demands. We must urge upon the acceptance of our policy in T. U. C. and other central bodies, and endeavour generally to purge it of the careerist element by getting rid of its present status of a semi-official institution recognised by the Government as recommending safe persons for councils and Geneva Conferences.

Secondly, Peasant, The Masses of the peasants require organisation almost from the beginning, at any rate in Bombay. We must take advantage of Congress and Youth Association work in rural areas, and such occasions of peasant disturbance as protests against increase of land assessment, to bring about organisation of peasant on sound lines. We must also undertake visits by our own member to villages, and induce our members and sympathisers among Trade Unionists, specially Railwaymen and Migratory workers to do such work.

The Programme of demands for peasants, which will differ somewhat from province to province and district to district, will contain the following main points.

Rescue of peasants from the tyranny of the landlord, by division of uncultivated land, establishment of security of tenure abolition of forced labour and other compulsory or customary dues. Freedom from the exploitation of money lenders, by legal limitation of the rate of interest on loans and the provision of credit through banks. Provision of educational facilities, liberal and technical and sanitary. Reduction (ultimately abolition) of rents, control of village life by village panchayat.

The village is the unit of organisation, natural for the peasants. Independent organisation of rural wage labourers should be formed.

Party. Most important of all, we require a party, with a large membership, efficiently organised, disciplined, and active. It should have a propaganda organ in English and an agitational organ at least in Marathi. Each branch of the Party should have subject to its E. C. sub committees for various classes of work, Trade Unions, Peasants, Youth, Congress, Training.

The time is now ripe for big development in the Party and the opportunity must be seized. At present the membership is far too small to undertake efficiently the numerous and labourious tasks which the Party has to perform. The most urgent need is the propaganda of the admittedly unfamiliar but profoundly important idea of the function of a Party, recruitment of members, and training them to carry out party policy in the various spheres.

The party must be prepared to co-operate, without losing its identity, with all parties and organisations, which will fight for the liberation of India from imperialism. But the establishment of our own organisation is our first task, which is fundamentally necessary and which cannot be abandoned. It is necessary further to co-operate with organisations fighting for the freedom of the oppressed nations, and with the militant anti-imperialist working class of the imperialist countries.

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

P. 1359

Workers' Welfare League of India

18 FEATHERSTONE BUILDINGS,
HIGHHOLBORN, LONDON, W. C. 1,

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Secretary :

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Indian Secretary :

Mr. Sh. SAKLATVALA, M. P.



THE
NINTH ANNUAL REPORT

For the Year ending December
31st, 1926, as presented to
the Annual Meeting held in
London, on January 15th, 1927

Leicester co-operative Printing Society, Ltd.

Workers' Welfare League of India,

18 Featherstone Buildings, High Holborn, London, W. C. 1

Agent of Indian Trade Union Movement in Great Britain

The past year has witnessed a significant increase in the attention paid by the British Labour Movement to questions relating to Indian labour organisations.

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES IN BRITAIN.

During the year the League has been active in bringing information on Indian workers, conditions and on the activities of the Indian trade Union movement before all sections of British workers, working class organisations and Members of Parliament.

Circulars issued during the year include, among the subjects dealt with, the enforcement of weekly (not monthly) payment of wages, fines, the truck system, the organisation of Indian workmen, factory inspection, conditions obtaining among railwaymen, cotton workers, jute workers, plantation workers, seamen, waterside workers, minimum wages, the formation of a Central Wages Boards and Conciliation Boards, the Workmen's Compensation Act, educational facilities for workers, abolition of racial discrimination, the recognition of trade unions, complete adult suffrage and Labour representations in the Legislatures and Councils of State, maternity benefits, health and allied insurances, the eight-hours day women working underground in mines, the various strikes and matters pertaining to each, and so on.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES TO CONGRESSES.

We note with great pleasure that Mr. D. Chaman Lall, member of the Executive Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress, was present as a fraternal delegate at the British Trade Union Congress at Bournemouth. Mr. D. Chaman Lall was one of the founders of the all-India Trade Union Congress and is one of the Indian members of this League.

Mr. Saklatvala, M. P., the Indian Secretary of our League, was present at the Scottish Trades Union Congress at Inverness as a fraternal delegate on behalf of the League. His speech was a powerful plea for closer co-operation between the British and Indian Labour Movements, and was much appreciated by the Congress.

We are pleased to record that fraternal relations continue between the League and the Irish Trade Congress, although it was

not possible, owing to time and expense involved, for a fraternal delegate from the League to be present at the last session of the Irish T. U. C.

INDIA AND THE BRITISH MINERS' DISPUTE.

One of the most gratifying features of the year was the interest taken by all sections of Indian workers in the British miners' lockout and in the General Strike. It is especially gratifying evidence of the growing solidarity between the British and Indian Labour Movements, that in spite of the terrible poverty of the Indian workers, they were prompt in collecting and sending financial assistance to the British miners. Our League is proud to feel that its activities have played a part in creating this solidarity.

TEA PLANTATIONS.

In our last Annual Report we drew the attention of co-operators to the visit of a deputation of the Joint English and Scottish Wholesale Societies to their tea plantations in the East, and we pressed for a report to be given of the conditions of labour of the workers employed.

During the past year by the courtesy of the Joint Co-operative Wholesale Societies, we have received a report of the Labour conditions of their workers and we are pleased to be able to state that the report demonstrates that their workers have considerably better conditions than the average on Indian tea plantations.

RELATIONS WITH INDIA.

At the last All-India Trade Union Congress held in Madras on January 9th-10th, a resolution was passed confirming the appointment of the League as the agents of the All-India Trade Union Congress in Britain.

During the year we have been in constant correspondence with the Indian Trade Union Congress and with various Indian trade unions on all matters concerning the activities of the League, and the work of the League is attracting more attention than heretofore in the Indian Press.

The present visit to India of Mr. Saklatvala, our Indian Secretary, should prove a very helpful stimulus to the work of the League and very materially assist in cementing the relations between British and Indian Labour.

We wish Mr. Saklatvala every success in the work that he has undertaken.

It is with great regret that we have to draw the attention to certain attempts to prejudice the work of the League, both here and in India, through the statements of some men prominent in Labour circles. The allegation made that the League is a "communist organisation is entirely without foundation. The League is a non-political body, including among its members representatives of all working-class organisations. It is not concerned as to whether its members are Communist or non-Communist, but only as to whether they are interested in helping to improve the conditions of Indian Labour.

MEMBERSHIP.

Three additional affiliations have been secured during the past year, namely, London Area Joint Council, National Union of Clerks, Central London Guild, East London Branch Y. C. League.

This brings the total to 78 with the addition of three Indian Unions, makes a total of 81 societies. Three individual members have also joined, making a total of 70 individual subscribers.

CONCLUSION.

The continual support given to the League during the past year is evidence that the League is performing a useful work in promoting solidarity between the British and Indian Labour Movements, and in putting the case for Indian Labour prominently before the workers in this country.

During the coming year we hope that great advances will be made. We confidently appeal for the co-operation of all our members in making the work of the League a bigger success than ever before, especially by attracting new supporters for our work, and we cordially invite all sympathisers to help us by joining the League and by securing the affiliation of their societies.

P. 1384- (3)

Dear comrade,

You must have received the agenda for the meeting of the E. C. of the T. U. C., to be held at Delhi, this month, when an important question of our affiliation to the I. F. T. U. is being brought forward. As you know, the Cawnpore Congress has already decided upon this question, for at least one year to come. And as such, the re-opening of this question is ultra vires. If you are attending this meeting, will you please raise this point of order?

I am also enclosing herewith a questionnaire for the G. Secretary for supplying us the necessary information on this question, which is essential before we can come to any decision on this matter of affiliation. Will you please raise the questionnaire by giving notice of it immediately and also of the resolutions appended therewith?

If the enclosed questions are answered by Mr. Purcell, you will bear in mind and contend that such information as may be supplied may not be officially authorised, in which case no decision can be taken on the strength of such information.

Will you kindly see that you or your comrades attending the meeting will move these resolutions annexed herewith? They should be moved all at once by several comrades, so that at least some of them may be passed.

S. A. Dange,
Wadekar, Building, Girgaon,
Bombay 4. 14th February, 1928

Yours fraternally,
S. A. Dange.

Dear Dr. Mukerjee,

I presume you are attending Delhi meeting. You must be aware of the grave implications of our affiliation to the I. F. T. U. Purcell is a tool of Macdonald and there is ample evidence for it. Let us not go into the hands of "labour-imperialists." Will you attend Delhi or ask some of your friends to oppose as above planned? Please notify Joshi of the resolutions.

Thanking yours,
S. A. Dange.

Before affiliation is decided upon, will the General Secretary, A. I. T. U. C., enlighten the Executive on the following points?

i. The constitution of the I. F. T. U.

2. The financial obligations imposed on our T. U. C. by such affiliation to the I. F. T. U.

3. The classification of the I. F. T. U. membership according to Nationalities.

4. Financial status of the I. F. T. U. at present.

5. Are the Chinese, Indonesian, Mexican, Korean, and Japanese labour movement affiliated to the I. F. T. U. as a whole, or sectionally ?

6. What has the I. F. T. U. done for the Chinese workers in their struggle against Imperialism and Capitalism ?

(a) Was any financial assistance given ?

(b) Was any policy defined ?

(c) Were their conditions investigated officially ?

7. What was the reply from the colonial i.e Eastern organisation to the I. F. T. U's invitation for affiliation ?

8. Is the I.F.T.U. intimately connected with the Geneva Labour office and is the latter connected with or influenced by, the League of Nations.

9. Is it a fact that before the I.C.W. of Africa joined the I.F.T.U., it expelled all the radical wings in its fold, who advocated immediate action and strike, to get their grievances redressed ?

10. Can you give a comparative statement between the I. F. T. U. and the R. I. L. U. on the following items ?

I. F. T. U.

R. I. L. U.

(a) Help rendered upto now though the I. T. U. C. or individuals by the I. F. T. U. to the Indian labour movement, particularly in the textile strikes of 1924 and '25 and previously, the Railway strike on G. I. P. Kharagpur lockout, and any other.

Help rendered by this.

(b) Membership
Total, according to Nationality.

Membership
Total and according to Nationality.

(c) Contribution through affiliation.

Contribution through affiliation.

11. Why was the unity between the I. F. T. U. and the R. I. L. U. not brought about.

12. Was an invitation for affiliation received from the R. I. L. U.?

13. From the letter of the I. F. T. U., it appears that the G. Secretary had invited fraternal delegates from the I. F. T. U. for the Cawnpore Congress. Was similar invitation sent to the R.I.L.U. ? If not, why not?

I move that the consideration of the I. F. T. U. letter and affiliated be postponed till the receipt of information on the above points from the I. F. T. U. through its headquarters, or authorised representatives.

Or

I move that the affiliated unions of the I. T. U. C. be requested to consider the letter individually and their opinions invited, pending which the consideration of the subject be adjourned.

Or

I move that the letter together with the information required as above be put before the next session of the A. I. T. U. C. for consideration and resolution.

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

Copy of Exh. P. 1414 (b) T. in the Sessions Court.

The programme of the Bengal Peasants and Workers Party

(1)

The Imperial Government established in India is not conducted in accordance with the wishes of the masses of Great Britain. The sole aim in keeping up this Imperial Government is to assist in the exploitation of the workers, peasants and lower middle class for the benefit of the capitalist class of Great Britain. So nothing is being achieved by a Government run in the interests of the capitalists of Great Britain towards advancing the interests of peasants, workers and the lower middle class.

(2)

It is true that the Indian National Congress and the parties affiliated thereto and liberal, Independent and other parties do occasionally say something for the welfare of the masses, but in practice they never pay heed to the political, economic and social demands and wants of the peasants and workers. Rather, it has been proved by their conduct that they uphold the interests of capitalists, foreign and indigenous.

(3)

The majority of the Indian population are peasants. These peasants are sorely stricken by the burden of excessive taxation in various directions and of debts to usurious money-lenders. On the one hand there is this burden of oppression put on them and further more they are illiterate. So they can make no progress at all in the struggle for emancipation.

(4)

There are no laws to preserve the interests of factory workers and as there are no means of enforcing such as do exist, they are being subjected to serious exploitation. Not only have they been unable so far to engage in any successful struggle, rather they have been forced to leave their Trade Union (Workers') movement to a large extent to the middle class. These middle class people have been utilising the Trade Union for their political, religious and personal interests though the masses of their country are divided into classes, though the interests of these classes are not quite identical, still, fundamentally, they are not opposed to each other, they are all being economically exploited, they are all equally in fetters Indian Capitalists and foreign rule have not allowed them to make any social or educational progress.

(1)

For these reasons, it has been felt to be extremely necessary to form a political party of peasants, workers and the lower middle classes. The members of this party, entering the Indian National Congress will make the claims of the exploited peasants, workers and lower middle class the real question there and properly organising the worker's associations, rescue them from the grip of opponents. The party will constitute Peasants' Unions on the basis of the economic and social needs of the peasantry and taking up a firm stand against Government where necessary will take proper steps for the social, economic and political uplift of the peasants, workers and lower middle class.

There can be no final remedy for the exploitation and subjection of peasants, workers and lower middle class, until all forms of authority to rule the country came into their hands. The supreme aim of the Peasants and Workers' Party is to establish a Federated Republic in India, in which all means of production, distribution and exchange will be under the control of the masses and will be regulated by the community.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

(a) Political demands.

1. All men and women of 18 and above to have the vote.
2. Removal of all social discrimination and caste distinction.
3. To secure full liberty of press, of speech and of the right of association.
4. To remove all obstacles in the way of Trade Unions and by legislation to confer on Trade Union the same rights as in advanced countries.

(b) ECONOMIC DEMANDS.

1. As far as possible to abolish indirect taxation and to fix a progressive income tax on all incomes of Rs 200/- a month and above.
2. To abolish the zemindari system in all forms and to make land a national property.
3. To provide for the settling of lands suitable for cultivation by Government.
4. To assess a minimum land tax varying with the differing yield of produce in a holding such tax in no case being more than 10 per cent of the produce.

5. To establish state Co-operative Banks to lend money to peasants. The rate of interest in such Banks should not exceed 7 p. c. per annum. The law should fix a maximum interest of 7 per cent also for those individuals who lend out money at interest.

6. To prevent the land cultivated by a peasant from passing out of his hands for failure to repay debt.

7. To provide adequately for the instruction of peasants in up-to-date scientific methods of cultivation.

8. To fix by legislation an eight hours' working day for factory workers and to fix the week at 5 days and a half. To fix lower hours for women and non-adult workers.

9. To fix by legislation a minimum wage for factory worker. This wage should provide for feeding and clothing workers like men, and also 33 per cent extra.

10. In all kinds of business the law should provide for insurance of workers against old age, sickness and unemployment.

11. To extend the law for compensating workers and about the liabilities of factory owners, and to provide adequately for enforcing that law.

12. To provide by legislation for the adoption of advanced methods for saving workers in mines and factories from accidents.

13. To provide for the weekly payment of wages to workers.

(c) SOCIAL DEMANDS.

1. The complete removal of the illiteracy of the masses (literacy to mean capacity to read and write letters in one's mother-tongue).

2. To start hospitals and health centres for peasants and workers and homes of ministration for the pre-natal care of women.

3. To instruct workers and peasants means for preserving health.

4. To provide for the proper housing of workmen by factory owners and to take steps to see that the rent for these houses is not fixed beyond the capacity of the workers.

5. To prove by legislation against the employment of female and non-adult labour in any dangerous employment.

6. To provide by legislation against the employment of children under 14 in any work in any factory.

As the sole means for carrying out the items mentioned in this programme is to secure full national freedom for India from the clutches of British Imperialism, the Bengal Peasant's and Workers' Party will not hesitate to co-operate with other parties which cherish the same view and are prepared to engage in this work.

(This programme was unanimously accepted at the Second Conference of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party on the 20th Feby. 1927)

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

P. 1424 [a] T

MAHATMA LENIN.

aur

A chapter from the Revolutionary of Russia.

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Mecrut,
The 7th July 1930.

Hariballabh Narain
Hindi Translator

P 1468-T

Translation of the lecture delivered by Sohan Singh Josh at the morning session of the workers Peasants Conference, Rohtak, on the 10th March, 1929:—

Worker and Peasant brethren! I have not come to deliver any lecture before you. (I) want to say a few things only. It is hoped that you will hear with love and patience. You should know that we people who believe in socialism preach that there are only two classes in the world. There are but two classes in the world and they are these: on the one hand, are the rich and, on the other, the poor. We are a few workers and peasants. These belong to the poor class and those who are rich, who make merriments with our income (belong) to the rich class. I want to invite your attention especially to this that you should note it full well. There are only two classes in the world; one is the poor (class) and the other the rich. The object of the poor is something else and that of the rich something else. At present what is the most inimical to us in the world is this Government. As this Government consists of the rich and of the foreigners, we are opposed to it and want to turn it out very soon. But (the mere fact that) I made a speech and another person made (a speech) cannot enable us to turn it out. (Mere) speeches will not do. What will be brought about will be brought about by our power. All the wars that take place in the world take place because of the poor (and) on our strength. It is we people because of whom disputes (and) quarrels take place. It is we who create them. Hindu-Muslim riots and Sikh-Muslim riots took place during the recent days. It is we who create them. We possess so much power that (we) can upset (*lit:* overthrow the plank of) the world. (We) can do what we like but (we) do not know how much power we possess (and) so we are lagging behind all in the world and have to face the calamities of the world. And if we come to know that we possess the power to upset the world and remove calamities and tyrannies, we can stand up today and can upset (*lit:* overthrow the plank of) the world. But what is Government. There are some ideas imbibed in us but we do not mind (and) so we stumble. Our leaders say that it is written in our destiny. It is unchangeable. Nothing can be done. This philosophy has ruined (us). This philosophy is not needed. It will be better when this Philosophy will be no more. But the world has now proved that this philosophy is nothing. We are human beings. (We) can do whatever we like. When it is so, what are destiny and fate. We shall have, therefore, to get ready for the thing we are making efforts for. For this we shall have to give up (the ideas of) destiny and fate.

If we shall not do so, we shall not be able to do anything for carrying out our object and resolution. We should be self-confident that we can do everything. We possess power. If we can conquer Germany by becoming the hirelings of the English, we can turn out these English also who are governing us in a tyrannical way and can make them leave bag and baggage, but we are selfish. Every one desires his own welfare. What is the reason for it. Around us prevails the idea of becoming rich very soon. We see that several of us are such *badmashes* that after *sic* squeezing our blood they first study (us) and then become rich by looting us. We also wish to become rich very soon. For this reason we are (also) selfish. We shall have to see this and note carefully the other thing (viz:) that we shall have to make efforts for the progress of the whole class and not an individual man, because the grief of one is the grief of all. If one person wishes to remove calamities, it cannot be done. If each man wishes to remove all this dispute: *begar* taxation, etc., they cannot be removed. In order to remove them all shall have to unite and act upon one principle. Singly they cannot do (this). For this reason bear in mind that whatever we shall do we shall do unitedly. We cannot do anything without it. I said that there are two classes in the world: one is the rich and the other the poor. The rights and interests of both of these clash with each other. The rich want to suck the blood of the poor. The poor want to attain salvation from the rich. (We) earn so much, suffer so much troubles, weave cloth, plough and prepare shoes, but we do not get bread. What is this system? Those who produce corn do not get (anything) to eat. After all, just consider a bit what sort of system it is. You produce thousands of maunds of grain, but a year hardly passes when (your stock of) grain runs short. (You) go to a *sakukar* (and) to the Government and complain that famine has broken out. What sort of system this is under which you who produce corn do not get it and weep. On the other hand are the people who weave cloth, weave *Pashmina* cloth (and) manufacture several things but you will not find a rag on their bodies. They do not get cloth (to cover with). What sort of this system is that what one produces one does not get. We want to remove this system. We want that the people may get what they produce. They should not live in huts. (They) should live in good houses. What sort of this system is? Those who always live in comfort and do not do the least work, live in pleasure and enjoy while we who work day and night in heat and cold do not get (anything) to eat and wear and a house to live in. This is the oppression, system and injustice we want to put an end to. This will not be done by talks but by organisation and when you will get ready that you do not accept a system under which you earn and others eat. Those who do

not do any work the whole day long, enjoy. They should not get anything. Those who do not work should not get bread. This is our movement. We want that our labourer, peasant and zamindar brethren who work with hands should realise that what we want is that if anyone should get bread in the world, it should be he who earns and none else. Such has happened in Russia. Russia is a country where this has happened. The Government will leave (this place) by ten years at the most. The Government will not exist (here). But everyone admits, Lord Irwin and all his advisers admit, that they all shall leave (this place) some day or other. But those people of theirs who are governing here will not go (*sic!*). We want that we should make sacrifices for Swaraj full well. Why? So that we may be able to take part in the next system and we should work so that the Government of workers and peasants who form 98 per cent (of the population) may be established and not that of the rich who form 2 per cent (of the population). We, therefore, want that we should fight for freedom. There is only one country in the world where exists the rule of labourers and peasants and that is Russia only. What is their condition? They were in distress ten years before as you are now. Just as famines take place in this country, you and children, etc, are starving, similarly bad condition was prevailing there. But they organised themselves and tried that they would not lead such a bad life and would improve their lot. Is this life that we lead? If you have read or know, I want to tell you, that lakhs of men die of hunger in India. Miss Agnes Smedley writes that India can become free today if the persons who die of starvation in India, exert for attaining freedom. We are today dying like dogs and cats in India. Some Englishmen came to see the condition of workers and peasants. They write that people are dying like dogs and cats in India but the Government is not moved in the least. The people overthrew Czarism in Russia. Czar was the most tyrannical king. (They over-threw his rule (*lit:* plank) and now the people are leading a good life. No tax, etc., is levied on land on which a man can live and they (Russians) lead their life very happily. The standard of their life and living is good. They do not ever feel any trouble about bread or anything else. The British Government had been (here) for the last 150 years, but during this period only 7 per cent (of the people) could be educated notwithstanding the fact that so much wealth is being looted but all that goes into the stomachs of big men or the rich people. It is not spent for us at all. The rest of the 93 per cent (of people) are ignorant and illiterate. They do not know what language is. Workers and Peasant's rule exists in Russia for 10 years. What has Russia done during this period? As many persons have been educated there as are illiterate here. When such a rule did not exist (there) and Czar's rule was in existence, 10 or 11 per cent could read (and write). So much progress

