

Dhananjayrao Gadgil Library



GIPE-PUNE-024105

P. 390.

SEARCH LIST.

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

1. Date and hour of search 5-20 a. m. Dated 20-8-29.

2. Name and residence of persons whose house is searched:—List of properties (papers) found on the person of the accused and son of Muzaffer Ahmad of 2/1 European Asylum Lane.

- (1) Habibur Rahman of 3/1 Taltola Lane.
 - (2) Shamusuddin Ahmad of 3/1 Taltola Lane.
- and so on

3. Name and residence of witnesses to search.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mattalika</i> and, the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
1	A letter in English written in pencil on 2 sheets beginning with the word Comrades, at page (1) and ending with the words "and the on page (2) beginning with word Dictatorship at Page 3 and ending with the words "its bud at at Page 4.	Found on the person of Muzaffar Ahmed.		
2	An envelope addressed to Dharni Goswami, containing 2 notices from Small Cause Court, Calcutta, re. suit Nos. 5225 and 5263 of 1929. One general form of application re. suit No. 5225 of 1929 and are attachment before Judgement order re. suit No. 5225 of 1929.	Do.		

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29, 5 W-7. N29
(13)

II

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial,	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where article seized was found	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallatika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt etc.
3	2 letter papers in Gurmukhi and English bearing the words B. Balwant Singh, Pardesi, 105, Bocal Bagan Rd. Bhawanipore, showing certain items of expenditure.	As in Page No. I.		

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

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

(Sd.) ILLEGIBLE,
Police-officer conducting the search.
Date 20-3-29 Place No. 2/1. European Asylum Lane.

(Sd.) H. RAHMAN.
(Sd.) S. AHMED.

Signature of witness with date.
Signature by the accused (optional)

P. 391.

Comrades:

Not only our party but also our group is labouring under misconception of scientific socialism and are so making tactical blunders in our organisational role as Vanguards of the Working class movement. We are giving the question of personals, higher places in our works than the idea of work. We are so working out a social democrat. Persons should have no place with us, but only the work should be counted. Work done by any persons, be he of any sort, if furthers the cause of the working class must be supported by us. It should be our look out that the person who is doing the work, may not undo that work, that person turning up a reactionary or if he be now a bourgeois or petty bourgeois. To do so we will appraise the work and expose the persons and his defects and the aims he may strive for. We are to make the working class conscious of the work and the slogans to follow, for a Proletarian revolution. So, we find, after the February Revolution in Russia the Bolsheviks upholding the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers', though it was then predominated by the Mensheviks, but they did expose the defects of the Soviet leaders in failing to draw out the correct line of action to be adopted by the Soviet, they exposed the compromising mentality nature of them, in supporting the bourgeoisie, the Imperialist war, and adherent to the Provisional Government. What they did was to ask the Soviet to be itself in power and form and support such a provisional Govt. which should be revolutionary. So we see in persons of Milinkoff, Kerensky, Tseidze Tserteth to be utilised by them in working out the bourgeois revolution and advance the movement ripa for proletarian revolution. Bourgeoisie yielded to the will of the organised proletariat without whose support they couldn't stand. But when they found that they couldn't stabilise the bourgeois regime or cheque the move of the revolution, they made their halt at the last point of their boundary, but they were overthrown and the revolution rolled on to reach the proletarian revolution and the Dictatorship of the proletariat. Fools we were to loose Subhash & Jawharlal to march on, at least the end of bourgeois revolution and given them the chance to be drawn away by the conscious bourgeoisie or the moderates and then clear the path of compromise between the Indian bourgeoisie and the Imperialist foreign power, both of whom can not, if they can, allow the working class to attain its emancipation which will mean their death. The most fool we will prove ourselves if we give the bourgeoisie chance to draw away also, in their ranks, the younger sections of the middle class intelligentsia who has not yet joined them and who are on the process of radicalisation and also to see as sightseer, the Jamshedpur Unions & other such organisations meet its pitiable death. Some of

Comrades in the Workers' & P. Party who take themselves to be leftist, are making the worst blunders. They are trying to do the works of the Party in water-tight-compartments. They think of India today is what Russia has become but today and so they scent Troskyst tragedy to appear at any moment and so as a guard against all these they try to keep the Party pure, by not allowing or driving out those persons who merely by their births are suspected by them to turn up to be reactionaries or at least the pacifist, social Democrat of advanced countries. Not to speak of Jawharlal and Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt or Prabha Das Gupta, they were thinking of Comrade Kali Sen to become a reactionary and so they couldn't reconcile to the idea that they would have any place in the W. & P. P. Then next their attention has been drawn to the possibility of Com. Chakravarty and ourselves to become the like, prejudices of the class we are born in, getting the upper-hand—Nay there are something else which are playing in their sub-conscious minds in taking to this last course of driving us, for if not so then why should they don't mind for Com. Goswami whom sometime back they thought to be fit to become a fullpledged Communist member with C. P. of India Comrades. Warn you that the problems that are confronting the C. P. of Soviet Russia or the advance and Capitalist countries are not the same in India. You should by no means forget that India is a Colonial country and the tactic you are to play in your organisational role are much more difficult and complex than that of other countries & if by your tactical blunder you make India wait for centuries for proletarian revolution then the crime of betraying the workingclass are on you. No doubt it is and should be your firm object to achieve the overthrow of the Imperialist and the bourgeoisie the same time but it should be our important tactic not to allow these two combine against us when the working class are not organised, for then we allow the combined forces to suppress the movement in its bud.

P. 392.

SEARCH LIST.

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

1. Date and hour of search—5-20 a. m. D/- 20-3-29 to 7 p. m. D/- 20-3-29.
2. Name and residence of person whose house is searched—Office room of the Peasants and Workers' Party.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} (1) \text{ Habibur Rahman of 3/1 Taltolla Lane at 2/1 European Asylum Lane.} \\ (2) \text{ Shamsuddin Ahmad of 3/1 Taltolla Lane.} \\ (3) \text{ and so on} \end{array} \right.$

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>Mallika</i> and, the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
1	A copy of the book entitled "Lenin" bearing the name of P. Spratt.	Office room of the Peasants' and Workers' Party.		
2	A copy of the book entitled "Woman and Sociology" bearing the name S. Ahmad.			
3	A copy of a book entitled "Creative Revolution".			
4	A copy of a book entitled "The Essentials of Mara".			
5	A Bengalee book entitled "Matirghar".			
6	A pamphlet entitled "Life of Jack London".			

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Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where articles seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc. of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>matalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt etc.
7	A pamphlet entitled "The strength of the Strong".			
8	A pamphlet entitled "What life means to me".			
9	A pamphlet entitled "Common Sense".			
10	Copy of a book called "The Law and Order".			
11	Copy of a Bengalee Book called "Lenin-o-Soviet".			
12	Copy of a book entitled Writings and Speeches by Raja Peary Mohan Mukerjee.			
13	One copy of the "Historic State Trial of the Ali Brothers and five others".			
14	One copy "Thacker's Survey Map of India".			
15	Copy of a pamphlet in Bengalee entitled "Krishaker Kath".			
16	Receipts Nos. 1233 to 1300 acknowledging donations in aid of the First All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference.			
17	A copy of the book entitled "Mother" by Maxim Gorky.			
18	Copy of a book called "Peshawar to Moscow".			

- 19 Copy of a book called "The Duties of Man" by Joseph Mazzini containing a post card in Bengali addressed to R. K. Banerjee.
- 20 4 books Bound in one entitled.
 (1) "Surat Congress and Conferences."
 (2) "A national flag for India."
 (3) Lok Tilak's speeches on Home rule.
 (4) The Second Annual Report of the Bengal Mohamaden College Students' Association.
- 21 Copy of a book called "India in 1924-25".
- 22 Copy of a book called "The Revolt of Asia."
- 23 Copy of a book called "New India or India in Transition".
- 24 Copy of a book called "Gandhi versus Lenin" bearing the name Parash Chandra Chakraverty.
- 25 Copy of a book called "The Workers' International".
- 26 Copy of a book called "The Management Problem."
- 27 Copy of a book called "Anarchy and the Way Out," bearing the name of Surendra Nath Tagore.
- 28 Copy of a book called "The Coming of Socialism".
- 29 Copy of a pamphlet called "The Trade Union Movement in India."
- 30 Copy of a pamphlet called "Trade Union" (No. I.)

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>maltalka</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
31	Copy of a pamphlet called "Trade Unionism marked G/256.			
32	Copy of a book called "The Youth Movement in China".			
33	Copy of a book called "Village Life under the Soviets".			
34	Copy of a book called "Problems of Life".			
35	Copy of a book called "Materialism Empires Criticism."			
36	Copy of a book called "The Builders' History".			
37	Copy of a book called "The Evolution of Property".			
38	A pamphlet called "The Principles of Socialism."			
39	A pamphlet called "Communism"			
40	A pamphlet called "Logic of Socialism" bearing the name A. Hallm.			
41	A book named "Social Revolution".			
42	A pamphlet called Guide to "National Health Insurance".			
43	Copy of a book "The Underlined principles of Modern Legislation," bearing the name Satish Chandor Modak Varsity Law College, Calcutta.			

- 44 Copy of a book called "The Founda-
tion of Imperialist Policy".
- 45 Copy of a book called "Health Work
in Social Russia."
- 46 Copy of a book called "The Students'
Mara".
- 47 Copy of a book called "Life and
Teachings of Karl Mara."
- 48 Copy of a book called "Revolution
and Counter Revolution".
- 49 Copy of a book called "The Economic
Theory of the Leisure Class".
- 50 Copy of a book called "An outline of
Economic Geography".
- 51 Copy of a book called "Marxism and
History".
- 52 Copy of a book called "The New
Schools of New Russia" bearing the
name M. Ahmed.
- 53 Copy of a book called "The Theory
of the Leisure Class".
- 54 Copy of a book called Company
"Unions".
- 55 Copy of a book called "Soviet
Trade Unions."
- 56 Copy of a book called "How the
Soviets Work".
- 57 Copy of a book called "Three
Months in Russia."
- 58 Copy of a journal called Trade
Unions in Soviet Russia.
- 59 Copy of a journal called "National
Minority Movement" containing report
of Third Annual Conference.
- 60 Copy of a book called "War and its
alleged Benefits".

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>maltalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual observed, such as the remains of burnt paper; etc.
61	Copy of a book called "The Great French Revolution" Volume No. I.			
62	Copy of a book "The Great French Revolution" Volume No. II.			
63	Copy of a pamphlet called "A Week in India".			
64	Copy of a pamphlet called "Fascism"			
65	Copy of a pamphlet called "The Co-operative Movement".			
66	Copy of a pamphlet called "Imperialism".			
67	Copy of a pamphlet called "The Russian Revolution".			
68	Copy of a pamphlet called "Scientific Method".			
69	Copy of a pamphlet called "Biology".			
70	Copy of a pamphlet called "Swaraj Party Bulletin No. 1".			
71	Copy of a book called "Wages".			
72	Copy of a book called "Guild Socialism re-stated".			
73	Copy of a book called "The Early Revenue History of Bengal."			
74	Copy of a book called "Voices of Revolt".			
75	Copy of a book called "Karl Marx on Value".			

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| 76 | Copy of a book called "The History of the British Constitution". |
| 77 | Copy of a book called "The Diary of a Communist Schoolboy". |
| 78 | Copy of a pamphlet called "A survey of Indian Labour in Burma". |
| 79 | Copy of a book called "Reconstruction and National Life". |
| 80 | Copy of a book called "Literature and Revolution". |
| 81 | Copy of a book called "Where is Britain Going?" |
| 82 | Copy of a book called "A Study of Indian Economics". |
| 83 | Copy of a book called "The New Labour Movement in Great Britain". |
| 84 | Copy of a book "Karl Marx" by D. Ryazanoff. |
| 85 | A copy of a pamphlet called "Will the Bolsheviks Maintain Power?" |
| 86 | Copy of a book called "After the Peace". |
| 87 | Copy of a book called "The Soviet Constitution". |
| 88 | Copy of book called "Karl Liebkulcht". |
| 89 | Copy of a Bengalee pamphlet called "Biplav pathe Russiar rupantar". |
| 90 | Copy of a book called "Peasant Proprietorship in India". |
| 91 | Copy of a book called "Morones of Mexico". |
| 92 | Copy of a book called "The Revolt of Potemki". |
| 93 | Copy of a Bengalee book called "Chitta Katha". |

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective, serial).	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>matalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
94	Copy of a book called "What is Socialism?"			
95	Copy of a book called "Whither China" bearing the name Scott Nearing.			
96	Copy of a book called "The State".			
97	Copy of a book called "Capital and Labour".			
98	Copy of a book called "Germany in Transition".			
99	Copy of a book called "Americanism".			
100	Copy of a book called "Representative Government".			
101	Copy of a book called "Guilds and Co-operatives in Italy".			
102	Copy of a report of "Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee".			
103	Copy of a book called "Labour Protection in Soviet Russia".			
104	Copy of a pamphlet called "Indian National Congress".			
105	Copy of a book called "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte".			
106	Copy of a book called "The Civil War in France".			
107	Copy of a book called "Soviet Russia and her Neighbours".			

- 108 Copy of a book called "The Economic Organization of the Soviet Union".
- 109 Copy of a book called "History of the First International".
- 110 Copy of a book called "Russian Economic Development since the Revolution".
- 111 Copy of a book called "The Poverty of Philosophy".
- 112 Copy of a book in Bangalee "Banglai Biplar Prachistata".
- 113 Copy of a book called "Anavaire General Dila France et del' etranger".
- 114 Copy of a book called "Socialism versus The State".
- 115 5 Copies Hundred Per Cent Indian.
- 116 Copy of a book called "Russia, The Official report of the British Trades Union Delegation to Russia and Caucasia Nov. and Dec. 1924".
- 117 Copy of a book called "How India Wrought for Freedom".
- 118 Copy of a pamphlet called "Elementary Course of Communist Party Training".
- 119 Copy of a pamphlet called "The Rights of Labour".
- 120 Copy of a pamphlet called "Monopoly or How Labour is robbed".
- 121 Copy of a pamphlet called "Useful Work versus Useless Toil".
- 122 Copy of a pamphlet called "Economics made Easy".
- 123 Copy of a pamphlet called "The Principles of Socialism".
- 124 Copy of a pamphlet called "The Logic of the Machine".

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
125	Two Copies of the pamphlet known as "The Religion of Capital".			
126	2 copies of the pamphlet called "The Politics of Oil".			
127	One copy "Economics made Easy".			
128	One copy of a book in Bengalee called "Paribar Gushtirastra".			
129	One copy of "Deser Dak" in Bengalee.			
130	One copy of "Sindhoo Hillol" in Bengalee.			
131	One copy of "Phani Manasa" in Bengalee.			
132	One subscribers Register Ganavani (1926-27).			
133	One V.P. Register Ganavani (1926-27).			
134	One copy of Agency Book.			
135	A copy book containing accounts of stalls holders.			
136	One poem book containing entries from 13-4-27 to 20-2-29.			
137	One register containing the foreign list of "Ganavani".			
138	An account book from August 1926 to March 1928.			

- 139 One exercise book containing the names of Agencies and the number of papers sent to them.
- 140 One exercise book containing V. P. lists of "Langal."
- 141 One exercise book containing the list of persons to whom specimen copies of "Langal" were sent.
- 142 One Exercise Book containing the names of prospective advertisers.
- 143 One Exercise book containing the list of subscribers of the "Langal".
- 144 One Exercise book containing an account of sales of the "Ganavani."
- 145 One account book from August 1926 to February 1929.
- 146 One exercise book containing a list of persons to be invited.
- 147 A money order for Rs. 1-8-0 sent by Muzaffar Ahmad to Mr. G. G. Jog.
- 148 One registered cover addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad containing 2 typed letters under the signature of A. Dange dated 18-1-29.
- 149 One complimentary diary book of Union Drug. Co. containng some entries.
- 150 Telegram No. 01852 from Dange to Muzaffar Ahmed in a cover.
- 151 A Bengalee manuscript writing in 4 pages under the heading "Chat Kaler Majoore-ra ki Chai".
- 152 An Urduo manuscript writing in 2 pages under the heading "Chat Kal ke Mazdoor kia Chahata hain".

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where article seized was found	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>matalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt etc.
153	One typed letter of the B. T. U. F. date 15-8-28 under the signature of Keshori Lal Ghose.			
154	One printed notice in Hindi issued by the Bengal Workers' and Peasants' Party under the heading "A request to workmen and peasants," males and females.			
155	A message to the workers and peasants party of India in 17 pages (Hindi).			
156	An article in 9 typed pages about "Labour Movement &c.,			
157	One file containing paper cuttings.			
158	A file containing ten weekly paper "The Spark" issue Nos. 1, 2, 2, 3, 3, 5 and 6.			
159	2 sheets of paper containing accounts of Muzaffar Ahmed re. R. C. Fund.			
160	One telegram from Muzaffar Ahmad to Agnes Smedley (Germany).			
161	A typed letter dated 14-1-29 from the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India in 2 pages without any signature.			
162	A letter dated 16-3-29 from the Bengal Textile Dhamgar Branch addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad, by Gopal Bysack in an envelope.			

- 163 A typed letter dated 15-1-29 under the signature of Bakhale of the All India Trade Union Conference addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad in an envelope.
- 164 An envelope addressed to the Manager "Ganabani" containing order No. 2777, dated 28-7-28, from Thacker Spink and Co. on account of Otto Harrassory (Germany).
- 165 A cover of the Dacca University Students' Union addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed containing a letter dated 6-6-28 in Bengali written by Abdul Kader.
- 166 5 postal receipts for registered articles Nos. 195 to 199, dated 2-8-28, addressed to (1) Secretary, W and P Party, Bombay (2) Mr. M. Abdul Majid Lahore, (3) Manager, "Kirti," Amritsar, (4) Mr. Krishna Swami Iyengar Triplicane and (5) Manager, Workers' Bookshop, Ltd., London respectively.
- 167 A book list written in pencil on a foolscap sheet.
- 168 A Bengalee manuscript in 2 sheets beginning with Majoor and ending with "Bignapan."
- 169 A blue cover addressed to General Secretary, B. P. & W. party registered No. 644 of Leningrad, containing a Bengali letter written by Piter Auxiff of U. S. S. R. Leningrad.
- 170 A post card dated 15-11-28, addressed to Comrade Muzaffar Ahmed from Jhalokati by A. T. Das.
- 171 3 sheets typed matter re. the Bombay session of the A. I. C. C.

Serial No (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>matalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
172	One typed sheet of paper headed "May Day"			
173	A post card of the N. C. L. C. publishing society addressed to the Secretary, The Plebs League, London, addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad.			
174	Copy of the manifesto urging International unity.			
175	A typed letter dated March 1928, under the signature of Jas Maston of the Independent Labour Party beginning with "Dear Comrade."			
176	A post card addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed by Manilal from Aden.			
177	A typed letter dated 20-7-26 under the signature of Tarini P. Sinha of the I. L. Party addressed to B. P. & W. Party.			
178	A typed copy of the Mohurrum Manifesto of the W. and P. Party of Bombay, to the Hindoo and the Moslem Masses in 3 pages			
179	An article in 6 typed sheets under the heading "Contemporary Political situation in India".			
180	A Bengali article in 4 pages under the heading "Samaje Abhijater prabhav".			

- 181 A pamphlet entitled Class Struggle
in Parliament.
- 182 One copy of the monthly circular of
the Labour Research Department for
July 1927.
- 183 One copy "Manifesto of the Com-
munist Party".
- 184 2 Copies monthly circular of the
Labour Research Depot for May 1927
and August 1927.
- 185 One copy "The All India Trade
Union Bulletin" for July 1928.
- 186 One copy "Some Aspects of Indian
Socialism".
- 187 One copy "The Communist Party of
India".
- 188 One copy "The World Currents,
Communism Fascism".
- 189 A printed sheet containing foreign
addresses.
- 190 One copy "Farmers' and Peasants'
International Correspondent".
- 191 One copy "The Masses of India,
Volume III No. 7".
- 192 3 envelopes addressed to the Editor
of the "Ganavana" bearing the postage
stamp of "Mochba".
- 193 A telegram No. 03145, sent by Gauri
Shanker Anand Nath to Muzaffar Ahmed
from Meerut.
- 194 A card board box containing corres-
pondences and papers of various descrip-
tions— each signed by witnesses and also
by Muzaffar Ahmed.

- 201 One copy "Sunday Worker," dated 27-1-29.
- 202 A typed letter of resignation dated 8-3-29, addressed to the Secretary, Workers and Peasants Party and signed by Kali Sen and others.
- 203 A typed letter of 3 pages with the original draft in manuscript in 5 pages from Muzaffar Ahmad to Kali Kumar Sen and others.
- 204 An envelope of the Workers' Library Publishers, bearing 3 U. S. stamps and addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad, containing a letter signed by the Manager of the Communist
- 205 A registered envelope No. 164, addressed to Secretary, W. & P Party of India, containing a letter written by Kali Das Bhattacharjee of Bhatpara.
- 206 An envelope addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad and bearing the postal stamp "Katchery Meerut" and containing a letter written by Kishan Swarup from Meerut.
- 207 A post card dated 19-10-28 addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad, from 1 Kantapookar Lane.
- 208 A small pocket book containing some addresses.
- 209 An envelope addressed to Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed, containing a letter dated 10-11-28, by Sohan Singh of the "Kirti" from Amritsar.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS - Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mattalika</i> and, the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
210	A registered letter No. 148, addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed, and containing a report in 3 typed pages of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay— signed by S. V. Ghate.			
211	An envelope addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed containing a letter dated 11-11-28, from the Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bombay.			
212	An envelope addressed to Messrs. Vanguard Literature Company, containing a letter dated 12-10-28 from C.P. Bathija of Shikerpur (Siud) to Messrs. Vanguard Literature Coy.			
213	One envelope addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed, containing a letter in Bengalee, dated 9-9-28, written by Aftab from Almorah.			

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| 214 | An envelope addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad containing a Bengalee article entitled "Bharti tarun-o-agami-yugo" by Sudhir Raha. | | |
| 215 | An article in Bengalee headed "Kaino Communist Lobona"—8 pages. | | |
| 216 | An envelope addressed to Comrade Muzaffar Ahmed, containing a letter in Bengalee written by Gopal in 2 sheets. | | |

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

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

(Sd.) N. SINGH.
Police-officer conducting the search.
Date 20-3-29 Place No. 2/1. European Asylum Lane.

(Sd.) F. RAXBURGH.
(Sd.) H. RAHAMAN.
(Sd.) S. AHMED.

Signature of witness with date.
Signature by the accused (optional)

P. 393.

A receipt book for donation in aid of the First All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference with red flag and hammer and sickle.

P. 394.

A register entitled "Foreign List" having the following written within:—

Foreign List.

1. The Editor, *Exchange Mail day.*
Lansbury's Labour Weekly,
173, Hampstead Road
LONDON S. W. I.
2. The Labour Publishing Company Limited, *Free.*
38, Great Ormond Street
LONDON W. C. I.
3. Sapurji Saklatvala M. P. *Complimentary.*
2, St. Alban's Villas
High Gate,
LONDON.
4. Vereinder Inder *Exchange.*
Zentral Europa
Verein Zimmer
Berliner Kindl,
Halensee
BERLIN, Germany.
5. ~~Prof P. Dutta *Pros. Subs.*
Oriental University
LENINGARD
Russia.~~
6. ~~The Secretary, *Subscriber. Week days.*
Muslim Library,
ABADAN
Persian Gulf.~~

7. S. Abdul Ali *Subscriber. Week days.*
 Clerk, Secretariat
 of His Excellency
 the High Commissioner for
 Iraq BAGHDAD.
8. The Manager of Eastern *Exchange. Mail day..*
 and Colonial Department
 Krestintern
 Moscou, Bojarski
 Dwor 5/8
9. The Editor *Exchange.*
 DAILY HERALD
 2 Carmelite Street
 LONDON E. C. 4.
10. The Editor, *Exchange.*
 FORWARD,
 26 Brown Street
 PORT DUNDAS
 Glasgow.
11. The Editor *Exchange.*
 Socialist Standard
 17 Mount Pleasant
 LONDON W. C. 1.
12. The Secretary *Complimentary.*
 Socialist Party of Great Britain
 46-48 Renfren Street
 GLASGOW.
13. The Manager *Exchange.*
 Press Department
 Trades Union Congress
 and Labour Party,
 33 Eccleston Square,
 LONDON S. W. 1.
14. The Secretary *Complimentary.*
 Independent Labour Party,
 14 Great George St.,
 LONDON.
15. The Secretary, *Exchange.*
 I. W. W., (No. 110)
 1001 West Madison St.,
 CHICAGO, III,
 U. S. A.

16. The Editor *Exchange.*
 Monthly Labour Review,
 Bureau of Labor
 Statistics,
 United States Dept. of Labor,
 WASHINGTON
 D. C.
17. The Secretary *Mail day.*
 I. F. T. U.
 31 Tesselschadestraat
 AMSTERDAM.
- ~~18. Fritz Kater (All).
 Kopernikusstr 25II
 BERLIN O. 34.~~
19. The Secretary
 Fabian Society
 25 Tothill Street
 Westminster
 LONDON S. W. 1.
- ~~20. The Secretary
 Labour Research Dept.
 162 Buckingham Palace Road
 LONDON S. W. 1.~~
21. The Editor *Exchange. Mail day.*
 NEW LEADER
 24 High Holborn
 LONDON W. C. 1.
22. The Editor *Exchange Mail day.*
 Industrial Worker
 Post Box 1857
 Seattle, Wash.
 U. S. A.
23. The Institute of *Mail day.*
 Economics and Statistics,
 Post of. Box 1116 & 1129
 MOSCOW, Russia.
24. A. Hevesi *Mail day.*
 Moskau, Wosdwischenko 14 m.
 Infomburo des IBR IAI,
 RUSSIA.

25. Mr. Tarini P. Sinha
 Indian Advisory Committee
 Independent Labour Party
14 Great George Street,
 Westminster, LONDON S. W. 1.
26. Prof. Daud Ali Dutta
 Lecturer in Persian and
 Indian Languages
 Oriental Institute
 No. 7 Maximilianovsky Per
 LENINGRAD
 Soviet Russia.
27. Institute of Economics
 and Statistics
P. O. Box 1116 and 1129 *TWO COPIES.*
 Moscow U. S. S. R.
 (Russia).
28. W. and G. Foyle. Ltd.
 Book-sellers
 Department No. 24
121-125, Charing Cross Road,
 LONDON W. C. 2.
29. The General Secretary
 National Minority Movement,
38, Great Ormond Street,
 LONDON W. C. 1.
 THE LABOUR MONTHLY.
30. The Secretary
 Labour Research Department
162, Buckingham Palace Road,
 LONDON S. W. 1.
- ~~31. Herr S. N. Tagore
 bei Dr. D. R. Dhar
 Charlottenburg
 Fritzsche Strasse—44
 Portal II
 BERLIN R/HOMANN
 Germany.~~
32. Farmers' and Peasants'
 International Correspondent
 Berlin W. 10
 Verlag Neues Dorf
 Luetzon Ufer, I.

- right
33. The League Against Imperialism
Berlin S. W. 48
24, Friedrichstrasse,
Germany.
 34. USSR Society for Cultural
Relations with Foreign Countries
Press Section
Moscow, 6 Malaja Nikitskaya
USSR.
 35. The Editor,
"The Worker"
376 Grays Inn Road,
LONDON W. C. I.
 36. The Editor,
"SUNDAY WORKER"
74, Swinton Street, Gray's Inn Road,
LONDON W. C.
 37. The Editor,
The Workers' Weekly,
24, High Holborn,
LONDON W. C.
 37. Chinesische National Agentur,
Friedrichstrasse 232
BERLIN
Germany.
 38. S. N. Tagore
Jagow Strasse 44 I
B/Arnheim
BERLIN N. W. 87.
 39. The United Farmer,
Bismarck North Dakota,
U. S. A.
 40. The Indian Information Centre
7, Tavistock Place,
LONDON W. C. I.
 41. The Indian Seaman
88 East India Dock Road
LONDON E.
- The Secretary,
The Pleb League
162 A, Buckingham Palace Road,
LONDON S. W. 1.

Workers' Welfare League of India
18 Featherstone, Buildings
High Holborn, LONDON W. C. 1.

Weekly News Bulletin
The Press Section of the Society for
Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries
Moscow, Malaya Nikitskaya 6,
U. S. S. R.

P. 395 (1)
BOMBAY GIRNI KAMGAR UNION.

(REGISTERED HAED OFFICE)
KONDAJI BUILDING, PAREL,
BOMBAY.

Telegrams:—Girkamu, BOMBAY.

18th JANUARY, 1929.

To
MUZAFFAR AHMED,

CALCUTTA.

DEAR SIR,

With reference to the remittance sent by our Union for the Bauria textile workers, I am to request you to send us a few issues of Calcutta papers wherein some details regarding Bauria can be found. You will also kindly acknowledge this help in the Calcutta papers, whose copies should be sent for our record. You will see through which channel this assistance should be utilised. If there is a Union leading the strike and commanding allegiance, so much the better. If there is none such, the Party that is leading the strike correctly should see that assistance is rendered in right direction. You will let us know officially, what course of action you have taken, for the information of our Members, who are much interested. ♪

Yours Sincerely,
S. A. DANGE.
General Secretary.

P. 395 (2)

BOMBAY GIRNI KAMGAR UNION.

(REGISTERED HEAD OFFICE)

KONDAJI BUILDING, PAREL,

BOMBAY.

Telegrams:- Girkamu, BOMBAY.

18th JANUARY 1929.

To

MUZAFFAR AHMED,
CALCUTTA.

DEAR SIR,

The Managing Committee of our Union has sanctioned an amount of Rs. 1000/- for the assistance of the Bauria Jute Mill Strikers, and has authorised me to send this first instalment of Rs. 500/- which please acknowledge.

Yours Sincerely,
S. A. DANGE.
General Secretary.

P. 396.

POSTS TELEGRAPHS No. 01852.

Received at 15 H. 45 M.

O NC BOMBAY 25 19 MUZAFARAHMED EUROPEAN
ASYLUM LANE CALCUTTA.

SORRY RAURIA COLLAPSED YOUR TELEGRAM SPEND
ON THEM AS YOU THINK BEST. DANGE.

Diary for 1928.

P. 397.

P. 398.

Four pages of Bengali manuscript regarding demands formulated for Jute Mill Workers.

P. 399.

Two pages of Urdu manuscript regarding demands formulated for Jute Mill Workers.

P. 400.

A Hindi appeal issued by the Bengal Workers' and Peasants' Party entitled "A request to labourers and peasants, brothers and sisters.

P. 401.

A file containing the following issues of Spark:—

- (1) Vol. I. No. 1, dated 27-1-29.
 - (2) " 2, " 10-2-29. (2 copies.)
 - (3) " 3, " 17-2-29. (2 copies.)
 - (4) " 5, " 3-3-29.
 - (5) " 6, " 10-3-29.
-

P. 402.

A. F. D. Class prefix.		Code.	POSTS TELEGRAPHS. DEFERRED FOREIGN TELEGRAM.	No.
Office of Origin, Date, Route and Service Instruc- tions.		Words.	H. M.	Space for Postage Stamps. The Stamps must be affixed by the Sender and must not overlap. Any Stamp for which there is not room here should be affixed at the back of this form. Stamps cut, torn or defaced are not accepted.
Charges.		Sent at _____	To _____	
Nothing to be written by the Sender above this line.		Rs. A.	By _____	
Special instructions by Sender about "Route" "Reply Paid" etc. (See Rule 10 on reverse. VIA EASTERN.		TO	LC _____ AGNES SMEDLEY, HOLSTEINISCHESTRASSE 36 BERLIN-WILMERSDORF, (GERMANY.)	

INFORM TAGORE MONEY NEVER RECEIVED
MUZAFFARAHMAD.

I hereby declare that the text of the above telegram is entirely in plain language (the language used being English) and that it does not bear any meaning other than that which appears on the face of it. I request that the telegram may be forwarded on the faith of the foregoing declaration, and subject to the conditions overleaf.

NOT TO BE
TELEGRAPHED. }

MUZAFFARAHMAD,
2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.

Signature and address of Sender.

P. 403.

Tele. Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY OF INDIA

2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Organs:

"GANAVANI"

(Bengli

Weekly)

"LAL NISHAN"

(Hindi

Weekly).

Jan. 14, 1929.

Dear Comrade,

Monday 21st January is the 5th anniversary of the death of LENIN, and should be observed by the Party, in conjunction with the Communist Party, in a suitable manner. It is suggested that on that day (or if more convenient, on the day before) as many meetings as possible should be held, especially among industrial workers. It is desirable that these should be advertised previously by handbills, which should give the most essential points of Lenin's teaching and life.

The most important questions which should be stressed in speeches on Lenin Day are:

(1) his analysis of the nature of opportunism and reformism in the Labour movement, and its role as the last line of defence of capitalism.

(2) his teaching on the colonial question: the tactics and ultimately the leading role of the working class in the colonial revolution.

(3) the significance of the Russian Revolution, as the first breach in the structure of Imperialism, and U. S. S. R. as the "Fatherland of the working Class"; hence the necessity of the defence of the U. S. S. R. against the war danger.

On behalf of the National Executive Committee of the WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF INDIA

Member in charge of Education and Propaganda

P. 404.

BENGAL TEXTILE WORKERS' UNION.

Dhangaur Branch.

Head Office:- 61, Nawabpur, Dacca.

Dated 16/3/1929.

Com. Muzaffar Ahmed

Thanks for your kind note. Yes, I have authorised Comrade Goswami to take any steps as regards our Party work on my behalf-I did so before I started for Dacca, as I found in the existence of two groups in the party.

So much of it. I am of course perplexed regarding the situation as you have defined. I am shortly coming to meet you all.

With greetings and good wishes.

Yours fraternally,
Gopal Basak.

P.405.

Registered Postal Receipt No. 195, dated 2nd August 1928,
addressed to :—

The Secretary,
Workers & Peasants Party,
Bombay:

Registered Postal Receipt No. 196, dated 2nd August 1928,
addressed to:—

Mr. M. Abul Majeed,
Lahore.

Registered Postal Receipt No. 197, dated 2nd August 1928,
addressed to :—

The Manager,
Kirti,
Amritsar.

Registered Postal Receipt No. 198, dated 2nd August 1928,
addressed to :—

Mr. Krishna Swami Iyengar,
Triplicane.

Registered Postal Receipt No. 199, dated 2nd August 1928.
addressed to :—

The Manager,
Workers Bookshop, Ltd.,
London W. C.

by
W. & P. Party, Bengal,
2/1 European Asylum Lane.

P. 406.

Marx—Communist Manifesto. 3½d.
Engels—Soc: from Utopia to Sc. 3½
Lenin—The Great Initiative. 3½.
„ --The Proletarian Rev. 2/3.
Kameneff—The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. 2½d.
Marx—Wage Labour Kapital. 2½d.
Radek—Development of Soc: from Sc. to Practice 2½d.
Philips Price—Capitalist Europe & Soc. to Russia. 5d.
Paul—Communism. 7d.
Palme Dutt—Communism.
Foster—World Rev. 1/1½.
Bukarin—Programme of the World Rev. 1/4½
Postgate—The Workers International. 2/9.
Trotsky—In Defence of Terrorism. 3/6.
Postgate—Bolshevik Theory.
Marx—Fr. Rev. 3/6.
„ —Revo. & Counter-Revo. 3/6.
Engels—Life & Teachings of Marx. 3/6.
Hammond—The Town Labourer.
„ —The Village Labourer.
Starr—A Worker looks at
„ — „ „ Econ.
Bogdanov—A Short Course of Econ. Sc.
Bukharin—Lenin as Marxist.
The Errors of Trotskyism.

M. N. Roy—One Year of Non-Co.
„ —Aftermath.
Stalin—Leninism.
Bukharin—Historical Materialism.
Russian Year Book.
Kropotkin—Conquest of Bread.
„ —Field, Factories & Workshop.
„ —Fr. Reve.
Vanguard Press—Soviet Russia.
(1) Political Org.
(2) Village Life.
(3) Education.
(4) Art & Culture.
Moon-Imperialism.
Purcell & Hallsworth—Labour Conditions.
On Trade Unionism.
One Copy each.

P. 407.

May-Day is now accepted throughout the world of Labour as preeminently Labour's day. In all countries in which there is an organised Labour Movement May 1st. is marked out as the Workers' holiday. On this day workers of all sections and tendencies, of all unions and parties, and with them those of no organisation, union or party, wives, children and all, gather together to demonstrate first and foremost the solidarity of Labour, national and international.

"An injury to one is an injury to all" is the old slogan which still expresses the spirit of this festival; "The international", with its revolutionary fervour combined with the spirit of universal brotherhood, is its song.

In spite of the pleasant associations of May-Day, the end of winter and the coming of summer with its bright sun and the blossoming forth of flowers and trees, it has in the past often been the occasion of bitter conflicts and horrible scenes. In the early days of the Labour Movement in Europe, when May-Day was first celebrated, smallbands of pioneers, with banners and decorations, would

march forth amid the jeers of their fellows and the execrations of the upper classes. The capitalist Government, ever jealous of the growth of the Labour Movement, and particularly of its internationalism, would send its police and military forces to prevent and crush the workers' demonstrations. Many times in those old days, when the Trade Unions and Socialist Parties were struggling into existence and were still the uncorrupted opponents of capitalism and all that capitalism stood for, May-Day was the occasion of these Massacres and repressions.

But capitalism grew wiser. It learnt to tolerate the workers' movement, but at the same time to corrupt it, to put its paid men inside it and even in the dominating positions, and to lead some of the workers astray by affording them increases of wages and better conditions. Capitalism was strong, the hope of overthrowing it distant, and even in the eyes of many, ridiculous. The Labour Movement, under these evil influences became respectable. May-Day was allowed by the Governments provided that the workers remained under the control of their corrupt leaders. The celebration of this historic festival became a hollow fraud. Pious resolutions were proposed by unbelieving speakers for the General Strikes in the event of war, but when the war came in 1914, no preparations had been made, the resolutions were forgotten, and the battalions of Labour, instead of fighting against it, were led almost unresisting into the service of war.

For the first years of the war there were no May-Day celebrations. Under the iron rule of the capitalist military machine, workers were too busy in producing war-equipment or munitions, or gassing and shooting and bayonnetting each other in the service of their respective imperialist exploiters. But the workers' spirit and the workers' principles could not remain long unexpressed. After the glorious Irish revolt in April 1916, and the Russian Revolution of 1917, it is recorded that "The International" began once more to be heard in the streets of Paris, and all over the belligerent countries strikes in the coal mines and the engineering workshops became the order of the day. The workers of all lands began once more to think of the principles of brotherhood, solidarity and internationalism which May-Day principally stands for, and which under Government repression and propaganda, and the influence of evil leaders they had forgotten for four ghastly years.

In the confusion of the years after the war, with economic chaos and the rapid alterations in the standard of living, the workers' movement sprang into life once more with a vigour which it had never previously shown. May-Day in 1919, 20 and 21 were celebrated in an atmosphere of world-wide revolt. Capitalism was tottering and staggering under the blows of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world who at last seemed to be following, the behest of the first leaders of the socialist movement, to unite.

From Germany to Australia, from India to the United States, the subject peoples and the subject classes were in revolt against the few small gangs of imperialist bosses who ruled them all. Boycotts, blockades, strikes, revolutions, hartals, blazed up on every side. But this vast movement wonderful as it was in spirit and energy, lacked the necessary organisations and leadership to enable it to triumph against all the forces of wealth militarism, corruption and stupidity, and the innumerable ties and struts of conservatism which assist to maintain a system, however outworn and discredited. Only in Russia were the conditions favourable enough, the leaders faithful and clever enough, for the revolution to win through and consolidate its gains. Only there had there been years of patient organisation and teaching in the right direction, free from the corrupt "reformism" of Western Europe, building up an instrument, the Bolshevik Party, strong intelligent and pliable enough to lead the mass revolt through to victory, and to maintain that victory.

Outside of Russia the capitalists of the world with their Governments were able gradually to subdue the unorganised and ill-led masses, and years of black depression followed. Throughout Europe, America, Africa and Asia, a reign of "White Terror" of the most cruel description was instituted and is still maintained. Anything like a real opposition to the existing system is mercilessly suppressed. Only in a few countries in which the traditions of bourgeois liberty are strong, is there any freedom for the working class leaders and organisers. Even in Britain, the "mother of liberty" the white terror and the mob rule of the fascist organisations are making themselves felt.

But once again the tide is turning. The British workers, in spite of the defeat of the General Strike and of the miners, are now finally set on the path of mass struggle. They will go forward against Trade Union legislation, Fascist violence, official repression, and the corruption of their leaders, forward from defeat to defeat, until at last they are victorious.

The Chinese Nationalist Movement, led by the workers of China, is going forward against the mightiest obstacles, but not even all the power of world imperialism can now stop them. They will go forward from victory to victory until complete success is theirs.

May-Day in 1926 was devoted to support for the British miners and the British working class. In Britain itself, the mightiest and most enthusiastic May-Day demonstrations ever seen struck terror into the hearts of the wobbling leaders, and forced them to bow to the will of the workers and declare the General Strike.

May-Day in 1927 must be devoted to support of the Chinese masses, whose wonderful struggle against the imperialist powers has aroused the enthusiasm of the oppressed classes and nations throughout the world.

Indian Labour must not be behind this time. May-Day is the day of International Labour, it is the day when we should with particular attention remark the experiences of our comrades in other lands. The workers of China have shown us the way to organise and fight for national freedom. They have shown us that upon us, the industrial workers, rests the task of leading the glorious struggle for independence from imperialist oppression. Let us learn the lesson, and fit ourselves for this great task.

The cause of Labour throughout the world is one. Indian Labour, Chinese Labour, Russian Labour, British Labour, all unite together on this day for courage, for support and for enthusiasm. We must send our good wishes and greetings to all countries, but especially to our comrades in China, who above all are at this moment fighting the battles of the oppressed throughout the world.

Success to the workers of China! And may the workers of India quickly follow their example!

P. 408.

A pamphlet entitled "Manifesto of the Communist Party", by
Karl Marx Frederick Engels.

P. 409.

"The Communist Party of India".

Annual Report 1927.

Published by Comrade Vijay Singh Mohta, 236 Kalbadevi
Road, Bombay, for the Communist Party of India.

P. 410.

S Tagore
B/Agnes Smedley II
Holsteinischestrasse 36
Berlin-wilmersdorf (Germany).

R. Palme Dutt
Boire 3
Ixelles II
Brussels, Belgium.

The Editor,
The Sunday Worker,
254 Gray's Inn Road,
London, W. C. 1

M. N. Roy
C/O The Executive Committee,
Communist International,
Moscow, U. S. S. R.

U. S. S. R. Society for Cultural
Relations with Foreign Coun-
tries, (Press Section,) Moscow, 6
Malaia Nikitskaya (U. S. S. R.)

The Editor, "The Worker,"
376 Gray's Inn Road,
London W. C. 1

The Editor,
The Workers' Life,
24 High Holborn,
London W. C. 1

The Secretary,
The Indian Seamen's Union,
88 East India Dock Road,
London, E.

The Communist Party of Great
Britain
16, Cing Street,
London, W. C. 2.

Workers' Welfare League of India,
18 Featherstone Buildings,
High Holborn,
London, W. C. I.

The Secretary,
The Plebs League,
162-A Buckingham Palace Road,
London, S. W. I.

Max Ziese,
Berlin S. W. 48
Wilhelmstrasse Nr. 131/32
(Germany).

Zeitungs-Vertrieb
Sebruder Petermann
Berlin-Friedenau,
Rheinstrasse 28 (Germany).

Bibliothek der Profintern
Moscow, Russia, Soljanka 12,
Dworetz Truda. (U. S. S. R.)

Mr. Tarini P. Sinha
The Indian Information Centre
14-15 Drayton House,
Endsleigh Gardens, London,
W. C. I.

Virgilio Verdaro
Hotel Lux (Tverskaia)
Kom 334
Moscow, Russia, (U. S. S. R.)

Professor Daud A. Dutt
Lecturer in Persian and Indian
Languages,
Oriental Institute,
7 Maximillianovsky Per
Leningrad, Soviet Russia.

Otto Harrassowitz,
Buchhandlung Und Antiquariat
Leipzig C. I. (Germany.)

The Manager,
Eastern and Colonial Department
Krestintern,
Moscow, Bojarski Dwor 5/8.
(U. S. S. R.)

The General Secretary,
National Minority Movement,
38 Great Ormond Street,
London, W. C. I.

The Secretary, I. F. T. U.
31 Tesselschadestraat,
Amsterdam (Holland)

The Editor, "Labour Monthly,"
162 Buckingham Palace Road,
London, S. W. I.

The Editor, "New Leader,"
14 Great George Street,
London, S. W. I.

The Secretary,
Labour Research Department,
162 Buckingham Palace Road,
London, S. W. I.

The Institute of Economics and
Statistics,
P. O. Box 1116 & 1129
Moscow, Russia (U. S. S. R.)

A. Hevesi
Moscow, Wosdvischenko 14 m.
Inform buro des IBR IAI.
Russia, U. S. S. R.

Farmers' and Peasants' Inter-
national Correspondent,
Berlin W 10
Verlag Neues Dorf
Luetzow Ufer, I (Germany.)

League Against Imperialism
International Secretariat
Berlin S. W. 48
24 Friedrichstrasse (Germany.)

P. 411.

"Farmers' and Peasants' International Correspondent" Nos.
6-7 for June-July 1927.

P. 412.

"The Masses of India" Vol, III, No: 7, of July 1927.

P. 413.

(1), (2) & (3): Three envelopes with the following superscriptions:—

KANBKRYTA

To the Editor of the

"Gana Vana"—37, Harrison Road,
CALCUTTA.

P. 414.

POSTS & TELEGRAPHS.

C. 3.

03145

Received here at 3 H. 15 M.

Calcutta

10 Oct.

—O PA MEERUT. 10 23 REPLY PAID

MUJAFFERAHMED

2/1 EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE CALCUTTA

—PLEASE COME WITH SPRATT 14TH 15TH OCT
MEERUT MAJDOOR CONFERENCE WIRE EXPENSES

—GAURISHANKER ANANDNATH—

This form must accompany any inquiry respecting this
Telegram.

P. 415 (1).

K/Br.

7781/10

14.9.27

BULLETIN No. 67 14.IX.1927. FOR THE PRESS.

NEWS FROM THE U.S.S.R.

ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION.

Big Hydro-Electric Station in North Ossetia.

The foundation stone of a big hydro-electric station on the Gizel-Don River, North Ossetia, (Caucasus) was laid on September 13. The future station's power will be — 22,500 kilowatt

The Gizel-Don station will supply electric power for Vladikavkaz and the district of the Alagir silver-lead enterprises. It will also supply power to the Voskresensk oil industry.

New Electric Stations in Central Asia.

A number of electric stations is being built in Central Asia, some of them in very remote districts. It is also proposed to put up big electric stations in Tashkent, Fergan, Samakan and Ashkhabad with at least 6,000 h.p. each.

ARRIVAL OF PARTICIPANTS OF VIENNA EVENTS.

Another group of Austrian and German workers arrived on September 12th in Leningrad to undergo a cure at the expense of the IRA in Soviet spas. The group consists of 39 working men

and women including 18 participants of the July events in Vienna. Many of them carry their arms in a sling, some of them are seriously injured and are in danger of paralysis of some of their organs.