has been made today. Our civilised Government has been governing here for 150 years but no progress has been made. This is the curse which an alien Government can heap on another nation. If a sister does labour, at the time of child-birth, three months before and three months after that she gets remuneration and receive full pay and if she suffers from some other trouble, she gets gratuity or some other reward (lit: money). (While) here we work and die but we do not get food (to eat) and clothes to cover (our) bodies. This is our condition. You know how many persons there are in India who become prepared to commit suicide owing to unemployment and disappointment. This is the system we want wipe out. We want that injustice and oppression may be removed from the world. There should be justice in the world. This should not be the case that one man earns, works day and night but the income is utilised by someone else. I say what do they who charge interest do. They utilise your income (while) you earn. On what oppression this system is based? At present a person who possesses one thousand rupees need not do anything. He can sit idle and suck the blood of other persons. How sympathetic this Government of ours is? There is no limit to how much interest should be charged. When land revenue is to be paid, all know how much money do these money-lenders realise as interest. How unjust it is that if my father is in debt, I should go on paying the same the whole of my life! This is injustice. We want to wipe out and destroy this system which wants to keep us as such and want to annihilate this system of Government, this social system. Is it not injustice that the sons, grandsons and great grandsons of a man who incurs (a debt of) Rs. 1000/- cannot pay off that debt?. Like Satan's intestines it increases every year. The rich can sit idle and rob the poor. We do not want this. What we want is that this question of property should be done away with and that there should be no private property. Every one should work with hands and earn his (own) livelihood. All these sins are being committed and cases instituted simply because—are being committed and instituted simply because—there is private property and private ownership in the world. If this becomes extinct every thing can be wiped out. All those who believe in religion say that theft should not be committed, but I want to tell (you) that since thefts and adultery have always been committed in the same way (sic). But this can not be stopped so long as this system of Government exists. Destiny is nothing. You are not educated and so you are taken in. Famine is prevailing in these days. It will increase (the number of) thefts and all (sorts of) evils will spring up. When the world be prosperous, all these things decrease (in number). Theft and sin cannot be, then, committed in the world. They do not stop (at all) but (they) are not committed in such a large

number. In other words, these thefts and sins which those believing in religion say should come to an end cannot be stopped whatever they may say and preach unless the people get bread. These sins and evils that take place in the world take place (on account of) unemployment, hunger, scarcity of money and poverty. When the poor see that their neighbour is rich and that he enjoys despite his doing no work, he commits theft. Why do our sisters commit adultery? Look here; their husbands are dead. They cannot do anything according to society. She cannot remove her veil, nor can she do any work. She has children, etc. (when) none looks after her, what will she do? Brethren! She has no alternative but to sell her chastity and purity. What else should she do except to commit suicide? You might have read all this in newspapers (about) their our sisters who practise *Satti*, who maintain their chastity and commit suicide. During the recent days a woman practised *Satti*. Her husband went to Jail. She lost her employment. She goes to other people's houses and feeds her children. She could not pull on (and) began to incur debt. When she had got Rs. 10/- or 15/- (on loan), the people stopped giving loan to her. Children began to die of starvation. What will she now do? She has no course open to her except this that she should either sell her chastity or commit suicide. She gets ready to do so. She gets hold of her children at 12-0 mid-night. Throws one in a well (and) does the same with the other. She feels pity for the third daughter and sends her to her house and herself jumps into the well. In the morning she is taken out and produced in court. The girl also comes to the court and relates her whole story for which her mother had done all this. Should this system so much oppression is being practised be allowed to continue like this? How many youngmen there are who die being overrun by (lit: under) motors and trains? Why? Simply for the sake of stomach. Should such a system be allowed to be maintained? Brethren! This is the condition of our society and this system. We want that this society should be overthrown and such a society be established under which those who work with hands should get bread. Do you know who are entitled to vote at present? (As regards) those who are returned to the assembly or the councils the right to vote is given to mules and not to human beings. There was a man in America who had a mule. Those who possessed money could vote as is here in these days. Such is not the case there now. You see that mule the man had was (his) property. He had a right to vote on the strength of property. By chance that mule died. He could not then give vote. He considers how is it that the people are taking part in voting for the government (seats) of the country and he is not. He thinks that previously he had the right to vote because he had a mule. He thinks the right to vote was not given to him but to the mule. In these days also the right to vote has

been granted to property and houses but not to a human being. We want that the right to vote should be given to a human being who earns with his hands and not to a property or house. These are untouchables, are rich (sic). We want that the rich who possess money should be made untouchables but these untouchables should be uplifted. In our conference and the congress....(The balance appears here in the original Tr). We are not opposed to the Congress but we want to go ahead of the Congress. The Congress wants a rule of the black bureaucracy. Now it is the rule of the white bureaucracy. It wants black bureaucracy. Vakils and big men should rule. Again, they should rule like our English brethren and levy taxes, ect. But we want that since we want to turn out the English (and) the white bureaucracy, why should we keep black bureaucracy? (Cheers). We want that the rule of us, workers and peasants, be established. We want that we should turn out the English from here. The reason is (sentence incomplete) Several brethren have delivered lectures. Dr. Satyapal, Dr. Aalm and others have delivered lectures. What need have they of freedom? They are enjoying. It is we who require freedom. It is we who do not get clothes (and) bread. It is our children who are starving. It is we who want that Swaraj should be given to us before the Congress and that (we) might become free. While (working) side by side with the Congress we want to go ahead of it and attain Swaraj. Our condition can improve only if our Government is established and we get bread otherwise not. You shall, therefore, have to rise and protect your rights. We are indebted to the Congress in as much as it is working for 40-45 years. Shall we remain sleeping? Rise and establish a Swaraj in which we, workers and peasants should rule.

Brethren! Besides this we want that landlordism should be brought to an end. I have been told that in the districts of Lahore, Lyallpur, Gujranwala, ect., if a person is not called a landlord (Zamindar) he takes it ill. But I differentiate and have differentiated between a landlord and a peasant. A peasant who possesses 240 *kanals* or 30 *ghumaons* of land is a peasant and one who possesses more is a landlord. Every person should get 30 *ghumaons* of land. The rest of the people have no right to own (lit: keep) land more than this. We want that landlordism should be brought to an end. The land that is left behind should be distributed among other people. You should resolve this. He has become the owner of so much land simply because he has taken his birth in the house of a *rais* or landlord and we were born in the house of a poor peasant. This is injustice. He has not acquired land by working himself. He has inherited it from his father (and) grandfather and (he has no right) to practise oppression on us with this wealth, indulge in

profligacy and dishonour other's daughters and daughters-in-law. We want that land should be given to him who works with his hands, and not to him who lives in pleasures and goes after a year and realises money from the peasants and sends them to jail if they do not pay. You shall have to make this Government remit land revenue, etc. For this (purpose) you shall have to offer opposition to the Government. After this, when we have turned out the Government we shall have to do this that the lands should not be allowed to remain in possession of all landlords. At that time we shall have power and shall do every thing and the lands will be distributed among those who possess no land. Factories should be given to the labourers who work day and night in them. They should not be (allowed to remain) in possession of a rich man so that he might pocket crores of rupees like Birla. We do not want that there should be a despotic rule. We want that all are alike and that all should enjoy equal rights. I want to say that this state of things can be brought about only if you determine to do so. Our condition is bad and (we) shall realise it. We have to establish a Government of workers and peasants and not Swaraj.

Morild Husain

Urdu Translator

Sd/- Jaggat Singh.

S. I.

18.4.29

CONCLUDING SPEECH OF MIRAJKAR DELIVERED

on 26th July 1928. Vide P. 1704.

Mirajkar said:—As the strike Committee is going to hold its meeting here, it is necessary for us to vacate the hall early. But before closing the meeting I want to say one or two things. You know that some time back one Bengali and another old Madrasi had been to our meeting in Nagu Sayaji's Wadi. Both of them have been arrested and are in custody and in this way Government is trying to break that strike that has occurred on that railway. In order to strengthen that strike we are trying to declare strike on the G. I. P. Ry., at this time. If our enemy is prepared to kill us we must also take an axe and cut his neck. If the serpent were to come to bite us his neck must immediately be cut. If we did not do this we will be fools like ourselves. G. I. P. and B.B.C.I. must go to the assistance of the strike on S. I. Railway. There are rumours in the office that at the time of the enlistment of a gangman they now obtain his thumb impression on an agreement that he won't listen to strikers and won't take part in the strike. So it is the duty of the mill labourers, railway workmen, workmen in docks to declare strike. They charge us of many offences as long as we keep quiet. When we remain peaceful Mr. Long uses his lathi. So we shall bear it as long as we can. But when it becomes unbearable at that time we shall snatch the guns from the hands of your Police and will fire bullets on you. When it becomes unbearable we shall beat you with stones and lathis. As long as we can bear it, we shall bear it peacefully. Some unrest took place at Madras. Should we not feel for our starvation when you ask us to work on Rs. 6 a monthly. S. I. Railway gets more profit than the G. I. P. R. This being the case you give pay 6 Rs., 25 Rs. to Station Masters. It is no wonder if on account of this our brains are excited and in that excitement we crushed you, because we are men anyhow. Even the cattle get excited. For this reason we mill-labourers are quiet. I therefore tell them that they should not test our strength of endurance. It is very dangerous to test the poison. If you want to test the strength of the fire take it and place it on your house and see then how your house catches fire. If Mr. Petit and the Governor want to test the strength of the poison they should drink one cup of poison with a cup of brandy. On the day on which it (torture) becomes unbearable we shall take up blowing pipes Latane () guns, cannons and stones and will drive you out. I therefore ask you to remain peaceful so long you bear it (torture). But when it becomes unbearable we shall throw that package of peacefulness into the

sea. Then bring to your mind what will be the state in Bombay then and also the state of millowners. Don't compel us to go to the extremes. Don't trouble us who are poor—you must try to continue your strike. I don't think millowners will sit quiet up to Dasara. No body has uttered even a word about us in the Council. In the Council there are all pleaders and speakers in marwari Vidyalaya who are all impotent. If they had any manly spirit in them they would have immediately told the Governor to stop his speech and would have told him that he is their servant drawing 10,000 rupees. With one voice the people of India were to tell him he would run away. But these Councillors were quiet when the H. E. Governor was delivering his speech. These Councils are of capitalists. In the whole of India there are 33 crores of people and out of which only 60 lacs of people have got a right of voting. As long as we have no right of voting, our representatives cannot go to the Council. There are representatives of the millowners. If there would have been our representatives like Dada (i. e. Jhabwala) and if the Governor were to give such a speech he would have resorted to stick. You must keep up your unity you must keep your union. Remember that if the peasants and the labourers were to be united then these Councils will blow into the air with their one breath. We do not believe in Councils. These Councils do not belong to us but to the Capitalists. Remember that if we keep movements like, strike processions alive one day Capitalism and Imperialism will perish. We must consider in what way we must carry on our movement and we shall one day hoist our red flag in place of the Union-Jack.

*Concluding speech of Mirajkar delivered on 6th August 1928—
Vide P. 1768.*

Mirajkar said:—I am going to stop the issuing of tickets of my Punjab mail and before closing the meeting I will speak a few words. The first thing is that there is no meeting to-morrow morning. In the evening there are two meetings. One at Bakarycha Adda and the other at Tardev. One man by name Sitaram had confessed before God to perform the worship of Satya Narayan when Nimbkar was arrested. That worship was to be performed tomorrow. But as we want to keep our picketing vigorously to-morrow that worship is postponed till Thursday and I invite you to attend it. We have shown a good determination upto now. We had 17 demands. In the last month and a half 3 more are added and if the strike would prolong the number would go to 22. Remember that every week we are add 3 more demands to the demands already put forth and in this way we want to compel the millowners to sell his turban. It is our determination to obtain all our demands. Our labour movement is increasing. The reason of this is that the labourers are prepared to fight with the millowners. The millowners have no courage to fight with the labourers and their leaders. We labourers tell them that we are not prepared to become their slaves nor the slaves of the Govt. We have done slavery, we have served in the Police, we have served in the military, went on war and made our wives and children helpless. But what has the Govt. done for us in return. The Govt. is ruling over India for the last 150 years, and call themselves as civilized Govt. They wear good clothes. Governour comes, Viceroy comes but what have these rascal men done to improve the condition of the labourers. When they have not done anything for us, the labourers of India have resolved to crush the Capitalism and Imperialism and bury both in a ditch if we establish our rule and got the things done according to our comforts, where is the offence? This is my question to the Governor Earl Winterton (whom he addressed as Vatana and Harbara) said in the Parliament that the Communist movement in India must be suppressed. We tell him that the labourers are fighting for their stomach. The labourers are not fighting on the advice of 2 or 3 men. In the whole of India there are strikes. Are they done upon the advice of 2 or 3 men? You, Govt., capitalists Railway companies, Tram companies, Docks have resolved to crush the labourers by putting them to starvation. But we labourers will not tolerate it. We shall bring about a revolution. We shall fight with you and crush you and the labourers have resolved to hoist their red flag in India. Our strike will end tomorrow. Your fathers will have to grant us our demands. Shortly your prostitution and enjoyment in motor cars and bungalows will be stopped and you won't be able

to see your purses of money for a long time. You have carried them by looting us. We shall not allow to continue such dacoity and knavery henceforth. The labourers in Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and all over India know full well that they cannot live as long as the British Government is here and as long as capitalism and imperialism are prevailing and therefore the labourers have resolved to crush imperialism and capitalism by withdrawing our brothers who are in the Police and in the military and asking them to fire their bullets upon you and in this way one day we shall establish our labour Govt. by bringing about a revolution though to-day the strikes are continued in a peaceful manner. That work will be taken in hand after the end of the strike. By forming our union we must lay the foundation stone of our rule. There ought to be a very big union of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of labourers in Bombay. After we have formed our union within 6 months we shall build a hall to sit in for hours. Today we have no place to sit in. We must have a hall for us. We shall form unions of the labourers in docks, railways, Tramways, sweepers and all such others, and one day amalgamate them together and then we shall tell the Governor to show us how he goes through streets in Bombay where there is his rule. We shall not give an empty threat, because the labourers are not accustomed to give empty threats; but such threats are given by educated unachs who do not understand the importance of the labour movement and the strength in it. We shall show that the threat is true. The labourers have enormous strength. All the articles of luxury and all the wealth in the world are produced upon our exertions. We shall make use of our strength and attack our enemy and crush him. Our success is coming in sight. This is a fight of Kauravas and Pandavas for 14 days. Be prepared to fight on behalf of Pandvas. Keep Peace, don't make crowd on the road and I am sure we shall be successful.

P. 1711

Concluding speech of Mirajkar delivered on 10th August, 1928—Vide P. 1711.

Mirajkar said:—Our Sardar was sent and he arrested 3 millowners (pointing to a small bundle of frogs tied in a piece of cloth). This bundle contains 3 frogs and the means Sassoon, Fazalbai and Petit. I tell these three frogs that we have arrested them and they can not get themselves free, the labourers are taking a step further. We have taken a programme on our head to establish the rule of peasants and labourers. You know the programme which Shivaji undertook when he came forward to establish the rule of Marathas. He first of all moved through villages and found out strong and robust men who would be helpful to him in fighting. The names of those are Tanaji, Yesaji and Baji. He created such Sardars. If I were to assume the guise of Shivaji my Sardars Yessajee and Tanaji and Baji will be these, three strikers (He pointed at the 3 strikers). Though Shivaji was imprisoned at Bijapur by Mohomedan King still in his absence the three Sardars by means Yessajee, Tanajee and Baji conducted Marathi Govt. to-day if the leaders of the labourers and some labourers are put into jail we shall shafely remain there by eating two breads of "Bajari". The mill owners have no courage to come before us. We have kept in coustody the three big mill owners from millowners. The labourers will obtain their demands from the millowners or else they would put them to a great loss. When the road becomes clear we are to go futher by the footpath; and one day all the moneys in Railways, in the world, are to be made as property of labourers. You are the real owners of them. But that ownership of yours is snatched away from you by a handful of men. And we who are oppressed have awakened and tell these handful of men that the labourers and peasants class which is the enemy of yours have now awakened and will not allow them henceforth to eat peacefully and we are to take back from them what they have snatched away from us. One day the labourers would take revenge and would establish the rule of the labourers and peasants in this country. We shall drive out these English men; and we shall crush these debaucherous capitalists and Sardars to dust. Thus we shall improve the condition of the poor who are so much oppressed and will provide for the education of their sons, and we shall make such arrangements so that their wives and children will pass their days in happiness. Resolve to establish labour rule and try in that direction even though you are

required to suffer hardships. If the labourers in India were to resolve in this way there is no power in the world that would come in the way of their resolution. We shall win our struggle and after the strike is over we shall try to create an awakening amongst the labourers to establish their rule. To establish the rule is not like eating bread and mutton, but you are required to sacrifice your lives. With these words I tell you to go home peacefully and remain peaceful. When the day of our success will dawn the labourers in Bombay will raise their "Gudies".

P. 1007 [P]

Photo of P-1007.

P. 1007 (a)

Draft of Deputy Commissioner, Bombay's letter dated 13. 9. 27 to D.I.B.'s office.

P. 1029

20/11/28

The first meeting of the Executive Committee was held at K. on Tuesday the 20th Nov. 1928. Five members Solidarity, Tenacity, Liberty, Fraternity and were present.

The Committee discussed and decided on the course of study for the Circle. The meeting was dissolved at 8 p. m.

Fraternity

Hon. Secretary

25/11/28

The Executive Committee met at M. M. on Sunday the 25th Nov 1928 at M.M. at 4 P.M. was absent having left a note for the Hon. Secretary giving his reasons for not attending. The Committee decided that had not given sufficient and valid reasons for his absence and called upon the Secretary to ask him to submit the cause of his absence at the next meeting of the Executive Committee. After this the Committee decided to have lectures by

different members for the first few weeks. The next meeting of the Committee was fixed for Sunday 1st Dec at 4 p. m. at M. M.

Fraternity.

Hon. Secretary.

The Executive Committee met at M. C. on Dec. 16th. It was decided to hold two meetings a week. viz. on Sundays and Wednesdays.

Fraternity

Hon. Secretary

(Equality)

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the circle held at K—on Wednesday the 16th of Jan., 29. it was decided.

1. That each member of the circle should be fully authorised to form new circles, directly affiliated to and guided by the Executive Committee of the Central circle.
2. That Liberty & Fraternity members of the circle, who are due for their Exams; in April next should be exempted from writing the resume of the work done in the meetings till they are free.

Sagacity

“Liberty”

Chairman

Hon. Sec.

20-1-29

The Executive Committee of the circle met on Sunday the 20th Jan. 29. When the minutes of the last meeting were read and passed.

Equality

“Liberty”

Chairman

Hon. Secy.

23-1-29

The Executive Committee of the circle met on Wed: the 3rd Jan. '29 when the following resolutions were passed:—

1. “That Fraternity & Sagacity be asked to send their reasons in writing for absence from the circle meeting and explain why they did not inform the Secy. in time.
2. That Tenacity should speak to the members of the circle on “Comradship & Discipline” at the next meeting of the circle.

Chairman

“Liberty”

27. 1. 29

Hon. Secy.

The Executive Committee of the circle met at K—on Sunday the 27th Jan '29, when the following resolution was passed.

1. Solidarity moved a vote of censure on fraternity seconded by Equality, for absence from the meetings of the circle without previous information.
2. The meeting considered that this should be amended as follows:—

“That this meeting of the Executive considers Fraternity’s inability to attend these last 2 meetings & thinks that his indifferent attitude & wrong mentality towards the circle, as well as his negligence in not notifying in writing the secy. of his absence, as required to do so by the constitution, calls for severe condemnation. The circle considers it to be in the interest of Fraternity to issue to him such a warning as might check his wavering mentality.”

3. “Tenacity moved that the business proposed in clause 2 in the last meeting of the executive for the next meeting of the circle, be postponed to the next meeting.”
4. That the members of the circle should now directly get into touch with Comrade B—and others.

Chairman

“Liberty”

3-2-29

Hon. Secy. —

The Executive Committee of the circle met at N—R—on Sunday the 3rd Feb: '29; but the business was postponed to next meeting due to presence of Comrade K—who did not belong to the circle.

Chairman

“Liberty”

6-2-29

Secretary, —

The Executive Committee of the circle met at N—R on Wednesday the 6th Feb: 1929. The following resolutions were discussed:—

1. Fraternity proposed that on Sundays the meeting of the circle should be held from three to five to enable members to attend any other social meeting, that may be useful.

The motion was put to vote and thrown out.

2. Equality moved a resolution which was postponed due to the absence of a member of the Executive.

Sagacity

Equality

Chairman

Secy.

The Executive Committee of the circle met at N—R on Sunday the 10th Feb 1929.

Tenacity gave a talk on Comradely behaviour. Comrade K— also spoke on the same subject.

13th Feb 1929.

Equality

Chairman

Secretary

Tenacity.

The Executive Committee of the circle met at N—R. on Wednesday the 13th Feb: 1929. As nothing was put forward before the Committee, so the meeting of the Executive Committee was not held due to a meeting at Khar.

Solidarity

Equality

27-2-29

Sect.

The Executive Committee of the circle met at N—R on Wednesday the 20th Feb. 1929.

1. Liberty's proposal was considered by the Committee and discussed. It was decided by a majority that there was not time enough for it just at present and so the proposal was withdrawn.

As there was nothing more to be done the meeting was dissolved

Liberty

Chairman

Equality

3.3.29

The Executive Committee of circle met at K—on Wednesday the 28th Feb: 1929.

Liberty

Chairman

Equality

3. 3. 29

The Executive Committee of the circle met at N—R on Sunday the 3rd March 1929.

Fraternity attitude was a subject of discussion. It was resolved that Tenacity should be deputed to elicit from Fraternity, his real attitude towards the circle.

Sagacity

Equality

Cairman

Sect.

The Executive Committee of the circle met at N—R on Wednesday the 6th March 1929.

- (i) Fraternity's resignation was accepted unanimously, and a reply was written on behalf of the circle.
- (ii) It was decided to begin the reading of Marx's Capital along with the study of Leninism.

Chairman

Equality

10th March 1929

The Executive Committee of the circle met at K—on Sunday the 10th March.

Fraternity resolution was discussed and passed.

13th March 1929

Equality

Chairman

Sect.

The Executive Committee of the circle met at the M. C. on Wednesday the 13th March 1929.

Tenacity gave an explanatory talk on the Resolution of the last meeting.

Chairman

March 17th 1929.

Equality

Tenacity.

Secretary

The Executive Committee of the circle met at Khar on the 17th March 1929 and discussed certain aspects of discipline.

Solidarity

Secretary

P. 1030

The circle met on Wednesday 26th Dec. 1928 at K. The minutes of the last meeting were read and ratified. The summary of the portion of the chapter on "The International Situation", from Stalin's "Leninism" was then read by Equality. The rest of the chapter was gone through and discussed. After this certain parts

of "Stentor, or the Press of Today or Tomorrow" by David Ockham were read. The meeting closed at 8 P. M.