Most of these participants of the Vienna events are Social Democrats (16 Social Democrats and 2 Communists). Most of the members of the German group are also Social Democrats.

On the way from Vienna to Berlin, near Regensburg the Austrian workers were attacked by the Bavarian police. The invalids could of course offer no resistance. The police who rushed the railway-carriage took away the Red Banner which the Austrian workers were taking to the USSR.

TRIAL OF THE BRITISH SPIES.

In connection with the trial of the British spies in Leningrad which had just been concluded we give an extract from the speech of the public prosecutor at the last session of the court.

"All of you remember Sir Austin Chamberlain's note in which he charges the Soviet Government of carrying on through its representatives destructive work directed against the British Empire. The British Conservatives were lying, but were they themselves innocent? Chamberlain's note spells blackmail and fraud. There was a time when Preston, the British Consul in Leningrad wrote that his "Russian birds, going in for espionage, run the risk of annihilation by the G. P. U. (State Political Department)". But the consul Preston was not the only one. The British Empire fought against the Soviet Power not only through its diplomatic representatives, but also by sending hundreds of spies to Soviet Russia.

In his evidence the chief defendant Goyer said that Wilson's white guard organisation went in for espionage under the control of the British Government. This is also borne out by the evidence of the other defendants.

Through its agents Mickle-John and Goyer, Downing Street endeavoured to get secret information about the Baltic Fleet in order to destroy it and thus open the way to Leningrad. The question arises: perhaps this was a long time ago, when we were not recognised de jure. Nothing of the kind. Goyer was engaged by the official British representative Captain Boyce. This was in 1925 when our relations with the British Government were outwardly normal. That year London entered Goyer into the list of collaborators of the British Intelligence Departments.

AMERICAN DELEGATION AMAZED AT THE GROWTH OF THE USSR.

Opinion of the Experts of the American Delegation.

On September 14th the American Trade Union Delegation left Moscow on its way home. There are in this delegation a number of professors experts who specialise in various branches. This is what they say on the strength of their four weeks' scientific investigation work, in connection with the most important branches of USSR construction.

DOUGLAS, Professor of Chicago University: "In no other European country has the economic position of workers improved in the post-war period as rapidly and to such an extent as in the USSR. In Germany, for instance, wages of the majority of workers employed in the heavy industry have not yet reached pre-war level, whereas they have already exceeded that level in the USSR. It is true that this pre-war level in Russia was lower than abroad, but having made a careful study of the system of social insurance in the USSR, I venture to say that workers in the Soviet Union are better provided for than in West Europe."

COYLE, Editor of the railwaymen's "periodical: power in the USSR is in the hands of the workers. The gigantic growth of trade unions and their control over the remotest districts of the country are truly amazing. Although strictly disciplined and centralised the trade unions are very democratic.

Trade Unions in America spend their energy in petty, economic, and frequently purely craft struggles. In regard to economic struggle our results are ridiculously small compared with yours. For instance: throughout North America we have only three rest homes accomodating about 400 people. To get into such a rest home one must be aged and sick and one must have paid preliminary fees for a number of years.

I have inspected your sanatoria, spas and rest homes for workers. I am amazed at and delighted with everything."

DAVIES, Professor of the Agricultural University: "I visited Russia before the Revolution and in the beginning of civil war, I witnessed the complete ruin of the national economy of the country and now I venture to say that the Soviet Government has worked a miracle in regard to the reconstruction of the national economy.

Of particular importance is the planning system in your economic life. I know that inevitable mistakes are made in your economy, but owing to the planning system you steer clear of those terrible crises which bring starvation and unemployment to the working class of America.

I visited Russian villages before the revolution and I was always struck with the down-trodden look on the faces of the peasants. This is different now. The people have become energetic and fully alive. Your youth struck me as particularly energetic.

I am amazed at the broad democracy of your State institutions. In no other country in the world is the population drawn to such an extent into State administrative work as this is the case in your soviets.

MAURER; Chairman of the delegation: "I am already past the age when people get very enthusiastic about something, but what I was able to see during my short stay in the Soviet country exceeds all my expectations. I am sure that the report of the commission of our experts will be useful to the United States as well as to the working class of the USSR.

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BULLETIN No. 68

15-IX-27

For the Press.

NEWS FROM THE USSR.

PRODUCTION CONFERENCES IN THE USSR.

For the beginning of the new financial year USSR trade unions are summing up the work accomplished by production conferences during the first half-year of 1926-27. Such summing up has taken place in 7 industrial unions (metal workers, textile workers, paper workers, wood-workers, sugar workers, garment makers and tanners) and also in the Railwaymen's Union.

The above unions cater for 347 enterprises which employ 597,000 workers. In connection with the Railwaymen's Union the results of the work on 19 railways employing over 60,000 workers have been summed up.

NUMBER OF PROPOSALS.

During the first half-year of 1926-27 24,722 proposals were placed before the administrations of the said enterprises.

The number of proposals per 100 workers is: in the Wood-workers Union—7.5, in the Paper-workers' Union—3.9, almost the same in the Garment makers' and Tanners' Unions, in the Metal workers' Union—4.5, in the Sugar makers' Union—3.9, and finally in the Textile workers' Union 3.6.

The Railwaymen's Union is responsible for about 2,700 proposals which constitute 4.4 proposals per 100 union members.

WHO MAKES PROPOSALS.

The table we give below shows how the proposals which came from the above-mentioned industrial unions (except the Metal workers' Union which did not send any information) were distributed:

	Technical Staff.	Factory workers.
Paper workers	11.2	88.8
Wood-workers	14.6	85.4
Tanners	16.7	83.3
Textile workers	17.4	82.6
Garment makers	20.9	79.1
Sugar workers	29.9	70.1

On an average four-fifths of the proposals came from factory workers and about one-fifth from the technical staff.

In the Railwaymen's Union 77 per cent of the proposals came from manual workers and about 21.5 per cent from the technical staff.

ATTITUDE OF ADMINISTRATIONS TO THE PROPOSALS OF THE WORKERS.

In industrial unions covered by statistics about 78 per cent of the proposals handed in were accepted and put into practice by the administration.

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In regard to all the aforesaid unions, there were altogether rejected about 7% of the proposals made to the administration.

Out of a total of over 19,000 proposals accepted by 347 establishments served by 7 industrial unions, there were carried out (either fully or in part) 12,600, or about 65%.

ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION.

THE ERECTION OF A NEW GRAND IRRIGATION CANAL IN UZBEKISTAN.

Work has been renewed on the erection of the Yangidargom irrigation canal near Samarkand (Central Asia). The canal, together with the dam in course of construction, constitutes a grand enterprise involving a total outlay of over 6, million roubles.

It is expected that the work will be completed in 1929. In that year the Yangidargom will irrigate a new area of 15,000 hectares of land.

PRIVATE CAPITAL IN THE USSR.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE NEW ECONOMIC YEAR.

In 1921-22 75% of the whole trade in USSR was in the hands of private dealers. In 1925 the share of the private dealer in the turnover commodities went down to 28%. On the threshold of the new economic year of 1927-28 the private dealer occupies a very modest place, only 16.5%.

As to industry, there is only 12% controlled by private enterprises, chiefly in the petty industries. Only 2% of private capital takes part in the big industries.

POWERFUL HYDRO-ELECTRICAL STATIONS

IN THE URALS.

Prospecting work has been started on the upper reaches of the rivers Ural and Tchusova for the erection of two powerful hydro-electrical stations. A hydro-electrical station of 17,000 h.p. is to be erected near the Magnet Mountain to supply power to the huge Industrial works that are being constructed in the vicinity. On the Tchusova river, in the vicinity of the contemplated iron-smelting works, a hydro-electrical station will be erected of 53,000 h. p.

WHAT THE TRIAL OF THE ENGLISH SPIES HAS SHOWN.

The political significance of the trial was characterised as follows by Comrade Ulrich, Chairman of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

It has been fully established by the investigating authorities that the organs of the British Intelligence Service, directed from London, have been conducting in recent years intense espionage work on our territory, employing for this purpose individual Russian counter-revolutionary emigrants, as well as sundry contrabandists and adventurers in the frontier area. The espionage work on our territory was under the direct guidance of "resident agents" of the British Intelligence Service permanently domiciled in some of the countries adjacent to the USSR.

Notably in Finland there are such resident agents in the person of N. N. Bunakov in Helsingfors and P.P. Sokolov in Terioki. The resident British agents received their instructions and tasks from British army and navy officers attached to the British diplomatic service in the Baltic regions. Thus, it has been established that during the period from 1925-27 Bunakov, Sokolov, and other "big" spies of the Goyer type, were directly subordinated in their work, at various periods, to captain Boyce of the British navy,

to the British envoy at Reval, Mickeljohn, to Captain Ross of the British Military Mission in Reval, and so on. The tasks of the British Intelligence Service had to do chiefly with the condition of our naval and aerial forces, whilst some of the tasks were of a clearly provocatory character, in order to obtain documents, even if forged ones, to prove, for instance, the alleged contact between the German and Soviet naval commanders in the course of manoeuvres, and so on.

WOMEN ON RURAL SOVIETS IN THE URALS.

The general economic revival in the Urals has greatly contributed to the improvement of the material conditions of the Ural villages, leading to increased activity by all elements of the rural population. The women too were attracted to active administrative work.

Among members of rural Soviets in 1923 there were 2.4% women, and in 1926-27 11.3%. In the town Soviets in 1924 there were 10.8% women, in 1926-27, 21.6%. Among members of district Executives in 1923 there were 0.4% women, in 1926-27 10.5%. Among members of rural Auditing Committees in 1924 there were 3% women, and in 1926-27, 5%; among members of District Auditing Committees there were no women then, and now there are 5.9% women.

Until 1924 there were no women acting as chairmen of rural Soviets in the Ural regions, or at least there are no corroborating official documents to that effect. It was only in the election campaign of 1924-25, carried out after the regional redistribution, that we find 7 women as chairmen of rural Soviets. In 1924-25 their number increased to 8, in 1925-26 to 25, and in 1926-27 to 30 or 1%. Moreover, in 1926-27 a working woman was elected chairman of the District Executive Committee in the Tagil district.

HENRI BARBUSSE IN MOSCOW.

Henri Barbusse paid a visit yesterday to the "Trekhgorny" Cloth Mills, where in the course of 3 1/2 hours he studied minutely the work of the Mills, the local club, the creches and the dining room.

Before leaving, Henri Barbusse wrote the following message to the workers of the Mills:

"Dear Comrades, I was enjoined by the workers of France to make a thorough study of the Russian factories and mills in order that upon my return to France I might be able to describe to them your living conditions in detail. All that I have seen has immensely impressed me, and I am going to tell them that I have found here the highest organisation of labour combined with high technical quality.

"I was particularly impressed by the exquisite designs and the originality of your fabrics. I will tell the French workers about the energy of the Russian workers, who are building Socialism in their country. Greetings from the workers of France. Yours, Henri Barbusse".

N/Br. 7886/10

16-9-27.

Notice to Editors.

In today's issue:

Impressions of the American Workers Delegation to the USSR— "The workers of the USSR ARE BUILDING UP THAT ABOUT WHICH THE WORKING SECTION OF MANKIND HAS BEEN DREAMING FOR AGES.— IT IS THE DUTY OF THE PROLETARIAT OF THE WORLD TO SUPPORT THE SOVIET WORKERS.— THE CAUSE OF THE USSR IS OUR OWN CAUSE. IN THE USSR LABOUR IS ALL POWERFUL, WORKERS ARE FULL MASTERS.

How working and peasant women are learning to govern the State.— 620,000 WOMEN DELEGATES.

10, million illiterate adults have learned to read and write.

BULLETIN No. 69. 16. 9. 27. FOR THE PRESS

NEWS FROM THE USSR.

WEST-EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN WORKERS ON THE USSR.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE AMERICAN WORKERS DELEGATION.

The first American workers delegation which stayed in the USSR over a month left for America on September 14th. The chairman of the delegation, Comrade James Maurer gave the impressions of the delegation.

" I must mention first of all two things in connection with the work of our delegation here: firstly, the political, social and trade union workers did not hinder us in any way in our study of those branches of economy and labour in which we are interested; secondly, the presence in our delegation of highly qualified experts gave us an opportunity to make a serious study of all the problems of Soviet Russia's life. I am saying this because I know

before-hand there will be people in America who will endeavour to prove that the members of the delegation were not free in their investigations and that these investigations are too superficial. I reiterate that we received every possible assistance in our work and that we did not only study Soviet construction in general, but went in to all the details.

On the basis of material at the disposal of the delegation, our deductions are as follows:

The workers of the USSR are building up that about which the working section of mankind has been dreaming for ages.—a Socialist economic system which excludes exploitation of man by man. The Russian revolution is the only victorious revolution in the whole of history. It is our duty, the duty of the proletariat of the world to support the workers of Soviet Russia in their work for the cause of the USSR is our own cause. Any attempt to interfere with peaceful labour in the USSR must be prevented by the unanimous efforts of the working class of West Europe and America.

Socialist forms of economy have gained citizen's rights, and have shown their superiority over capitalist economy. In spite of post-war destruction, blockade and backward technique, the USSR has been able to raise the standard of life of the workers to a higher level than that of the pre-war period. This means that under favourable conditions the USSR will astound the world by its economic and cultural constructive work. This is agitation by means of facts, a powerful agitation capable of infecting the toiling masses throughout the world.

The Soviet workers who were able to defend their country with the sword and the hammer, to preserve its freedom and integrity have set us an example worthy to be followed.

We can strengthen these deductions of ours by statistics, facts, and examples from soviet life. We will give these facts and examples in our report to the American proletariat which has sent us here".

The Secretary of the delegation, Comrade Albert COYLE, said.

"I am sure that familiarisation with the Ussr, its factories and works, its resthomes, creches and sanatoria is bound to make a deep impression on every working man.

The members of the delegation carry with them the conviction that the proletariat of one-sixth of the globe has proved its capacity for the construction of a wonderful life. In the USSR labour is all powerful, workers are full masters.

Is everything as it should be in the USSR? There are of course defects. But these defects are nothing in comparison with the successes already achieved by Soviet workers. Already workers conditions are better in the USSR than in many countries of west Europe. The rest-homes, sanatoria, many educational institutions and children's homes can serve as a model to many rich countries. The American workers delegation is convinced that these favourable conditions will continue to develop".

ADDRESS OF THE FINNISH WORKERS EXCURSION.

The Finnish workers excursion which left Leningrad has drawn up an address to the proletariat of the USSR which is as follows:

"We visited at our own choice various Soviet factories and works and could see for ourselves that manual and office workers control and administer these enterprises through their elective organisations. Women and adolescents work under exceptionally favourable conditions. Much attention is paid to the physical and cultural development of all workers and quite special attention is paid to children in creches shelters and children's homes. We are full of admiration for your factory clubs, cinemas, sports grounds, workers theatres, central clubs, utilisation of the dinner interval for lectures and cultural recreation.

We are particularly impressed by your rest-homes, sanatoria, spas and everything that is done for the health of the workers. The many conversations which we had with workers have shown us that they are satisfied and in sympathy with the Soviet Government.

We also inspected your prisons and could see for ourselves that they are organised on an entirely new basis namely on the basis of education and reform and not punishment.

But we have also seen the defects in your life. However, our general impression is that you are making rapid progress, improving and raising production, and also conditions of labour. The construction of a Socialist republic goes on full steam ahead. We promise to tell our comrades in Finland about everything we have heard and seen here.

We thank you heartily for hospitality, attention and comradely treatment.

ADDRESS OF THE NORWEGIAN DELEGATION.

The Norwegian workers delegation left for Norway on September 14th.

The chairman of the delegation Diedrichsen, thanked the proletariat of the USSR on behalf of the delegation for hospitality and comradely treatment:

"As a result of their visit to the USSR, the members of the delegation have strengthened their conviction that the Russian proletariat has accomplished a Socialist revolution and is fighting for the welfare of all workers and of mankind. The sympathy of the Norwegian working class for the USSR and its strong desire to establish a united class front will increase "

BRITISH COOPERATIVE DELEGATION TO THE USSR.

The Cooperative delegation, consisting of representatives of the English Wholesale Society, will arrive in Moscow on September 17th.

The delegation will visit a number of USSR towns and ports.

LIQUIDATION OF ILLITERACY.

On January 1st, 1921 there were on USSR territory (minus the Red Army) 40,967 centres for the liquidation of illiteracy among adults.

On January 1st, 1925 there were already 44,375 such centres with 1,396,021 scholars and on December 1st 1926, 46,759 centres with 1,515,969 scholars.

Work in this direction developed most rapidly in the villages. On December 1st 1926 there were 41,220 village reading and writing schools, with 1,334,203 scholars. Village liquidation of illiteracy centres constitute 88.12% of the total number.

On the whole the network of these liquidation of illiteracy schools has taught 11 million people to read and write between 1921 and 1927.

It should be pointed out that this number will be considerably exceeded if one takes into account the work done in this direction in village reading rooms, circles, and in the Red Army.

In the current year 736 new schools for illiterates will be opened in the RSFSR and 231 schools for semi-literate people.

WORKING AND PEASANT WOMEN DELEGATES.

Delegate meetings of working women are one of the special electing social organs created by the labour democracy of the USSR.

Women delegates are elected by all the working or peasant women of an enterprise or a village.

The function of women delegates is—to learn to govern and develop the Soviet country. Women delegates are women who, in the opinion of the masses will have to fulfil responsible functions in the state organism, but who have not yet sufficient experience and knowledge for it. It is this experience and knowledge that the women delegates must acquire. Important cultural-educational work is done at the delegate meetings. Moreover, women delegates are attached to departments of Soviets and to various institutions (creches, kindergartens, schools, economic or control institutions) where they go through a course of practical work. While they study they also function as an organ of social control over working women.

Delegates meetings are becoming more and more popular among the mass of workers and peasants and the number of elected women delegates as well as the number of their women electors is rapidly growing. We give here figures in regard to the growth of the women delegates movement.

In 1922 there were in the USSR 95,000 women delegates, in 1923-24—208,704, in 1924-25—378,163, in 1925-26—500,000 and in 1926-27—620,000.

Of the 208,704 women delegates elected in 1923-24, 51,344 were working women, 121,511 peasants women, 19,681 women engaged in office work and 16,168 working men's wives.

The social composition of women delegates elected in 1926-27 is as follows: 96,510 (15.6%) working women, 385,890 (62.2%) peasants women, 26,150 (4.2%) women agricultural labourers, and women engaged in agricultural work in general, 52,250 (8.4%) women engaged in office work and 51,240 (8.3%) working men's wives. Most of the peasant women delegates come from the poor peasantry in 1927 their percentage was 68.8%. An overwhelming majority of women delegates (88%) are non-Party.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CELEBRATION OF THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION IN LENINGRAD.

INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES.

A big mechanised flour mill, the biggest of its kind in the USSR, is being built in accordance with the modern achievements of technique. This flour mill will produce 2,420 tons flour per month and its construction and equipment will cost about 3½ million roubles.

Moreover, a new big cooperative store—the Leningrad cooperative stores will be opened at the time of the tenth anniversary.

It is also intended to open by that date a big sawing mill constructed of iron baton. This new sawing mill will produce over 30,000 standards of sawed timber which is to be exported to West Europe. It is equipped with modern Swedish machinery and mechanism.

It is also proposed to open by that date another powerful sawing mill also constructed of iron baton which will produce over 15,000 standards sawed timber. The construction and a equipment of these two work will cost over 3½ million roubles.

The Leningrad Trust of the garment-making industry will open for the October anniversary another garment-making factory which will employ 1,000 workers.

The North-Western joint stock company, "Electropomostch" is making arrangements for the opening on that date of the electro-technical works "Krassny October", which will employ up to 1,000 workers.

In addition to these big enterprises a number of smaller enterprises and workshops will be opened in honour of the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution. The giant of the Soviet coloured metal industry "Krassny Vyborzhets" is opening an electrified foundry, in the "Dzerzhinsky" textile factory a textile factory-school will be opened, etc.

EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS-

On the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution new workers clubs, schools, cultural establishments, etc. will be opened. A magnificent cultural establishment and a new school will be opened in the Moscow-Narva district—the biggest working-class district of Leningrad. One thousand workers' children will be taught there.

SCIENCE INSTITUTIONS AND EXHIBITIONS.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE STUDY OF ASTRONOMY.

In honour of the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution buildings for astronomical observations will be put up in Leningrad at the initiative and expense of the workers. These buildings with all their appliances will be at the disposal of amateur astronomers. The main object of these beginnings is to spread scientific knowledge among workers, to fight against superstition and ignorance and to raise interest in self-education.

Apart from the organisation of a big science exhibition which will bear testimony of the work of Leningrad science institutions during the last ten years, it is also intended to make the opening of a high volt station for the study of high pressure currents attached to the physico-technical institute coincide with the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution. The chief geo-physical observatory will open its museum.

The Art Academy is engaged on the production of a grand panorama "The king of the Winter Palace in 1917."

The Revolutionary Museum is organising an exhibition of the history of October. The exhibition re Soviet construction will be held in the former Mariïnsk Palace. A big industrial-economic exhibition is to be opened, in which cooperatives will participate. A trade union movement exhibition will be held in the Labour Palace. There will be also exhibitions in connection with the pressm science institutions, the army, the postal and telegraph service as well as a number of exhibitions in the Art Academy. An exhibition of labour customs and life during the last ten years will be held in the Vybor district.

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22.9.27.

BULLETIN No.74

22.9.27.

FOR THE PRESS.

NEWS FROM THE USSR.

ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION.

The total output of industry during the month of August exceeds that of July by 16.8%. The increase compared with the output of August last year is 13.5%. The total output of industry for the 11 months of the current economic year exceeds that of the correspondent period of last year by 18.96%.

The output of the heavy industry has increased by 10.25%. The metallurgical industry has increased by 16.4%, the greatest increase being obtained in the production of Marten steel and rolling mills.

In the light industries the greatest increase is obtained by the textile industry. The cotton industry shows an increase of 35.7%, the woollen of 49.2%, and the linen industry 44.3%.

The output of the tobacco industry has increased by 64%. and the makhorka (a cheaper brand of tobacco) industry shows an increased output of 34%. The output of other branches of light industry show increases ranging from 4 - 20%.

The total sales of industrial commodities during 11 months of the current economic year exceeds that of the corresponding period of last year by 29%.

CHELIABINSK ELECTRICAL STATION

TO BE BUILT.

The formal laying of the foundation-stone of a powerful electric station in Cheliabinsk (Siberia) was performed several days ago.

RICH GOLD DEPOSITS DISCOVERED.

Rich gold deposits have been discovered near the Gazumir goldfield in Siberia. This new gold-field extends over an area of 15 versts and is considered to be very rich. Detailed prospecting has been commenced.

WHOLESALE TRADE IN AUGUST.

The total wholesale trade in the USSR for the month of August amounted to 942 million roubles, which is an increase over the previous month of 70.4%, and an increase of 69.4% as compared with the corresponding month of last year.

Of the total trade, the trade in industrial commodities represents 65.5%, agricultural commodities 34.5%. The greatest increase in trade as compared with the previous month was obtained in metals, agricultural raw produce and grain.

Private trade, both in sales and purchases has declined. In sales private trade represents 1.8% of the total and in purchases 2.2%. Simultaneously with the diminution of the share of private trade in the wholesale trade of the USSR there is an increase in the share of the trade done by the Cooperative Societies.

CONTROL FIGURES (ESTIMATES) FOR THE COOPERATE MOVEMENT FOR 1927—28.

It is estimated that during 1927-28 there will be an enormous increase in the membership of cooperative societies amounting to 3,800,000. The total membership of the cooperative societies will thus be brought to the figure of 28 millions.

The membership of rural cooperative societies, it is estimated will increase more rapidly than that of urban societies. In the present year peasants represented 61% of the total membership of cooperative societies, while workers and office employees represented together 39%. In the forthcoming year it is estimated that peasant membership will increase to 63% while that of workers and office employees will decline to 37%. The control figures indicate an estimated increase of 10% in the number of cooperative stores in the rural districts and of 5% in the town.

The estimated increase of cooperative trading in 1927—28 will be, according to the control figures, from 15,175,000 of the present year to 19,305,000, an increase of 28%. The trade of the cooperative societies this year represented 49% of the total trade of the USSR. It is estimated that in the ensuing year cooperative trade will represent 53% of the total.

THE GROWTH OF THE PORT OF ODESSA.

The trade of the port of Odessa on the Black Sea for the present year, 1926—27, shows an increase of 42% as compared with that of last year.

SOVIET AVIATION.

THE HINDUKUSH CROSSED.

The Dobrolot airmen, Comrade Semenov, pilot, and Comrade Sobetski, mechanic, on the 19th of September flew across the lofty mountain-range of the Hindukush. The flight was performed on a Soviet constructed Junkers machine, the "10—13". The distance between Tashkent in Central Asia and Kabul in Afghanistan, 950 kilometres was covered in six hours, 15 minutes. For about 4 hours of the flight the machine flew at an attitude of 5,000 metres with a load of 720 kilos instead of a normal load of 630 kilos. The highest altitude reached in the flight was 5,600 kilometres. This is the first time in the history of aviation that a machine of the type of the "10—13" reached such an altitude over such ground configuration and such a load.

THE ESTHONIAN LABOUR DELEGATION, ON THE USSR.

In the public declaration made prior to its departure from the USSR, the Esthonian Labour Delegation, which has been recently touring the Union states that the delegation obtained all facilities for an unhampered investigation of all aspects of life in the USSR.

Describing their impressions the delegation says that the thing that struck them most was the unceasing work being carried on for the improvement of the conditions of life of the people in all spheres.

Having investigated the political structure of the USSR, the delegation expresses its conviction that the Soviet Union is a genuine workers' state in which the workers in alliance with the peasantry are the administrators, and that the form of State of the USSR is the best form that can be established. It is precisely such a form of State, says the delegation, that is necessary for achieving Socialism.

The USSR is the only country that is democratic not merely in words, but in actual fact, and that it has solved the national question in the most just manner.

The USSR desires peacefully to continue its work of building up Socialism, continues the declaration, we must see to it that it is not hampered in this task by a single predatory imperialist State. The working class of Esthonia will fight by all means in its power to prevent the bourgeoisie from carrying out their despicable designs.

The declaration is signed in the name of the whole delegation by Comrade Grimpel.

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24.9.27.

BULLETIN No. 76 24.1.27 FOR THE PRESS:

NEWS FROM THE USSR.

ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

Large Floating Dock Under Construction.

A large ferro-concrete floating dock to be used for the repair of ships is now under construction in the Leningrad ferro-concrete shipyard. When completed this dock will be the largest of its kind in the world.

Autumn Sowing in the Ukraine.

Autumn sowing is now in full swing over the whole of the Ukraine. In a number of districts the sowing is already finished. This year much has been achieved in the way of substituting sorted seeds for unsorted. Four million poods of selected seeds of winter wheat and rye have been appropriated for distribution among the farmers of which at the present time 2,500,000 poods have been already distributed. The area sown with selected seeds in the Ukraine will be increased this year by 300,000 to 400,000 dessiatins. (Dessiatin = 2 acres) The Commissariat for Agriculture has distributed over 700,000 poods of seeds among the poorer farmers.

IRON DEPOSITS IN UZBECKESTAN DISCOVERED.

While the surveys for the Turkestan-Siberian main railway were being made, large mineral deposits were discovered in the region of the Kurdai Pass in Uzbeckestan. The minerals include copper, zinc and iron. One vein of iron ore extends for a length of 6 kilometres.

EDUCATION AMONG THE NATIONAL MINORITIES.

The first Congress of Educationalists working among the Turkoman peoples will be convened on September 26th in Moscow. Ten nationalities will be represented at the Congress.

SAVINGS-BANKS FORTNIGHT.

A two weeks' campaign to popularise the Savings-Banks is now in progress throughout the whole of the USSR. During this campaign propaganda is being carried on among those who, as a result of increased prosperity have accumulated savings to induce them to deposit these in the State Savings-banks. The advantages of this form of keeping their savings as against the method of hoarding at home is stressed. The campaign is being conducted with extreme success. During the first five days 3,429 new depositors were registered in Moscow alone. The total deposits in the Savings-Banks amounted to 2,012,634 roubles. Internal loan script to the amount of 55,420 roubles have been sold through the Savings-Banks. During the same period the Banks have advanced loan to the amount of 51,945 roubles.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR SOLIDARITY.

A Swedish labour delegation headed by a member of the Swedish Parliament Stromberg, has arrived in Sebastopol, Crimea. The delegation attended the meeting of the City Soviet at which the questions arising out of the earthquake were discussed. The delegation conveyed the condolences of the Swedish proletariat to the Sebastopol Soviet,

The Executive Committee of the Clerk's Union of Belgium has invited the Central Committee of the Soviet Officeworkers Union to send representatives to the forthcoming Congress of the Belgian Union to be held on October 30th. The Soviet Clerks' Union has accepted the invitation.

Tenth Anniversary to be Celebrated in Belgium.

The delegation of Belgian Officeworkers who visited the USSR several months ago has informed the Central Committee of the Soviet officeworkers Union that it has organised a special committee in Belgium to arrange for the celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution. The committee consists of the chairman of the delegation, the secretary of the Clerks' Union of Belgium, Comrade Etterling, and a number of prominent trade union leaders and public men. The Committee has issued an appeal to all the Belgium labour organisations and to all manual and mental workers calling upon them to celebrate

the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution under the following slogans:

~~Ten Years of Soviet Progress, Ten Years of Capitalist Decline;~~ Ten Years of Proletarian Victory. The Establishment of the Soviet Regime in the USSR is a Factor of world significance. The Whole Working Class is Vitally interested in Strengthening and Developing the Soviet Republic. Assistance to the Soviet Union Against all its Enemies is the Best Guarantee of international Peace.

The Committee has resolved to send a delegation of workers and officeworkers to Moscow to take part in the Tenth Anniversary Celebration and has appealed to all the labour organisations in Belgium to take part in selecting the delegation.

WOMEN SHARE IN POLITICAL LIFE.

Preparations are in full swing throughout the USSR for the forthcoming All-Union Congress of Working and Peasant Women. Preliminary Provincial Congresses are being held at which reports are made on the part women play in the public and political life of the Union.

The recent election campaign in Leningrad clearly demonstrated an increase in the activity of peasant women. In 1925 only 25 per cent of the peasant women took part in the elections whereas in 1927, 46.3 per cent took part. In the Leningrad Province there are 13 village Soviets which have women chairmen and 2 rural district Soviets which have women chairmen.

In Leningrad 819 working women were elected to the City Soviet. In the factories where women workers predominate the poll has never been less than 91 per cent of the eligible voters.

MONARCHIST TERRORIST TRIAL.

The examination of the accused in the Monarchist terrorist trial has finished. During the examination of Stroyevoy who belongs to the Latvian group, it was revealed that the instructions given to him by the Latvian Espionage Service coincided to the minutest detail with the instructions given to its agents by the British Intelligence Service,.....as was revealed during the recent trial of the Anglo-Finnish spies. For example, winter was interested to know whether Germany was helping to restore the Soviet navy by contributions of money and technical aid and he too put the question as to whether Germany was sending submarines in parts to Leningrad. When Stroyevoy had won the confidence of winter the latter revealed to him that the Latvian Espionage service operated in conjunction with the French Espionage Service. The information he obtained regarding the Navy had also to be communicated to France.

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26-9-27

Bulletin No. 77

29-IX-27

For the Press.

NEWS FROM THE USSR.

One of the Main Achievements of the October Revolution. /The Working Day in the USSR/.

Right up to the end of the last century, the length of the working day in Russia was not fixed by legislation. It was on an average a 13-14 hour day. The "famous" law of 1897 fixed an 11½ hour day. But employers could make free with this law, or to put it differently, the law provided for legal excuses for its infringement in the shape of "urgent" work, overtime in the case of "urgent orders", etc. The working day of piece-workers was not limited as they were not considered regular wage earners, but people working on a definite job.

After the February Revolution, 1917 the working class began to introduce the 8-hour day by downing tools after eight hours, which was resented and opposed by the capitalists and their lackeys-social democratic Mensheviks and social Revolutionaries who had a seat in the Provisional Government. As a result of this the workers did not succeed in having a law passed of a general 8-hour day during the whole eight months of the existence of the so-called Provisional Government. It was only after the October Revolution that the 8-hour day became part and parcel of the conquests of the proletariat as one of the immovable foundations of the new life. Immediately after October 25, a decree was issued on October 29, 1917 introducing the 8-hour day in all enterprises and households and a 42-hour weekly rest for all wage earners without exception; By the same decree a number of regulations re protection of woman and child labour were established. The first labour code issued in October 1918 was based on general compulsory labour service. It was dictated by the exigencies of civil war. However, in regard to working hours, rest and protection of woman and adolescent labour, the new law did not change anything in the provisions of the decree of October 29. In fact it made even more complete this achievement of the October Revolution by limiting overtime to a few exceptional cases clearly defined in the law. The 8-hour day became an inalienable conquest of the working class. None of the sunsequent decrees prior to and after NEP/the code of 1922 brought any alterations into the working hours laid down by law. Observance of the labour code and consequently the observance of the 8-hour day and the 42-hour weekly rest, etc. IS OBLIGATORY FOR ALL INSTITUTIONS, ENTERPRISES, HOUSEHOLDS AND INDIVIDUALS WHO EMPLOY HIRED LABOUR.

This is a short sketch of the establishment of the 8-hour day by the Russian Working class. Let us now consider the real working hours in the USSR in separate branches of industry. According to 1925-26 statistics, the average length of the working day in the mining and metal industry is 7.5 hours, in the engineering industry—7.4 hours, in the cotton industry—7.4 hours, in the paper industry—7.7 hours, etc., the average throughout the industry being 7.5 hours. The average length of the working day in the USSR is DECREASING every year: In 1922 it was 7.9 hours, in 1923—7.8 hours, in 1925—7.6 hours, whereas at present it is only 7.5 hours. There is also a decrease in the number of working hours per head per year. In 1924-25 the number of working hours constituted 77.5% of the pre-war working hours, in 1925-26 75%. These figures are eloquent testimony that in the USSR one of the main achievements of the October Revolution—8-hour day and 42-hour weekly rest is observed to the full. For people engaged in brain work and workers employed in industries considered to be injurious to health and also for adolescents, the working is limited by Soviet legislation to 6 and some cases to 5 hours, and even to 4 hours a day.

There is no doubt whatever that the October Revolution has secured for the proletariat of the USSR the 8-hour day, the 42 hour weekly rest, social insurance of workers at the expense of employers and other rights won in the struggle with the bourgeoisie and laid down in the Soviet labour code.

DELEGATION OF FOREIGN PEASANTS TO THE OCTOBER CELEBRATIONS.

Various peasant and cooperative organisations of Germany, France, Yugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, Greece, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, India, China, Central, & South America have notified the Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives in the USSR of their wish to send delegations to Moscow for the forthcoming October celebrations.

The delegates will arrive in Moscow between October 20 and 25 and will stay 3-4 weeks in the USSR.

COAL DEPOSITS IN THE FAR EAST.

Exploring parties of the Geological Committee have discovered enormous deposits of brown coal in the Far East, Tabritchansky mining district. According to an approximate estimate there are over 48,000,000 tons of high class coal there. The coal of the Tabritchansk mines is the best in the Far East.

MANUFACTURE OF SEPARATORS IN THE UNION,

In 1925-26 the Perm Works were the first in the USSR to manufacture separators. The current year's production will be 30,000 separators and the programme for 1927-28 provides for the manufacture of 60,000 separators.

Hitherto separators were imported.

P. 415. (2)

Two envelopes with the following superscription:—

“To the Editor of the

“Gana Vana”—37 Harrison Road,

Calcutta.”

P. 415. (3)

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(3)

Agnes Smedley,

Holsteinische Strasse 36,

Berlin—Wilmersdorf.

Tell Tagore money not received Wire name of Bank and date.

MUZAFFARAHMAD.

9/-

Transmitted on 3-7-1928.

P. 415. (4)

MR. SRINIVASA IYENGAR IN EUROPE.

Sj. Srinevasa Iyengar, ex-President of the Indian National Congress, who is in Europe at the present time studying political and economic conditions, said recently in an interview with the writer, that he had absolutely no faith in the British Labour Party or in the Parliamentary Independent Labour Party. Mr. Iyengar spent a number weeks in England, during which time he talked with practically all the important men in the British Labour Party as well as with leaders of the other parties. He then came to Berlin,

and as this is being written, is on his way to Moscow to study the system prevailing in the Soviet Union. Just before leaving for Moscow, he said:

"I have no faith whatsoever in the British Labour Party or in the Parliamentary Independent Labour Party. The Labour Party is controlled entirely by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, it matters not what the different opinions may be of the various individual members of the Party. Take the Indian question for instance—all the Labour Party members see it through the eyes of Ramsay MacDonald. It is clear that his policy is exactly the same as the imperialist policy of Baldwin, Birkenhead and Churchill. I have talked with many members of the Labour Party, who said that the Party as a whole is not even in favour of the granting of full dominion status to India. Ramsay MacDonald himself told me that he and his Party offer us full dominion status. As for the decision of the Indian National Congress, making national independence the goal of the Indian people—well, he and his Party just ignore that."

Mr. Iyengar's impressions of the policy of the Labour Party are borne out by facts that are so numerous that they require no substantiation. That the Labour Party ignores the independent resolution of the Indian National Congress, and claims the right to decide what form of government India shall have, makes it an imperialist Party even more dangerous than the open enmity of the Tories. Speaking further, Mr. Iyengar said:

"Take the Commonwealth Labour Conference, just ended in London, as another proof of the imperialist tactics and policy of the Labour Party. The Labour Party machine did not even allow the Indian delegation to move a resolution on India, nor on the Labour Party policy toward the Simon Commission. This was the reason the Indian delegation withdrew. Then, the Labour Party has published a programme, and the part relating to India is even more vulgar than the rest of its dominion programme. MacDonald, although speaking verbally about 'dominion status' for India, has not made any public statement about the grant of immediate dominion status—not at the Commonwealth Labour Conference or anywhere else. I am not speaking of our own determination to make national independence the chief part of our programme, but I am here saying that MacDonald does not state in public what he privately professes to Indians—even in such a little thing like dominion status."

"Some of the members of the Labour Party and of the I.L.P. may, in their independent capacity, sympathize with India's aspirations, and may be in agreement with us even in our goal of complete national independence. But that is of no

importance whatever, for we find that on every critical occasion they vote as the Party machine directs them to vote, and they go with their Party. Some of them have even resigned from the League Against Imperialism. Lord Birkenhead would never have been able to force the Simon Commission on India but for the Labour Party's cooperation with him.

"Some friends tell me that the non-parliamentary I. L. P. is all right. But I do not know. Unless the non-parliamentary I.L.P. gets rid of the parliamentary I. L.P. , I have no faith in that Party either—then we will see what their programme is."

While in London, Mr. Iyengar represented the Indian National Congress at the *English Conference of the League Against Imperialism*. Speaking of the League Against Imperialism, he said:

"*The League Against Imperialism* is the best institution I have seen so far organised for the purpose of dealing with the specific question of Imperialism. It is the only international institution that I have come in contact with that has some idealism and morality as its background. That is the reason the Indian National Congress is a member of it. I cordially agree with it. I represented the Congress at the London Conference, and I moved the resolution on India. *Maulana Mohamed Ali* also attended the Conference, taking his place on the platform. I was impressed by the fact that in Britain they were able to organize such a good Conference, representative as it was of powerful sections of the Labour movement."

While in Berlin, Mr. Iyengar lectured on "India's National Struggle" before Berlin University, declaring amongst other things that India's goal was complete national independence and that Indians were determined to struggle until they got it. His kindly and yet determined personality and bearing made a deep impression upon his audience, and his speech was greeted with prolonged applause. He also spoke before the Hindustan Association of Central Europe, his speech covering chiefly the question of unity regardless of religion, caste, or province, as well as the problem of mass organisation. Speaking of the political work of the Congress, he said that now that the national independence resolution is unanimously accepted, the next step should be to capture the seats in the legislative councils, but vacate them and form separate Indian National Assembly that will have nothing to do with the British apparatus. His speech was enthusiastically greeted by the Association. In the discussion that followed, many members of the Association advocated the organisation of the workers and peasants, who form 85 p. c. of the Indian people, and are the Indian people, urging a programme that would be an expression of the needs and desires of the workers and peasants.

Referring to Germany, Mr. Iyenagar said that he finds the German people and German educational and industrial institutions much more sympathetic to Indians than are institutions in England. He urged Indians in Europe to inform the Indian public through the press of the advantages offered students in Germany.

BERLIN, July, 18, 1928.

—AGNES SMEDLEY.

P. 415, (5)

MUZAFFAR AHMAD ESQR.

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

SADAR TRAM TERMINUS DELHI.

28th May 1928.

My dear Muzaffar,

Assure Com. Spratt that his book has reached Bombay as I was not sure about his presence in Calcutta.

My book about the Russian Revolution is ready; let me have your suggestion about its publication. My idea is that it should first appear in some newspapers. Better if some paper can pay me on it, otherwise its publication is my first concern.

Hope you will reply soon, as I have not much time to wait.
Greeting to all the comrades.

Yours Frat.

P. 415. (6)

THE COMMUNIST BOOSHOP

MUZAFFAR AHMAD

c/o M.A. MAJID & Co.,

Mochi Gate, Lahore, India.

16, King Street,

LONDON, W.C.2

.....192

Literature

<u>To account rendered</u>	..				
Creative Revolution	..			2	6
World Revolution	..			1	0
Post	..				3
Postage on Historical Materialism	} ..			3	9
Pro forma invoice				4	4

This account is due for payment within 15 days:

(1) A.B.C. of Communism by Bukharin and Prestrzhensky	3	0
(2) Short course of Economic Science by A Bogdanoff		3	0
(3) Imperialism: The last stage of Capitalism by Lenin		1	6
(4) State and Revolution by Lenin	..	1	6
(5) Theory and Practice of Leninism by Stalin	..	1	6
(6) On the Road to Insurrection by Lenin	..	1	6
(7) Lenin as a Marxist by Bhukarin	..	1	0
(8) Russia's Path to Communism by Zinoveiv	..	1	0
(9) Building up Socialis, by Bukharin	..	1	0
		15 0	

Muzaffar Ahmad

- (10) Crecetine Revolution by Eden and Ceden Paul
(11) Peoples Marx

P. 415. (7)

Letter in Bengali dated 30th August from Soumendra Nath Tagore, Berlin.

P.415 (8).

NATIONAL MINORITY MOVEMENT

Hon. Chairman: TOM MANN
Gen. Organising Secretary:
GEORGE HARDY

Hon. General Secretary: HARRY POLLITT
National Treasury: GEO. FLETCHER

National Industrial Sections
Miners' Minority Movement
Transport Workers' Minority
Movement
Metal Workers' Minority
Movement
Building Workers' Minority
Movement
Gen. Workers' Section
Printers' Section

¶ Address all communications to Gen. Secretary
TELEPHONE: MUSEUM 6708

Room 14, First Floor,

Reference.....

38, GREAT ORMOND STREET,

(Please quote when replying)

LONDON, W. C. 1.

30th May, 1927.

The General Secretary,
Workers' & Peasants Party of Bengal,
37, Harrison Road,
Calcutta,
INDIA.

Dear Comrade,

Many thanks for your letter dated 12th of May. I am glad to hear you received my previous letter safely, and I shall look out with interest for a communication from Comrade Tagore.

I enclose you some copies of our last conference report, specimen application form, etc. I have also requested our paper the "Worker" to put you on the exchange list. Just at the moment we have not any other literature which would be of use to you.

With regard to your paper, the only addresses I can at present suggest to you, are, the Communist Bookshop, 16. King Street, W. C. 2., and Hendersons, Charing Cross Road, W. C.

I quite appreciate the difficulties you are working against, but I am sure that with persistent effort you will be able to attain your results in spite of all the efforts of the imperialist government.

Best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

HARRY POLLITT

Honorary General Secretary.

P. 415. (9)

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal.

2/1 European Asylum Lane

CALCUTTA.

11 August, 1928.

Circular To All Party Members, Branches, & Affiliated Bodies.

Dear Comrades,

We wish to draw your attention to the Trade Dispute Bill which is to come before the next Session of the Assembly. It is designed to deprive the Trade Union movement of practically all functions and activities, and there can be no doubt that, when the Peasants' movement develops, similar legislation will be carried through against it. India will be put under Czarist conditions.

The Party intends to conduct as wide and intense a campaign as possible against the Bill, and has proposed to the Bengal Trade Union Federation to call a Conference of all Unions and Peasant organisations in Bengal, Bihar and Assam, with the following agenda

- (1) Measures of resistance to the Trade Disputes Bill such as
 - (a) campaign for increasing Union membership
 - (b) organisation of unorganised workers
 - (c) establishment of Trades Councils in all industrial towns
 - (d) amalgamation of overlapping Unions
 - (e) campaign of propaganda for a general strike, with the following demands (1) Trade Disputes Bill to be rescinded (2) all Unions to be allowed to affiliate to the Trade Union Congress (3) legislation for a minimum wage of Rs 30 (4) universal adult suffrage.
- (2) Assistance to all workers now involved in strikes.
- (3) Mass demonstrations of workers on landing of Simon Commission.
- (4) Consideration of All-Parties Conference decisions.

You will see that nothing short of action of this kind will meet the situation, and we call upon you to exert the utmost activity in the following ways (1) to carry on propaganda within any Unions or Peasants' organisations which you know in support of the Conference and the General Strike. (2) to form Unions or Peasants' Leagues which will send representatives to the Conference (3) to recruit members to the Party who will assist in this agitation (4) to distribute as widely as possible "Ganavani" and

“Lal Nishan” and the special leaflets etc which we are bringing out (5) to hold local public meetings condemning the Bill and supporting General Strik against it.

The Party will be failing in its duty if it does not make every possible effort to lead a successful mass movement against this Bill, and calls upon all members to do their utmost.

Yours fraternally,

Executive Committee.

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal.

2/1 European Asylum Lane

CALCUTTA.

11 August, 1928.

CIRCULAR TO ALL PARTY MEMBERS, BRANCHES, AND AFFILIATED BODIES.

Dear Comrades,

We wish to draw your attention to the Trade Dispute Bill which is to come before the next Session of the Assembly. It is designed to deprive the Trade Union movement of practically all functions and activities, and there can be no doubt that, when the Peasants' movement develops, similar legislation will be carried through against it. India will be put under Czarist conditions.

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The Party will be failing in its duty if it does not make every possible effort to lead a successful mass movement against this Bill and calls upon all members to do their utmost.

Yours fraternally,
Executive committee.

P. 415. (10)

MODERN INDIAN POLITICS.

(Modern India by R. Palme Dutt, Sunshine Publishing House, Bombay and "The future of Indian Politics" by M. N. Roy. R. Bishop, London. Both books obtainable from S. Govind and Co., Sandhurst Road, Bombay.)

In these two small books is contained a remarkable survey of India at the present day. Both authors are writers and Marxists of international reputation, and their treatment of this unfamiliar subject with the intellectual weapons of modern socialism is productive of the most interesting and valuable results. Mr. Dutt's book is wider in scope and deals with the fundamental economic and social changes which are now proceeding in India, and their probable future progress. Mr. Roy's book is more narrowly political, though none the less systematic and scientific for that. He sketches in his first part the economic background of recent events, mainly from the standpoint of the relations between the British and Indian capitalist classes. His second part contains an excellent critical analysis of the politics and development of the Swaraj Party in the light of the former section, and the third is devoted to the future course which the struggle must pursue in view of these conditions. It is interesting to notice that though the subject is tackled from somewhat different points of view, the conclusions reached by the two authors are in close agreement.