"Liberty."

Hon. Secretary

Fraternity

The circle met on Sunday 30th Dec. 1928 at D. T. The summary of the second portion on "The National Situation" was read by Liberty. A new chapter "The Foundation of Lenism" was begun. After a portion had been read and discussed the meeting came to an end at 7 P. M.

Hon. Secretary

Fraternity

"Equality"

Chairman.

Addendum—In view of the fact that the International situation has developed considerably since 1925 the circle thinks it to be necessary to hold a discussion at a future date on the recent developments.

The circle met at D. T. on Wednesday 2nd January 1929. The summary of the first portion of "The Foundations of Leninism" were read by Fraternity.

Hon. Secretary

Fraternity.

"Liberty"

Chairman

6-1-29.

The circle met at the G. M. C. on Sunday, 6th Jan. 1929. The further portion of "Foundation of Leninism" was read and discussed. The circle dissolved at 6.

"Liberty"

Hon. Secretary

"Fraternity"

Chairman

9-1-29

The circle met at G.M.C. on Wednesday, the 9th Jan. 1929, when the summary of the next portion of the "Foundations of Leninism" was read by Equality. There a further portion of the same

part of the Book was read and discussed. The circle dissolved at 6 P. M.

"Liberty"

Hon. Secy.

Tenacity

Chairman

16-1-29

The circle met at K—on Wednesday the 16th on Jan. 29. when the summary of the next portion of the "Foundations of Leninism" was read by Liberty. There a further portion of the same part of the book was read and discussed. The circle dissolved at 7. 30 P.M.

"Liberty"

Hon. Secy:

'Sagacity'

Chairman

20/1/29.

The circle met at K—on Sunday 20th Jan: 29. When the summary of the next portion of the "Foundations of Leninism" was read by Equality. There a further portion of the same part of the Book was read. The circle dissolved at 5. 30 P.M.

"Liberty"

Hon: Secy.

Equality

Chairman

23-1-29.

The circle met at K—on Wednesday 23th Jan: 29 when the summary of the nex portion of the "Fo undations of Leninism" was read by solidarity the circle dissolved at 8 P. M.

"Liberty"

Hon. Secy.

'Sagacity'

Chairman

27-1-29

The circle met at K—on Sunday, 27th Jan: 29. When a

further portion of the "Foundations of Leninism" was read. The circle dissolved at 8 P. M.

• "Liberty"

Hon. Secy.

Tenacity.

Tenacity

Chairman

30-2-29

The circle met at Jinnah Hall on Wednesday, 30th Jan. When its members attended a meeting of the students of Bombay protesting against the autocratic attitude of the Principal of the Gujrat College. Comrades Tenacity and Liberty spoke on the occasion.

"Liberty"

Hon. Secy.

Chairman

6-2-29.

The circle met at N-R on Sunday the 3rd Feb. 1929. Wh Comrade K—gave his interpretation of the Kidnapping scare in Bombay. It was decided to write a letter to the Editor, Indian National Herald, pointing out the misleading nature of the headlines used in his papers.

Fraternity

"Liberty"

Chairman

Hon. Secy.

6-2-29

The circle met at N-R. on the 6th Feb. 1929 when the chapter strategy and tactics was continued.

10th Feb. 1929

Equality

Secretary.

The cricle met at N-R. on Sunday the 10th Feb. 1929. A portion of the chapter of "Strategy and tactics" was read. The circle dissolved at 6-30 P. M.

13th Feb. 1929.

Equality

Chairman

Secretary.

Tenacity.

The circle met at N-R. on Wednesday the 13th Feb. 1929. The remaining portion of "the chapter" "Strategy and Tactics" was read. The circle dissolved at 6-30 P. M.

Feb. 19th 1929.

Equality

Chairman

Secretary:

Fraternity.

The circle met at the Khar Youth League premises when Tenacity delivered a lecture on the world situation.

Solidarity

Equality

Secretary

The circle met at K—on 28th Feb. 1929. A portion from Status Leninism was read. The circle dissolved at 6 P. M.

"Liberty"

Equality

Chairman

Secretary

3rd March 1929.

The circle met at N—R. on Sunday the 3rd March 1929. A portion from Status Leninism was read and discussed. The circle dissolved at 6 P. M.

Sagacity

Equality

Chairman.

Secretary

The circle met N. R. on Wednesday the 6th March 1929. The summary of the chapter party was read. A further portion of the book was also read and discussed.

10th March 1929.

Equality

Chairman.

Sect.

To

Comrade Liaquat,

On behalf of the circle I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 5th Inst. announcing your resignation from the circle, and I have to inform you the circle is agreed to accept the same.

While the circle deplores the fact that Comrade—Liaquat, who began this work so enthusiastically should find it impossible to devote a little time to it now. It however feels a certain amount of satisfaction in the fact that Liaquat has at last made up

his mind. The circle does not want half-hearted sympathy, or take
warm cooperation.

Your faithfully.

Sect.

P. 1277 (A)

Twelveth Annual Report of the Labour Research Department (1923-24).

P. 1496 (A)

Second saloon

Berth	Name
P. 217	Mr. P. Glading.

P. 1496 (B)

Form No. 59/1923

No. 14821

Date 28th March 1925.

Name Mr. P. Glading

A/C Thos Cook & Son. Ltd. Coupon No. 72531.

From BOMBAY

To Marseilles.

Date 10th April 1925.

Steamer " Razmak "

Fare £ 56 @ 1/5 $\frac{3}{4}$ = Rs 748/-

Berth No. 217. " A " Accom.

P. 1505 (a)

A 225290

1348

Confirmation of Telegraphic payment.

Head Office

London Office 1-5-1928

Bombay Office.

Dear Sirs,

We hereby confirm our telegram of even Date,

Indicate here
the method
of payment.

requesting you to* supply travellers cheques

† Full name of
payee.

to† Mr. B. F. Bradley, Hotel Apollo

for the sum of One hundred pounds stg.

Yours truly,

For THOS. COOK & SON (BANKERS.) LTD.

£ 100-0-0 T/ Chgs

Amount in Figures.

PRQ. MANAGER.

The above payment was sent under instructions

from H. P. Rathbone

(1318/8/27. G.) 108A.—100 Bks.

P. 1506 (a)

THOS. COOK & SON (Bankers) Ltd.

INCORPORATED IN ENGLAND.

TRANSLATION OF TELEGRAM.

TELEGRAM FROM Sydney TIME OF DESPATCH 5.12.28

DATE 5.12.28 (5 P. M.)

Pay on demand against proper receipt to Jack Rayn.

Rs. 650/- (Rupees six hundred & fifty only)

TRANSLATED & ENTERED BY	}	Sd. Illegible	CIPHER VERIFIED BY
CHECKED BY		Sd. Illegible	
			AUTHORISED BY

P. 1506 (b)

No. A 221650

Confirmation of Telegraphic Payment

SYDNEY. Office 5—DEC. 1928

Bombay. Office.

Dear Sirs,

**Indicate here the method of payment.* We hereby confirm our telegram of even date, requesting you to* pay to † Jack Ryan

† Full name of payee. the sum of six hundred and fifty Rupees, only

Rs. 650=0=0

Yours truly,
Sd. Illegible

Amount in Figures.

*The above payment was sent under instructions from Twright.
(1318/8/27. G.) 108 A.—100 Bks.*

P. 1796 (a)

The First Indian Communist Conference.

It is now generally known that the first session of the Indian Communist Conference will be held during the coming December side by side with the session of the Congress at Cawnpore. Maulana Hasrat Mohani has been elected chairman of the reception Committee at a meeting of the party on 20th September last, and Mr. Saklatvala M. P. has been elected president of the Conference. The name of Mr. Saklatvala is now familiar to every newspaper reader in India, while, to the labour class he is a trusted leader and guide.

It is not our intention here to dwell at any length on the need and usefulness of our conference. There are at present in the country several institutions devoted to politics such as the Congress, the Swaraj Party, the Home Rule League and the Liberal Federation etc. Similarly for the upliftment of the peasants and labourers there are the Trade Union Congress and Kisan Sabhas and the like. But none of these can be said to be working with a view to help the labourers and peasants in asserting their rights in the country's administration and to enhance their political importance. The Kisan and Mazdur Unions merely touch the fringe of the question in as much as they try to remove temporary grievances, while the Congress and other political bodies only aim at their own political aggrandisement by agitating amidst the peasants and labourers. All such activities can not be said to flow in right channel as the real objective is left in the back ground. Workers and farmers are the only producers of all commodities necessary for our existence and it is, therefore, their right to get the highest place in the society and the first voice in the government of the country. We could say without being charged with vanity that the Communist Party is the only institution which aims at gaining the object in question.

And why should the Communist Party attach so much importance to farmers and labourers? Because we all have known the grim fact that the salvation of the country without the salvation of the man who ploughs the land and hews the wood is altogether impossible. The object of gaining Swaraj must remain unaccomplished so long as the labouring classes do not take an active part in our political fight. And this is impossible until and unless that class knows that we have cast in our lot with them. Occasional outburst of oratory and tempting political programmes may, for a while enlist their sympathy but the end is

doomed, as it has proved to be at the end of non-cooperation movement in 1921—22.

Our appeal is directed mainly towards the youths of the country. Let them ponder over what we say. In the recent past most powerful of our institutions have failed and expressed their importance to find the right clue to political emancipation of India. The non-cooperation movement, no doubt, showed a revolutionary character in its former days, but its fall was as rapid as its rise, thanks to the idealism of Mahatma Gandhi. The country requires now some practical programme and solid work and looks upto its youngmen to take it up. We hope that the work for which the Communist Party stand pledged should appeal to every body.

We, therefore, extend our cordial invitation to all persons who have sympathy with the aims of our party to attend the conference. Those who are striving after complete independence of the country are also requested to take part in it.

To members of the party and its helpers we appeal for funds as to meet the expenses of the conference. At the lowest estimate Rs. 3000 has to be collected, though on a more lavish scale a sum of 10 to 12 thousands could be spent. This sum of Rs. 3000, however, does not include the travelling expenses of Mr. Saklatvala, if we have to meet them, as most probably we will have to, so that we will require another two thousand in that case. Every member of the Party can become a member of the Reception Committee by subscribing Rs. 5. The general public can help by sending donations. From that richest class of people helping the 'big' political bodies we expect but very little, in fact nothing, and our hopes are centred mainly on that small and yet ardent section of our people who have faith in the future of communism and the freedom of the country. Our appeal for funds is free from all compulsion or undue influence, and we hope our members and sympathiesers will extend their help willingly.

The following are the principle questions to be discussed and decided by the conference,

Change of Party's name:—An important question before us is the name of the party. The principle aim of communism is the control of the wealth of country by whole society and to make every person equal partner of it. We believe in the truth of this principle and try our best to carry it into practice. But many of our friends urge us to connect the Indian communist party with the communist parties of other lands and specially with the Communist International of Moscow as an indispensable condition. Without such connection it is a misnomer, in their opinion, to call

this organization a communist party. We have already pointed out in a previous communication that such a step is not possible for us owing to the fact that the Government will at once try to suppress our activities on the slightest move towards this direction. It should be at once admitted that we are not in a position to employ violent methods in the pursuit of our propaganda as is the case with the communist parties of other countries. Moreover as long as we are a subject race our opinion can have no effect in international politics at all. The question, therefore, that confronts us, is one of securing independence for the country above all other questions, without which we are unable to accomplish any solid work either within the field of communism or other fields. It is desirable that due attention should be paid to the question of name and to alter it if the majority of the members favour such a change.

Help from foreign countries:—Other friends have suggested from time to time to approach the Communist International of Moscow with the intention to get its financial help for our propaganda in this country. But those friends are evidently forgetting that such a step is quite impossible and is highly injurious to our interests. We remind all our well-wishers to banish such impracticable ideas from their minds. It is by trusting our own right arm that we can do whatever little good to our country that is possible for us to do. Even if we succeed in getting financial help from across the seas, it is much more likely to corrupt and degrade us than to be of some real service to the country in the present state of India. We would, therefore, sound a note of warning to all our members and well wishers to beware of all those who approach them, pretending to be acting on behalf of this party, with such ridiculous propositions which may proceed either out of selfish motives or from secret agents of the Government. For us the way is plainly chalked out—the way of self-denial and suffering. Through these alone we can be able of any service to the masses of India.

Our connection with the congress:—Then there is a section of people who imagine that we do not desire any connection with the congress or that we are even opposed to it. That is not the truth. We must, however, say that the congress at the present moment has become the exclusive property of a few particular leaders and it is far from speaking the truth that it really represents the masses of India. In spite of solemn promises in the past the leaders have miserably failed to turn their attention towards the welfare of peasants and labourers. We have in fact heard bitter complaints about the apathy of the congress leaders from those poor people who pay towards the maintenance of the

institution. It is true that the activities of the leaders are many sided and they do not possess sufficient resources which are necessary to execute this great work, nevertheless, it can not be denied that the interests of landed aristocracy and the capitalist class have the first hold on their attention. After all the congress is a well established and influential institution and the best interests of the country require us to reform it and not to go against it. We appeal to all members of the party to become also members and delegates of the congress with the intention of changing it into an instrument of service to our people.

Subscription to Membership:—At present every member of the Indian communist party has to pay annas four as annual fee, but the idea often appeared to us to be against the principles of communism. We are aiming at abolishing the money standard from all the world over. We are, therefore, of opinion not to charge any fee from members in future but to depend on their good-will and voluntary help.

In the end we trust that all members and others who believe in the work of the communist party will consider these questions and be present at the conference, so that with their help the party may be able to justify its existence.

SATYA BHAKTA,

Secretary

The Indian Communist Party.

Cawnpore
12th October 1925.)

Imperial Press,—Cawnpore.

P. 1796 (b)

The future programme of the Indian Communist Party.

Nine months have elapsed since the Indian Communist Party came into existence. The membership of the party has reached about 250 upto this time. Its voice has gone far and wide and there is no province in India in which we have not our members. Recently several members and other persons have asked certain

questions about the party and they want to know its future activities.

(1) Some persons say 'what is the Communist party doing ? It has not begun any organising work among peasants and workers, nor has it been doing any propaganda. What practical work has it done except enlisting some members ?' We accept these remarks as true. But we desire to say that our critics do not know the real position of the Indian Communist Party. When we started this party people generally considered it an illegal organisation and expected its immediate suppression by the Government. We ourselves were not quite sure about our position and were anticipating some sort of obstruction from the Govt. side before the party could achieve any amount of success. It was for this reason that I considered it advisable to give only my name as secretary publicly and let other persons remain as ordinary members. The only aim that we had in our mind then, was to establish the right of forming a Communist Party in India openly. Undoubtedly, the Govt. attempted to suppress this party, but owing to our open policy and straight forward methods, it could not find its way to do so. After a long struggle the party has been established on a rightful basis and it is only now that we are in a position to start any practical and important propaganda work.

(2) Some of our members have urged that we should extend our organisation so that every province may have a branch. We think this to be premature. There are very few persons in India who really understand anything about communism. We are unable to find out a dozen true and efficient workers here. Several persons prove unscrupulous in money matters. Besides they become frightened at the slightest danger. It is better not to start work at all than to entrust responsibility in the hands of such persons. Therefore we think it more advisable to keep for the present only a central office and to exert our whole strength in this direction. We shall be able to enlarge our organisation easily, when that will become deeply rooted.

(3) The financial position of the party is not sound. During the past nine months we could publish only four small leaflets. We were unable to send necessary messages to the press and our rules and regulations are still unpublished. It is obvious that the power of the proletariat class is increasing daily, and it is certain that after some time we shall have all necessary means at our disposal. But we have at present a most important period of history before us and it is our foremost duty to organise Indian peasants and workers and to create class consciousness among them. If we

fail to fulfil this work in near future our country will remain much behind the rest of the world. Kisan Sabhas and Mazdur Unions have done little work under their bourgeois leaders towards this end, but nothing has been done on communistic lines, which is the only way for the emancipation of these suppressed classes.

(4) Some friends advised us to affiliate the Indian Communist Party with the Third International of Moscow and to send delegates to its annual session. It is a difficult task for us. Indian Government is much hostile to the Third International and it has sentenced several Indian communists for being in communication with it. But we have not become hopeless altogether. The communist parties of Britain, Australia, S. Africa etc. have been affiliated with the Comintern (Third International) and send delegates to its congress regularly. While the parties of all these countries, which are within the British Empire, are entitled to have connections with the Comintern, why should the Indian Communist Party alone be deprived of her rights ? We will continue our fight with the Government for this right and hope that the final victory will be ours.

(5) One thing we want to make clear: The Indian Communist Party is absolutely an independent body. Our relation with the Comintern is of the nature of friendship and mutual sympathy as followers of the same principle. We are not ready to tie our hands, nor do we want to take orders or instructions from others. No doubt, we want to change the present system of Indian Society and Government according to the communistic principles but only with due regard to the conditions and mentality of Indian people.

PROGRAMME

(6) In order to organise Indian peasants, labourers and other working people and with a view to the betterment of their condition, the Indian Communist party resolved to adopt the following programme:—

(a) In these days there are several Kisan sabhas (peasants' unions) in U.P. and other provinces. They are striving after some reforms. But as long as landlordism exists in India peasants cannot become happy and prosperous. That they should pay something to the Govt. is after all acceptable. But there is no reason why these middlemen or commission agents be allowed to exist. But until the victory of the proletariat class, landlordism cannot be abolished entirely. Even now the Govt. and leaders of our country, if they really desire the betterment of the peasants, can

improve the present condition to a great extent. In our opinion peasants should be entitled to pay their rent direct to the Govt. who may pay to the landlords their share. They should not be allowed to have any other connection with or control over the peasants. In this way while landlords will lose nothing of their legitimate income, they and especially their servants will no longer be able to rob peasants in the shape of unlawful taxes and gratuities. For this purpose the Indian Communist Party will agitate among peasants and will urge upon all new and old Kisan Sabhas to work in the suggested manner.

(b) The Indian workers unions are generally mis-managed. They have become tools in the hands of the bourgeoisie and the friends of the capital. According to our opinion a minimum living wage should be fixed for workers of all grades, and they should not be required to work more than 44 hours a week. Workers themselves should be office bearers of their organisations. Other persons who are well-wishers of the working class should help them from outside. But nowadays such persons want to be dictators and leaders of workers without doing any real service to them. Communist party will organise workers on the new lines and will create the sense of self-help in them.

(c) We want to start communist reading rooms of clubs in every big city. Many persons wish to know something about communism, but they have no means to fulfil their desire. They can not obtain communistic literature easily. In such places every one will be able to study communism and improve his knowledge by interchange of thoughts and views.

(d) We urgently need some newspapers in vernacular languages. It is absurd to think that we can spread communism in India through English papers. Many papers in India express sympathy with masses, but there is none to carry on regular propaganda for organising and uplifting the peasants and workers. Even staunch nationalist papers hesitate to create class consciousness in the Indian proletariat and their only purpose is to use these people in political fight.

(e) In spite of the admitted need of communistic literature there is not a single authentic book on communism in any Indian vernacular. Books should also be written on the present miserable condition of peasants and workers.

(f) Our work cannot be completed only with the help of papers and books. We have to prepare a fairly large number of propagandists who will go through villages and workshops and organise the masses.

(7) This is the only programme for the emancipation of the working class and to relieve our country from all kinds of miseries. Every commodity in the world is produced by the workers, but the parasites take away lion's share of it. When these 90 p. c. people will become organised to protect the product of their labour the remaining 10 p. c. will find no other alternative, but to surrender to the majority. The organised action of the peasants, labourers and other working people is a force which can remove all the evils prevailing in society and state without any injustice or violence on our part. The only necessary condition is that on seeing the growth of the power of proletariat class, the present Govt. which is a part of the capitalist system should not become unjust and oppressive. But Govt, even if they adopt oppressive measures cannot become successful, because without the help of workers it will soon be crippled. But in that condition the reorganisation of the society cannot be effected peacefully and the people will have to undergo much needless suffering.

(8) It is the first part of our programme. Owing to the financial difficulties it will take much more time than what is necessary. In spite of it we will be able to do some real work in this year. The next session of the Indian National Congress will be held in Cawnpore. We can make a strong organisation of our party at that time and find some workers and helpers to fulfil our programme. It is expected that an Indian Communist Conference will be held at the same occasion.

(9) Our ultimate aim is to have complete freedom established in India resulting in the formation of the society in which justice will be predominant in the place of money and every person will have equal rights and opportunities. But this cannot be accomplished soon. We have, therefore, included only such items in our programme which are feasible at the present time. If our members and sympathisers will take up the work earnestly, we shall be able to convert the Indian Communist Party into a most powerful organisation. All other public societies and parties of India are under the control or influence of rich men and they cannot go against the capitalists and landlords. If these parties can procure Swaraj for India it will be no better for the poor. The only difference in that Swaraj will be that Indian officers and rulers will take the place of Englishmen, and it is not at all certain that they will prove better than their predecessors. But the Communist party is determined to establish a true Swaraj in India. We sincerely believe that all the working people and other friends of the poor will help us in this great undertaking and we ourselves shall see that day when free India shall occupy an equal

place among other nations of the world, where not a child will go hungry and naked.

CAWNPORE,

18 th. June 1925.

Satya Bhakta,

Secretary,

the Indian Communist Party,

[Address:—Patkapur (Near Chhatta)].

Printed by Mannilal Awasthi, at the 'National Press', Cawnpore.

P. 1796 (c)

Dr. Ansari.

ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE,

LUCKNOW.

Regret	absence	due	strike
no	support	Constitution	based
on	Dominion	Status.	

NIMBKAR.

C/o, Bombay Provincial Congress Committee,

Banger House 4111 Girgaon Bk. Rd.

27/8/28

Bombay —4—

P. 1796 [d]

O MC MADRAS T 20 18 MUZAFARAHMED
GNANAVANI 2/1 EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE
CALCUTTA

UNAVOIDABLE ABSENCE FROM OUR CONFERENCE
WISHING ALL SUCCESSAWMY

This form must accompany any Inquiry respecting this Telegram.

Karim Bux Bros. Printers, Calcutta—334 (B-72)—18.6.28—40,000 Bks.

P. 1796 (e)

"Socialist" dated 2. 7. 24 containing "Appeal for funds"
by the Indian Communist Defence Committee." In connection
with Cawnpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case.

P. 2121 (P1)

Madras 20-10-26

My dear friend,

Just on my return from Bombay yesterday I got your letter
safe. The enclosed one will be duely sent to the Comrade.

I am so sorry to hear of your difficulties and pray I would be
of some use to you some day.