Mr. Dutt begins with a short "Statement of the Problem."

"The Indian National Movement has reached a point at which a new survey is needed of its conditions, aims, and tactics. The deadlock reached by the existing movement during the last few years, and the necessity of finding a new line of advance make this fresh survey of the ground necessary" and a statement of his broad conclusions.

"The national struggle for independence will have to take new forms. The struggle against Imperialism is and must be a struggle of the widest masses. The awakening of the masses to their own interests and their own emancipation is the task in front. The national struggle itself is only a stage in the struggle for emancipation. Our fight is a fight against every form of exploitation, economic, social, political, racial, or religious. As the struggle develops, the leadership of the productive workers of the proletariat in India and the peasants will become more and more clear. The present stage of the struggle is the struggle against imperialist domination. But the national struggle already contains within itself the germs of the developing social struggle, and can only be understood in relation to it. The failure to recognise

this, the attempt to build a national movement on the ever-weakening prope of the Indian bourgeoisie, the endeavour to combine a forward political movement with a reactionary social programme is at the root of the present weakness of Indian Nationalism."

He then proceeds to support these contentions by a brilliant survey of the history of British relations with India. He distinguishes three periods the first that of sheer plunder, when the government of British India was in the hands of the East India Company, which was interested in the division of India against itself in chaos rather than order. The second was the stage of exchange, when India was mainly a market and a source of raw materials for British manufactures. In this period the whole of British capitalism became interested in India, and control was taken over officially by the British Government, and such conditions created of order, transport facilities, etc., as would facilitate trade. This stage ended roughly with the war. The third stage, which we see in development now, is that in which Britain having practically completed its industrial development is forced to invest capital abroad and in the colonies. This means the industrialisation of India, the exploitation of a new Indian working class, and the conclusion of an alliance with the Indian capitalist class. "The political expression of the new stage is Dyarchy".

In his chapter on "Imperialism in India—The Old Basis", he rapidly sketches the effects of British rule during the 19th Century, showing the origin of the appalling legacy which we are now enjoying. Using only unimpeachable official figures and reports he demonstrates the disastrous impoverishment brought about by that policy—the driving of ever larger proportions of the population to agriculture, the subdivision of land to a ridiculous degree, the destruction of the old industry, and the purposeful and artificial prevention of the growth of an industry on a modern basis, which alone could solve the problem. He quickly and effectively disposes of the old official argument about "over-poulation" (due to the peace and order of British rule) showing that the rate of growth of population during the last century was less than that of any European country except France. The root of the matter was the deliberate obstruction of economic development for the benefit of British industrial capitalism.

"The real basis then, of Indian poverty under British rule has lain in the capitalist subjection of India as an agricultural colony to the manufacturing capitalism of Britain. This was the old system of Imperialism up to the war. In appearance the British Government had established political unification, "peace" and "order", and had endeavoured to pose before the nations as the champion of "progress" in relation to the "backward" civilisation

of India. The reality was a system of more and more intensified exploitation, of arrested economic development, and of consequently increasing starvation and misery, and therefore of sharper and sharper repression—”

The picture has now changed. India is becoming industrialised. But Mr. Dutt has again no difficulty in showing that this change of policy is not a yielding to the needs of India but a necessary result of British developments, and further that it contributes but little to the solution of India's problems, as that industrial development is to an overwhelming extent under British control, run with British capital, and contributes profits to British shareholders.

At the same time Britain has extended its cooperation with India beyond the narrow ranks of the big landholders to the Indian capitalist class, and by now has successfully won them over to acceptance of British rule (Home Rule “within the Empire”, “Dominion Status”). Such a demand the Indian Bourgeoisie would be willing to accept and the British willing to grant. But it is obvious that in this case the demand is of no use to any body else, including the masses of India. It would simply give formal expression to the state of thing which is actually in operation already—the partnership of the British and Indian Bourgeoisie in the exploitation of the Indian masses.

Hence the author argues, the aim which we must have in view is complete independence from Imperialism, as a step towards complete social liberation.

It is impossible to summarise in a short review the authors excellent chapters on the nationalist movement and its relations with the working class and peasantry. It is enough to say that he shows perfectly the essentially capitalist nature of the leadership of the Congress and of the Swaraj Party, and traces the failure of the one and of the other to this fact. The capitalist class of India is afraid of Swaraj—afraid of the masses who alone can win Swaraj. Hence in the position of leader of the masses they can do nothing but betray Swaraj movement.

Mr. Dutt then discusses the nature of the fundamental requirements of the working class, the peasants and the other exploited sections of society. He shows that a real Swaraj movement must place these requirements in the forefront of its programme, since any form of Swaraj which does not satisfy these demands will be of no use. It must organise a real Party of the People representing all sections of society which are able to strive for Swaraj, the working class, the peasants, and the petty bourgeoisie.

It is here that we can take up Mr. Roy's book. After a rather more detailed discussion of the new policy of British Imperialism towards India, and the gradual collapse of the Swaraj Party, due to its essentially capitalist programme and leadership, he goes on to discuss the nature of the future struggle. He shows which classes can pursue the fight against Imperialism, the workers, the peasants, the artisans, the "petty Intellectuals" and the petty bourgeoisie, and which cannot, the capitalists, the big landlords, the "brown bureaucracy", etc.)

There is obviously a need for an all inclusive People's Party which shall unite all sections which can fight Imperialism. He shows that the working class must take a leading part in this Party which will not however be a Socialist Party. The working class must have its own Socialist or Communist Party, to organise and lead its special activities in alliance with the broader nationalist movement.

He then discusses the many attempts to form a labour Party in India, and shows that there is no place and no function for such a body in the existing conditions. It is mainly an attempt on the part of the British "Labour Imperialists" to lead the Indian Working class astray from its true line of political action. On the other hand, as Mr. Dutt points out, the Indian working class and nationalist movement must establish close relations with the newly forming "left wing" of British Labour, which is now becoming so important a political factor, and is necessarily in favour of Indian national freedom.

Neither Mr. Dutt nor Mr. Roy is yet clear on the way in which the new People organisation will arise, whether it will coincide with the present Congress organisation, furnished with a new programme and leadership, or whether it will come forth as a completely organised party within the Congress to transform and capture it. Our immediate task is not to quarrel over this problem circumstances will solve it for us - but to push on with the work of enlightenment and organisation of the working class and peasants for the struggle against Imperialism.

It is essential, in our opinion, for any serious Indian politician to read these two books, and it is a pity that they are issued only in English. Nothing like either has been produced in recent years. Mr. Dutt by the breadth and sweep of his argument, Mr. Roy by the accuracy of his diagnosis of persons and policies, compel our attention and admiration. But beyond all questions of style or manner there is to be born in mind the fact that both books in their different ways give a fundamentally correct analysis of modern Indian conditions, and a fundamentally sound guide for the future. The nationalist movement must follow this direction, or fail.

P. 415 (11)

REPORT, ON CHINA.

1. The Canton Rising.

The way to the Canton rising was opened by the coup d'etat carried out on November 17th by Chang Fat-kwai, backed by Wang Chin-Wei and a section of the Canton industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, against Li Chai-sum, representing the Nanking clique (Chinnng kai-shek), who had been ruling Canton ever since the anti-Communist outbreaks last April. The coup was a reply to the increasing economic crisis (high cost of living, shortage of essentials financial bankruptcy.)

Chang Fat-Kwai attempted to enlist mass support by involving the Kuomintang authority, but his attitude to the workers especially belied these pretensions: eviction of Hong Kong strikers; closing down their food kitchens, raids and arrests in trade unions, shooting down demonstrations executing communists; etc. The armed struggle that opened, all over Kwantung, between the warring groups within the feudal-bourgeois counter revolutionary bloc, intensified the economic crisis and at the same time encouraged the masses to independent activity.

The Canton party Committee was in being as an illegal body holding regular trade union conference of factory delegates (underground), Party conferences, etc. When the Nanchang Army (Yeh-Ting) was approaching Kwantung in September, the party in Canton began preparations for a rising, but these were postponed after Yeh Ting was defeated at Swatow. The party used several occasions, (sailors' strike on October 14th, revolutionary anniversary on November 7th, Chang Fat Kwai's coup) to bring the masses out into the street, organise numerous strikes. etc.

The party was in regular contact with the Haifung Soviet Government, organised in half a dozen densely populated agricultural districts (250,000 population in mid-November, extending to territory with 500,000 population by mid December), by the remnant of Yeh-Ting's army after their defeat. This Government applied the undiluted Comintern policy from the outset-full power to workers, peasants, and soldiers' councils, confiscation of large estates, abolition of title-deeds, guaranteeing of land to soldiers, equipment of Red soldiers by their villagers through the State machinery (instead of hiring them through the commander as heretofore). Over 700 landowners and counter-revolutionaries were publicly executed by the beginning of December. A Soviet Congress was held on November 7th (see "Workers' Life"). The Haifung Government sent 2,000 dollars to Canton to buy arms for the workers.

On November 26th the Canton Party Committee, faced with Chang Fat Kwai's increasing anti-Communist and anti-Labour terror, decided to work for an insurrection, and to organise a Red

Guard of armed workers. A manifesto on suitable lines was issued. On Dec. 7th it decided unanimously that the rising should take place on the night of Dec. 10-11. Energetic measures of preparation were already in progress.

Politically, the manifesto of Nov. 26 indicated the following immediate programme of a Workers' and Peasants' Government: liberation of political prisoners, arming of workers and peasants, freedom of press, speech, strikes, evacuation of occupied trade union buildings, execution of White provocateurs, restoration of rights of Hong Kong strikers, rising of wages, workers' control for production, nationalisation of large industry, banking and transport, confiscation of bourgeois houses, all land for peasants, death to landlords and gentry, raising soldiers' wages from 12 to 20 dollars per month, soldiers' committee to fight reactionary general and to control Army finance, etc. This programme was widely accepted.

Military preparations took the form of (1) establishment of a revolutionary military council (2) military mobilisation of Party members (3) establishment of an illegal Red Guard of 20,000 workers (4) organisation of special shock detachments (2) companies of Hong Kong strikers and 1 company each of seamen and rickshawmen (5) organisation of transport workers and chauffeurs to concentrate lorries, etc. at the moment of the rising (6) manufacture of iron pikes and hand grenades, and accumulation of revolvers and ammunition (7) propaganda in nearly all military units and conference with revolutionary soldiers and officers (an illegal conference of 200 Communist and non-party soldiers and officers was held a week before the rising: the Training Battalion Guards' Regiment, part of the artillery, and a group of Whampoa cadets supported the Party.)

A *Canton Soviet* was illegally organised after the date of the rising had been decided: 10 members elected at a general meeting of delegates of the trade unions (200,000 members), 3 members from revolutionary troops, 3 peasants from peasant unions in the neighbouring districts. The members of the Soviet played a leading part in the insurrection, taking civil control in the various quarters of the city.

Throughout this period the Party published a daily paper "The Workers' and Peasants' Gazette," a weekly "The Red Flag" and a mass of illegal leaflets.

The rising began at 3-30 a. m. on the morning of December 11th, soldiers of the Training Battalion bringing comrade Chang-Tai-Lai, member of the C. C. of the Party and War Commissary of the Canton Soviet, to their barracks, where a meeting was held, the Kuomintang Government declared overthrown, and allegiance sworn to the Canton Soviet. Fifteen reactionary officers were shot on the spot, and the soldiers then moved off to occupy strategic points,

disarm reactionary troops, etc. as directed by the Red Military Committee. Simultaneously, the Red Guard attacked the police and Military Police Headquarters, taking them after an hours fighting, and seizing their rifles, machine guns and armoured cars. Within a few hours the revolutionary soldiers and workers had occupied all important points, liberated 800 prisoners, and seized a mass of arms and ammunitions, including one third of Chang Fat-Kwai's artillery.

The Council of People's Commissaries, appointed some days previously, immediately began energetic action, publishing a manifesto to the workers, peasants, and soldiers of all China, and an appeal to the international proletariat. The first 3 decrees dealt with (1) the establishment of Soviet power (2) organisation of a Red Army (led in the main by workers,) and (3) organisation of an Extraordinary Commission (about 700 spies, police, officers, counter-revolutionary trade union officials, etc. were shot). The Chairman of the Government was a worker, Hsu Chao-Chen, leader of the Seamen's and Hong Kong strikes of 1925 and later President of the T.U.C. All decrees were printed in 250,000 copies in the nationalised printing shops and immediately distributed.

A feature of the events was the mass participation of the workers, particularly of the youth and women (catching White agents, supplying food to the Red troops, acting as technical helpers, nurses, etc.).

During the three days tenure of power a number of important decrees were issued, in application of the programme published on November 26th, and published in the "Red Flag", the daily paper of the Canton Soviet. Amongst these, too numerous to enumerate in full may be mentioned (1) greetings to the Haifung Soviet Government and appointment of its leader, Pungwei (member of the Party C. C.) as Commissary for Agriculture (2) annulment of City taxes on the poor (3) grants to the soldiers of land from the nationalised estates (4) dissolution of Fascist trade unions, etc.

As is known, the Soviet Government held out for three days against (1) the reactionary troops (3 divisions) of Li-Fu-Hin (supporter of Li-Chai-Sun), concentrated in the main on the island of Honam, in Canton Harbour, but also North and East of the city (2) the warships in Canton Harbour (3) the well-armed "Min-Tuang" or bourgeois village volunteers. On the second day, a whole division was driven out of the city with great loss, but on the third day the reactionaries returned in great force and succeeded in occupying the city.

They were supported by foreign troops as follows (1) Japanese sailors landed on the Bund and fired on Red soldiers, thus preventing them from driving out the Whites who had barricaded themselves in the dock-areas (2) British commercial and war vessels

transported, the reactionary generals and bourgeoisie to Honam, Shamean (foreign settlement) and Hong Kong (3) British, Japanese and French warships shielded the gunboats which were bombarding Canton (4) British sailors surrounded and arrested Red Chinese sailors (5) British Commercial vessels, flying the British flag, transported Kuomintang troops.

A great difficulty was that many workers and coolies were unacquainted with the use of arms, and learned to handle a rifle only after the rising began. Only 4 of the machine guns seized, and 4 or 5 out of the 25 guns captured, could be used. Even leading Party comrades did not realise the importance of barricades and how to construct them.

It is considered that the following mistakes were made:

(1) Too much time spent on liquidating the last nests of reaction in the docks, instead of immediately beginning an offensive against hostile centres outside the city (Honam and Whampoa) and breaking through Sheklun, towards Hailing-fen (the peasant centre). Yeh Ting, the Communist general, had to be removed from his post by the Party Committee for, inexcusable slackness and carelessness.

(2) Very few cases of White troops from the provinces going over to the Red Army, thus showing the inefficiency of political preparations for the disintegration of reactionary armies—a general fault of the Party.

(3) The reaction succeeded in arming 1,000 members of the Fascist Mechanics' Union, owing to the insufficient attention in the past to winning the rank and file of the Union away from their leaders.

(4) Although several thousands of peasants congregated directly the rising began, seizing the Northern Railway Station and handing over the cash seized there, etc. there was no general rising of peasants in the areas round Canton, due to a considerable extent to the lack of Communist groups in the villages and weakness of Party contact with these villages (as distinct from the revolutionary areas, which are roughly 6 days' march away).

At the end of the rising the soldiers of the Training Regiment, in close formation burst through the enemy ring, followed by about 20,000 Red Guards, and made their way to the Haifung areas.

2. The Present Position.

An important feature of the Canton rising is that it shows the degree to which the Chinese Party has learned the lessons of the tragic failures of last year. The careful preparations for the rising, the 100 per cent. C. I. programme adopted by the Soviet

Government, the intense activity displayed immediately the rising began, show that, given similar circumstances at canton or elsewhere, the Party will be able to rise to the occasion.

The revolutionary ferment going on all over China has been currently reported in the Party press. A useful summary is provided in the following report, taken, from "Imprekorr".

(Latest telegrams report the Haifung Red troops at Chow-Yang, 15 miles from Swatow.

The struggle of the warring factions of the Kuomintang leaders-Chiang Kai-Shek, (Shanghai and Nanking), Pei Chung-Hsi (Wuhan, nominally supporting Chiang Kai-Shek), Feng Yu-Hsiang (N. of Wuhan), and Li-Chai-Sum and Chang Fat Kwai in the south continues unabated. Only along the Yang-Tse-Kiang, thanks to the presence of British warships, is there a certain "unity of command" amongst the bourgeoisie. But elsewhere (particularly in the far South) the disintegration of the White camp goes on.)

The Canton Soviet power set up after the December insurrection has been crushed, but there still exist in the country numerous Soviets formed before and after the revolt. The population regards the Soviet system with the greatest enthusiasm. In the east of the province of Kwantung, between Canton and Swatow, the districts of Haifung, Lufang, Puling, Hoyuan and the island Hainan, lying south of Kwantung, has been captured by peasants and a Soviet Government also set up there. In addition, there are Soviets in several districts in the east of the province of Hunan, for example, in the west of the province of Kiangsi, i.e., in the neighbourhood of the celebrated Ngan-yuan mining works (province of Kiangsi). The Soviet system has even spread to the province of Hupeh; the district of Huang-Mei in the east of this province is administered by the Soviets.

Under the banner of seizure of political power by the workers and peasants, a gigantic wave of peasants' revolts has again spread over the whole of China. Peasant revolts are continually taking place, not only in the province of Kwantung Kwangsi, Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi, Honan, Chili and Shantung, where peasant movements had long existed led by the formerly revolutionary Kuomintang or by secret organisations, but also in the provinces of Kiangsu, Szekiang and in Manchuria, which have long been oppressed by the counter-revolutionaries. Since last autumn in Szekiang and Kiangsu, in the broad environs of Shanghai, large towns have often been occupied for days by the insurgents. Already, since the middle of January last, the district of Tonghua in Manchuria, has been in the occupation of the so-called "Da-Dau-Hui" (Big Knife League). If the latter movement does not bear the

revolutionary character of that of the movement led by the Communist Party in South China, nevertheless it is the commencement of an important action against Chang-Tso-Lin.

In the immediate future, the peasants revolts will increase.

In the first place, there will commence in the spring a general increase of prices in China, and secondly, the formerly important military cliques are disintegrating. Many of such disintegrating troops will be disarmed by the peasants, others will come over to the revolutionary peasants themselves. Thus, Chang-Fat-Kwai's troops in eastern Kwantung, and Tang-Sen-Chi's troops in South Eastern Hunan, are already in flight. In Hupeh and Honan numerous small bodies of troops are threatened by the Hankow generals and by Feng Hu-Hsiang. All this tends to favour the revolution.

South of the Yangtse, the peasant movement stands under the leadership of the Communist Party. North of the Yangtse the movement under the leadership of big peasants and landowners for the greater part has religious character, and is directed only against the present military rulers. The most urgent demand of recent times is the abolition of the extra taxes and not as the peasants in the South demand-distribution of the land. In spite of this, in addition to the peasant leagues organised by the Communists, a portion of the "Red Spears" and a large section of the "Gate of Heaven League" are in connection with the Communists

The revolutionary peasant movement of South China commenced in the year 1921 but has always been in the hands of reformists. Their demands were: reduction of rent, of land participation in the municipal administration. The distribution of the land in the Hunan last year (June) was a spontaneous action of the peasants. When the Yeh-Ting troops marched from Nanking to Swatow their still existed a dispute in the revolutionary leadership whether the owners of more than 200 mow (33 acres) of land should be expropriated of those possessing more than 50 mow (8 acres). Even measures against those peasants were adopted who themselves undertook punitive measures against the counter-revolutionary landowners and gentry. In the province of Kwantung it was decided to expropriated all those possessing over 50 mow of land to reduce land rents by 30 per cent. The whole peasant movement was very opportunist. The two Plenary sessions of the Communist Party of China held in August and November last year completely did away with the opportunist tactics. The Minister for Agriculture, Teng Pin-San, who ever since his appointment as Minister pursued an opportunist course, was excluded in November from the C. P. of China. Many provincial Committees of Communist Party were reorganised and instructed that they must build up

up the peasant movement direct on the peasants masses. The leaders of the peasant organisations must for the greater part consist of poor peasants. The peasants' union and committees must be so organised that, in the event of a revolt, they can immediately be converted into peasants' Soviets.

Thanks to the change of course in the peasant movement it has been possible in the period from November to the present time to form numerous Soviets and to spread a gigantic wave of revolt over the country.

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Dated the 29th May, 1928.

Dear brothers,

These days I was busy with Press affairs and Dakeswari Mill Workers' negotiation with the authority. The mill-owners these days were playing the tricks which the British Government itself play on us. They were trying to make the members of our Union i.e. weavers to say that they do not require anymore of the Union. However the workers have disclosed everything to me and they are not in any way to be played on, or they are not to betray the cause. At Dacca, the Managing Directors are giving me hopes to hold conference, with mill-owners and our representatives but were making delay showing some lame excuses, while in the mill they were privately threatening individual members, with dismissal and also trying to get some blacklegs. However I am seeing them now and then but it is very difficult with me to manage to spend on every occasion when I go there, Rs. 2/- and also to be absent so frequently from Press work.

Few days back I gave a letter to Com. Spratt informing him of the grievances of some Railway workers for necessary steps to be taken—in publishing the details in local dailies and informing A. I. T. U. C. of the facts and if possible tabling questions in Councils and Assemblies by our Trade Union members and sympathisers.

I have received on reply of my this letter, you will also please let me know what has been done of Dange's book.

I gave these days, hope to Dakeswari Workers, Spratt and you all are coming, but as you are not coming, the workers becoming disheartened and mill-owners who became somewhat afraid of your presence here, are becoming bold enough to say now that as they think that some foreign agents mean mischief to both workers and the mill through their influence on me, they are right in taking repressive measures, that have taken.

Hope to hear from you promptly,

Yours
Gopal.

P. 415 (13)

BARDOLI.

The Satyagraha of the Bardolia peasants has been called off "with sigh of relief" by all the leaders. The nationalist Press is full of congratulation.

What terms? Principally, inquiry to be conducted as V. Patel demanded, i. e. by a Judicial officer and subordinate to him, a Revenue officer. Other terms are (1) release of Satyagraha prisoners, (2) restoration of forfeited lands, (3) compensation in grave cases, (4) reinstatement of Talatis and Patels who resigned.

On the other hand (1) peasants are to pay according to old settlement, (2) difference to be deposited by Mr. Bhatt, (3) campaign to cease.

Now it must be admitted that these are substantially the original terms of Mr. Patel, (Apart from deposit of excess money) and therefore they constitute in a sense a moral victory over the Government.

But there are two criticisms to make (1) The demands made by Patel were on the first place absolutely inadequate—inquiry—willing to pay increase if "impartial" tribunal finds it is justified etc. Arise from the sheer timidity and reacting nature of the Gandhi school. Now they are granted the terms are useless. The inquiry, which is not to begin till October (when all agitation will have died down) will be conducted by two Govt. Officials. What will the result be? obvious.

The movement was betrayed by its pious leaders from the beginning (see letters of Bombay W. & P. Party and our remarks in a recent No. of Ganavani).

(3) His being exploited by Congress outsiders, in a shameless counter revolutionary fashion. They are triumphing—the Government had to yield etc. But, it is a victory for—What? for the revolutionary masses?—no for "non-violence" for the "principle that revenue assessments are subject to judicial not only administrative examination" etc. They accept the present system; they condemn the masses to non-violent ineptitude.

All are relieved—"sigh of relief" (Forward, for it was becoming a rather too serious conflict—unfortunate". Other peasants, in Kamatak etc, were suggesting sympathetic action. Things aught have become quite serious! So everything must be done now to quieten the peasants, They are assured that the settlement is "honourable to both sides". (though what they gain beyond a principle" of any doubtful value is difficult to see). And to take away

the last traces of revolutionary feeling they are told that the settlement is due to the "tact etc. etc., of the Governor and Sir Chunilal Mehta". Such a fight ends with thanks to your opponent for not crushing you completely!

The lesson is that nothing can do India good but revolution, and the only useful way to wage such conflicts as these is with a revolutionary objective in view. i. e. preparing the masses for revolution and would have been possible in their case to make far more drastic demands, and to rally the peasants of many other districts behind them. Even as it was, without much propaganda, they were moving. And if they were defeated, as they would have been, it would be a gain, if taken in the right way—not "congratulating" Sir Leslie Wilson on his "tact"; but openly acknowledging defeats and resolving to fight again another day.

Of course the Congress Party would have been against, but what does that matter?

Fortunately, peasants are sensible people and they will not be deceived by the gush of the Swarajists or the non-violent rubbish of Vallabhai.

Party and Unions.

(1) Unions exist for fighting a single employer or group of employers mainly over immediate simple issues. Usually their organisation and the mentality of their leading members etc. do not permit them to go far beyond this-naturally.

(2) But they are forced in time to federate with other unions, and ultimately to join with all other unions in a given country, for

(1) increase of strength through solidarity;

(2) pursuit of common objects, such as altering or promoting legislation, running journals etc. But nevertheless The Federations or Congresses tend to retain almost all the weaknesses of the individual Unions. For they preserve a Union outlook, i. e. they

(1) seek temporary advantage only,

(2) have in view only sectional aims, of their or that branch of labour,

(3) accept fundamentals of capitalism and the existing form of Government.

Of course occasionally T. U. Cs and the Congresses etc. get beyond this, but usually they cannot.

Therefore an organisation is required which shall instead of Trade Unionist outlook, have a more completely class-conscious outlook, and shall.

(1) seek the ultimate advantage of the workers.

(2) look to the interests of all workers equally and of the other oppressed and exploited sections of society,

(3) refuse to be limited to the "necessities" of the present order, but work consciously for the overthrow of Capitalism and the replacement by workers only. It confronts not the employers as such, but the employers' state.

The Workers' Party is able to do this partly because as opposed to the Unions it does not admit any and every worker into its ranks, but takes in general only the best and most class-conscious workers, and also outsiders, and other such as peasants, into its membership.

Of course its object is to raise the Unions and in particular the Union Federations of Congress (Trade Councils also) to its own level, but the point is that in order to do this, it must itself be in existence, and must wage a continual fight against the reformism which owing to capitalist and Government efforts, always creeps easily into the Unions. The Party is an essential to the workers, and is its highest organ and expression. *It assists also in fight on small, sectional questions, but always with the ultimate interest of the class in view.*

What is the position of a federal Party like-ours? It is a preparation for the real Workers' Party, in a period when

(1) the individual workers are not ready for a genuine Workers' Party, ✓

(2) the tasks of the unions in most cases are so elementary and similar to one another that genuine class-consciousness is easily established in most Indian unions there is little excuse for a narrow or reformist outlook, they have to fight at present against a cast iron autocracy. There is therefore place for a federal party of the workers, in which however, as time goes on, a pure Workers' Party must grow up. ✓

Essential for workers to join and make the Party a reality. It took many years in Europe. But we have to do it all in a very short time, because our ultimate task, the overthrow of capitalism, is already almost facing us, young though we are as a working class. Join! etc.

P. 415. (14)

Campaign against T. U. Bill.

(1) Letter to T. U. Federation (put in Ganavani) proposing fully representative conference of all T. U's. and Peasants' organisations in Bengal & Behar & Assam for

- (1) Resistance of T. U. Bill—leading up to General Strike. *
- (2) Assistance to Jamshedpur & other Unions.
- (3) Resistance to Simon Commission.
- (4) Force Govt. to rescind orders re. Govt. Employees Unions not aff. to T. U. G.
- (5) Consideration of All-Parties Conference decisions.

(2) Circular letter to all Unions Branches & Party members etc. proposing some thing and urging them to work for it and call on Federation to call it.

- (3) Campaign in Ganavani & Lal Nishan for
 - (i) Const. Assembly (on lines of previous articles).
 - (ii) Gen. Strike against T. U. Bill.
(Every week).
- (4) Special pamphlets against T. U. Bill and Commission in Hindi, Urdu, Bengali.
- (5) Appeal to wealthy members of Party for funds for campaign
- (6) Get out Lal Nishan as soon as possible.
Protest against T. U. Bill.....suggest *General Strike*.
Attack Swarajists in Bengal Council for policy re Tenancy Bill.

Betrayal of Bardoli,
Party and Unions.
Youth Manifesto & Constitution } ?
Fascism—something,

News.

~~British Railways~~
(example of reformism).

British miners' Conference

P. 415. (15)

E. I. R. DISPUTE

The great lockout and strike on the E. I. Railway so tragically finished, is full of lessons for the labour movement. In spite of the risk of giving offence, it must be fully discussed for the benefit of the movement.

It must be admitted, in agreement with the "Statesman", that the Lillooah strike was in the first place a tactical mistake. In the absence of effective organisation on the line, a strike in a workshop alone must be in very difficult position. Further retrenchment was in the air, and against it, united action alone is likely to be successful. Nevertheless, to accuse, as the "Statesman" does, the "outsiders" or "leaders", of this mistake, is unjustified. The strike was a spontaneous one, against oppression. Once begun, outsiders rightly held it their duty to assist.

But it must also be said that the most was not made of the opportunity. Though the strike was essentially in a weak position, other factors were in its favour. In particular the fund originally in possession of the Union at Lillooah was substantial, and could have been used to greater advantage. It was the proper tactic immediately to spread the strike so as to stop traffic. The extension of the strike to other works in Howrah, in so far as it did not occur spontaneously, was probably an error. Or, if not, it should have been pursued with greater energy. The object was, by bringing out workers in Howrah and neighbourhood on sympathetic strikes, to force the authorities to intervene and bring the Agent to terms. It was done however, in a half hearted manner. Engineering shops struck, but the numerous local Jute-mills which were at that time almost at the boiling point of discontent, were not called out. All or none.

But in any case, this tactic is inferior to the proper one of extending the strike on the line. Either at the very beginning, or after the Bamangachhi shooting incident, this should have been done with all available force. Especially the Union Secretary who has far more influence than any "outsider", should have done this. Actually he did not leave Lillooah until his original fund had gone, and even the second large contribution from the Russian Unions was also practically exhausted and the strike consequently in an almost hopeless position.

Nevertheless, it was correct, even at that late stage, to attempt to spread the strike, and probably the big centre,—Asansol and the subsidiary workshop at Ondal, were the best places to begin at. It was however, done even then with insufficient energy. The Union Secretary himself did not go until some weeks later, and only three

propagandists were sent in the first place. The almost complete absence of organisation at the places in question, the depression still felt after the disastrous strikes of 1922, and the late stage of the strike at which propaganda was begun, all rendered the task extremely difficult. And the success obtained, such as it was, shows what could have been done at an earlier and more opportune occasion, with more energy, and better finances.

The fact that the strikers at Asansol and Ondal have been penalised (up to the present) more than those at Lillooah, is a case of sheer vindictiveness on the part of the authorities, and could hardly have been foreseen. But in any case, it does not alter the fact that the attempt to spread the strikes, even at that late stage, was justified and the Union, if it had not done this, could not have claimed that it had done everything possible for its members. The decision to call off the strike at Lillooah, leaving the Ondal and Asansol men to their fate, has been much criticised. Actually, there was no alternative; the men could not hold out any longer. The only question was whether to go back unconditionally or to sign a useless and utterly humiliating agreement. The course actually taken, the former seems better. Similarly the men at Asansol have been criticised for resuming work at once on hearing of their, and having some 400 of their comrades dismissed. Again, nothing else could be expected of men who had little or no union organisation or experience, had been on strike for a month, and were being subjected daily to the most rigorous police persecution. The mistake lay, not in these inevitable consequences of what had gone before, but in the inaction and delay which confined the sympathetic strikes to such narrow boundaries, and rendered all their sacrifice ultimately useless.

It is probable that this and other errors would have been avoided if more democratic methods had been adopted at the centre. A strong committee of strikers, with or without "outsiders", as necessary, should have been set up at the beginning, and allowed and even forced, to work. There is no place for autocracy in the labour movement—not even for benevolent autocracy. And moreover, it is highly urgent that the best workers should be trained at the work of trade unionism in all its departments. Men who can strike for four months are not children.

Minor, but important points of criticism can be made against the attitude of personal devotion which was encouraged, or at any rate tolerated, throughout the strikes. This kind of policy is out of place, as it replaces devotion to the masses, and to the principles of the labour movement, by a mere bourgeois personal ideal, and also in this case tends to encourage false and reactionary ideas of a pseudo-religious type. The exploitation of the religious sentiments of the masses by unscrupulous demagogues, is a very serious obstacle to our political progress, and must be avoided by all sincere labour men.

Another question is that of the so-called "satyagraha" performed outside the police-court at Howrah when the case against those guilty of the Bamangachhi shooting was dismissed. A mass protest was certainly called for and justified, but the form it took was objectionable. On the one hand "Satyagraha" is foreign to the labour movement. It is the tactics of middle-class impotence, and is coloured by all kinds of false religious and moral ideas. And on the other hand the steps actually taken were such as to give the police the chance they were waiting for, to strike a little terror into the workers' hearts. About twenty arrests were made, and many men, including indispensable Union workers, were severely injured.

It is impossible in the absence of detailed acquaintances with the situation, to criticise the internal administration of the strike, though it appears to an outside observer that the money at the disposal of the Union was spent rather recklessly. In any case this is a minor point. The main question is that the strategy of the struggle as a whole was mismanaged. One of the great lessons of Kharagpur—that the workshop strike can only succeed when supported by the line; it is useful as a strong rallying centre, it cannot strike a decisive blow itself—this lesson was neglected. The line was almost completely unorganised and this alone made success difficult. But nothing was done to remedy it until nearly all enthusiasm had died away, public support had disappeared, funds were exhausted, and the chances of the strike generally reduced almost to zero. It is not the concern of the writer to lay the blame for this at the door of any individual, nor to argue whether it would in fact have been practical to act in any other way. The question is, that these are the lessons which have to be borne in mind for the future.

It is interesting to notice that this strike provides an instructive reputation of an old error which is current in the labour movement—the syndicalist notions in regard to the "active minority" In this case, responsible officials of the Union actually went so far as to suggest that the Lillooah workers alone could secure gains for the whole line. It is true that under capitalism only a minority of workers will generally take a very active part in the movement. But they cannot act effectively without, not merely the passive support, but the organised support of the majority. In the E. I. Railway—and the case could be paralleled on almost any Indian railway—there is a strong "active minority" concentrated in the workshops. But it can do nothing alone. This, and the very similar theory of the "spontaneous" reaction of the masses to a proper stimulus (both theories are merely excuses to escape from the hard doudgery of organisation) were decisively disproved by this strike.

Before leaving the subject it is worth while to mention one or two other interesting points. There can be little doubt that the

severity of the attitude of the Railway authorities and the Government was to some extent due to the active part taken in the strike by the Workers' and Peasants' Party. (The "Communists" as the Anglo-Indian Press calls us). In order to discredit us they have told many lies about us, and at the same time made special efforts to crush the strike. It is interesting to notice, at this point, how the reactionary labour leaders, Mr. K.S. Roy Chaudhuri, Mr. C.F. Andrews, Mr. B. Shiva Rao, Mrs. Besant, Mr. E. Kirk, played up to the propaganda of the "Statesman" & Co., and indulged in stupid abuse of "Moscow Gold". The lesson is obviously just the contrary of that which they want the workers to draw. If they are so anxious to discredit us, that in itself is strong evidence that our policy is correct. Incidentally it may be pointed out that it was the workers' & Peasants' Party members who throughout pressed for the policy of extension of the strike on the line, and took a prominent part in carrying it out.

Finally, a point which should not be missed, is the new method being adopted by the police to crush this strike. While using rifles sparingly—they attract so much attention—they seem to have given the police and other hired roughs free rein to beat and assault and arrest as they will. The police-terror at Asansol was probably worse than anything that had been seen in industrial disputes for some time. It recalls the days of Russian Garison. It is a sign of the growing importance of the labour movement, and the increasing menace to the existing order which it represents. The only remedy for the time being is that which the W. & P. Party annual conference pointed out—the organised solidarity of the workers, Workers Defence Corps, for self discipline, and for the purpose of overawing opponents.

The results of the Lillooah strike seem for the moment to be terrible. Many hundreds of men are victimised, thousands have been for months without proper food; heads and bones have been broken by the dozen. Yet it is sentimentality to regret this. Everything possible must be done for the sufferers, but above all the Union must be kept strong and they must not be allowed to despair. Lenin once said that the Workers' revolution, in contrast to the bourgeois revolution, goes from defeat to defeat, until it is finally successful. They are golden words.

P. 416.

A Star of India file headed "Correspondence received".

P. 416. (1)

TELEGRAMS : GANAVANI, CALCUTTA:

**The Peasants' and Workers' Party
of Bengal.**

ORGAN:
"GANAVANI"
(BENGALI WEEKLY).

37. HARRISON ROAD,
Calcutta, 24. 9. 1927.

To

The General Secretary,
Bengal Jute Workers' Association,
Bhatpara, (24 Parganahs).

Dear Comrade,

You certainly know all about the aims and objects of the Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal and you must have gone through the programme of the party also. As the fundamental object of the party is social, economic and political emancipation of the toiling masses I hope you will be quite willing to affiliate your union with our party which will create a new bond of solidarity.

Fraternally yours
Acting General Secretary.

P. 416. (2)

TELEGRAMS : GANAVANI, CALCUTTA.

**The Peasants' and Workers' Party
of Bengal.**

ORGAN :
"GANAVANI"
(BENGALI WEEKLY).

37, HARRISON ROAD.

Calcutta, the 6th. October 1927.

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal

The Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

Sir,

I shall feel highly obliged if you kindly direct your office to let us know whether the Government of Bengal or the Government of India have put any ban on the "Labour Monthly", edited by R. Palme Dutta and published at 162, Buckingham Palace Road, London. As we have not been receiving our copy of the paper for the last two months I have been compelled to make this enquiry of your office. An early reply will be considered by us as a favour.

Yours faithfully

Muzaffar Ahmad.

Editor, GANAVANI.

P. 416. (3)

"Communism", by R. Palme Dutt.

P. 416. (4)

The Workers' & Peasants' Party, Bombay.

17, DWARKADAS MANSIONS.
Sandhurst Road,
BOMBAY, 4.

My dear Muzaffar,

I got your telegram and also Rs. 30/-. After discussion with the group, we decided that none could be spared from Bombay at this juncture, and sent you the telegram, which you must have received by now, asking you and Spratt to come over here, at once. I hope you will see the need for a joint meeting in Bombay, of all of us, immediately. It would be easier for you two, to come here, rather than for 4 of us to go over to Calcutta.

Swami Kumaranand has been here for some time, and may be going over to Calcutta, soon. He wants to settle down in Calcutta.

Greetings to Halim, Gosain etc.

Hoping to see you here.

I am staying in the Partap's office since yesterday.

Yours
S. V. Ghatge,
2/9/28.

P. 416, (5)

For favour of publication.

S. V. Ghate.

Workers and Peasants Party & Bardoli.

A THOUSAND MILL-STRIKERS PREPARED TO JOIN SATYAGRAHA.

Mr. S. V. Ghate, Secretary of the Workers' and Peasants' Party in the course of a letter to Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel writes :

The Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay has been following the struggle of the Bardoli peasants with keen interest. It is regrettable that the Party has not been in a position to actively participate in the struggle due to a number of circumstances, over which, the Party had no control.

But, now, a stage has arrived, thanks to the stiff attitude of the Government wherein, it is imperative that all the forces of the people must be concentrated on the present struggle. Therefore, the Party has decided to address you on some points.

The Party thinks that the very fact that the peasant is already excessively taxed is a sufficient justification for any revision, whether based on correct or incorrect partial or impartial data, to be condemned, when it tends to increase the heavy taxation. Therefore, the Party thinks that time has come, when the slogan of an impartial inquiry ought to be thrown away, and the slogan of no increase in taxation which by itself would be a most mild demand, ought to be adopted. The Party suggests that the basic stand on which you are leading the struggle should be revised, in view of the attitude taken by the Imperialist Government. The logical sequence of your demand for an inquiry is acceptance of the conclusions of the inquiry. If the conclusions warrant the revised increase, the peasantry will be saddled with a load over a one that is already unbearable. The Party earnestly requests the present leadership of Bardoli not to vest all the heroic efforts of the fighting peasantry on such a pitfall with a flimsy and tottering covering, to which Government by its stiffness is at present unnecessarily lending a high-pitch colour, in order to magnify its worthless concessions later on.

PEASANTS POWERFUL ENOUGH.

Even if the above does not commend itself to your leadership, the Party, with due respects to the heroism of the actual peasants who are powerful enough to carry on their struggle without external assistance, suggests that should the peasants feel the necessity of

fighting comrades to stand by their side and help them in resisting the Imperialist Government, when the peasants will rightfully reap the harvests, the Party will joyfully place at their disposal such of the Party's rank and file as will be available, after meeting its requirements in the Bombay struggle. The Party has great pleasure to communicate to you that immediately a thousand workers from the Bombay mill-strikers are prepared to go to the aid of their peasants brethren under the Party's directions.

Superscription on the envelope:—

“Editor, Ganavani
2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.

P.416. (6)

Tele. Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal

2/1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA.

Organs:

"GANAVANI" "LAL NISHAN"
(Bengali Weekly) (Hindi Weekly) The 25th October, 1928

Dear Friend,

Your letter of the 19th September together with the true copy of the letter addressed by you to the Postal Department here reached me a few days back. As I had been away from Calcutta I could not reply to it last week. Just this morning I have been informed by the Post Office that they are making an enquiry about the matter. But to facilitate it they want of me more particulars which I am not in a position to supply them with. Of course this kind of reply and enquiry are quite stereotyped for the Postal Department in India. Following particulars, however, are necessary in any case:

1. The names of the post office or offices in Berlin from which the money orders were sent.
2. Numbers and dates of the receipt granted to you by the post office.

It is better if you can wire these particulars to me. In the meantime please send a complaint to the Berlin Postal Authority saying that the money orders were not delivered to me. Please also inform them to correct my address as follows:

Muzaffar Ahmad
General Secretary,
Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal
2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Please request the Postal Authority at Berlin to send a wire to the Presidency Post Master, Calcutta at your cost. This will facilitate the matter. If in the meantime the money is returned to you please ascertain the cause of it. Try to get an official document to this effect and forward the same to me under a registered cover.

With greetings,
Yours fraternally
Muzaffar Ahmad

To
Max Ziese
Berlin S. W. 48
Wilhelm strasse 131/132

P. 416. (7)

Communist Party of India.

CONSTITUTION. 1929.

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(3) Membership. Those shall be members who shall subscribe to the object, programme and discipline of the Party, shall pay membership dues, and shall perform organised work under the direction of the Party.

Candidates for admission who shall signify their willingness to observe these conditions, and shall be recommended by two Party members, shall be considered by Branch Committees, and if approved shall be admitted as members, subject to scrutiny, within one month, by the Provincial Committee.

(4) Dues. All members, unless specially exempted by Branch Committees on grounds of unemployment, shall pay a subscription of Rs. 3 per year, payable quarterly.

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The basis of representation at the annual session shall be decided by the C.E.C. The annual session shall be called by the C.E.C. which shall give at least one month's notice to all Party organisations.

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In addition, subordinate to the branch shall be formed Area Groups, each of which shall appoint a leader, who shall be a member of the branch committee.

All members of the Party shall ordinarily be members of either factory or area groups.

(10) Fractions. In such other organisations (Trade Unions and federations, Peasants' Unions, Workers' and Peasants' Parties, National Congress, etc., and their committees) as the Party shall decide, fractions shall be formed by Party members. Fractions shall be directed by and shall report to, appropriate Party Committees. Each fraction shall appoint a leader, whose decision on questions which have not been decided on by the fraction or by some superior Party organisation, shall be accepted by the members.

(11) Discipline. Discipline must be observed within the Party. Decisions taken by appropriate organisations of the Party must be obeyed and carried out by all members.

Breach of discipline consists in (1) action or propaganda contrary to the Party programme rules or policy (2) failure to carry out the reasonable instructions of properly appointed Party organisations or officials (3) breach of confidence in regard to Party affairs (4) repeated failure to attend meetings of Party or other organisations at which Party work is to be done (5) other actions or omissions which may do harm to the Party.

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P. 416. (8)

Tele. Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL,

2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Organs:
"GANAVANI" "LAL NISHAN"
(Bengali (Hindi Weekly).
Weekly.)

Received from Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad the sum of Rs. 100/- (Rupees hundred only) out of the sum of Rs. 500/- he received from Girni Kangar Union on account of Bauria strike. One receipt will follow.

Dated Calcutta
The 25th Jan. 1929.

KISHORI LAL GHOSH.
Hony. Secretary, Bengal Trade
Union Federation & President
Bauria Jute Workers' Union.

P. 416. (9)

ZEITUNGS-VERTRIEB GEBRUDER PETERMANN.

Buch- und Zeitschriften- Groß-Vertrieb.	Fernsprecher: (H 3) Rheingau 9054, 3027, 3027.	Abonnements für alle in- und aus landischen Zeitungen u. Reitschriften.
Bank-Konto: Commerz- und Privatbank S Bln.-Friedenau, Rheinstr. 55.	Filialen: Bln.-Wilmsdorf, Lauenburger Str. 23 (H 3) Rheingau 9054 Bln.-Lichterfelde-W., Steglitzer Str. 25 b (G 6) Breitenbach 2279.	Bln.-Friedenau, Ronnebergstr. 3. Dec. 5th, 1928.
Postscheck Kohto Berlin 24143.	To Ganivani, Calcutta.	

R/H

Dear Sirs :

Please stop sending of your paper to our address with

January 1st 1929 and forward 1 copy directly to the following address for our account:—

Institute for Economics and Statistics, P. O. B. 1116, Moscow.

Let us know by turning mail which money we still must send you for this copy to Moscow for the time from January 1st to June 30th, 29.

Yours sincerely,
ZEITUNGSVERTRIEB,
Gebr. Petermann
Berlin-Friedenau, Ronnebergstr 3,
Abt: Ausland

Superscription on the envelope:—

EINSCHREIBEN.

To the publishers of

Ganivani

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta,

Indien.

Zeitungs-Vertrieb.

Gebr. Petermann.

Bln.-Friedenau, Ronnebergstr. 3.

P. 416 (10)

From U. P. PEASANTS AND WORKERS' PARTY.
DR. BISWANATH MUKERJI, President,
U. P. Peasants and Workers' Party,
Gorakhpur.

To COMRADE MOZAFFER AHMED,
2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.

Dear Comrade,

I am sorry I could not attend the Conference at Calcutta owing to ill-health and other domestic trouble. Please excuse me for this short-coming. I regret your Conference did not cate

to move a resolution condemning the brutal assault upon me on the occasion of a workers' meeting during September last.

However I am not dejected at this cold treatment of the conference towards me. You must know that it was not I who was insulted at the village of Madhopur Buzurg but the very institution to which I have the honour to belong and it will be looked upon as unwise to omit the mention of such an occurrence in an important meeting of the Peasants and workers' party. I have taken the delivery of the books that you sent me through a Calcutta Book-seller.

Hoping you are in good health.

Dated, ~~Jafra Bazar,~~
Gorakhpur, 30th Dec. 1928.

Yours in true comradeship,
BISWANATH MUKERJEE.
President,
U. P. Workers and Peasants Party.

P. 416 (11)

WORKERS' & PEASANTS PARTY OF BENGAL, DACCA
BRANCH.