While in Bombay I saw your letter to Ghate. All of us are
in the same unsettled state of mind as regard the Conference. I
am writing to Bag today & shall let you know on receipt of his
reply.

It would be indeed better if we could hold the Conference in Bombay itself. But others' Convenience should be looked to. Here-with a letter to one Nassim from above I got by last mail. Please dispatch it to him safely. Com Bag brought & gave me a letter from this Nassim to be sent there and this is the reply to it. I think you know who this Nassim is. Probably he is in Dsk. In this letter too which I got recently they say of the despatch of the amount. I dont know if Bag got it or not.

Expecting your early reply & with best wishes.

Yours.

P. 2121 [P2]

2-11-26

My dear brother,

I got safe both your letter & the redirected registered letter which again I have herewith sent to you.

I am very sorry to hear of your ill health. There is an also Ayurvedic Doctor here who is a specialist in tuberculous treatment. So if you will please tell me full history of your complaint I shall get and send you his medicine.

By last mail I got a letter with a manifesto from abroad and after perusal passed it on to J. B. since it is an important one. I believe you too would have got a similar copy. Else please ask J. B. to send you.

In the light of the contents of this manifesto I think it essential that we should hold the Conference. That Englishman Mr. Campbell who is in Bombay & who met our Ghate twice has been asked by them to speak at this Conference of ours. We can also hear what he has to say.

But before the Conference itself I think that we should meet at a preliminary meeting to discuss everything about this Conference. I have accordingly written to Ghate all about this & asked for his opinion. Since J. B. too is coming to Bombay at Ghate's call. I too shall have to go once more to Bombay so that all of us could assemble & discuss.

What do you suggest?

I despatched two copies of literature received from abroad.
Did you get them. Is this the other letter you mention in your
letter as received from me.

Expecting your early reply.

Yours.

P. 2121 PE (3)

Superscription on the envelope

N. C. Dey,

C/O Messrs Nandlal Adhikari & Co,

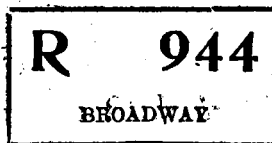
58. Clive Street,

CALCUTTA.

P. 2121 PE (4)

Superscription on the envelope

REGISTERED



Abdur Rahim,

16 Namiagob Sen,

3rd Lane,

From,

CALCUTTA.

Kannan,

No. 9. Raja Hanumantha

Lala Street,

Triplicane, MADRAS.

P. 2121 PE (5)

Back side of the envelope bearing postage stamps worth 3 annas and seals of different post offices.

P. 2186 (a)

SP NH MEERUT K 7 SPL POLICE STE 52 CASPEL
CALCUTTA KINDLY HAVE THOROUGH SEARCH MADE
TELEGRAPH CHECK FOR CABLEGRAM CONTAINING
MESSAGE POWER GRANTED OR SIMILAR PHRASE
BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN SENT BOMBAY TO LONDON
BY INDIVIDUAL MENTIONED IN YOUR LETTER F/3708/-
B. F. BRADLEY

C DATED FIFTEENTH APRIL DURING PERIOD
FIFTEENTH JUNE TO END JULY 1928 MOST
IMPORTANT. HORTON.

This form must accompany any inquiry respecting this
Telegram. Karim Bux Bros Printers, Calcutta—354 (B-72)—
18.6.28—40,000 Bks.

P. 2232 (2)

Stamp

M. M. Office

15. July 1927

Glasgow

Stamp

M. M. Office

22-7-27

Manchester

Articles deposited 15.7.27

Do returned 22.7.27

Vessel proceeds to Berkenhad
(Sd) Supdt.

P. 2236

Same as P. 2236-e

P 2243 C

Jhabwalla said: Indian Leaders go to Bardoli because they do not know how to get swaraj. They want to destroy the British empire and want rule in their hands. We do not want swaraj of this kind. This means that "white" joolam will go and "black" joolam will usher in. We want "satya raj" of the workers. We want sufficient food for our families. The British government do not give us sufficient food nor would the Indian leaders give us sufficient food and clothing. They would also exploit us. We want Soviet government like Russia. The income of Russian worker is increased six fold. Instead of one room, they now get four rooms to live. In America the workers go in motor cars and work only for six hours. In India they ask us to work for ten hours. Less work make men wise. We have not made any progress because we work hard. If we have labour government the hours of work will be less and each and every man will get sufficient food to eat. The object of the Workers and Peasants Party is to get for you sufficient food. Balubhai, Motibhai and Nariman are not going to give you this "raj". You have struck work, but the post office, telegraph office, tramways and railways work as usual. Because we are not united. If we were united the whole Bombay would be in darkness and there would be no business of any kind. I understand that some men are going to Petit, Mathradas and Alexandra mills. You must take care and keep a sharp look out at these mills. Do not allow any body to go to work.

Jhabwalla then asked if they wanted relief from the 10th or 15th and all with show of hands said 15th.

P. 2370 (1)

Transcript copy of undated MS. shorthand notes for a letter to Comrade Bennett, on the financial crisis in the Communist Party of Great Britain in the autumn of 1925. Found at 16, King Street, Covent Garden, W. C.

Comrade Bennett.

Dear Comrade Bennett,

I am writing this letter to call your attention to the serious financial crisis that has occurred in connection with our Party. You will remember that when the Party Allocation for the present year* was made, we were told that the amount granted was £15,000, and out of that we decided to allocate £3,000 to the "Sunday Worker," leaving £12,000 for Party purposes. Subsequently you told me that the only amount allocated to us was just over £16,000 and on your recommendation we agreed that his additional £1,000 should go the "Sunday Worker," still leaving us £12,000 for the Party. You will remember also that later on, both after receiving the first and second quarter's instalments, I told you that the amounts that had come through were considerably less than the £4,000 that we were expecting, and was even less in the case of the second quarter than in the case of the first. We took the matter up with the Secretariat and received an explanation which showed as far as the first quarter was concerned that an amount of round about £200 had been debited to you under expenses that the Secretariat might be put to during the year in connection with the British Party, and as far as the second quarter is concerned, the explanation seemed to be that the difference was due to an alteration in the rate of exchange. When the instalment for the third quarter was received (which included the preliminary payment on account of the third and fourth quarters for the "Sunday Worker.") it was found that it was still less than had been received for the second quarter, and in order to put us right we should require to receive for the fourth quarter an equivalent of somewhere round about £4,700. But an allocation for the fourth quarter has now been received, and to our astonishment and concern it amounts only to \$16,097, or approximately £3,200—£3,300. This means that we have received for this year a total of round about £14,600, or £1,400 less than what we understand was to be given, and upon which we have based our estimates. You will appreciate the absolutely disastrous position in which this has placed us, particularly when you bear in mind that during the last three

*For allocation for 1924, see document 25.

months, notwithstanding all our efforts to economise, activities in which we have engaged have entailed a considerable over-spending on our estimates. It means that after I have repaid money that we have been compelled to borrow to carry on, until the end of the third quarter, I shall have remaining out of the remaining £3,300 approximately £1,000. Of this £1,000 I have had to pay in a lump sum immediately, £650, for the "Workers' Weekly," the fourth quarters allocation, which leaves me actually with only £350. Our ordinary normal weekly income, apart from the allocation, is estimated at about £20 a week, say roughly £250, between now and the end of the year. The £350, plus £250 makes £600, out of which we have to meet the whole of our expenditure (apart from the "Workers' Weekly"). For the next twelve weeks, in addition, we have outstanding liabilities amounting to round about £1,500.

If we had received the full amount of £16,000 it would have been difficult to carry on, because all through the year, as you know, we have been compelled to engage in difficult activities which involve expenditure which was not originally budgeted for, but we had to reconcile ourselves to finishing up the year with what you once described as a "little debt," and I had always figured in my mind somewhere round about £2,000, including £1,500 of outstanding liabilities; and that we would trust to luck to be able to wipe off some of that deficit out of next year's allocation. But the shortage of £1,400 simply paralyses us, because the amount that this leaves us in hand, and the other income we are likely to get, will not be sufficient even for the expenses of maintaining our headquarters premises and paying the wages of the ordinary staff. We have had a special meeting of the organising bureau to consider the situation, and have obtained concurrence of the Political Bureau to certain economies in this quarters expenditure. But these economies (which are the most that can be effected in this way, completely close down our activities in other directions) are infinitesimal, and hardly relieve the situation to any extent. I am preparing this week-end a complete detailed statement on the situation, with all the necessary figures, which I shall send to you by the next post, together with an application to the Secretariat for the immediate transmission to us of the £1,400, plus an additional £300 for expenses incurred in the appointment of the two former principal organisers, Comrades Wooley and Cant. In the meantime the only course open to us, unless we are to close down completely, is to draw upon the money we have in hand for the school, and this I am afraid will involve the postponing the opening of the school until the New Year, unless £1,700 can be sent through immediately. This is the decision of the organiser of the Political Bureau, and I am very sorry to have to be a party to it, because I remember the request you made me that I should avoid

if at all possible dipping into the funds for the school. It may be possible to effect a loan from our friends here, but you know enough of the situation with regard to that to draw your own conclusions as to how far that is practicable.

I am sorry that I could not send you through the whole statement by this post (which has been impossible owing to the shortness of the time), because I can understand that you will be in a much better position to have all the figures before you, to take the matter up when the....*figures are known to you namely, that instead of receiving £16,000 we have only received £14,600. We beg of you to be so good as to take this matter up immediately with the Secretariat; and endeavour to get some decision that will relieve this critical situation, and you may be certain of receiving a fuller and more detailed statement by the next post.

*Group undecipherable,

P 2457 (P)

Berlin

31-12-28.

Please hand over the accompanying letter to Mr. Kishakaka.

A. B. K.

My dear Kaka,

Your letter of the 19th ult. to hand duly. I had been waiting for your letter for a long time. This is your first letter that reached me since I came to Europe.

The absence of personal reference in my letter complained of by you in yours, was quite incidental there being nothing interesting to write to you about my person. But your letters also can be described as characteristically not containing news about yourself. In the present letter, under reply, for example, one would hardly find any news about your person. The reason for this crime of omission, of which both of us are guilty, is that we are now conven-

tional. This, however, is not as an excuse for repeating the same crime over again, but only as an explanation for the past failing.

You are right in your surmise to some extent that I am earning my livelihood by giving tuitions in Sanskrit, as I derive part of my income from this source. But I have to supplement it by doing a kind of very simple journalistic work such as reading Indian papers, marking news of interest and preparing weekly or fortnightly or monthly reports of certain events of importance.

I am glad to know that you are planning to write a book on social Reconstruction and that the book will be written from a socialistic point of view. I would have liked to go through the manuscript, before it goes to the press and make some suggestions, as I am reading literature on the subject at present and I have got good facilities for getting books. But it is not possible because I am far away and you cannot send your manuscript to me because there is danger of its being lost in transit. If it were in English, you could have sent me a typewritten copy of it. But you can do one thing. You can just let me know the names of the chapters so that I will have some idea about the book.

Yes, you are very much handicapped for want of books. Panchgani is a most unsuitable place for literary work. It being a small town, cannot afford to have a good library. You are also handicapped because there is not sufficient scientific socialist literature available in India. And even in Europe English is a most poor language in this respect. However, I think, you will go to Bombay during your holidays in March and avail yourself of whatever books you can get there.

I very much thank you for your offer to pay subscription of केसरी for me. My present address is almost a permanent one and I will be able to get whatever you send me to that address.

When I was in England I sent you some Magazine etc. Did you get anything?

I hope you receive letters from Mr. Cholkar. Please write to me about him. Please convey my Bcs to Meers S'budhas, Krishnan etc.

I shall be glad to know about the school from you. I want to see the school through every body's eyes.

I hope you will not fail to write about yourself.

I am keeping as good or as bad health here as I did in India. There is no material change in it.

Hoping this finds you in excellent health.

I am

Yours Sincerely

A. B. K.

Please note my address, if you have not already noted. Because I may not write it in every letter of mine. But I will inform you if it is changed.

c/o bei Rolef,

24, Friedrichstrasse,

Berlin S. W. 48

Germany.

Wish you happy new year 1929.

Superscription on the envelope.

D. K. Kelkar, Esqr. B.A.

Panchgani.

Satara Dist

Bombay Pres.

India

P 2457 (P) (1)

31.X11.28.

c/o bei Rolef,

24, Friedrichstrasse,

Berlin S. W. 48

Germany.

My dear Kishakaka,

I have no news from and about you. I learn, and not with a little concern, that your wife is continuing to get low temperature. Please write to me what is, in fact, the matter with her health. How is your little Sharat? I hope he is enjoying excellent

health? Please send me recently taken photoes of his, and those of dear Appa and Sudhi.

So far as I am concerned, there is nothing special to write to you, besides what you must already have been knowing from my letters to other people. I may be able to write to you more after I receive a letter from you.

Please write me about the school. I know nothing about it since you have taken it back, except what Raosaheb and Taravahini wrote to me in June last. Many developments must have taken place since then. I should be glad to know whatever you will be pleased to write. I should like to know what is the form of new reorganization and who are in charge of various departments, what are the new changes in the policies and so many other things. Write to me whatever you can. I am very much interested to know everything.

Soon after my arrival here I wrote a letter to dear Raosaheb. I have not as yet received a reply from him. I received only one letter from him since I left India. Please ask him and Mrs. Manorama Vahini also to write to me.

Hoping this finds you all in excellent health and with lightened burden of worries about the future of the school.

I am

Yours Sincerely

A. B. K.

Please also do not fail to write me about the Baroda section of your family. And remember me to dear Balasaheb & Bhaurao. I am expecting a letter from Mrs. Taravahini too.

*Wish you happy new year*1928.*

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

P. 2313 [PI] T

Jhansi

31. 5. 1926.

Respected Sir,

Salutation

After waiting for your letter I started from here. Perhaps you did not like my writing to you clearly. But I do not know to talk uselessly and (let others) build hopes (in the). However Kutubddin purchased a Press & got it fitted & ready. But as no electric current could be got it could not be made to work. It may perhaps have been working now. If not so it will begin work in a few days. The press has been purchased at a cost of Rs. 2200/- you will get Langal as soon as it is out. It was sent to Barendra always.

Ayengar gave me Rs. 60/- /6 out of which Rs. 25/- have been spent and I gave Rs. 35/- to M.A. At the time of my coming I took Rs. 30/- from Mukerjee out of which I gave another Rs. 5/- to M. A. They also are in need of money. I talked about the Harmonium which perhaps may have reached (you). Please send your letters too to the address of Master so that (I) may get it sometime to read. Else all right. Write letters sometimes. You must have received manifesto & a paper published by Satya-bhakt. I have got a letter published in reply to that paper in the Pratap. Although that has not been printed in full, still I have been sending you its cutting along with this letter. I regret to have to write that while I was at Calcutta my grandfather died.

Yours

Hariballabh Narain

Hindi Translator

Meerut, 8 July 1930

Indecipherable

P. 2318-T

Partap May 30, 1926.

Page 11 Column 2-3.

Mr. Satyabhakt and Communism.

I have been able to get a paper, through the kindness of a friend of mine, published by Mr. Satyabhakt, in which attacks have been made on Mr. M.N. Roy and along with him other communists of India who do not pin their faith in Satyabhakt. I have got nothing to say in regard to the first part; but as a communist I have to say something in respect of the second part. Mr. Satyabhakt has made this accusation against other communists that they are all selfish and that they have become communists in order to get money from Moscow. Making the above accusation, Mr. Satyabhakt has tendered his resignation from "the communist Party of India." His resignation had been published in the "Leader". I have been carefully observing the activities of Mr. Satyabhakt from the very beginning; and on the basis of them I want to point out what Mr. Satyabhakt is? Why did he establish communist Party? And now after tendering his resignation why he is forming a new party? Some time before the Cawnpore case was tried, a Bengali of the name of Abani Mukerjee came to India. Through the extreme kindness of this very man the Cawnpore accused were arrested. That very man gave Mr. Satyabhakt advice to form a communist party and money too to begin the work. He gave Mr. Satyabhakt a manifesto too which he had with him and which Mr. Satyabhakt got published in his own name. I challenge Mr. Satyabhakt to answer the following questions: — (1) Was not Abani a spy of Government? (2) Did he not get the Cawnpore accused arrested? (3) Did he not arrange to get you money to form the party? (4) Did you not get the first manifesto from Abani?

The object of Satyabhakt was to form a communist Party in India and to calumniate it forever and to make the communists low in the eyes of the country; so that no work in respect of communism might be done again in the country and everybody may begin to hate the communists. As has become evident too from the works of Cawnpore, Mr. Satyabhakt succeeded also in his objects but the door for other communists to enter the party in future was closed other communists in Cawnpore who till then saw Mr. Satyabhakt with mistrust, joined, in order to save communism from being blamed. Therefore Mr. Satyabhakt after tendering his resignation from the communist party formed a new party called the

Nationalist communist party.' For, in future, he could not tell the public that the communists were hooligans and *chichnora* (of no importance). I would advise Mr. Satyabhakt that he would kindly study something more about communism and further he should try to understand what is the difference between communism and nationalism. I regret that there are such men in India who claim to know communism although they know not the alphabets even. The result was that the Nationalist Communist Party came into existence in India.

Ajodhya Prasad, Shrivastava.

P. 2522 (T)

A grand procession of the workers in the city of Bombay.

Workers of the Bombay arise.

Undertake the work of improving your condition which is like that of beasts.

Sunday, the 1st May is to be observed as the "Workers Day" all over the world. Accordingly the Central Labour Board of this place has arranged to take out a grand procession of the workers (on that day). All the workers should, therefore, take part in the procession (&) help to make the following programme a success.

The procession will start on Sunday the 1st May at 3 p.m (lit noon) from the Foras Road Municipal Garden. Then it will proceed along Kamathi Pura, Madanpura (&) Byculla to the open space by the side of (lit on) the Delisle Road. There a grand meeting of the workers will be held. Work of considerable (lit much-importance) will be transacted at the meeting (&) speeches will be delivered by well-known speakers (like) N. M. Joshi, Jinwalla, M.L.C.; Asawale, M.L.C., R. R. Baravle etc. Presidentship will be accepted by Mr. Dhundirampant Thengdi, Secretary, All-India Trade Union Congress.

S. H. Jhabwala, General Secretary, Central Labour Board.

Mr. V. P. Rele, G. I. P. Union.

„ Bhukendas, B. B. & C. I. Union.

„ D. R. Mayekar, Girni Kamgar Mahamandal.

„ Rajaram Bin Rajaram, Municipal Workmen's Union.

„ S. Sadanand, Bombay Port Trust Union.

„ R. Survey, Government Peon's Union.

„ S. R. Mirajkar, Workers' and Peasants' Party.

„ Syed Munawar, Bombay Seamen's Union.

„ Narayanrao.

„ Bhonsle.

Meerut }

15. 12. 30 }

True Translation
S. Ezakiel
Marathi Translator.

Before I begin giving opinions and reasons for opinions in regard to documents in this case, there are certain general statements applicable to most of the opinions that will be given, and to avoid repetition and to save time, I make these statements at this stage and ask that they should be considered as read in connection with each of the opinions to be given, where they are applicable.

2. In the first place I have examined the documents very carefully for what may briefly be called signs of forgery, that is for signs indicating that an attempt has been made by some operator to imitate the writing of a certain person whose admitted and questioned writings are before the Court. I have found no such signs in any of the documents I have examined. Further, I have examined the writings about which I have expressed opinions for signs of disguised writing, but have found none. So that, so far as the handwriting in this case is concerned, the various writings are matters for straightforward decision.

3. As a direct consequence of this absence of disguise and of signs of forgery, the layman is in most, if not all, of the writings in a very good position to decide for himself, purely from the handwriting point of view, whether or not a piece of writing is by a given writer. The handwriting of each of the persons to be indicated by me in my evidence is of a sufficiently high standard to be characteristic and distinctive. Consequently most, if not all, of the handwriting evidence that I shall give will be in the nature of crystallizing the layman's ideas about it and putting what may be rather hazy ideas and impressions into definite form capable of description in definite words. The writings of some of the persons to be indicated in my opinion are so characteristic and full of individual features that I have dismissed them briefly by stating that the truth of the opinions I have expressed about them will be obvious to the layman without detailed reasons. In such cases, however, any one can satisfy himself by applying the tests detailed in the fuller reasons given about other writings and can prepare juxtaposed photographs just as I have done in certain cases.

4. With a view to facilitating comparison I have prepared in connection with the writings of most of the persons concerned what I call a juxtaposed photograph. These juxtaposed photographs like all the photographs I shall produce are pure mechanical reproductions, that is they have not been touched up or manipulated in any way. The juxtaposed photographs are enlarged photographs. They are divided longitudinally into two parts. On the left of the longitudinal line are placed words and letters taken from the documents mentioned at the top and on the right are placed corresponding words or letters taken from the exhibits mentioned above them. Underneath each word or letter is placed a number to indicate the number of the line in the exhibit from which the word was taken and the exhibit. By referring to the photographs of these exhibits, which will be placed on record and which have their lines numbered, and by taking the appropriate line on them, the word or letter in the juxtaposed photograph will readily be traced. From this photograph of the exhibit the actual word as originally written in the actual exhibit can be found. In some cases the lines of the exhibits have not been numbered. In such instances a reference to the photograph of the exhibit or to the exhibit itself will show without any ambiguity where the word or letter was taken from. Such cases are few and the exhibits concerned contain only a few lines of writing. If any juxtaposed photograph is considered insufficient, it can be added to by cutting out further words and letters from the photographs of the exhibits placed on record.

5. These juxtaposed photographs are not intended to be exhaustive of all the words and letters found in the exhibits they relate to. They are rather illustrative of the possibilities of this method of comparison and are fairly complete as regards the actual words or letters appearing in them.

6. I shall explain verbally to the Court points in these juxtaposed photographs that I consider worthy of specific mention, but I would suggest generally that in studying the juxtaposed photographs, attention should be paid to the various points given in the detailed reasons, and that the tests mentioned therein should be applied to the words and letters in the juxtaposed photographs. It will be instructive for the Court to compare the same word written by various writers, utilizing the juxtaposed photographs for this purpose. Such a comparison will show the great diversity in writing a given word found in the writings of various persons.

7. It is a matter of common knowledge that no man ever writes the same word twice exactly alike, and that the same word written by the same person time after time shows various differences. It is admitted in every case where I give any opinion that there are such differences between the admitted and the questioned writings; but whatever such differences may be, it is possible to point out equally big differences among the admitted writings themselves. So that it would be as logical to decide that the admitted writings of a certain person were not all written by that person as it would be, from this point of view, to come to the conclusion that the questioned writings were not written by the writer of the admitted writings.

8. In most of the opinions I shall give, the exhibits will fall into two natural classes, and these two classes will be recognisable from the form of the opinion and from the juxtaposed photograph. The one consists of what I shall refer to as admitted, specimen, or standard writings or signatures, and the other of questioned or disputed writings or signatures. With regard to the former class, I have assumed that such writings can be proved to be those of a certain person by evidence other than any evidence that I myself give. This does not mean that I have not satisfied myself that such writings are by one person, but the proof of this statement I leave to other sources.

9. In connection with a number of the opinions to be given by me fairly full reasons will be given for them. On comparing the reasons for different persons' writings it will be seen that apparently several writing habits are common to several writers. For instance, many writers will have their style described as elliptical; many will have their movement described as a combination of the hand and finger movements, and so on. It should be understood that although from the wording of the reasons two writers appear to have identical style, movement, etc., in reality it is not so. So far as my experience goes, no two writers have exactly the same style, or the same movement, etc., but I have perforce had to describe them as being the same owing to the poverty of the English language and partly owing to a wish to avoid a long technical description.

10. At the end of each set of reasons I mention that "it is the cumulative effect of these reasons that has led me to my opinion". By this statement I mean that it is the combined effect of these reasons that has led me to arrive at the opinion given. The total result of the reasons given for an opinion is to show that in the standard writings a certain number of writing habits are found and that similar writing habits are found in the questioned writings. If only a few such habits were found common to both the sets it could be reasonably argued that they were due purely to chance coincidences, but when between 20 and 30 such coincidences are found the probability that they are merely chance coincidences and not due to the writings having a common writer is so extremely small as to be negligible. The force of this argument can perhaps be more clearly understood from an illustration. If in a desert a man came upon three trees in line with one another and spaced with 10 yard intervals, he could reasonably suppose that it was a pure coincidence. If there were four such trees he might call it a remarkable coincidence, and if there were five such trees so spaced it is possible that he might still consider it a very extremely remarkable

coincidence. But if there were 20 or 30 such trees, all in line and so spaced, the chances that this arrangement was due to purely natural causes as opposed to a human agency would be so remote as to preclude the belief that nature had so arranged these trees; and the decision would be that this special arrangement was not a chance coincidence but was due to some intelligent being.

11. Another way of expressing the meaning of "cumulative effect" is the probability, expressed mathematically, of finding a second writer who would display all the writing habits found in the writings of a given person whose writing is before the Court. The mathematical law of probability is briefly expressed as follows. The probability of the occurrence of a number of events is equal to the continued product of the probability of the occurrence of all the separate events; that is to say, if one thing occurs once in 20 times and another thing once in 20 times, the probability of the two things occurring in conjunction is represented by the fraction which is the product of $1/20 \times 1/20$, i.e., the probability is 1 in 400. In my estimation of the probabilities of finding each of the habits described or illustrated in the juxtaposed photographs I have posited that any one habit, such as a peculiar detailed design of a letter, a certain slope, a certain style, etc., will be found in one out of every three persons' writings; so that if 15 reasons are given and if in the juxtaposed photograph relative to that person the detailed design habits of five letters are shown to be the same, making a total of 20 different habits, I have in my estimation of the chances reckoned that the chances of finding a similar combination of writing habits will be 1 in not less than 3 raised to the 20th power, that is the chances are 1 in over three thousand millions. Taking the chances as 1 in 3 for each habit is actually underestimating the chances. Many writing habits, particularly those of detailed design, would not be found once in 10 writers; so that on the whole the positing of any writing habit occurring once in every three writers is understating the probabilities very considerably. Several habits of detailed design, for instance, would not occur in the writings of more than one in 10,000 writers.

12. To sum up, the words "cumulative effect" really mean the combination of writing habits and characteristics found in a set of writings.

13. In considering the cumulative effect, wherever a writer has a peculiar method of writing a letter, I have taken that peculiar method as a distinct, separate writing habit.

14. The juxtaposed photographs, besides illustrating in each group a specific letter or word, will frequently be found to illustrate other letters and possibly words, though not so fully as the one on which attention has been concentrated.

15. In most sets of reasons will be found a statement about the number of operations in writing a certain word (as in the word "Mirajkar"), and it will be shown that in both the standard and the questioned documents certain words are written in the same number of operations. For instance this word "Mirajkar" may be written as "Mi, ra, j, kar" with pen lifts between each of the operations. The number of possible ways of writing any word as regards operations, and including the writing of the word without any pen lift from beginning to end, is 2 raised to the power which is one less than the total number of letters in the word. In this computation, I have not considered operations ending in the middle of a letter. With this statement, which can be proved by anyone empirically, taken in conjunction with the mathematical law of probability stated above, it will be seen that if five words are given, each consisting of five letters, the chances of their being written similarly in another document will be 1 in more than a million, that is, the chances will be 1 in 2 raised to the 20th power. Several of the writings to be discussed contain many words written in exactly the same operations, but in spite of the chances being as small as just shown, I have taken the chances to

be 1 in 3 instead of 1 in a million or so. This will show conclusively that, if anything, I have underestimated the chances of finding a second writer who would show the same writing habits and characteristics as the writer discussed.

16. The Court will realise the amount of work that has had to be done in connection with the large number of documents I have examined, and consequently that the reasons given cannot make any pretence to be full, but are intended to be indicative of what can be done with each case. If fuller reasons are required about any writer or any piece of writing, these could be given, provided I am given time for the purpose. In the case of some few writers I have not juxtaposed all the questioned writings, but have taken six or seven of them as the samples of what could be done with the questioned writings as a whole.

17. Wherever signatures alone are in question, I have prepared enlarged juxtaposed photographs of them. It can be assumed, as I have stated in the individual reasons, that these signatures have all been examined very carefully for signs of forgery and that none have been found. If this assurance is accepted, the Court is in almost as good a position as an expert to judge for itself whether or not the questioned signatures were written by the person I have indicated.

18. A certain number of typewritten documents are also in question. The theory of the identification of typewriting is as follows. Each make of typewriter has its own peculiarities. For instance, each make of typewriter has its own peculiar shape, proportion and design of letters, figures, etc., so that very often, if it is essential, an expert can state the make of typewriter used for typewriting a certain document. Further, each machine, as it comes from the manufacturer, has certain imperfections and, as time goes on, with wear and tear other imperfections are developed usually to a marked and observable degree. It is on these imperfections that the identity of a piece of typewriting is based. The imperfections may be classed as follows:—

- (a) The slope of the letters, instead of being dead upright, may be in respect of some of the letters to the right or to the left of the vertical.
- (b) The spacing, instead of being normal, may be abnormally small or abnormally big.
- (c) The alignment, instead of being perfect, may in the case of some letters be either high or low.
- (d) Certain letters may have developed faults, such as the loss of a serif or some other part of a letter, or the damaging of some part of a letter.
- (e) Certain letters may print more heavily on the right than on the left, or on the top than on the bottom and so on.

19. The mathematical probability of the occurrence of identical faults in two machines may be worked out as follows. Assume that there are n different letters on the key board and that it is possible for any one of these n letters to vary from the ideal in only one way (*i.e.*, no letter, which departs from the ideal, departs from the ideal in two ways, such as sloping left and being on a higher alignment, but only varies from the ideal in one way, such as printing left). Further, assume that there are only six possible ways in which a letter may vary from the ideal, such as printing left or right, printing high or low, printing with a slope to the right or to the left. With n letters the chance of finding one letter with any *one* fault in it is one in n . The chance of finding a particular fault of the six assumed possible faults is 1 in 6. So that the chance of finding a particular fault in a particular letter in a machine is 1 in $6 \times n$. When this faulty letter has been found $n-1$ letters are still left. As before, the chance of finding one particular fault in one particular letter of these $n-1$ letters is 1 in $6 \times (n-1)$. And

the chance of finding two particular faults in two particular letters is 1 in $\frac{6n \times 6(n-1)}{2}$ i.e., 1 in $\frac{n \times (n-1)}{2} \times 6^2$, and so on. The general formula for finding the same particular single faults in the same letters (p in number) is, therefore, 1 in $\frac{n!}{p!(n-p)!} \times 6^p$. Actually, however, as will be seen from the preceding paragraph, under (a) there are two possible faults; under (b) there are two possible faults; under (c) there are two possible faults; under (d) there are several possible faults; and under (e) there are at least four possible faults. So that it will be clear that in taking the number of faults as being six the case is considerably understated.

20. With this basis I will now show how conclusive are the opinions given about the five typewriters in this case. In the reasons I shall give about each set of typewritten documents, with a view to showing that they were typed by the same machine, I have described a number of peculiarities found in the typing.

21. In addition to the mathematical chances, enlarged photographs of words common to the documents in each batch taken under a measuring protractor will be used to illustrate the defects of the machines used for typing them. From these enlarged photographs it will be seen how closely the sets of words common to different documents in the same set are printed alike.

22. In the general formula given above I shall assume that the five typewriters contain 25 different letters and that each of these 25 letters can have one of six faults. So that the formula will now read as $\frac{25!}{p!(25-p)!} \times 6^p$

23. I refer to exhibits P2251 and P2252 and the reasons about them, which I now place on record. From them it will be seen that the machine used for typing these two exhibits has the following peculiarities or faults:—

I.—Spacing. At least two letters space wrongly.

II.—Alignment. At least ten letters have faulty alignment.

III.—Slope. At least three letters have faulty slope.

At least 14 letters, therefore, in these two exhibits print faultily. So that in the above formula $p=14$. The result is that the probability of finding two machines which in their typewriting would show these 14 faults is 1 in $6^{14} \times \frac{25 \cdot 24 \cdot 23 \dots \text{to } 14 \text{ terms}}{14!}$, i.e., one in far more than the number of machines in the world.

24. I now refer to exhibits P1005, P1829, P1981 (last page), P1962/2, P1956, P1974, P1954, P1955, P2328(P2) and P2329(P1), and the reasons about them, which I now place on record. From them it will be seen that the machine used for typing these exhibits has the following faults:—

I.—Slope. At least two letters have faulty slope.

II.—Alignment. At least three letters have faulty alignment.

III.—Spacing. At least three letters have faulty spacing.

At least 8 letters, therefore, in these exhibits print faultily. So that now $p=8$. The result is that the probability of finding a second machine which in its typewriting would show these eight faults is 1 in $6^8 \times \frac{25 \cdot 24 \cdot 23 \dots \text{to } 8 \text{ terms}}{8!}$, i.e., 1 in far larger number of machines than are in use.

25. I now refer to the specimen of typewriting taken from Remington Portable No. NC75237M., P1169, P1174 and P1196. From the reasons about the typewriting on these documents, which I now place on record, it will be seen that the machine used for typing these documents has the following faults:—

I.—Alignment. At least four letters have faulty alignment.

II.—Spacing. At least two letters have faulty spacing.

III.—Slope. At least three letters have faulty slope.

At least 9 letters, therefore, in these documents print faultily. So that $P=9$. The result is that the probability of finding a second machine which in its typewriting would show these 9 faults is 1 in $6^9 \times \frac{25 \cdot 24 \cdot 23 \dots \text{to } 9 \text{ terms}}{9!}$, *i.e.*, 1 in far larger number of machines than are in existence.

26. I now refer to exhibits P377(1), P1256, P1512, P1676, P1888, P1898(1), P1899, P2092, P2253, P1255 and P2322(2), and the reasons about them, which I now place on record. From them it will be seen that the machine used for typing these exhibits has the following faults:—

I.—Slope. At least one letter has faulty slope.

II.—Alignment. At least five letters have faulty alignment.

III.—Spacing. At least two letters have faulty spacing.

At least 8 letters, therefore, in these exhibits print faultily. So that now $p=8$. The result is that the probability of finding a second machine which in its typewriting would show these eight faults is 1 in $6^8 \times \frac{25 \cdot 24 \cdot 23 \dots \text{to } 8 \text{ terms}}{8!}$, *i.e.*, 1 in a tremendous number.

27. I now refer to P345, P377, P526(43), P674, P1007, P1008, P1348(34), P1859 and P2248, and the reasons about them, which I now place on record. From them it will be seen that the machine used for typing these exhibits has the following faults:—

I.—Alignment. At least four letters have faulty alignment.

II.—Spacing. At least three letters are faultily spaced.

III.—Slope. At least three letters have faulty slope.

At least 10 letters, therefore, in these exhibits print faultily. So that $p=10$. The result is that the probability of finding a second machine which in its typewriting would show these 10 faults is 1 in $6^{10} \times \frac{25 \cdot 24 \cdot 23 \dots \text{to } 10 \text{ terms}}{10!}$, *i.e.*, 1 in a very large number.

28. From the foregoing it will be obvious that the mathematical probability of finding a second machine with the same defects as found in any one of the above five machines will be 1 in a far larger number than the total number of typewriters in the world.

ADHIKARI

REASONS FOR OPINION.

Two of the questioned documents contain a signature and the name "Adhikari". From the juxtaposed photograph it will be clear that this signature and this name were written by the writer of the standard signatures which the two former closely resemble in every way. I have examined this signature and this name very closely for signs of forgery, but have found none.

I now deal with the questioned documents generally as compared with the standard documents.

1. The style of writing is averagely elliptical.
2. The movement employed in writing is principally the finger movement.
3. The general appearance of the writing is neat and feminine.
4. The maximum number of letters written at one operation is about 6 or 7, while the minimum is one. This writer has the habit of frequently writing almost a whole word with every letter or nearly every letter disjoined. He frequently writes two or three letters at one operation.
5. The pen pressure is light, and the differentiation between thin and thick strokes due to this cause is slight.
6. The alignment is good, even and fairly horizontal. One peculiarity to note in the alignment is the convex alignment of the words "Adhikari" with the "A" on a much lower alignment generally than the immediately following letters.
7. The speed of writing individual letters is high, but the speed of the writing as a whole is low.
8. The line quality is good, due allowance being made for the paper.
9. The spacing between the lines of the questioned documents and of P2289 is closely similar. The spacing between words is slightly more than average.
10. The joining strokes have some peculiar features, *e.g.*, the joining stroke between "d" and the next letter found in such words as "Adhikari", "Gangadheri"; in the word "the" the down stroke of the "t" is written at one operation, then the "t-crossing" forms a rather long concave joining stroke to the top of the "h"; the joining stroke from "w" to "h" as in the words "White" and "which" in P2289(P) is found closely reproduced in P1170 in the word "whole" in line 25, in P1172 in the word "Why" in line 4 and in the two words "which" in lines 2 and 3 of P1171. Generally speaking, the joining strokes are short elliptical strokes.
11. In the standard documents the word "the" is in three operations, namely, the down stroke of the "t", the "t-crossing" and "h", and the "e". The same is found in many places in the questioned documents. In P1194 and P2289(P) there is a pen lift before and after the "k" of "Adhikari", and there is invariably a pen lift in both the questioned and the admitted writings after the "i" of "Adhikari". Similarly, in both sets of documents in the word "Usmani" there is almost invariably a pen lift before and after the "m". The final round English form of "d" (as opposed to the German or Greek forms) almost invariably has a pen lift before it. Similarly there is a pen lift after the long form of the "h" shown in the last section of the juxtaposed photograph. Usually there is also a pen lift before it. The word "which" is written in two operations with a pen lift after the "i" in both the sets. The word "office" is written "of, fi, c, e" in both the sets. The word "Marathi" in P2331 and P1172 is written "M, ar, a, t-down stroke, t-crossing, hi".

12. The beginnings of letters are on the whole ordinary, but the similarity in the beginning of the capital "A" can be seen in the juxtaposed photograph. The acute angled beginning of capital "U" can also be seen from this photograph, as well as in such words as "Union", "Unless", in the other documents.

13. The peculiar terminals of the "d" and the long "h" shown in the juxtaposed photograph show distinctly similar habits in respect of terminals. The initial and final "t's" almost always, if not invariably, have a dead straight terminal.

14. The pen presentation is fairly upright, the pen having been held pointing over the shoulder.

15. The relative location of letter to letter is rather peculiar in respect of the square form of small "r" as in the second "r" of "repaired" in P2288 (P) and the second "r" of "redirect" in P2289(P). The same peculiar location is found in the words "Departments" and "regards" in P1171; "uncared", "regarding" (line 81), "others" (line 88), "were" (line 89) & "concretise" (line 90) in P1170; "Party" in line 9, "frame", etc., in P1172; and so on.

16. The very peculiar addition found occasionally at the top of final "g" as in the word "following" in P2331 and P2289(P) is also found in such words as "kidnapping" and "meeting" (in two places) in P1170 (lines 46, 47 & 53), "evening" (line 72), "refusing" (line 86); in P1173 in "meeting"; and in "training" in line 24 of P1172. The fact of this peculiar design of "g" being found in these documents is almost strong enough in itself, because of its exceptional nature, to identify the writer. I have never seen it before, though I have examined many thousands of cases. It is probably due to the writer's knowing German. As further examples of detailed design, see the capital "A", capital "U", final "d", the detached long tailed "h" shown in the juxtaposed photograph, capital "T" and "F-crossing", etc.

17. In the word "Adhikari" note the relative sizing of "Adh" as compared with the "k". The initial "s" is an abnormally long letter.

18. I have measured the slope of a large number of strokes with the following result. The average slope of P2331 is 35° to the right and that of P2289 is 38° to the right. The maximum slope in these two documents is about 46° to the right and the minimum 25° . In P1171 the average slope is 37° , in P1172 it is 36° and in P1170 38° . The maximum of these is 50° and the minimum 25° . (The maxima and minima are those taken from the strokes actually measured).

19. I have carefully examined all these documents for signs tending to show that a person other than the writer of the admitted writings attempted to imitate the writing of the writer of standard writings in the questioned documents, but have found no such signs; on the other hand, the questioned documents have been written as freely and carelessly and with as little attention to the writing process as the standard ones.

It is the cumulative effect of these reasons that has led me to my opinion. The chances of finding a second writer who would show the on the whole rather extraordinarily peculiar writing habits of this person described above would be 1 in not less than 3 to the 27th power.

AJODHYA PRASAD,

REASONS FOR OPINION.

1. Where the writing is approximately upright, the style of writing is irregular, being sometimes square, sometimes round and sometimes elliptical. Where the writing slopes considerably to the right, the style becomes angular.
2. The movement employed in writing is a combination of the finger and the hand movement, but is principally the hand movement.
3. The appearance of the writing is irregular, due to varied slope and sudden changes of direction in curves.
4. The writer's habits of writing many or few letters at a time without lifting the pen are unsettled. Frequently single letters are written with pen lifts before and after them, yet in each document (except the signatures P1943(S) and P1944(S)) there are instances of six or seven letters written at a single operation.
5. A moderate pen pressure is used in all, and there is some degree of differentiation between thin and thick strokes.
6. The alignment is irregular, but has, on the whole, a distinct upward tendency to the right, with the exception of P2407, which is on ruled paper, and the signatures P1943(S) and P1944(S) which do not contain a great enough length of writing for the habits of alignment to be gauged. The bottoms of the letters from long convex arches in many of the lines in P2313 and P2319. The capital "A" begins noticeably lower than the general alignment in all the documents. Initial "r", or "r" written separately from the preceding letter, begins low in these two documents.
7. The speed of writing is moderate.
8. The line quality is poor on the whole. There is a large number of sudden changes in direction of curves which a good writer would make smooth. This amounts almost to tremor in places.
9. In P2319 and P2313 the spacing between lines is fairly wide and that between words in these documents and in P2407 is a little more than average; between letters it is occasionally wide, *e.g.*, between "A" and "b" in the signatures P1943(S) and P1944(S), between "h" and "a" in "that" in P2319, line 2, and between "n" and "g" in "evening" in the line 10 of P2407.
10. The writing in these exhibits is characterised in places by long, flat joining strokes, though none are found in the specimen signatures P1943(S) and P1944(S). The slightly convex joining stroke between "w" and the next letter in the words "will", "walk" and "wait" in P2407 is also found in P2319 (*e.g.*, in "known") and in P2313 (*e.g.*, on the last page in "town").
11. In the word "Jhansi" there is a pen lift between "h" and "a" in P2319 and P2313. Occasionally "w" is disjoined from the next letter.
12. When "r", "h", "l" and "b" occur as the first letters of words, they are given by this writer fairly long initial up strokes beginning well to the left of the letters, and the same habit is often found in initial "t" and "s". Other initial small letters are usually written without preliminary up strokes.
13. I find various habits of terminating letters in common in these documents. *E.g.*, the final "h" often ends in a direction downwards and to the right; final "g" ends in a direction slightly upwards and to left as in "Printing" in P2319, "morning" in P2407 and "long" near the top of the first page of P2313. The final "t" very often has no final up stroke and ends pointing downwards.

14. The pen presentation in P2319, P1943(S), P1944(S) and P2313 is at right angles to the line of writing. The pen presentation in P2407 cannot be accurately estimated, but the location of its shading is much the same as in P2319.

15. As examples of habits of relative location, I point out that the top of "d" (except in the rounded form) often written at the end of a word is usually lower than the top of other tall small letters. On the other hand the tops of "f" and "p" are usually abnormally high. *E.g.*, in the word "foot-path" in P2407 the two highest points of the word are the tops of "f" and "p"; in "pamphlet" at the bottom of the first page of P2313 the rightmost point is the top of the second "p" and in P2319 similar high tops of "p" and "f" are seen in "Prasad" at the end of the first line and "former" at the end of the 5th line.

16. The following examples of similar detailed design of letters have reference to the two documents other than P2407. (This last mentioned document is treated specially in a separate paragraph below for the reason explained in that paragraph.) The particular design of "to" in line 2 of P2319 is found in various places in P2313, as also the characteristic design of final "g" (see line 4 of P2319), which has a long flattish stroke leading up to it and the top loop, opened or closed, made in a counter-clockwise direction. In the word "of" the same angular bottom loop, the absence of top loop and the same method of joining "o" to "f" are found in both these documents. Two kinds of initial "s", namely, the printed and the written forms, are found in each and they are long letters. The same design of "k" is used in both. "P" is sometimes written in one operation and sometimes in two operations in each of these two documents. I point out particularly the "P" of "Printing" in P2319 and those at the beginning of "Partap" on page 2 and "Prakash" at the foot of last page of this document P2313. The design of these letters is unusual and very closely the same.

17. The average slope in P2319 and P2313 is about 24° to the right. In P2407, it is much more upright, being on the average approximately vertical, and the specimen signatures P1943(S) and P1944(S) show that the writer of P2319 does sometimes employ this kind of slope.