Head Office—61. Nawabpur, Dacca.

Dated 1-11-28.

Resolution No. I , of the Executive Meeting of the Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bengal, Dacca Branch, held on the 17th October, 1928.

I Resolved that Com. Debendra Bejoy Guha be elected as representative to the Enlarged Executive Committee, (vide Constitution of the Party rule No. 7 (d)) of the Workers' and Peasants Party of Bengal:

GOPAL CHANDRA BASAK.
Secretary.

P. 416. (12).

Letter from S. N. Tagore dated 29th November, Berlin, in Bengal.

P. 416. (13)

Two copies of a leaflet in Hindi and Urdu with Lenin's photo. This leaflet was printed in connection with Lenin's anniversary.

P. 416. (14)

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

August 26, 1928.

AGENDA.

1. Election of Ordinary Members.
 2. Election of members to the Executive Committee.
 3. Election of Secretary of Peasant Section.
 4. Formal sanction to the starting of "LAL NISHAN", a Hindi weekly organ of the Party.
 5. Discussion about the possibility of starting an English weekly Organ of the Party.
 6. A statement of the Party regarding the Nehru Committee's report.
 7. Raising of subscription and donation for the Party.
 8. Circulation of the Party organs.
-

~~2/Prat~~

P. 416. (15)

THE PUBLIC SAFETY BILL.

The Assembly Debate on the Public Safety Bill is ominous. Ominous not because of the fate of the Bill itself—that is inevitable but because of the indication it gives of the line to be taken in the future by the nationalist opposition in the Assembly. In particular it is very far from reassuring as to the reception which the monstrous Trades Dispute Bill will receive.

What attitude have the Opposition taken up? Perhaps the clearest statement occurs in a chance paragraph of the A. B. Patrika's leading article on the subject (11/9/28).

It says: "If therefore, they (Indians) could believe that the object of the Government in demanding the extraordinary powers under the Bill was exactly what was professed, they would hardly have offered any serious objection to the proposed legislation".

This is too definite a statement to be explained away simply an instance of the common method of accepting part of your opponent's case in order to demolish it. "If Indians could believe the Government's assertions, they would not oppose the Bill". What are Government's assertions? Merely that Communism is a bad thing; there are foreign communists in India; they must be picked out. The Patrika accepts this; its only fear is that the Government has some other trick up its sleeve. We have no doubt that it has. The Bill will be a precedent for the repression of Indian communism, of radical trade unionism, of independence propaganda (of the genuine type, not the sentimental obscurantism of Congress "independence") and therefore of this Party, and probably of much else.

But that is not the point. The principle of the Bill is accepted, but the opposition conscience is solved. To dispel any doubt about it, let us quote one or two of the speeches in the Assembly: Mr. J. K. Munshi: (15/9/28) "If the Home member were convinced there was a strong case for passing legislation would he take two leaders of the opposition into his confidence and show them those facts? If they decided there was a case the speaker had no doubt that the House would pass the Bill".

Pt. M. M. Malaviya: (15/9/28) "He had no sympathy for the Communists and it would be his endeavour to see that Communism did not spread in India..... He was at one with the Government in suppressing Communism....."

Mr. Amarnath Dutt (11/9/28): "No Indian wished subversion or revolution of the present society, and if it was proved to the

speaker that there was danger of such things occurring he would wholeheartedly support the Bill".

The tone is the same. With one or two welcome exceptions, all that the opposition speeches said was: "We are in agreement with the objects of the Bill; but it is a little too ruthless, it sets a bad example. Besides, our constituents expect us to oppose the Government".

This attitude was the Public Safety Bill is bad enough. But what will happen to the Trade Disputes Bill—a far more deadly menace to the masses and to the national freedom ?

P. 416. (16)

Weekly Organ KRANTI KARI (Hindi) (JHANSI)

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

My dear Muzaffar,

I duly recd. the papers but not the letter to the Independence League. Please do send it to me. I regret Com. Halim is not coming here, I am sure it would have done him immense good. It is a pity you too are so unwell. Why should you not come here for a change and a rest. The Bengal comrades must somehow manage to keep the Party going - it does not speak well of our party that it cannot share a member. I do know if a nearer bond than of a comrade and I welcome you with all its warmth. Please seriously think of it.

President: MUKERJI, Zafra Bazar, Gorakhpur.
Vice-President:- DHARAMVIR SINGH, M.A., M.L.C. Taga Boarding House, Meerut.

General Secy:- PURAN CHANDRA JOSHI, M.A. 34 Holland Hall Allahabad.

What has Com. Spratt done for the tracts and pamphlets. Has he finished the ones entrusted to him. Damn the Public Safety Bill ! How treacherous and empty was the debate ! Is there any way to detain Com. Spratt ?

You can buy books worth 60/- from Com. Basak's stock there. I have got some 6 of his books I will now keep them all and not return them and use them as mine. I will send you the price of them too. Get me all the stuff on China, as much as possible on ideology and strategy all Lenin and Trotsky. The Book Coy. has not sent me the stuff I selected there. Ask them to complete my Vanguard Series and send me some on Youth Work. Is it not possible to get the annual reports of the Third International and the C. P. of G. B., as also of the Young Com. International. When will you get me the monthlies and weeklies and fortnightlies they will train me in tactics. Will you please ask Com. Spratt to write to them so that they may send it on to me straight. I will pay the money whenever the whenever they want. When I receive Basak's stock, I will send you the money. Please get it heavily insured.

You will please write to me what you think of the 'Plan of action' appended to the Peasants' Thesis to be published in the Krantikari. I do not know what to do with the Krantikari. I have been sending them notes, but he will indulge in meaningless vituperations I will send him still more copious notes in the future. You too write to them. Have you not been receiving the Krantikari regularly? Why not write something to them, the only way to correct him is to write for him, none but myself among the party members write for the Paper, but can it be substantial. I am again writing very frankly to Laksmi Narayan, let me see what he writes back. It is not yet time to have Krantikari— we must stick to it.

Yes Dharam Vir Singh accepted the Vice-Presidentship. He is a humanitarian yet but very sincere. I am writing to him again to-day and will ask you to send him some books. In the next election he will have to be chucked out. He is however, harmless, a silent, sincere worker but weak-kneed—a personal friend of Dr. Mukerji. It is significant Dr. Mukerji is silent abt. the thesis. I may have to run down to him shortly if he does not come here, to see and know him as he is after the conf: and est. when we have laid down a definite policy in our programme.

You did not ask the Bauria people to write to the Kranti Kari.

I read Com Aftab and Nripendra have been arrested. Congratulate them for me. What effects will it have on the Party? What is the significance of this move. Crerar's speech was very threatening. It is a pity I have not been hearing anything from the Party headquarters and am absolutely in the dark about the things being done or to be done. I also read Desai is to edit a weekly, —Is it true? When is it to come out?

You will be glad to hear I have got 5 or 6 young boys of solid stuff, interested in the work, and they are seriously reading the courses planned by me.

Please do send me Basak's books as also the magazines and periodicals. I have to educate myself systematically and thoroughly and recruit young workers for the Party—we have none. Ideologically ill-developed I am a blot to the Party and tactically ignorant a danger to it. My own task is so up-hill. U. P. Branch is so nebulous, loose, and ignorant in short not worth its name. It has to be brought up-to-date as soon as possible, so that it may not be a drag on the rest—Educational work, whosoever you would look at us—is our first task. I would also be requiring a set worth 50/- for a student here and another worth 30/- to be paid. V. P. Pin advance. You will book the order with the Book Coy. or ask them to order from abroad. I am herewith sending you the list. Both are sure cases of the books won't be returned, but they must get all of these. Could you not get me Roy's books on non-cooperation?

Would you like to come to Gorakhpur?

With loving greetings.

Fraternally

Puran.

P. 417.

A block with a hammer and a sickle.

P. 418.

A pamphlet entitled "SACCO & VANZETTI.

The exploiter Vs the exploited.

Printed by D. S. Sakhalkar at The Lokasevak Press, Khatav Building, Bombay.

Published by Shantaram S. Mirajkar, Secretary, The Workers' & Peasants' Party, Bombay at 17, Dwarkadas Mansion, Bombay 4.

P. 419.

Telegrams: "KIRTI"

" KIRTI "

Telephone: "714."

The best medium for Advertisements.

Commands widest circulation.

The only labour organ in Urdu.

Ref. No.

Amritsar 10th November 1928.
(India).

Dear Comrade,

You promised to contribute an article to us. As we are going to bring out the January issue of the Kirti on the 15th of December on account of the Calcutta session of the Congress in Christmas, you are requested once again to fulfil your promise at your earliest and oblige.

Kindly ask Mr. Spratt also to contribute one article at least. Don't forget to send us the promised poem.

I am putting before the Workers and peasants party the question of financial help to-morrow. Shall write to you later on.

Yours fraternally,
SOHAN SINGH.

Superscription on the envelope:—

To

MR. MUZAFFAR AHMAD

2/1 European Asylum

CALCUTTA.

REPORT OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS PARTY OF BOMBAY.

The Workers & Peasants Party of Bombay was started early in February 1927, when the Congress Labour Group, a small fraction, in the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, came out with a definite programme of action, and under the name of the workers & Peasants Party of Bombay. Since its inception, the Party has made rapid progress in the organisation of Trade Unions, in organising a definite Left wing in the B. P. C. C. Its main work has been essentially confined to industrial workers in the City, and owing to certain insurmountable difficulties the work of organising the Peasants has been left in the background.

But during these two years the Party has made considerable head-way, and has made itself a force to be reckoned with. In the beginning it was neglected, sneered at, and all these tactics which the enemies thought would kill the Party were set at work; but in vain. The Party today stands on a very firm basis with a great influence amongst the industrial workers of Bombay.

To simplify the work of the Party, the Executive Committee members have been organised into different groups working in different spheres. There are five groups at the head of each, there being one member of the Executive who is directly responsible to the Party for the work in that sphere. Thus there are the Congress Group, the T. U. Group, Propaganda Group, Peasants, and Youth besides other members of the E. C. who look after the general work of the Party. The Executive itself meets every week to discuss important questions that arise during the week.

During these two years the Party has worked in the Provincial Congress Committee, in the Trade Unions, and has always left no opportunity to go by at any propaganda meetings.

In the Provincial Congress Committee though at first only a negligible minority it made itself a strong force, and has systematically opposed the downward trend of the congress. It has systematically tried to rouse the Congress to its duty towards labour and had passed an amount of Rs. 250/- for B. N. Ry. strike which was withheld by the Khaddar members of the Committee.

Early this year the Party members in the B. P. C. C. roused the enthusiasm of the Committee for an effective boycott of the Royal Commission, and with their influence in the Trade Unions the Boycott was made a thorough success when at the call of the party the Railway Workers and the Textile Workers and the Municipal workers about 2½ lacs came out leaving all work at a stand-still.

Later when the Congress President diluted the resolution at the Chowpaty meeting a resolution of censure against the President of the Provincial Committee was tabled by the Party members.

The members of our Party have also wielded their influence in the A.I.C.C. together with the Party members of other Provinces, and have opposed the tendency of the Congress towards Dominion Status by standing solidly for complete independence.

Owing to these factors, there has been growing a systematic opposition to our group from the nationalist section which is more and more finding expression in the B.P.C.C.

In the Trade Union organisation, the Party has gained considerable influence. Early in 1927, the Party members formed the Municipal Workers Union, a Dock Workers Union, and in the Textile, the Party members associated themselves with the Girmikamgar Mahamandal which has since the strike changed its name into the Girmikamgar Union.

During this year the party members were responsible for resurrecting the Tramway Workers Union, the Dock workers Union has since been taken up by the moderate section of trade unionists who managed to oust our group entirely from the Union; whereas the influence of the Party has been growing particularly amongst the Textile workers.

The Party was responsible for advocating a general strike of the Textile workers who were being gradually forced to accept reduced wages and worsened conditions. And in spite of the tremendous anti-general strike-propaganda by the Joshi group, the workers came out on a general strike which lasted for about six months. During these trying months, the Party members rallied under their banner. The textile workers who stood staunchly attached to the Party leadership. Even the two wings of Trade Union movement joined together against a common enemy; the general attitude that was taken up in the strike and also in the final settlement was dictated by the Party policy.

The organisation of the Textile Workers in fact started during the strike, almost exclusively by the Party, and has resulted in laying in excellent foundation for the post-strike organisation.

Since the settlement, the Party members have rallied under their banner more than 40,000 workers with a militant policy. Factory committees have been and are being started to look after individual mills, and in spite of several rival unions in this field, workers are rallying round the union of the Red Flag as the Girmikamgar Union is known amongst them.

There have been other unions of Oil Workers and Mechanical Engineers which are yet in their infancy,

At the T. U. session at Delhi and Cawnpore, this Party with the assistance of similar groups elsewhere secured some official positions though without results of any significance.

The Party has been carrying on systematic propaganda through meetings and its weekly paper "KRANTI". Several meetings were organized by the Party for commemorating Lenin's day in January, Sacco Vansetti meeting, 20th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, not to speak of the daily and weekly propaganda meetings amongst the workers.

The arrival of Comrade Sak last year helped in bringing the party to the forefront amongst the intelligentsia who had all along neglected the Party. Since then, the arrest of Coms. Spratt & Mirajkar gave the necessary prominence to the Party. During the general strike itself, the arrests of Coms. Nimbkar & Dange on such flimsy charges as were framed against them helped in making the party more and more prominent.

The publication of the Roy letter was contradicted by the party as a fake letter and a manifesto was issued against the Trade Disputes Bill.

The work under the Youth section is conducted in the form of classes in which a few students have been taking part. These classes have not met with sufficient response.

Reviewing the work of the Party as a whole in Bombay it has made considerable progress, particularly in the Trade Unions where its influence has been growing, owing to the fighting and militant policy that is being put forward every time. A force for the present but a leader of the masses to emancipation.

17, Dwarkadas Mansions,
GIRGAON.

S. V. GHATE,
Secretary.

Superscription on the envelope:—

Registered

MUZAFFAR AHMAD,
2/1 European Asylum Lane,
CALCUTTA.

P. 421.

The Workers' & Peasants' Party Bombay.

17, DWARKADAS MANSIONS,

Sandhurst Road,

BOMBAY, 4

MY DEAR MUZAFFAR,

Owing to the eruption of Sporadic Strikes, in individual mills, and owing to the organisational work of the Girni Kamgar Union we have, all of us been, kept very busy, and as such I could not find time to write to you.

I had given the notification to the Bombay Press, which has sat light over this Conference of ours at Calcutta.

I don't know how much money, we can promise to contribute towards the All India Conference, but we shall be doing our best. I have not as yet received the receipt book you say you have sent to me by registered post. As it is more than six days since they have been sent, please make enquiries at your end regarding this.

I shall prepare the report of the Bombay Party's work, and send it on to you, by the end of this month. Will that do?

Since the settlement, there have been more strikes in a day, than there were for some time. Only yesterday, we had about 7 strikes, in seven mills. We are forming factory committees in every mill, which committees, are working satisfactorily so far.

Joshi and Jhabvala, have their own unions. You know since the settlement, Jhab. has been working against us, and yesterday, he has sent in his resignation from the party.

Tell me which particular copies (for I have forgotten, and you should forgive) of the times, you want and I shall send them forthwith.

How is Comrade Spratt, and others?

Yours

S. V. GHATE

11/XI/28.

so Jhabvala resigns W.P.P. on
10-11-28

P. 426.

List of articles impounded at the house search of PANDIT K.G. SHARMA, and Krantkari Press and Office conducted on 20-3-29 by me (G. S. KHER DV. S. P. C. I. D.) in the presence of MOHD. MUMTAZ HUSAIN and SETH BABU LAL VAISH, residents of JHANSI CITY.

1. Karam Vir 14.
2. Siyasi Tajawiz 3.
3. Lenin's Life.
4. Luteron Ke Do Mat —4 pages written one side.
5. A Hindi poem.
6. Another Hindi poem.
7. Draft article on the incompetency of Bureaucracy.
8. Draft telegrams —8.
9. Draft letter —3.
10. Proceedings of Town Congress Committee —11.
11. A set of Hindi poem two leaves.
12. Draft poem in Hindi.
13. Khutba Sadarat Urdu.
14. Kisan 2.
15. Tyag Bhumi Hindi —2 copies.
16. Address by Dinda Bar-at-law Chairman Reception Committee, Workers & Peasants Conference —2 copies.
17. Report of Manmad Meeting.
18. Confession of Crime-manuscript.
19. 'Kirti' one copy (Mr. K. G. Sharma says he got it from Library for perusal. He does not receive it regularly).
20. Kranti —2 copies.
21. A poem in Hindi in pencil.
22. Draft articles in Hindi —3.
23. Draft articles in Hindi —1.
24. A Hindi poem.
25. Draft articles in Hindi in pencil.
26. English drafts on Railway matters-7 leaves.
27. Poem in Hindi on communism.
28. Poems in Hindi.
29. Railway Man.

30. Mazdoor.
31. Railway Man Marathi.
32. A bundle of Posters.
33. Membership Forms—2.
34. Draft articles.
35. Correspondence Register.
36. Zaruri Itla (an important notice) in Hindi.
37. Presidential address of workers and peasants party.
38. Two world currents.
39. Workers & Peasants Party Principles and policy.
40. Political Resolution,
41. A set of Hindi poems.
42. Draft article in Hindi.
43. Krantikari —14 issues & 15th incomplete.
44. Hindi Draft articles.
45. Trade Union Bulletin.
46. Jhabwalla's speech in Hindi & English.
47. Correspondence and articles, U. P. & Delhi workers and peasants party —20 leaves.
48. Letter typewritten by Muzafar dated 14-1-29.
49. Draft article on the condition of peasants under Soviet Russia.
50. Draft articles about Independence for India.
51. Hand bill regarding holding labour meeting.
52. Blank post-cards with printed headings.
53. Letter form (blank) with printed headings in English and Hindi—2.
54. A printed letter from Mr. Dhulekar, Managing Proprietor, Free India.
55. Draft article on Kisan & Mazdoor Raj.
56. Draft Press report.
57. Letter in English from Kirti.
58. Letter from Pandit J. L. Nehru, typewritten.
59. Draft extracts in pencil—5 leaves.
60. Draft articles on principles of communism.
61. Typewritten letters from J. N. Singh.
62. A typewritten letter from Dr. Katju.
63. A letter in Hindi from a mad friend.
64. Two letters manuscript in Hindi, & one in English typewritten from G. B. Pant.
65. Telegrams.

P. 422.

Letter dated 19-9-28 in Bengali from Gopal Chandra Basak to
Muzaffar Ahmad, Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal,
2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Subscription on the envelope:—

MUZAFFAR AHMED.

Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bengal,

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

CALCUTTA.

P. 423.

The 8th March 1929.

To

The Secretary, Workers' and Peasants' Party of India,

Bengal Provincial Branch,

2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Dear Comrade,

In the present situation of the Workers' and Peasants' Party Bengal branch we find it morally impossible to continue as members of the party and so we shall be highly obliged if you kindly treat this note as our letter of resignation and do the needful at an early date.

Amongst the various reasons which compel us to leave the party we would point out that the expulsion of Comrade Gopendra Chakravarty for failing to pay his subscription for two years cannot be regarded as the outcome of your personal grudge against him. To be more explicit we have to point out that the self-less devotion shown by comrade Chakravarty to the workers' cause for the last two years at the cost of personal comfort, his untiring zeal and activities at Lilloah and other places should have entitled him to become a free member of the party.

Moreover you are quite aware of the fact that he devotes whole of his time to the Trade Union movement and does not find

time to earn an income for himself and naturally he is not in a position to subscribe to the party in cash save and except in the way of his valuable services which really amount to an asset to the cause of the party. Under this circumstances we cannot understand why he was served with a notice informing him of his cessation of membership from the party without any allowance of time for explaining his position while we know definitely there are other members who are although not expected to contribute financially to the party yet allowed to continue as members of it.

This high-handed action of yours is a shameless challenge against poverty and sufficiently indicative of your design to ridicule your poor fellow comrades who differ with your arbitrary conduct and are not entirely subordinate to your whims.

Now considering this matter very seriously we the following members of the party have decided to tender our resignation which we do.

A copy of this has been forwarded to the general secretary, All India Workers' & Peasants' Party.

Yours fraternally,

Kali Sen,

Nripendra Nath Majumdar

(with permission)

K. Sen.

P. Dinda

Ashutosh Roy.

Dharani Kanta Goswami

Nirod Knata Chakravarty

(with permission) D.K. Goswami

Pyare Mohan Das

(with permission) D.K. Goswami

Gopal Chandra Basak.

(with permission) D.K. Goswami

R. Hazara.

Sudhir Raha

Nabindru Sen Gupta.

66. Draft discussions on Soviet budget & matters.
67. Account Books.
- A. Daily accounts provincial political conference Jhansi with 8 loose papers enclosed.
 - B. Hindi account, district congress committee.
 - C. Congress bill book with 8 loose papers enclosed.
 - D. II Hindi account book, district congress committee, with 3 loose papers enclosed.
 - E. V. P. Register Krantikari Press, with 5 loose papers enclosed.
 - F. Account book Krantikari Press with 7 papers enclosed.
 - G. Receipt book of Provincial Congress Accounts.
 - H. Register of expenses on political congress Pandal.
 - I. Account book of Sudeshi exhibition.
 - J. KHATA of Provincial Congress.
 - K. Subscribers Register, Kirantkari Press Jhansi.
 - L. Duty Roster of Kirantkari Press.
 - M. Attendance register of Kirantkari Press.
 - N. Bahee Khata of Kirantkari Press.
68. 408 written post-cards.
69. One ribbon (typewriter).
70. Akhil Bhartya Kisan Mazdoor Sangh in Hindi manuscript.
71. Mazdoor Andolan in Hindi manuscript.
72. Letter from Ahtisan Ali to K. G. Sharma (3 fragments in cover).
73. Sealed cover containing 8 pages of Congress patterns.
74. Congress flag.
75. Congress Sashes. 3.
76. M. O. telegram & receipts etc.

Sd/- G. S. Kher.

Dy. S. P.

20/3/29.

Sd/- Mohd. Mumtaz Hussain,

Sd/- Babu Lah

20/3.

P. 427.

A draft article in Hindi headed "Luteron ke do mat."

P. 428.

A bundle of posters.

P 429.

2 printed forms of membership, one in English for the Young Comrades League U.P. and Delhi, (Vide P. 330) the other in Hindi for the Workers' and Peasants' Party U.P. and Delhi. The objects of the League and the Party are given on the back of the forms.

P.430.

Presidential address of the First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference, Calcutta, December 21, 1928, delivered by Comrade Sohan Singh Josh.

P. 431.

15 Copies of "Krantikari" of various dates.

P. 432.

Tele. Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

Workers' & Peasants' Party of India.

2/1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA.

ORGANS:

"GANAVANI" "LAL NISHAN" January, 14, 1929.
(Bengali weekly) (Hindi weekly).

Laxmi Narayan,
Jhansi.

Dear Comrade,

Monday 21st January is the 5th anniversary of the death of LENIN, and should be observed by the Party, in conjunction with the Communist Party, in a suitable manner. It is suggested that on that day (or if more convenient, on the day before) as many meetings as possible should be held, especially among industrial workers. It is desirable that these should be advertised previously by handbills, which should give the most essential points of LENIN'S teaching and life.

The most important questions which should be stressed in speeches on LENIN DAY are:

(1) his analysis of the nature of opportunism and reformism in the labour movement, and its role as the last line of defence of capitalism,

(2) his teaching on the colonial question: the tactics and ultimately the leading role of the working class in the colonial revolutions,

(3) the significance of the Russian Revolution, as the first breach in the structure of imperialism, and the U.S.S.R. as the "Fatherland of the Working class."

the defence of the on behalf of the National Executive Committee of the WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF INDIA.

MUZAFFAR AHMAD

Member in charge of Education and Propaganda.