18. I do not find in P2407 or in P2313 any signs of forged writing.

19. In view of the fact that certain of the above reasons (*e.g.*, pen presentation) do not apply, or do not fully apply, to P2407, I now give a few miscellaneous reasons regarding detailed design to substantiate my proof of this document. I am assuming that I have already definitely and satisfactorily proved P2313 to be by the writer of P2319 and the specimen signatures, and, therefore, am using P2313 for my additional proof of P2407. Initial "th" has sometimes a pen lift between the "t" and the "h" and sometimes not in each of the two exhibits. "Yours" near the end of each exhibit is written very closely alike, particularly as regards the first two letters. In P2407 "or" in "tomorrow" and "morning" is written like "er" in "Liverpool" and "Berkenhead", and the same method of writing "or" is found in P2313, *e.g.*, in the word "for" on the first and last pages. The "q" in "Esquire" in P2313 is written with a large wide bottom loop and is given a curious and rather sudden turn-over to the right near the end of the letter. The same habits are found in "q" of "enquire" in P2407. In these two documents the word "most" has a pen lift between the "s" and the "t"; and the word "please", when it starts with a small letter, has only one pen lift which is after "p". Final "e" is often written with a long horizontal, or slightly downwards, terminal. In the word "Jhansi" in P2319 and "longer" and "before" in P2407 the letters "J", "l" and "b" are written with a blind loop at the top originally and then have had a curved stroke added on to them to make the appearance of an open loop.

Initial "pr" in the word "provoly" in P2407 and the cancelled "pr" near the top of the second page of P2313 have each a rather peculiar backward slope on the round form of "r".

I also notice certain bad spelling mistakes in P2407 and P2313.

It is the cumulative effect of the above reasons that I base my opinion upon.

Before paragraph 19 is read finally, the juxtaposed photograph of the documents, excluding P2407 and the reasons connected therewith should be examined. After this has been done, an examination of the juxtaposed photograph of P2407 and the rest may be made in conjunction with the contents of para. 19 more particularly, as well as with the other reasons given which include references to P2407. Many of the particular instances of words illustrating a certain feature or habit will be found in the two juxtaposed photographs already placed on record.

GOPAL BASAK.

REASONS FOR OPINION.

1. On P549(19) occurs the same kind of signature as on P2273(P) in two places. The signature on the first mentioned exhibit contains no signs of forgery and resembles closely the other two.

2. The style of writing in all these exhibits is rather broadly elliptical.

3. The movement employed in writing is principally the hand movement.

4. The maximum number of letters written at a time is between 8 and 10; while the minimum is one, though the writer seldom writes one letter at a time.

5. The pen pressure is medium with a fair differentiation between thin and thick strokes.

6. The alignment is rather irregularly horizontal on the whole. Some of the ends of the lines of writing are slightly down to the right.

7. The speed of writing is well above average.

8. The line quality is good and many of the curves are firm, perfectly formed curves.

9. The spacing between words is rather wide, and on the whole average between lines; though this quality is somewhat variable among all the documents.

10. The lefthand margin is of medium width and widens towards the bottom. In some cases the last line of a sheet starts more to the right than is normal.

11. A large number of the joining strokes, as between "o" and "t" in "got" and "o" and "u" in "you" in P2273(P), are noticeably concave. Further, there are a large number of long, flat joining strokes and there is a marked tendency to join up two words with long joining strokes.

12. As regards operations in writing words, in long words there is frequently a pen lift after every two or three letters. There is also very frequently a pen lift after the medial "i". Initial "s" is frequently detached from the next letter, as in "safely", "still", "some", "separately" in P2274(P) and in P284 in "sitting", "state", "starting".

13. As regards beginnings of letters, initial "m" and "n" frequently begin with a straight down stroke which starts high up, and initial "b" has a long initial up stroke to it.

14. The terminals are generally short and frequently, instead of being curved upwords, are in a downward or horizontal direction.

15. The writer seems to have two distinct pen presentations. In P2274(P) it is about 10° to the right, while in places in P2273(P) it is, so far as I can judge, about 40° or more to the right; in P549(19) it is about 10° to the right, while P284 has a pen presentation of about 40°.

16. As regards relative location of letters, the initial "y" is very high almost without exception. Further, "e" preceding many other letters, such as "m", "n", "r", "s", "v", etc., has its bottom on a higher alignment than that of the following letter—see, for instance, the words "then", "other", "friends", "brother", "mother", "best", "previous" "moderate", "defence" and "Congress" in P2273(P) and similar words in the other documents.

17. As regards habits of detailed design, note that the writer uses two forms of small "b", namely, the printed form as in "brother" and the written form where the pole of the "b" almost touches its long down stroke, or actually, does so, in P2273(P). The same two forms can be

found in the questioned documents. The abbreviation for "and" is also rather peculiar in length, shape and positioning. Other illustrations will be found in the juxtaposed photograph.

18. As regards slope, there is considerable variation among the standard documents, and a similar variation among the questioned documents. For instance, the slope of the English writing in P2274(P) is very close to that of P284, P549(19), P391, P549(21) and P145 (manuscript additions); while the sloping style of P2273 is found closely reproduced in P2059(PE) and P2165(PE).

B, F, BRADLEY,

REASONS FOR OPINION.

As regards the name "B. F. Bradley" found on P650, P873 and P1504(A) (in two places), I think it is sufficiently clear that this characteristic signature was written by the writer of those mentioned in the opinion. I have examined them and all the questioned writing carefully for signs of an attempt to copy or imitate this person's writing, but have found no such signs.

Comparing P2279(P) with P1348(46) and the green ink writing on P1759, the writing itself is sufficiently characteristic to obviate the need of any proof by an expert. If full proof is required, I will give it.

The photographs already placed on record may be used for juxtaposing the signature and the writing, if considered necessary.

DANGE,

REASONS FOR OPINION.

From the juxtaposed photograph it will be sufficiently clear, in my opinion, that the initials on P1287(2) and the signature on P1287(3) were written by the writer of the admitted signatures.

It will also be fairly clear to anyone that whoever signed the signature on P1287(3) also wrote the words "President of the meeting". This can be judged by the fact that the pen pressure is the same, the quality of the strokes is the same, the underlining lines are closely alike, etc. Similarly, if this argument is accepted, it will be clear that whoever wrote the word "President" on P1283 also wrote the same word on P1365 and made the underlining line in the latter.

Reasons about P2512 and P1348(14).—

1. The style of writing is broadly elliptical to round.
2. The movement employed in writing is a combination of the finger and hand movements.
3. The maximum number of letters written at one operation is about 10 and the minimum is one. On the whole this writer writes several letters at one operation.
4. The pen pressure is light.
5. The alignment of lines is fairly regular and horizontal with a slight tendency in an upward direction to the right where the amount of space is sufficient. The alignment of words is fairly good on the whole.
6. The speed of writing is slightly above the average, though P1348(14) is more slowly and firmly written.
7. The line quality is good, and many of the curves are perfect or almost perfect.
8. The spacing between words is fairly wide, and also frequently between letters.
9. As regards joining strokes, the writer frequently joins the cross stroke of the "f" to the next word, and also the t-crossing. The same type of joining strokes is also found in the initials "A.D" of the signature.
10. Many of the ordinary joining strokes between letters form wide concave arches. There is a rather characteristic joining between the final "d" and the next word as in P2477 in "requested above" and in "and peasants" in P1348(14) where the joining strokes are again concave. A convex joining stroke is fairly frequently found between "o" and the following short small letter as in the words "Feroze", "come" and "Lahore" in P1885; and "some", "control", "abandoned", etc., in P2512.
11. The small initial "f", as in the words "friend" and "from" in P1885, is in two operations, and the same is found in P1348(14); in P2512 in "firmly" and in P1348(14) in "first", "from", etc. The detached final "e" found in the word "Lahore" in P1885 is also found in "textile" in P2512 and in "before", "while", etc., in P1348(14).
12. As regards terminals, the German form of final "d" is in places turned over making almost a figure "8" or a capital "S", as in the words "friend" and "attend" in P1885. The same sort of terminal not turned over so far is found in "interviewed" in P1885 and in the words "exhibited" in P2478; while the terminal to the left is found in various words in P2477. The same types are found in the words "established" in P2512 and in "pointed" in P1348(14). The more or less straight, backward turned terminal of "d" is found in the words "mixed", "abandoned", etc., in P2512 and in the words "foundation", "and necessities", "and peasants", etc., in P1348(14). The final "s" in the round form has usually an abbreviated downward terminal. The terminal of final "y" is of two varieties—a curly one as in the words "truly" in P2477 and P1885, and a

straight one as in "my" and "yours" in these two exhibits. The same two kinds are found in P2515 in the words "practically", "machinery", "policy", "ultimately" and "they" (crossed out), and in P1348(14) in the word "party" in line 1 and in the other words "party" (the straight type). The short downward terminal of final "e" found in "me", "Lahore" and "please" in P1885 and in the word "those", for instance, in P2477 is found in P2512 in the words "There", etc., and in P1348(14) in the words "There", "the", "whole", "blue", etc. The rounded terminal of final "e" in an upward direction is also found as in the word "office" in P2478. Many of these are found in P2512 and P1348(14).

13. The pen presentation is about 35 degrees to the right of the vertical, as can be seen from the location of the shading in parallel strokes.

14. The top of the round form of final "s" is low as compared with the top of preceding small letters generally speaking. The same applies also to many of the final small letters, which seem to be tailed off.

15. The same form of capital "I" as found in the word "Inspected" in P2477, with a long top loop, the beginning crossing the down stroke and with the same joining stroke to the next letter, is found in the word "Industrialism" in P2512 and more or less in "Indian" and "In" in P1348(14). The rather peculiar "f" found in the words "from" and "friend" in P1885 with the same joining stroke to the next letter is found in the word "firmly" in P2512 and in the words "first", "of the", "foundation", etc., in P1348(14). I also draw attention to the forms of small "d" and final "y" already described under other reasons. A rather interesting form of "Th" is found in the words "There" in P2512 and "The foundation" in the subject heading of P1348(14). Unfortunately there is no word in the admitted documents beginning with "Th". The same tendency to join the "i-dot" to another letter as found in the final part of the word "interviewed" in P1885 is found in P2512 in the words "is even" and "going". The abbreviation for "and" in P2477, P1885 and P2478 is also found in P2512 and P1348(14). The printed form of small "s" detached from the following letter is found in all these exhibits, excepting, among the questioned documents, those with signatures and P1365 where no word beginning with "s" is found. Medial "t" is frequently joined to the next letter by means of a low "t-crossing" in all the documents. The "x" is written in the same way in these exhibits and invariably has a pen lift after it.

16. As regards relative sizing, the abbreviation for "and" is just slightly longer than the depth of a short small letter. The fully curved form of small "d" tends to be abnormally long. There is a marked tendency to make final letters of words smaller than those at the beginnings. The type of "f" found in "friend" and "from" in P1885 tends to be long above the line.

17. I have examined the questioned exhibits for signs tending to show that they were written by a person other than the writer of the standard documents with an attempt to imitate the writing of the standard writings, but have found no such signs.

18. Although the manuscript of P1365 and P1287(3) has not been mentioned in the reasons given above, many of them will be found to apply to these exhibits.

It is the cumulative effect of these reasons that has led me to my conclusion.

In giving this opinion I have laboured under the difficulty of having rather a small amount of standard writing and of the fact that none of this standard writing, which is in the form of brief notes, is written in the rather more formal manner of P1348(14) and P2512.

The chances of finding a second writer who would show the same handwriting habits and characteristics are 1 in not less than 3 to the 20th power.

DESAL

REASONS FOR OPINION.

1. The style of writing is almost circular.
2. The movement employed in writing is principally the finger movement.
3. The general appearance of the writing is that of well formed letters, but is rather irregular in the alignment of individual words, giving the whole a rather irregular appearance.
4. The maximum number of letters written at one operation is about 7. Fairly frequently single letters are written, more particularly final letters.
5. The pressure on the writing instrument is below average.
6. The alignment of the lines of writing is a little irregular, but on the whole is horizontal. The alignment of words is in some cases even and regular and in others irregular.
7. The speed of writing is rather low.
8. The spacing between lines is rather less than normal and is wider than normal between words on the whole.
9. The joining strokes are for the most part not far from circular and are, almost without exception, short.
10. As regards operations in writing words, in P1261 the word "will" is written "wi,ll". The same is found in the letter to Dr. Jamana Bai. Similarly the words "individual" in these two exhibits are written "in, di, vi, du, al". In "Th" in these two exhibits the top of the "T" and the "h" form a separate operation; the "t-crossing" in final "t" is frequently made at one operation with the "t". In P2290, P1261 and the letter to Dr. Jamana Bai the word "Bombay" is written in three operations with a pen lift before and after the "b".
11. As regards beginnings of letters, note the tendency to circularity in initial "m" and "n" and that long letters like initial "t" are occasionally commenced with a hook at the top.
12. As regards terminals, note the final scroll on final "f" in "of" which occurs occasionally. In the word "is" the "s" has its terminal in the dot of the "i".
13. As regards relative location of letters, in the word "is" the bottom of the "s" is almost invariably on a higher alignment than the bottom of the "i". In words in which there is a pen lift after the "i", the bottom of this "i" is on a different alignment from that of the following letter.
14. As regards detailed design, note the peculiar design of capital "T" and the joining of the "i-dot" to some other letter in a word. Note also that the final "r" is usually written more in the form of a Greek "e" with its terminal in a downward direction, as in the word "largish" in the letter to Dr. Jamana Bai. In P2290 and P1261 the capital "B" is short compared with long letters like "b", "k" and "t". Final "r's" (in which I include "r's" with a pen lift after them and the square form of "r") are long relative to the preceding letter.
15. A habit which is common to all these documents is that many of the horizontal strokes, such as the crossing of "t", are heavily shaded.
16. In exhibits P2290, the letter dated 29-3-29 and P1261 occur definite instances of the alignment of 7 to 10 letters forming a convex arch; *e.g.*, in the letter dated 29-3-29 see "bai Desai" in the address, "s to Dada etc." in line 83 and in exhibit P1261 "Annarcis" in line 2 and "ommunism" in line 24.
17. The slope is rather irregular but is principally fairly upright. The upright kind and the more sloping kind are both found in all these documents.

18. I have carefully examined P1261 for signs tending to show that in it some one was attempting to imitate the writing of the rest, but have found no such signs. P1261 is carelessly written like the others.

It is the cumulative effect of all these reasons that has led me to my opinion. (Many of the above reasons are illustrated in the juxtaposed photograph already placed on record.)

GHATE,

REASONS FOR OPINION.

1. I do not propose to give detailed reasons for the signatures in the questioned documents, as, in my opinion, they contain no signs of forgery and resemble very closely the admitted signatures. These questioned signatures are freely and carelessly written; and I doubt whether anything that I can say will or could be more convincing to the Court than its eyes. These signatures in the questioned documents are on P420, P1228, P1252, P1295, P1296, P1297, P1300, P1303, P1309, P1310, P2090, P2186 and P2519. In P1300 the initials "S. V. G." also appear and in P1305 the initials "S. V." in "S. V. Deshpande" are found. In these two latter documents these initials are closely similar to those found both in the questioned and the admitted signatures. Further proof of these documents can be obtained by comparing them with the juxtaposed photograph placed on record.

2. Reasons for the manuscript:—

(1) The style of writing is for the most part narrowly elliptical, particularly when the writer is writing at speed.

(2) The movement employed is to a large extent the fore-arm movement.

(3) The general appearance of the writing is rendered peculiar by the long joining strokes between words, and on the whole the effect of the writing is rather "scrawly".

(4) The maximum number of letters written at one operation is about 11. The writer occasionally writes one letter at a time, but generally writes several letters.

(5) The pen pressure is light, and there is only slight differentiation between thin and thick strokes. There is no specially put in shading.

(6) For the most part the alignment is downwards, and practically every document, if not every document, contains such alignment. The writer can, however, and does write with horizontal alignment. The alignment of lines is rather uneven, while that of words is very uneven.

(7) The speed of writing is high, and the line quality is good.

(8) The spacing between lines is rather wide generally speaking, that between words is distinctly wide and that between letters is frequently very wide.

(9) The writer has a tendency to make a wider margin at the beginning of his paragraphs than at the end. He has a fairly even, narrow margin on the left and usually leaves wide spaces at the ends of his lines.

(10) Many of the joinings are very long and flat. Note the peculiar joining stroke formed by the "t-crossing" to the next word, and wherever words are joined together, such joining strokes from the letter "t" and between words are usually convex. The joining strokes generally are very characteristic and peculiar.

(11) As regards words written in the same operation, see, for instance, the word "Mirajkar" in P2281(P), P1011, P1295 and P1296 with a pen lift after the "r" and "j". In P2280(P) the word "Mirajkar" is written with the square form of "M"; while in the examples just given it is written with the round form. When written with the square form, there are pen lifts after "M", "r" and "j", as in P2280(P); the same operations are found in P1300 (line 40), P1303 and P1295. The word "which" is frequently written with a pen lift after the "i", and the initial "r" is very frequently written with a pen lift after it.

(12) Initial "m" and "n" begin with an almost straight down stroke which extends very high. The same applies to initial "w". Other illustrations will be found in the juxtaposed photograph.

(13) The terminals in final letters are usually very short and abbreviate the letter or letters.

(14) The pen presentation is difficult to measure owing to the slight variation between thin and thick strokes, but it will be seen, generally speaking, that the shading occurs in parallel strokes in much the same places in these documents. The pen presentation is definitely fairly flat, that is to say, the pen was held well over to the right.

(15) As regards detailed design, see the juxtaposed photograph.

(16) The letter "c" is generally bigger than the average small letters. The same applies to the initial "r" in the round form.

(17) The slope is fairly regular and is about 30° to the right.

(18) I have examined these documents for signs of an attempt having been made by some one other than the writer of the standard writings to imitate his writing, but have found none. They are all written fast, freely and carelessly.

It is the cumulative effect of these reasons that has led me to my opinion. The chances of finding a second writer with the same combination of writing habits would be one in not less than 3 raised to the 20th power.

KISHORI LAL GHOSH,

REASONS FOR OPINION.

Taking the signature on P1628 and comparing it with the admitted signatures, it and they have been written in the following same operations, where the same full form of signature is found. The down stroke of "k", second part of "k", "i", "s", "hori" (with some exceptions), "lal" and "Ghosh". There is the same kind of characteristic scroll to the final "h", and generally the signature on P1628 closely resembles the admitted signatures. I have carefully examined the signature P1628 for signs of forgery, but have found none. I think it will be sufficiently obvious to the court that the signature on P1628 was written by the writer of the others without further detailed reasons; though I am prepared to give them if required.

Reasons about P1628 and P2501 as compared with P2271(P), the authorization slip and P2272 :—

1. The style is the same, being elliptical with angularity in places.
2. The movement employed is a combination of the finger and hand movements, with possibly the finger movement predominating.
3. The general appearance is irregular and scrawly owing probably to the rather excessive slope and the peculiar waviness of the alignment.
4. The maximum number of letters written at a time is about 6, and very rarely even 6. Frequently single letters are written and some words are written almost a letter at a time with a pen lift between each letter or almost between each letter.
5. The pen pressure is medium with little differentiation between thin and thick strokes and little shading specially put in.
6. The alignment of lines is very peculiar in that many of them have a wavy appearance, beginning in a downward direction, going up and then tending downwards again. This alignment is very characteristic.
7. The speed of writing is low.
8. The line quality is poor owing to many sudden changes in direction and to the disjoining of letters.
9. The spacing between lines is narrow and also between words.
10. As regards arrangement, the left hand margin is rather irregular and is narrow. Further, it narrows in width as the bottom of the page is approached. The righthand margin is irregular and is characterised by words being squeezed in in a more downward direction.
11. The joining strokes are for the most part rather narrow, short and in places angular.
12. As regards the same words being written in the same operations in P2272 and P1628, there is a pen lift after "e" in "dear", the word being written in two operations; the words "Bagbazar" in P1628, P2271(P) and P2272 are written in, with one exception, exactly the same six operations; in the word "that" there is in all these documents a pen lift after "t" and after "h"; and so on. This writer's habit in this respect is most marked and characteristic.
13. It will be seen that the beginnings and terminals of letters are also closely alike.
14. The pen presentation is difficult to measure, but is about 25 degrees to the right, so far as I can judge.
15. In capital "T" in "Th" the top of the "T" is lower than the top of the "h". Other examples can be found if required.
16. It will also be obvious that the slope is closely alike in all these documents.

17. I have carefully examined P2510 and P1628 for signs of an attempt to imitate the writing of the writer of the rest, but have found no such signs. This writing is very distinctive and in its own way very characteristic and scarcely needs an expert to enable the court to satisfy itself about its identity.

It is the cumulative effect of these reasons that has led me to my opinion.

GOSWAMI

REASONS FOR OPINION.

1. The style of writing is averagely elliptical with some angularity.
2. The movement employed is principally the hand movement.
3. The general appearance is irregular with a tendency to indistinctness in the form of the letters.
4. Judging from the rather small amount of writing, the maximum number of letters written at one operation is about 8 and the minimum is 1. The occurrence of one letter written at a time is frequent in the small amount of material.
5. The pen pressure is rather light with some differentiation between thin and thick strokes. There is no special shading inserted.
6. The alignment of lines is fairly horizontal, and the bases of the short small letters frequently form small convex arches as in the words "instituted against" in P2270(P), "Jhabwala" and "this time" in P548(8), etc. The alignment of words is fairly even in many cases.
7. The speed of writing is average.
8. The spacing between lines is rather variable in P2270(P), but agrees with that in P548(8) in many places, being about the length of two short small letters. The spacing between words is rather more than average for the most part.
9. The line quality is very ordinary for the most part.
10. The joining strokes are short and frequently angular to the left. Very occasionally two words are joined together with a rather long joining stroke to cover the space between them.
11. As regards words written in the same operations, note in P2270(P) and P548(8) the pen lift after "o" in "inform", after "h" in "have" and after the first "r" in "fraternally".
12. The "w" begins occasionally with a slight up-stroke and the first pole of the letter is high; and sometimes this slight up-stroke is missing. Initial "h" has a rather short initial up-stroke, while "l" in the words "love", "leaders", etc., in P2270(P) and "love" in P548(8) has a low long beginning stroke slightly hooked at the beginning.
13. As regards terminals, note the hooked terminal of final "y" and the almost straight terminal of final "t".
14. The pen presentation is about 40 degrees to the right of the vertical, so far as I can judge.
15. As regards detailed design, note the frequently low position of the "i" dot, the design of the "y" and the abnormally long, flat back of the "c". The capital "T" is written with a hook to the right at the bottom of the long, down stroke.
16. The average slope of a large number of measured strokes in P2270(P) is 29.7° to the right and that of the signatures in P2303(S), P2304(S), P2484 and P2493 is 27° , 28° , 36° and 34° respectively. That part of the manuscript on P548(8) which is below the typewriting has an average slope of 31.5° , and the slope of the writing above the signature and including the signature on this exhibit is 27° . All these slopes are to the right of the vertical.
17. As regards relative sizing, initial "c" is bigger than other letters and so is "s", whether initial or medial. The capital letters in ordinary cursive writing are about the same length as the long small letters such as "h", "l", "b". The length of "y" is rather abnormally long. Every "y" and every "t" has been measured in P2270(P) and P548(8). The average length of "y" in P2270(P) was 5.54 mm and that of "t" was 3.48 mm. The same figures for P548(8) were 3.75 and 2.29. This gives:

as the average ratio of "y" to "t" in P2270(P) 1.59, while the same ratio in P548(8) is 1.64. The total number of measurements taken for these results was 102. It will be obvious how close the two ratios in the two documents agree. There is only a difference of .05 in 1.59 which is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

It is the cumulative effect of these reasons that has led me to my conclusion. The chances of finding another writer with the same combination of writing habits as described above would be 1 in 3 to more than the 24th power.

JHABVALA,

REASONS FOR OPINION.

1. The style of writing is round with a tendency to the square style.
2. The documents were written with the finger movement.
3. The general appearance is that of irregular writing with a certain amount of unsteadiness.
4. This writer rarely writes more than six letters at a time without lifting his pen, except when he writes his own name, which he sometimes does in one operation.
5. The pen pressure is a little less than average and does not show much variation between thick and thin strokes.
6. In exhibits P2282(P), P2481 and the postcard dated 25-3-28 (P.....) the lines of writing have a marked tendency to rise as they proceed towards the right. P1939(P) is almost wholly written in the prescribed printed rectangles of the telegraph form, but in the first two lines of writing, where the writer is clearly free from the influence of these printed lines, this tendency of the alignment to rise towards the righthand side is clearly shown. The alignment of letters in words is decidedly irregular.
7. The speed of writing is low (except in places in P2481 where it is higher).
8. The line quality is often poor and many of the strokes show unsteadiness and indicate a lack of skilful control over the pen.
9. The spacing between letters is average and regular.
10. I find the same characteristic joining strokes in all these documents *e.g.*, that from "B" to "o" in the word "Bombay" in P1939(P) in the last line and in the body of the telegram, in P2282(P) in the address and just above the signature at the end of the postcard, and in exhibit P..... in the address.
11. There are very few words common to P1939(P) and the specimen writings; but where common words are found they are almost invariably written with the same operations of the pen, *e.g.*, "Bombay" in two places in P1939 is written in two operations, *i.e.*, initial down stroke and the rest of the word, as it is in the address of P..... etc. The word "Workers" occurs in line 24 of P..... and is written there in 3 operations, the pen lifts being after "W" and after the up stroke of "k". The same word occurs in P1939(P) as part of the word "Millworkers". The "w" is of course not a capital in this particular word and is not followed by a pen lift, but the rest of the word, namely "orkers", is written in the same two operations as before.
12. The pen presentation is about 40 degrees to the right.
13. The same habits of relative location of parts of the writing to the other parts are found in all these documents, *e.g.*, if in "J" the relative position of the four points represented by the top, the bottom, the lowest point (cross-over) of the top loop, and the highest point (cross-over) of the bottom loop, is examined, wherever this letter occurs in each of these documents, it will be found to correspond closely. In the "B" of "Bombay" and other words the top point (cross-over) of the loop at the bottom of this letter is on a level with or slightly above the bottom of the down stroke at the beginning of the letter.
14. I give two or three examples of detailed design of letters chosen from the large number that exists. The "C" of "Central" in P1939(P), in the address of P2282(P) and in the words "Christ" and "Charlotte" on the fully written side of P..... and elsewhere are of the same elongated form, they begin with a small hook to the right of the first upstroke and the curvatures correspond very closely as do the direction of the terminal and the relative sizing of the loop to the whole of the letter. The particular design

of "M" found twice in P1939(P) is also found in the address of P..... and in the word "Mistry" at the top of the same side of this postcard and elsewhere.

15. As an example of similarity of relative sizing of letter to letter, I point out that in four places the "S" and "H" of the signature are shorter (and also lower) than the "Jh" of "Jhabvala".

16. The slope is closely alike being approximately vertical in all the documents, but occasionally a slightly forehand slope is employed, as in the word "Bombay" at the end of P1939(P), and the same word at the foot of the address of P2282(P), etc.

17. I have carefully examined the writing in P1939(P) for signs of forgery, but I did not find any.

It is the cumulative effect of these reasons that I base my opinion upon.

I estimate that the chances of finding a second writer with the same combination of habits as described above are 1 in not less than 3 raised to the 20th power. This writer's writing is in a sufficiently set hand to be easily recognizable by the layman and contains no signs of disguise. There are admittedly differences between P2282(P) and P1939 and the rest, but equally big differences can be pointed out among the documents other than P1939 themselves.

The above reasons are more fully illustrated in the juxtaposed photograph already placed on record.

JOGLEKAR,

REASONS FOR OPINION.

1. All the writings are broadly elliptical in style.
2. They were all written with the combined finger and hand movement.
3. The general appearance of the writing is irregular principally due to variations in slope, and the fact that some letters, like small "g" are written higher than the ordinary alignment.
4. The writer can write 9 or 10 letters at a time without lifting his pen. *E.g.* "programme" in l. 14 of P1124, "encourage" in l. 11 of P2284(P) and "arrested" in l. 7 of the post card dated 1-4-29. He habitually employs principally groups of four or three letters, joined together without the pen being lifted, in rather long words.
5. The pressure on the writing instrument is medium.
6. The alignment is very irregular, some of the lines sloping down, some upwards, and some being more or less level. The alignment of individual words is poor on the whole. In several places the alignment contains convex arcs, the length of which is about 7 or 8 letters at the most.
7. The speed of writing is medium.
8. The line quality is rather poor owing to there being a large number of sudden changes in direction in many of the letters.
9. The spacing between words is medium, and that between lines is average, or rather narrower more particularly towards the bottom of the page.
10. A habit of arrangement that is common to the documents is that of leaving little or no margin on the left side. The margins on the right are narrow and irregular.
11. The joining strokes from small letters of the type exemplified by a, u and n often show a tendency to angularity at their lowest points. Very occasionally two words are joined together. *E. g.* in "the country" in l. 10 of P1124, the "e" and "c" are joined together in precisely the same way as the same two letters in "the case" in l. 24 of P2284(P). The rather unusual method of joining "T." to "h." in "The," found in l. 8 of the post card dated 1-4-29, is also present in l. 13 of P1124.
12. Letters such as "t, b, h, p and w" are rarely given any preliminary upstroke by this writer.
13. Letters ending in the way that final, k, l, e, n and m do, are given by this writer rather abrupt terminals which rarely rise more than slightly above the alignment of the word concerned.
14. There are many habits of relative position common to these documents. *E. g.* when the last letter in a word is "s", it is written on a lower alignment. See in P1124 "forces" in l. 6, "this" in l. 13, "hours" in l. 18 etc.; in P2284 "things" in l. 10, "comes" in l. 26 etc.; in the post card dated 1-4-29 "blessings" in l. 19; final "t" is also often on a lower alignment than the letter preceding it.
15. The detailed design of letters agrees closely. Examples are:—The word "the" is written without a "t" crossing, as in P2284(P) l. 10, 12, 13, 16, 21, 29; the post card dated 1-4-29 l. 4, 9, etc., P1124 l. 2; 4, 6, 10, 15, etc. The word "of" is written almost like the English 9, with the "o" high up and near to the pole of the "f", as in P2284(P) l. 12, post card dated 1-4-29, l. 5, 8, P1124, 3, 13, 17. The more usual kind of "of" is found in post card dated 1-4-29, and P1124 l. 6. Further, taking the word "workers" in l. 6 of the post card dated 1-4-29 and P1124 l. 7, it will be seen that the same kind of "w" and "r" is made in each case. See also the juxtaposed photograph.

16. The same habits of relative sizing are found in all these documents as will be seen from the juxtaposed photograph placed on record.

17. The average slope in P1124 is about 18° to the right, while in P2284(P) it is about 21° .

18. I have carefully examined the writing in P1124 for signs of forgery but none are present.

It is the cumulative effect of these reasons that I base my opinion upon. The chances of finding a second writer who would show the same combination of habits are, I estimate, 1 in not less than 3 to the 20th power.

P. C. JOSHI

REASONS FOR THE ENGLISH WRITING.

The signature "P. C. Joshi" on P526(8) and the signature "Puran" on P126 will be seen to resemble closely the corresponding signatures on the admitted documents without my giving detailed reasons.

The manuscript English writing is very distinctive and characteristic in itself, and I only propose to point out a few features of detailed design. In P2295(P), for instance, notice the peculiar second "o" in "following", "how", "now", "know", etc., written below the line in a clockwise direction. The same kind of "o" is found in the words "How", "something", "you", etc., in P526(8) and in P126 in "personally", "you", etc. The words "Holland Hall, Allahabad" are found in P2294(P) and P126 and the word "Meerut" is common to both the documents, being found in two places in P2295(P), and resemble closely. Medial "s" is frequently written very low, as in the words "Majesty" in P2295 and "best" and "Bajeshwari" in P2294(P). The same is found in the words "enthusiastic", "answer", "least", etc., in P126 and in P526(8) in "Press" & "also". The same applies frequently to medial "r". Note also the peculiar joining stroke after "d", as in the words "Rudra" in P2294(P) and P126. Further, there is a peculiar form of final "y", as in P2294(P) in the word "regularly" and in P2295(P) in the words "absolutely" and "affectionately". This "y" is written like the figure "7". The same type is found in the words "only" (in line 11) and "fraternally" in P126 and in the words "really", "immediately", etc., in P526(8).

MIRAJKAR,

REASONS FOR OPINION.

The documents which contain the characteristic signature or initials of the writer concerned are P-129, 526(27), 526(30), 548(2), 702, 827, 835, 836, 837, 839, 848, 850, 855, 1017(S), 1109, 1236, 1287(1), 1344, 1348(2), 1348(13), 1348(18), 1348(41), 1348(49), 1349(2), 1350(5), 1351, 1353, 1355(7a), 1373(7), 1373(16), 1472, 1946 and 2418(P). I propose therefore to give brief reasons about these signatures and initials. I do not propose to give detailed reasons about the writings above these initials and signatures. I leave it to the court to decide whether the opinion I have given about these writings is correct or not in view of the fact that below them are the writer's signatures. With regard to the signatures and initials, a reference to the juxtaposed photograph, which I have already placed on record, will show that the signature is very characteristic in itself. From this photograph, it can be seen that the writer has two distinctly different ways of writing his name. The one is confined to the form "S. S. Mirajkar" and the other to the fuller form "Shantaram Sawlaram Mirajkar". Both these types are found on the two sides of the juxtaposed photograph. The first type is much more characteristic than the second. In it I draw attention to the parallelism and overlapping in the two "S's", the peculiar combination of "ir", the pen lifts, the form of the "k", the underlining habits, the number of operations and the peculiar appearance of the whole signature. In the second form note the invariable pen lift after the "t" of "Shantaram" and the occasional one after the "h".

These signatures and initials, which I have examined very carefully, show no signs of attempted forgery and are freely and speedily written.

My reasons for the opinion about the rest of the documents, namely, P-833, 1010, 1247, 1248, 1348(17), 1348(40), 1348(50), 1352(2), 1355(2), 1355(7b), 1355(7f), 1358, 1365 and 1748, are:—

1. The style of writing is elliptical to round.
2. The movement employed is a combination of the finger and hand movements, the hand movement predominating.
3. The general appearance of the writing is rather neat, and the letters are for the most part fully and clearly written.
4. The maximum number of letters written at one operation is about 8; frequently single letters are written with a pen lift before and after.
5. There is little or no specially put in shading, and the differentiation between thick and thin strokes is not very marked. The pressure on the writing instrument is medium to light.
6. The alignment of lines is fairly good as a whole, the lines of writing being approximately horizontal. The alignment of words is also fairly even, but there are some marked exceptions.
7. The speed of writing is rather low to average.
8. The line quality is fairly good and some of the joining strokes form curves which are almost perfectly made.
9. The spacing between lines is variable, but on the whole about average. The spacing between words is usually slightly wider than average.
10. There is a fairly even, narrow margin on the left, and on the right the words are occasionally rather squeezed in, in a downward direction.
11. The shorter joining strokes are almost circular, but there are a number of long joining strokes which have their lowest points somewhat to the left of the middle. The joining stroke between "o" and "f" forms a pronounced loop and begins in a downward direction.
12. As regards lifting of pen after certain letters, it is frequently lifted after the round form of small "r", as in the words "rules", "request", "room", "rooms", "remanded" in the postcard marked D; in the words

"raid", "round", "abrupt" in P1010; in "organizations", "treasurer", etc., in P1348(17); and after the German form of "d" followed by another letter as in "India" in P2483, "Dadar" in the postcard marked D, "dear" in the postcard marked C, and "dear", "remanded" and "bedding" in P2285(P). See also in P1247 the words "moderate" and "moderates"; in P833 "independence"; in P1365 "including", in P1248 "redressed", "independent", "creditable", "ordinary", "attitude"; and so on. See also the joining between "d" and the following letter in the words "handkerchief", "Khandke", "Deshpande" and "Dadar" in P2285(P); "handkerchiefs" in postcard C; "attitude" in P1248; "building" in P1355(2), "Pandse" in P1355(7f); "editorial" in P1748, etc.

13. Many of the small letters have a rather long, slightly hooked initial stroke, such as initial "t", "i", "b", "h", etc.

14. The final "g" and "y", where they are made without a loop, frequently end with a small tick to the right. The final "d" is usually in the German form and ends in a flattish curve to the left. Further illustrations will be seen from the juxtaposed photograph, such as that of the final "r" in the signature.

15. The pen presentation in the ink written exhibits is about 30 degrees to the right.

16. The "j" in the signatures usually has its top lower than the preceding letter, and the same is found in the "Mirajkar" in the other exhibits such as P1355(7b). The initial "c" is usually big and has its highest point higher than the top of the next letter, and the same applies to initial "s".

17. As regards the detailed design of letters, see the juxtaposed photograph already placed on record, and also note the two different forms of "d", the two different forms of "k", the varying forms of small "r", etc.

18. I have measured many of the slopes in some of these documents and the following are the results. In P2285(P) the average is about 20°; in the postcards C and D it is 18°; in P2483 it is 19.5°; in P2482 about 20°; in P1010 18°; in P1355(7f) 16.6°; and in P1365 20.5°.

19. I have examined all these writings for signs tending to show that someone had attempted to imitate the writing of the writer of the standard writings, but have found no such signs.

- It is the cumulative effect of these reasons that has led me to my opinion. The chances of finding another writer who would have even the same peculiar signature as the one written by this writer are so remote as to be, practically speaking, impossible; and the chances of finding a second writer whose writing would contain all the characteristics given above would be 1 in more than 3 to the power of 23.

SPRATT,

REASONS FOR OPINION.

1. The style of writing is narrowly elliptical, but some of the round letters have a rather broad ellipse.

2. The movement employed is a combination of the finger and hand movements with a preponderance of finger movement.

3. The general appearance of the writing is cramped, and many of the letters are indistinctly or certainly not fully and clearly written.

4. The number of letters written at one operation is usually only a few. Occasionally only one or two letters are written and then the pen is lifted.

5. The pen pressure is rather light and the differentiation between thin and thick strokes is not marked. There is no shading specially put in for artistic effect.

6. The alignment is fairly even and approximately horizontal, but the alignment of individual words is uneven.

7. The speed of writing is fairly high.

8. The line quality as judged from the tracks of the nibs is good on the whole.

9. The spacing between lines, as compared with the depth of small letters, is wide, being from 2 to 4 times the depth of the short, small letters. The spacing between words is also wide. The spacing between letters is average.

10. As regards arrangement, the writer leaves a wide, even margin on the left.

11. The joinings between letters with this writer are very characteristic in certain cases. *E.g.* the capital "T" has its top stroke joined on to the top of an immediately following "h" almost at right angles, and the small "t" crossing is occasionally joined on to the word following the one in which the small "t" occurs. Fairly frequently, too, the joining strokes between letters are rather wide and flat.

12. As regards operations in writing the same words or combinations of letters I have pointed out the "Th" joining, and it should also be noted that in the words "Your" & "You" and "your" & "you" the capital "Y" and the small "y" usually have a pen lift after them.

13. The terminals are usually short, and occasionally those which should end in a curve in an upward direction end in a downward direction. Many of them are blunt endings, *e.g.*, final "y". Occasionally also the terminals, as in final "y" and the bottoms of the "f" and "p", are slightly hooked with a short hook to the right.

14. The beginnings of small letters are characteristic in not having any initial up stroke to the letters "h", "t", "m", "y", "i", etc., when they are initial. Capital "S" in "Spratt", when not joined to a preceding letter, begins with a slight hook in an upward direction. The "P" of "P. Spratt" or "Philip Spratt" also has a slight hooked beginning.

15. The pen presentation is about 35 degrees to the right of the vertical.

16. The capital letters are frequently on a slightly lower alignment than the letters immediately following them, and where the small "a" has a cradling joining stroke leading up to it, the body of the "a" is usually on a higher alignment than the neighbouring letters.

17. As regards detailed design of letters, see the capital "D" in P2268(P) and P1876. Note the rather short pole of capital "B" in "Birth", "British" and "Book Sellers" in P2442; the "B" in "B. Russell" in P2268(P); the "B" of "But" in P1876; and the peculiar joining stroke between "w" and "h", "o" and "f", etc.

By way of illustration, see the juxtaposed photograph already placed on record.

18. As regards relative sizing of letters, I measure the maximum lengths of a large number of "y's" and "f's" in these documents. In P2268(P) the average length of "y" was 3.36 and the average length of "f" was 4.8, the ratio of "y" to "f" being .7. Corresponding measurements made from the other documents worked out to .78 for the same ratio.

19. The slope of P2268(P) and P2442, but more particularly the former, is greater than in P1876 and P1759; but resembles closely that of the alteration of P546(6). Many of the slopes, however, in P2268(P) and P2442 resemble closely many of the slopes of P1876 and P1759.

20. I carefully examined P1759, P1876, P546(6), P1503 and P2520(1) for signs of forgery or rather for signs that someone had been attempted to imitate the writing of the writer of P2268(P), but I found no such signs.

It is the cumulative effect of these reasons that has led me to my opinion. By "cumulative effect" I mean that if it were assumed that one person out of every three persons had the same style as described and one out of every three had the same movement as described and so on, the chances of finding a second writer who would have the same combination of habits as those described above are one in three to more than the 23rd power.

This writer's writing is very characteristic and is easily recognizable, and scarcely needs an expert to identify it.

There are admittedly differences between P2268(P) and P2442 on the one hand and the rest of the documents on the other hand in shapes of letters etc., but whatever differences do exist, equally big differences can be found to exist between P2268(P) and P2442 in these respects. The differences or variations are such as are expected and found in the normal handwriting of any person.

PAGE ARNOT,

REASONS FOR OPINION.

I have examined the signatures in P2386, P2382, P1951 and P1952 for signs of forgery, but have found none. These four signatures are freely written at speed with a degree of variation among themselves that corresponds to the degree of variation found among the specimen signatures; and, further, they agree with the specimen signatures closely in respect of style, movement, general appearance, pen pressure, pen presentation, detailed design and the remainder of the tests which have been applied to the writings of each person. The writer of all these signatures has a very individual style and the signatures are easily recognizable as being those of one person. Roughly speaking, there are two varieties of signatures among the specimen and the questioned signatures. The first one is well represented by the signature at the foot of exhibit P2462(5) and, corresponding to it, see the signature on P1951. The second kind, of a rather less ornate character, is found in P2462(4) and at the end of P2386. Here again there are no signs of anyone having attempted to simulate the signature, and the court can apply for itself any of the tests mentioned in connection with other writers with the help of photographs which I have placed on record.

C, P, DUTT,

REASONS FOR OPINION.

From the juxtaposed photograph it will be seen how closely the signatures (and initials) on exhibits P345, P526(45), P1658(P), P1659(P), P1233, P1348(34), P2346 and P2387(P1) resemble, in detailed design and the other habits mentioned in the complete reasons, the standard signatures which are on the left of the juxtaposed photograph. These signatures are all very characteristic signatures and are readily identifiable without the reasons being detailed by me. The questioned signatures and initials have been freely, carelessly and speedily written, and in these respects resemble the standard signatures very closely indeed. The detailed design of the questioned signatures will be seen to resemble very closely in almost every detail that of the standard signatures.

P2387(P1) contains a certain amount of writing as well as a signature. I think it will be fairly obvious, without my giving too many reasons, that the bodywriting of P2387(P1) and its signature were written by the same person. In the bodywriting and the heading are the same "P's" and "D's" as in the signature. It will also be seen that the pen pressure, pen presentation, shading, slope, etc., of the bodywriting resemble closely those of the signature. Further reasons in support of the bodywriting of P2387(P1) having been written by the writer of its signature can be given if necessary; but with these few reasons I shall assume that the bodywriting has been proved to have been written by the writer of the signature and shall utilize this bodywriting to supplement the bodywriting of the admitted documents to prove P1012 and P526(42).

Reasons about P1012 and P526(42) :—

1. The style of writing is broadly elliptical to round.
2. The movement employed is principally the finger movement combined with some hand movement.
3. The general appearance is rather cramped and irregular, and the writing is small in size generally speaking.
4. The maximum number of letters written at one operation is about 10 and the minimum is one.
5. The pen pressure is fairly light with some differentiation between thin and thick strokes. The differentiation between thin and thick strokes has a tendency towards the end of a piece of writing to become less marked.
6. The alignment of lines is fairly even on the whole, as in P2387(P1) and P526(42), but the writer is sometimes somewhat irregular even when he has ruled lines to write on as in P2356 and P1012. Where there are no ruled lines the writing has a tendency to slope up to the right. The alignment of words is rather poor.
7. The line quality varies considerably, but is on the whole fairly good. It is difficult to judge it owing to the small amount of writing.
8. The speed of writing is for the most part rather low, though occasionally a fairly high speed is used.
9. The spacing between lines is fairly wide, except in P1012 where it is narrow, possibly owing to the writer's desire to get a good deal of writing into the small space.
10. Taking P2387(P1) as a standard showing the arrangement when the writer is writing a fairly lengthy piece of writing, the habit of arrangement deduced from it will be seen to resemble closely that of P1012 and P526(42) in that there is a fairly wide margin on the left which increases in width towards the bottom.
11. The joining strokes between letters are generally short and fairly round. Occasionally there are long, rather flat joining strokes.

12. As regards words written in the same operations, the word "party" in the last line of P2387(P1) is written with a pen lift after the "p". The same is found in several places in P526(42).

13. As regards terminals, the "y" is written both with a widely looped terminal and with a curved terminal extending well to the right as in the words "Germany" in P2449; "Germany", "visiting" and "my" in P2447; "Germany" and "my" in P2356; and in such words as "you", "very", "exactly", etc., in P1012 and P526(42). The peculiar terminal found in "g" in "Long Ashton" in P2356 and "Yours" in P2387 is found in line 10 of P526(42) in "my". The peculiar "f" terminal is illustrated in the juxtaposed photograph already placed on record; and other examples of the "y" terminal and the type of terminal found in the "g" of "Long Ashton" are also illustrated in it.

14. As regards beginnings, it will be seen from the juxtaposed photograph how similar are the beginnings of the "o", "h", "t" and certain capital letters. Initial "y" and "p" are also worthy of attention as regards their beginnings.

15. As regards relative location of letter to letter, in "The" the bottom of the "T" is invariably on a lower alignment than that of the following "h" in these documents; and in "th" combination of the word "the" the bottom of "t" is usually much lower than the bottom of the following down stroke of the following "h".

16. The detailed design of several of the letters is most peculiar with this writer, as will be seen from the juxtaposed photograph. Notice the peculiar terminal of "f" in such words as "of", "if", etc; the peculiar printed "b" occurring before "e", "y" and "u"; the peculiar terminal of "to" well over to the left found occasionally; the occasional joining up of the "t" crossing to the following word; the peculiar, rather wavy cross-stroke in "H"; the terminals of final "y", "g", etc.; the peculiar form of the word "party", and other words beginning with "p" more particularly in respect of "p"; the low position in which the up stroke of such letters as "y" and "g", when they are written with a loop, crosses the down stroke and the usual large size of such loops. The peculiar detailed design used in the signatures will be obvious from the juxtaposed photograph without being specified.

17. The relative sizing of letter to letter will be seen to be the same in these documents from the juxtaposed photograph, and from such other common words as "for", "from", etc.

18. As regards slope, there is (even omitting P2387(P1)) considerable variation among the standard writings. The slope of much of the writing in P2447 and of the writing in P2387 (P1) agrees very closely with that of P526(42) and P1012.

19. I have carefully examined P1012 and P526(42) for signs of forgery, but have found none.

It is the cumulative effect of these reasons that has led me to my conclusion. This person's writing is very markedly characteristic and scarcely needs an expert for the purposes of its identification. The chances of finding another writer with nearly the same peculiar detailed design of letters would be 1 in several millions in my opinion.

M. N. ROY,

REASONS FOR OPINION.

I carefully examined all these signatures for signs of forgery, but found none. So far as I can judge, they have all been written equally freely, carelessly and speedily. Further, they resemble one another closely in detailed design, though there is a good deal of variation among them, as is natural, in the signatures of the same person. I draw attention more particularly to the hooked beginning of the capital "M", its length and the angle it makes with the down stroke. Further, the first down stroke of the "M" is at a considerable angle, as regards slope, to the second down stroke. Note also that the "M" and "N" are much shorter than the capital "R" in height. The capital "R" has a comparatively short initial loop and the highest point of the letter is a long way above the top of the first down stroke. The loop in the second part of the "R" is very high and is well above the top of the following small letters. The "o" is written almost like an "a". The "M" and "N" terminals are usually plain, that is, are not hooked.

As regards the manuscript of P2320(P) and P2380(1), it is true that there is not much writing in P2320(P), but what little there is, agrees very closely with certain parts of P2380(1) in the handwriting habits given in the full list of reasons. For instance, the joining up of words as in "it is" and "a copy" in P2320(P) is found in many places in P2380(1). There is between the "t" crossing and the word "is" in "it is" in P2320(P) either a pen lift or an extraordinary light pressure at the end of the "t" crossing. In the words "it may" in P2380(1) there is actually a pen lift, but other words in P2380(1) are joined up without a pen lift. In "letter" in P2320(P) and in the first line of P2380(1) note the position and side of the "t" crossing, the rather long initial stroke of the "l" and the relative heights of "l" and "tt". The final "y" of "copy" in P2320(P) is found in such words as "Monday", "Tuesday" and "Party" in P2380(1). The same kind of capital "P" found in "Patna" in P2320(P) is also found in the word "Party" at the end of P2380(1). Both the writings have the same light pressure, much the same slope etc. The three types of "d" found in P2320(P) namely, the English, the German and the type of "d" found in the word "friend", are also found in P2380(1) in "dated" and "today". The words "of the" of P2320(P) are almost exactly reproduced in line 11 from the end of P2380(1). For these and other reasons that could be given, if required, I am of the opinion stated above.

S. SAKLATVALA,

REASONS FOR OPINION.

As regards the signatures, I have satisfied myself that they show none of the signs of forgery, that they have been freely and speedily written and that they resemble one another very closely in the respects mentioned in the reasons given in the case of the other writings in this Meerut Case. I draw attention to the fact that in all these signatures there is a pen lift after the "j", "i", the second "S" and "t". I also point out that the "j" and "p" of "Shapurji" would in several of them, if produced, meet above the signature. The "t" crossing is very characteristic of this signature. Also the top of the "h" is always higher than the top of the "S" in "Shapurji". Usually also the tops of the "k" and "l" of "Saklatvala" are lower than the tops of the "S" and "t".

As regards the body-writing, the following are the reasons for the opinion:—

1. The style of writing in all is rather broadly elliptical.
2. The movement employed is principally the hand movement with some finger movement.
3. The general appearance of the writing is rather irregular, but shows fixed habits.
4. The writer can write several letters at a time up to a maximum of about 8 or 10 without lifting the pen, but usually a much smaller number of letters than this is written, and the pen is frequently lifted after an "i", as in the words "application" (in three places) in P2388(2), in the words "Indian", "dinner", "Friday", "night", "will", etc., in P2388(2) and in the words "policy", "India", "Indians", etc., in P2388(3), etc.
5. The pressure on the writing instrument is fairly heavy, and where a pen is used there is a well marked differentiation between thin and thick strokes and occasionally there is specially heavy shading introduced.
6. The alignment of the lines of writing is fairly regular with a distinct tendency to run up slightly to the right. At the beginning of many of the lines this tendency is more marked than towards the end. In many of the lines of writing a line joining the bases of the short small letters forms a concave arch or a series of concave arches. The alignment of words is somewhat irregular, being fairly even in many cases, but distinctly irregular in others.
7. The speed of writing is rather high.
8. The line quality is good and the curves are firmly made for the most part.
9. The spacing between lines is fairly regular and, with the exception of P1960, is about twice the depth of a short small letter. In P1960 it is rather wider, which is perhaps accounted for by the fact that this exhibit is a brief introductory memo. The spacing between words is fairly wide and each word is written distinctly separated from the other words.
10. There is a fairly regular but rather narrow margin on the left and a varied one on the right. The writer seldom squeezes in words at the righthand end of the lines.
11. The joining strokes are almost invariably short and well curved.
12. This writer's habits of beginning particular letters are somewhat variable and show the same variations in each of the documents. Letters, such as "t", "y", "f" and "u" (whose first main stroke is normally straight and downwards) are often begun

by this writer at the beginning of the word without any initial up stroke or hook, *e.g.*, the words "thank you for" in line 4 of P1235, "join me in" in line 13 of P2455, "would" and "unfair" in line 5 of P2388(3), etc. On the other hand, such letters are sometimes given a small initial hook by this writer, *e.g.*, "joint" in line 8 of P2455, "with", three lines above the signature in P2455, "perfectly" in line 1 of P2388(3), etc. Initial letters of the type represented by "o" and "a" are written by this writer without any initial stroke and begun in a direction upwards and to the left.

13. The terminal strokes of words are not fully formed and there are characteristic habits of terminating particular letters, *e.g.*, final "t" is terminated by its crossing in a direction which is usually approximately horizontal and sometimes slightly downwards.
14. The pen presentation is 30 degrees to the right.
15. I give the following examples of habits of detailed design of letters. The word "of" is usually written with a high and continuous joining stroke from the "o" to the top of the "f", the "f" crossing being made continuous with the bottom of the down stroke of this letter and forming the final stroke—see lines 16 and 17 of P2388(3), line 4 of P2388(1), line 5 of P1235, etc. Two different forms of "p" are employed. The first form is made in one operation. Where initial, it begins with a small up-stroke and its righthand part is angular at the top and from this angle proceeds the joining stroke to the next letter. The second form of "p" is made sometimes with one operation and occasionally with two; it also, where initial, has a small preliminary up-stroke, but its righthand part is smooth and round and has no joining stroke to the following letter. Examples of the first type can be seen in P2388(1), line 7; in P1235, lines 9 and 12, in the words "poor" and "especially" respectively, and elsewhere; and examples of the second kind in P1235, line 11 ("prove") and lines 13 and 14 ("political" and "policy" respectively); in P2336 in the word "political"; and elsewhere.
16. The documents show the same habits of relative sizing of letter to letter and of parts of letters to the other parts. "f" is a long letter being usually about 6 or 8 times the height of an average short small letter, and sometimes considerably more. "y" also is given a somewhat abnormal length by this writer, particularly when it occurs at the end of a word—see, for example, "Secretary" in line 6 of P2334, "policy" about half way down P2388(3), "by" near the middle of P2388(1), etc. The combination "ou" in the word "you" has a tendency to diminish in size as it proceeds towards the right, the final part of "u" being often a very small stroke. The same tendency is found in the "n" where it occurs at the end of a word.
17. In all these documents the average slope lies between 30 and 35 degrees to the right of the vertical, except in P2388(2) where it is about 28°, in P2388(1) where it is about 25° and in the body-writing of P2336 where it is about 25° (the average slope of the signature on this document is 35° to the right). As regards exhibit P2336 just mentioned, it may be noted that this is a passport and that the more vertical writing on it is of a formal nature.
18. I have examined all these documents very carefully to see whether they contain signs of forgery, *i.e.*, to ascertain whether any of them could possibly be imitated writing of the person who wrote any of the others, but I could find no such signs.

It is the cumulative effect of the above reasons that I base my opinion upon. The chances of finding another writer who would show the same combinations and the writing habits as those described, and those indicated in the juxtaposed photograph already placed on record, will, in my estimate, be not less than 1 in 3 raised to the 22nd power. There are admittedly variations or differences among these exhibits, but they are only such as are expected in the normal handwriting of a writer; and whatever they may be, equally big differences can usually be pointed out in any one of the documents itself.

SEPASSI,

REASONS FOR OPINION.

1. The style of writing is elliptical.
2. The movement employed is a combination of the finger, hand and fore-arm movements.
3. The general appearance of the writing is somewhat variable. In most of the documents, including P2307(a), P783, P2315, etc., it is a rather neat sloping hand; in others, such as P2325(P) and P2305 it is not so regular owing to some variation of the slope and less formality in writing.
4. This writer can write a very large number of letters at a time without lifting the pen, such as "& prohibition" in P2307(a); "communication" in P2315, etc. He very rarely writes one letter at a time, occasionally writes two letters at a time, but most frequently writes more than two letters at a time.
5. The pen pressure is light, and there is little shading and little differentiation between thin and thick strokes.
6. The alignment is good and is fairly horizontal with a tendency in places to go slightly upwards to the right. Where the writer is writing on ruled paper, as in P2308 and P2327(P), the ruled lines are more or less neglected towards the end of the writing, while they are approximately followed at the beginning.
7. The speed of writing is considerably higher than average.
8. The line quality is good, and many of the curves are perfectly formed.
9. The spacing between lines is narrow and between words is fairly wide. There are occasionally wide spaces between letters.
10. The joining strokes between many of the letters are long and flat, being typical of the fore-arm movement. On the other hand, the shorter joining strokes are elliptical with a tendency to an angle on the left. There is a tendency to join up words of which the following are examples. In P2308 "is not"; in P2307(a) "to remain" and "before the"; in the questioned documents see, for instance, in P2315 "is used", "Give us" and "give him"; in P2321(P) "is not"; in P2324(P) "have not" and "of the"; etc., etc.
11. As regards words written in the same number of operations, see in the juxtaposed photograph the pen lift between "i" and "v" in the word "Received" and in the same word or nearly the same word written without pen lift from beginning to end; and the word "was" written with and without a pen lift after "w". Also note in the words "addressed" and "address" the pen lift frequently occurring after the second "d" and occasionally before the second "d"; as well as the whole word written without a pen lift.
12. Initial "r" of the square type begins very high up, as in the words "remembrance" in P2305, and "recovery", "rightful", etc., in P2307(a). The same and even higher beginnings of this letter are found in P783 in "require" and the words "received" in the juxtaposed photograph. Initial "s", when in the printed form, has a high, fairly straight beginning as in P2307(a) in "some", and in the words "sent", "see", "soon", etc., in P2321(P).
13. As regards terminals, note in the juxtaposed photograph the "h" terminal in such words as "which" and "with" where the "h" is very abbreviated. Much the same type of "h" is found in "brought" in P2308. Generally many of the terminals are comparatively long in these documents.
14. The pen presentation is about 5° to the right of the vertical, so far as I can judge, in all these exhibits.
15. As regards relative position, medial "s" is usually lower than the letter preceding and following it, and the round form of "r", where medial or final, usually has its down stroke lower than the neighbouring letters. Initial "j" is very high, as in the words "just" in P2308 and "journal" in P2321. Many examples of these letters can be found.

16. As will be seen from the juxtaposed photograph, the detailed design of letters is closely alike in all these documents. For instance, there are three forms of small "d", namely, the English written form, the German form and a form like the Greek delta. The small "a" is frequently written in the German form of "a", that is with an anti-clockwise semicircle preceding the circle of the "a". The "i" dot joined to the following word is found in P2308 and P2321(P) in "is not"; and in "is nobody" in P2321(P). In fact these two words "is not" in these two exhibits are so extraordinarily alike as to form the best illustration I can give of the similarity of detailed design.

17. It will be obvious that the slope of P2307(a) and P2308 is closely similar to that of P2321, P783, P2320, P2315, P2325(P)—latter part—etc.,. Admittedly the slope of P2324(P) and of the first part of P2325(P) is more upright; though towards the end of both P2324(P) and P2325(P) the slope more closely approximates that of the standard writings.

18. As regards relative sizing, the long letters below the line are rather extraordinarily long, and from the juxtaposed photograph I think it will be fairly obvious that the relative sizing, generally speaking, is closely alike in all these documents.

19. I have carefully examined the questioned documents for signs of forgery or an attempt to imitate the writing of the writer of the standard documents, but have found no such signs. The writing of the questioned documents is even more freely and carelessly written than the writing of the standard documents. This indeed has been one of the difficulties in the case because the principal standard document P2307(a) is a letter in a rather formal and careful writing to the Governor of French India and allowance has had to be made for this fact in making the comparison.

It is the cumulative effect of these reasons that has led me to my conclusion. Many other reasons or illustrations of reasons will be obvious from the juxtaposed photographs placed on record, and I consider that the chances of finding another writer who would show the same combination of habits would be 1 in not less than 3 to the 20th power.

ADHIKARI TYPEWRITING.

REASONS FOR OPINION.

I have carefully examined the design of letters and figures in these exhibits and find that they agree. Further, these four exhibits show the following same peculiarities:—

I.-Alignment. The top of "c" is higher than the top of "e" in the words "specimen" (in the standard documents), "received" (line 1) and "reconstruction" in P1174; "euch" in P1169; and "woche" and "suche" in P1196. Further, the bottom of "e" is on a higher alignment than the bottom of the "n" as in "present" and "sent" in P1174; in "verdiene" and "verdienen" in P1196; in "kamen" in P1169; and in "specimen" in the standard. The capital "A" is on a low alignment as in "Adhikari" and "lazy" in the specimen; in "Aufgabe", "Adressen", "Adresse" and "Auch" in P1196; in "Ausbeutung" in P1169; and in "Anti" in P1174. The bottom of the "v" is on a lower alignment than that of the following "e" as in the word "over" in the specimen, "verdienen" in P1196, "vertellt" and "vertift" in P1169 and "have" in P1174.

II.-Spacing. The spacing from "p" to "e", "p" to "i" and "p" to "s" is wider than normal—see such words as "Kapitalistische", "Imperialismus", "typing", "jumps" and "typewriter". Further, the spacing between "o" and "r" is wider than that between "r" and "t", as in the words "Portable" in the specimen, "Dort" in P1196, and "reports" and "opportunity" in P1174.

III.-Slope. "p" slopes left and there are five examples of this in P1169, two in P1174 and two in the standard. "L" and "I" both slope left, and "L" has more slope on it than "I"; "t" and "r" usually slope left, while "k" slopes right.

IV.-Heavy and light printing. "p" prints slightly more heavily at the bottom, "A" prints slightly more heavily on the right and "y" slightly more heavily on the tail than on the rest of the letter.

SPRATT'S TYPEWRITING,

REASONS FOR OPINION.

The following points which show that the same person typed these documents are worthy of notice. Four of these exhibits, namely, P1954, P1955, P1956 and P1974, have the same address, and it will be seen that they are arranged in the same way with each line beginning vertically under the one above it. There is some variation in the position of the date. Further, these four exhibits as well as P2329(P1), P1829, P1962/2 and P2328(P2) have the line beginning "Dear" *i.e.*, the line immediately after the address or date, beginning to the left of the bodywriting. Also the first letter of the bodywriting is a space to the right of the comma at the end of the line beginning "Dear".

The typewriter mentioned in the opinion is also interesting from the point of view of the development of faults as time went on. Taking the documents in order of date and omitting P1981 (which is undated), the "1", for instance, has gradually developed more and more of a tilt to the left. In the earlier documents many "1's" are more or less in their normal position. Even in the earlier documents some of the "1's" have a slope to the left. This slope to the left gradually increases in frequency, so that in P1005 the letter has a well marked tilt to the left in every case.

The following are the distinguishing characteristics of all these exhibits.

I.—Slope. The "1" (see the above remarks) has in many places a distinct tilt to the left. The capital and small "i" usually tilt to the left while the capital and small "s" have a slope to the right.

II.—Alignment. The "1" has a low alignment; the "s" has a higher alignment than the vowels and some of the consonants, judging from the position of the top of the "s", the "t" has a lower alignment than the "o" and the "e"; the "a" is loose, but frequently is on a higher alignment than other letters.

III.—Spacing. "nd", "ed", "ha", "pr", "no" have a rather narrower spacing between them than normal.

The design of the figures and letters in all these exhibits is alike, and I have not been able to find any differences in this detailed design among the various pieces of typewriting mentioned in this opinion.

C. P. DUTT TYPEWRITING.

REASONS FOR OPINION.

I. The design of the figures and letters is the same in all of them.

II.-Alignment. Numerous examples of the following will be found:—

(1) The bottom of "w" is higher than the bottoms of the following letters "r", "h", "i", "e", etc.

(2) "p" is on a lower alignment than "a", "s", "r", etc.

(3) "a" is generally higher than all the other small letters.

(4) "s" is on a higher alignment than "e", "g", "o", "p", "i", etc.

III.-Spacing. In the word "the" the "h" is nearer to the "e" than to "t". The spacing between "u" and "r" in such words as "your", "our", "course" and "urgent" is smaller than average. The spacing between "a" and "g" is narrower than normal, as in the words "vague" in P1348(34), "eagerly" and "ago" in P1859 and "villages" in P1008.

IV.-Slope. "s" and "f" tilt left; "p" usually has a slope to the right; "l" is a loose letter and slopes sometimes right and sometimes left.

MELLONIE'S TYPEWRITING,

REASONS FOR OPINION.

The design of figures and letters in these two exhibits is alike and I have been able to find no differences in this respect between the two pieces of typewriting. The characteristics of the machine used for typing these two exhibits are:—

I.—Spacing. The spacing is abnormal in that it is wide between “r” and “e” and between “a” and “t”, while it is narrow between “e” and “a” and between “n” and “a”.

II.—Alignment. “C”, “L”, “E” and “M” in the address and in certain other places are on a higher alignment than the letter immediately following them; figure “1” has a lower alignment than “O” and a higher one than “s” in “10” and “1st” respectively; the top of “o” in such words as “you”, “your”, etc., is higher than the top of the “y”; the bottom of the “s”² is on a lower alignment than “e”, “i”, “t” and most other letters; the “r” is on a lower alignment than “a”, “e”, “r”, “k”, etc; the top of the “i” is on a higher alignment than the top of the “s”; and the “s” is on a lower alignment than any other letter of this typewriter.

III.—Slope. In both the documents the “n” and “l” slope to the left, while the “p” usually slopes to the right. “d” is loose but slopes usually more to the right than to the left.

IV.—Heavy and light printing. The “2” prints more heavily on the top left and the “g” prints more heavily on the top than on the other parts of this figure and this letter respectively. From the photographs placed on record it will be seen how closely alike similar words taken from each of these documents are when enlarged under a measuring instrument.

M. N. ROY TYPEWRITING,

REASONS FOR OPINION.

I. The detailed design of letters and figures in all these exhibits is the same.

II.-Slope. The capital "P" slopes to the right and capital "I" frequently slopes to the left and is sometimes upright or slightly to the right.

III.-Alignment. As will be seen from the enlarged photographs (4 in number) the "a" is sometimes high and sometimes low, and is therefore a loose letter. The extent of highness and lowness in the two documents illustrated is the same. Further, the "s" is loose, but usually prints high. In "ed", "en" and "er" combinations the "e" is almost always higher than the "d", judged from the bottoms of the letters. In "on" the "o" is on a level with or higher than the "n". "u" is always on a higher alignment than "r", "c", "p", etc.

IV.-Spacing. "u" and "n" are abnormally closely spaced. "t" prints to the right as in "it", "st" and "nt", resulting in the spacing between "t" and these letters being wider than normal.

V.-Faults. This machine is readily identifiable by reason of two faults in two of the letters, namely "h" and "u". In "h" at the bottom of the long down stroke the lefthand part of the serif is missing and in "u" the serif at the top of the first down stroke is missing. By means of these two tests alone the documents can be classified as above. None of the other documents, among the typewritten documents I have examined in this case, have the same two faults, and they by themselves are almost enough to justify the opinion given.

VI.-Heavy and Light Printing. The "m" prints more heavily on its right pole than on the rest. This again is a very marked peculiarity of this machine. The "o" prints lighter at the bottom-left; the "u" prints more heavily on the right pole than on the left; the "h" prints more heavily on the right than on the left; the "d" prints heavily on the right bottom; the capital "T" prints heavily on the right top; and the capital "C" prints heavily at the top and on the right.

As will be seen from the enlarged photographs taken under a protractor, the relative location of letters, allowing for the looseness of certain letters, is the same in all these documents.