P. 433.

Subscription register of "Krantikari" press containing the following names amongst others :—

1. Vishwanath Mukerji-Subscriber No. 766.
2. P. C. Joshi - " " 827.
3. C. P. Dutt - " " 852.
(4 copies to be sent, one for Workers Welfare League of India).
4. Vijayapal Singh - " " 946.
5. Saklatwala - " " 1036.
6. " Kiriti " Lahore - " " 15.
7. " Kranti " Delhi " " 21.
8. " Hindustan " Jubbulpur " " 35.
9. " Spark " Bombay - " " 39.

P. 434.

Gorakhpur,

22nd October, 1928.

Dear Sharmaji,

Thanks for your letter dated 8-10-28 asking me to contribute to your paper, the "Krantikari". I congratulate you upon your excellent choice of its name. I hope it will fulfil its mission. I am sorry I could not comply with your request this time, but hope to do so in future.

Hoping you are in good health,

Yours in comradeship

Bishwanath Mukerji

On the reserve of the post card is written :—

From

Dr. Bishwanath Mukerji

Jafrabazar

Gorakhpur.

To

Pt. Krishna Gopal Sharma,

Editor,

The "Krantikari"

Jhansi.

SARASWATI MACHINE PRINTING PRESS, MEERUT.

P. 435

SEARCH LIST.

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

1. Date and hour of search—5-20 a. m. D/- 20-3-29. to 7-30 p. m.
2. Name and residence of persons whose house is searched—Muzaffar Ahmed, and others of 2/1 Europeau Asylum Lane.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search, {
 - (1) Habibur Rahman of 3/1 Toltola Lane.
 - (2) Shamsuddin Ahmed of 3/1 Toltola Lane.
 - and so on.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where articles seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>malatikk</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
1	11 copies of poster in English entitled "Join the Party of masses and drive away all exploiters".	Office room of the Peasants Workers Party.		
2	5 copies of the same poster in Urdu.	Do.		
3	10 copies of the same poster in Hindi.	Do.		
4	16 copies of "Ganavani".	Do.		
5	150 copies of the Constitution, of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal.	Do.		
6	65 copies of manifesto of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, to the Indian National Congress.	Do.		
7	Application forms for membership to the Bengal Peasants and Workers' Calcutta.	Do.		

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial,	Description of articles seized*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>malalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
8	4 copies of the Programme of the Bengal Peasants and Workers' Party.	Found in the Office room of the Peasants' and Workers' Party, Bengal.		
9	Two copies of Urdu leaflets entitled appeal to Brother and sister labourers.	Do.		
10	Account book for 1927.	Do.		
11	Receipt Book for the Workers' and Peasants' Party Bengal.	Do.		
12	Receipt book for inserting advertisements in "Ganavani".	Do.		
13	Two copies of pamphlets in English entitled Political resolution.	Do.		
14	Payam-i-Mazdoor in Urdu (one copy.)	Do.		
15	Two copies of the Presidential Address in English of the 1st All India Workers' and Peasants' Party.	Do.		
16	Two copies of advertisement contract forms, "Ganavani".	Do.		
17	Two copies of letter papers in Bengali, for the Workers' and Peasants' Party in Bengal.	Do.		
18	One map for the Presidency of Bengal.	Do.		
19	4 copies of the Annual Conference of the Peasants' and Workers' Party, Bengal, at Bhatpara, 1928, and also entitled A Call to Action.	Do.		

20	Two pages of writing in Bengali by Soumendra Nath Tagore, one of them is a letter beginning Prio Bareshu and other entitled Clara Zadkin.	Do.
21	One copy of the Programme of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party bearing name of Lakshmi Narain Hazra, 24/8 Barwalitole Road, Baliaghata.	Do.
22	Sacco and Venzetti.	Do.
23	Five copies of New Membership form of the Workers and Peasants' Party, Bengl. (English).	Do.
24	Two copies of membership form in Bengali, same as Item No. 23.	Do.
25	A money order receipt for Rs. 30/- in the name of Halim with the Post seal of Girgnon, dated 3rd Sept. 1927.	Do.
26	Three copies of Lal Paltan, dated 29/9/28, 6th and 13th Oct 1928.	Do.
27	One copy of the pamphlet in English entitled the Working Class, by Karl Kautsky.	Do.
28	Six sheets of typed names and addresses, said to be Subscribers' List for "Ganavani".	Do.
29	One copy of the Bengali paper weekly entitled "Jagaran".	Do.
30	250 copies of Ganavani in Bengali.	Do.
31	150 copies of Hindi Presidential address of Peasants and Workers' Party.	Do.
32	Five copies of Urdu Presidential address of the same.	Do.
33	Six pages of typed matter in English, entitled Manifesto of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India.	Do.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS - Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>maltaiika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
34	Two sheets of manuscript writings bearing the names and books issued to different members of the Workers' and Peasants' Party.	Do.		
35	One rubber stamp seal for the Executive Committee of Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bengal.	Do.		
36	One rubber stamp bearing "Despatched date."	Do.		
37	One rubber stamp bearing words "Rs. one and annas twelve only."	Do.		
38	One rubber stamp bearing words "Rupees three and annas two only."	Do.		
39	One broken rubber stamp in Bengali words—24 Parganas District Congress Committee.	Do.		
40	One inkpad for rubber stamp.	Do.		
41	One pamphlet in Urdu entitled A message from a Communist, by Shamsuddin.	Do.		
42	Three copies of 'Langa', dated 25/3, 8th April & 15th April.	Do.		
43	One copy of the English pamphlet entitled "To World Currents Communism, —Fascism", by Mr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt.	Do.		

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Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS - Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallika</i> and, the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
52	One letter in Bengali written by Abani Mukherji to 10, Bolshoi, Gueznikovsky Agst 202, to Mani Bhusan Mukherjee Langa office, 37, Harrison Road.	As in Page No. 1		
53	One envelope containing a letter in English from Madras to Muzaffar Ahmed, Esq., Peasants and Workers' Party, 2/1 European Asylum Lane.	Do.		
54	Nine pages in Bengali manuscript containing an article on 'Ma' 'Moxin Gorki.'	Do.		
55	One envelope containing a typed letter from Showkat Osmani to Muzaffar Ahmed Esqr., Workers' and Peasants' Party, 2/1 European Asylum Lane.	Do.		
56	One cover containing a letter in English from Singaravelu, Madas, to Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed, Peasants' & Worker's Party 2/1 European Asylum Lane.	Do.		
57	One cover containing a letter in English from S. A. Dange to Muzaffar Ahmad, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.	Do.		
58	One typed letter from Tarani Prosanna Singha to Srijut Muzaffar Ahmad, 2/1 European Asylum Lane.	Do.		

59	One pamphlet in English entitled the All India New Congress, 3rd Session 1928—Presidential Address.	Do.
60	One pamphlet in English entitled "Call to Action".	Do.
61	One pamphlet in Bengali entitled Political Resolution.	Do.
62	One pamphlet entitled, Indian quarter Masters' Union.	Do.
63	One post card in Bengali from Rama Prosanna Ray to Babu Muzaffar Ahmad.	Do.
64	One article in Bengali, from Sakiruddin Ahmad on Storage dacoity in a broad day light on Forest employees.	
65	One letter in English from S. V. Ghate to Muzaffar Ahmad.	Do.
66	One T. money order acknowledgment receipt along with three vouchers. The former remitted by Muzaffar Ahmad to Swamy Kumerananda.	Do.
67	One typed matter on Press reports of the International Federation Trade Indian, with a list of names of Chinese Nationalist Leaders.	Do.
68	One printed address in English by P. Dinda as chairman, Reception Committee of the 1st All India Workers' and Peasants' Party, of India.	Do.
69	Copy of a telegram from Muzaffar Ahmad to Tagore Bei Agnes Smedley, Holstermischstrasse 36 Berlin-Wilmersdorf.	Do.
70	One Poster in Gurmukhi, entitled 2nd Conference of Punjab Workers of the Peasants' Party with a picture showing the destruction of old system of administration	Do.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
71	One register containing complaints of the sweepers employed under Calcutta Corporation Dist. No. II Ward No. 10.	As in page No. 1		
72	Two files of correspondence for the first All India Workers and Peasants Party Conference.	Found in the box of Muzaffar Ahmad in the bed room of Mr. Spratt.		
73	One book of complaint against Government.	Do.		
74	One cover containing letter by P. C. Joshi to Muzaffar Ahmed, 2/1 European Asylum Lane.	Do.		
75	One letter in Bengali from Hemanta Kumar Sircar, dated 22-1-29 to Muzaffar Ahmad, 2/1 European Asylum Lane.	Do.		
76	One photo of SS, Mirajkar.	Do.		
77	One poem in Urdu beginning with Arise oh accursed people!	Do.		
78	One cover containing letter in English, from Max Ziesse, Berlin, S. W. 48, Wilhelmstrasse 131-132, to Muzaffar Ahmad.	Do.		
79	One letter in Bengali with an enclosure from Muzaffar Ahmad to the Editor Ananda Bazar Patrika.	Do.		
80	One cover containing a letter in English from Derweshi to Muzaffar Ahmad with a letter in Urdu.	Do.		

81	One cover containing a letter in Bengali from Hemanta Kumar to Muzaffar Ahmad.	Do.
82	One post card in English from Khitri of 1, Kanta Pukur Lane, Bag Bazar to Muzaffar Ahmad.	Do.
83	One Cover containing a letter in Bengali from Hemanta to Muzaffar Ahmad.	Do.
84	One letter in English from C. Lal Almora to Muzaffar Ahmed.	Do.
85	Three counterpart receipts for collection of subscription for Re. 1/- by N. Lahiri from Khitish Ch. Mukherji, Narin Ch. Lahiri and Sachi Gopal Ganguli.	Do.
86	One copy of a book entitled The real situation in Russia by Lion Trotsky.	Do.
87	One copy of Karl Marx 'Capital'.	Do.
88	One copy of the Peasants War in Germany by Fredrick Engels.	Do.
89	One copy of An Illustrated History of the Russian Revolution, Vol. I.	Do.
90	One diary Book (Kalpataru Din Panjika) of 1333.	Do.
91	One card of Muzaffar Ahmed.	Do.
92	Registered letter receipts Nos. 409 to 427.	Do.
93	Two copies of the Socialist, dated 9-7-24 and 29-7-24.	Do.
94	(a) Four group photos of the Bengal, U. P., the Punjab and Bombay Communists.	Do.
	(b) One photo of Mr. Kayan and three workers.	Do.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>malika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
95	One letter from M.C. Joshi to Warden.	As in Page No. 1.		
96	One manuscript writing in English entitled To All Workers.	Do.		
97	10 pages of typed matter purporting to be on Communist matter, without the first page.	Do.		
98	One red banner bearing the title The Workers of the World Unite.	Found in the office room of P. & W. Party Bengal.		
99	One signboard bearing writings "Workers and Peasants Party Bengal" both in English and Bengali.	Found hung on the outside wall of the room of Peasants' and Workers' Party Bengal.		
100	One signboard entitled "Ganavani Karjalaya."	Do.		
111	One small red flag. Received a copy of this- Sd. M. Ahmad.	Found in the office room of Peasants' and Workers' Party, Bengal.		

X

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

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

(Sd.) ILLEGIBLE. 20/3
Police-officer conducting the search.

(Sd.) F. ROXBURGH.
(Sd.) HABIBUR RAHMAN.
(Sd.) S. AHMED.
20-3-29.

Signature of witness with date.
Signature by the accused (optional)

P. 436.
SEARCH LIST.

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

1. Date and hour of search—20-3-29, 9 a.m. to 5-30 p. m.
2. Name and residence of persons whose house is searched—Middle room on 1st floor of 2/1 European Asylum Lane, occupied by S. M. Shamsul Huda and Naren Bhattacharji.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search, { (1) Gosta Behari Shaw, 30 Doctor Lane.
(2) S. Ahmed, of 3/1 Tatolla Lane.
and so on

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number, in complainant's <i>maltalika</i> and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
1	One envelope addressed to Mr. P. Ganguly, of 2/r European Asylum Lane, with one letter written in Bengali by G. Ghosh from Dakshinapaikshu P. O. I am ready to sacrifice my life on the Call of duty.....	All found on the table in the middle of the first floor occupied by Shamsul Huda and Bhattacharji.		
2	One envelope addressed to the secretary, the Scavengers' Union, Local, with one typed letter by K. C. Mitra to East Indian Railway Union Office, Khagout (Patna), Dauby Market, Lillooah, 12/3/28.			
3	One envelope to Messrs Muzaffar Ahmed, Dharani Kanta Goswami, Abdul Halim, 2/1 European Asylum Lane,			

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where article seized was found	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>maltalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper etc.
4	Calcutta, with one typed letter by General Secy, dated 6. 3. 1928, re. Annual General Meeting. One envelope to Dharani Kanta Goswami, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, with 2 pages letter written in English addressed to Radharaman Mitra and D. K. Goswami, dated 23. 11. 28, by Gopal Ch. Basak.			
5	One envelope to Dharani K. Goswami, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, with a Bengali letter written by Girendra Bhattacharjee, dated 23. 1. 25, P. O. Bhaluka (?)			
6	One envelope to Dharani K. Goswami, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, with 3 pages letter by Gopal Ch. Basak, dated 1. 11. 28.			
7	One envelope to Dharani K. Goswami, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, with one Bengali letter by M. Singh, from Susung, Mymensingh, dated 20. 3. 28.			
8	One envelope to Labour Secretary, B. P. C. C. with one English letter by N. K. Chakravarty, dated 25-12-28.			
9	One envelope to Dharani Kanta			

- Goswami, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, with 3 pages Bengali letter to Secretary and one letter to Dharani Goswami, dated 12-9-28 by Gopal Basak.
- 10 One envelope to Dharani K. Goswami, European Asylum Lane, with 2 letters in English by S. C. Bose, dated 29-6-28, 1 Woodburn Park.
- 11 One envelope to Dharani K. Goswami, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, with one English letter, by Gopal, dated 19-8-28.
- 12 One envelope to Dharani Goswami, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, with 2 pages in Bengali, by S. N. Basak, dated 19-11-28
- 13 One envelope to Lal Mohan Ghosh, Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, with one English letter, by Gopal Basak, dated 29-12-29.
- 14 One paper with the writing Arise. .not
- 15 One paper to the Secretary, Peasants' and Workers' Party dated 1-11-28.
- 16 One paper written in Hindi.
- 17 One post card to Dharani Goswami, by Gopal, dated 19-4-29, Dacca.
- 18 One white post card to Dharani Goswami by Manindra from Suri P.O., Birbhum, dated 20-11-28.
- 19 One post card to Dharani K. Goswami, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, by J. N. Biswas, N..C. Sen, dated 24-4-1928.
- 20 One post card to Dharani Kanta Goswami, by Abinash, dated 15-5-28, from Calcutta, Vidyasagore Hostel.

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Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>matalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
21	One post card to Dhatani Goswami; 2/1 European Asylum Lane; by Jiban Kristo Maity, dated 14-3-28, Shibpur.	Found in the inside right pocket of the worn coat of S. M. Samsul—which was in the vain.		
22	One white printed card to Com. Ashutosh Roy, 1/1/-F Radhanath Mallik Lane; by Muzaffar Ahmed, dated 11-12-28, re-meeting, etc.			
23	(a) Two slips with address Bir Singh, Zemindar Villa Pandra, P. O. Bilga, Jullandhar, Punjab; (b) P. B. Ghatairaj Napur 88 Dhurum-tola Street.			

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

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

(Sd) ILLEGIBLE.
(Sd.) D. N. BHATTACHARJEE, o/c. N. D. P. P.
Police-Officers conducting the search.
Date 20-3-29 Place No. 2/1 European Asylum Lane.

(Sd.) F. ROXBURGH.
(Sd.) GOSTA BEHARY SHAW.
(Sd.) S. AHMED.

Signature of witness with date

Signature by the accused (optional)

P. 437.

11 copies of English posters entitled "Join the party of Masses and drive away all exploiters."

P. 438.

5 copies of Urdu posters.

P. 439.

10 copies of Hindi posters.

P. 440.

Letter in Bengali dated Berlin the 13th July from Soumendra Nath Tagore.

P. 441.

MANIFESTO

Of The Workers' and Peasants' Party of India.

The National Congress has answered the insolent challenge of imperialism by the resolution to boycott the Statutory Commission and by declaring that its object is to gain complete independence for the Indian people. These decisions of the National Congress, if they are taken seriously, mean repudiation of the policy that the bourgeois nationalist parties have followed in the past. The policy of bourgeois nationalism is to come to an agreement with the imperialist rulers as regards the share in the profit derived from the exploitation of the Indian masses. The programme of self-government within the British empire is determined by this policy. The nationalist bourgeoisie hoped that the junior partnership in the profitable business of exploiting the Indian masses would be granted to them by the imperialist overlords as reward for their subservience. This hope has been dashed. Imperialism has sternly refused to grant the most moderate demand of bourgeois nationalism. The lesson of this is obvious. *Nothing can be had for asking.* The more ready Indian nationalist movement is to come to a compromise with imperialism, the more insolent becomes the latter. If the Madras Congress has taken its decisions about the boycott of the Statutory Commission and goal of the nationalist movement with clear understanding of this relation, then it marks the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the nationalist movement. In that case the Congress must break away from the bankrupt tactics of the past, and boldly adopt new tactics corresponding to the new resolutions. In this it will be fully supported by the toiling masses as has already been demonstrated by the decisions of the Trade Union Congress and individual unions to support the boycott of the Statutory Commission.

That the bourgeois nationalists and their leaders are disappointed by the rebuff is clear. A distinct tone of disappointment is discernible in the outburst against the "insult to the Indian people." Here in lies the weakness of the whole opposition. The astuteness of the imperialist rulers has taken notice of this weakness and will use it very advantageously.

The weakness of the boycott resolution of the Liberal Conference is evident. Very clearly there is a rift in the liberal flute. The mover of the resolution, Sivaswami Aiyer, made it quite clear what the Liberals wanted. They did not content the right of the British Parliament to judge what sort of government India should have. They would be satisfied only if the representatives of the Indian bourgeoisie could cooperate with the imperialist overlords

in framing the constitution. Then there are sections of the Liberal Federation, for example in Bengal, which are from the beginning opposed to boycott. The Moslem League is split. It will simply be self-deception to believe that the following of the Lahore centre is inconsiderable. All the reactionary elements are sure to rally there. The follies of the nationalist movement, particularly the cult of linking nationalism with Hindu orthodoxy, have aided imperialist policy of fostering religious animosity. Today British imperialism can count upon the support of a considerable section of the so-called politically minded-Musalmans. The professional politicians claiming to represent the depressed classes are also against boycott.

If the statements of the leaders are analytically studied, even inside the Congress germs of eventual back-sliding are as well noticeable.

Taking stock of the situation imperialism has decided its tactics to meet it. The actual work of the Commission has practically been postponed till the next year. It has already been announced that the first visit of the Commission will be "no more than than a reconnaissance." The hope of imperialism is that during this year the big bourgeoisie will be persuaded to abandon their opposition to the commission in return for some measures of readjustment and that after they have made enough noise to save their political face the "saner" elements inside the Congress will also be more tractable. Meanwhile, the boycott movement will frizzle out, as it surely will to the gratification of imperialism, if the resolutions of the Madras Congress are not followed up with actions involving the workers' and peasants' masses.

Simultaneously with this tactics of temporisation to win over the vacillating elements, imperialism shakes its mailed fist to terrify those who, otherwise, may deviate towards a real struggle for freedom. It has already been made amply clear that imperialism is not afraid of the boycott movement. In view of past experience it is not fool hardy for imperialism to take this defiant attitude. In his farewell address to the Legislative Council the retiring governor of the U. P. said that the boycott "will not fatally obstruct or hamper the enquiry, which in any case will go on". That this was not just a humbug of a colonial proconsul is evidenced by the following statement in the officially inspired London Times of January 4: "With ample time for reflection it may be hoped that responsible Indian leaders will finally realize that their failure to grasp the opportunity of cooperation with the representative of the Imperial Parliament will neither enhance their political reputation outside nor advance the cause which they have at heart. *They will otherwise be forced into an unwilling cooperation is probable enough.*"

Imperialism is confident of the eventual cooperation of the big bourgeoisie and speculates upon the inability of the Congress to stick to the boycott resolution in view of that cooperation. It must be admitted that imperialism estimates the situation correctly. The boycott will really not be of any practical value in forcing a change of the imperialist politics, unless it is used as the lever for a mass movement to resist imperialist attack. There is no doubt about it that the bourgeoisie do not contemplate such an action. Nor could we expect such action from those who dominate the Congress, if we recollect the history of the Swaraj Party.

Imperialism flouts India's right to self-determination, because of the repeatedly demonstrated inability and unwillingness of the bourgeois nationalist parties and the National Congress, to conduct an effective struggle to conquer that right. The real significance of setting up a commission to decide the political future of India without one Indian on it, is that the power of imperialism is not in the least impaired by the parliamentary opposition of the nationalist bourgeoisie whose offer of compromise is, therefore, disdainfully rejected.

The failure and reluctance of the Congress to organize an effective struggle for freedom were due to its subservience to capitalist and landowning interests. The parties and people consciously representing these interests left the Congress and advocated cooperation with the imperialist rulers. The Congress talked of noncooperation, but drifted towards co-operation. There is no mid-way between cooperation and non-cooperation. The Congress and the Swaraj party went bankrupt in the vain search for this mid-way & should non-cooperation not mean absolute political passivity, which, in effect, would be worse than cooperation, resignation, then it must be resistance to the existent order of things. The power of a state can never be resisted except by organized action of the masses. A movement requiring active and abiding participation of the masses must be ready to take into consideration social and political demands of the workers and peasants. That is, a real, effective resistance to imperialist domination can be conducted only by those who are not afraid of a certain change in the existing social-economic relations, which will inevitably take place in course of this resistance. All the classes, that are benefited by the present miserable conditions of the workers and peasants of India, therefore, are opposed to any real struggle against imperialism, because such a struggle cannot be organized and much less be victorious without, at least partially, injuring their interests. The workers and peasants will fight for national freedom, because it will place them in political and economic conditions better than under imperialist domination.

The Congress and the Swaraj Party talked about the masses, but acted according to the interests of the capitalist and landowning classes. Consequently they were obliged to abandon all resistance

to imperialism, except in words, and placed themselves in a position where they could be treated, contemptuously by these in power. This disgraceful position can be altered, when the whole social outlook of the Congress is altered. Because without a radical change in the social orientation the resolutions of the Madras Congress will remain dead-letters. These resolutions can be enforced only by organizing a militant action of the masses.

Boycott, by itself, is but a negative slogan. When we reject something, we must say what we want instead. The future of the movement depends upon the positive demand that supplements the negative slogan of boycott. The seriousness of the boycott, therefore, can be judged from the nature of the positive demand. The demand of the Liberals is clearly stated. They want place on the commission or something that could be interpreted as analogous to it. What is the concrete demand of the Congress? Independence has been formulated as the goal. Since no concrete proposition as regards the realization of this goal has been made, the resolution on that question does not have any immediate practical value. It is only the expression of a desire. The vital question is what does the Congress demand instead of the commission that it rejects? In the absence of a definite resolution of the Congress one must judge by the statements made by its leaders, which statements have official character. However, the absence of a resolution formulating immediate demands concretely is significant, and leaves the way open for eventual climb down.

Pundit Motilal Nehru is obviously the leader of the boycott movement. He is hailed as the Zaghul of India. Let us see what has he got to say as regards the positive programme of the movement? In a letter to the Labour Members of the British Parliament dated London, November 23 Motilal Nehru corrects the belief that the commission has been set up in compliance with Indian demand. For what the Indian demanded he refers to the "national demands" presented to the Legislative Assembly. As Motilal Nehru writes in the letter "the first of these resolutions (on national demand) demanded a representative Round Table Conference to frame and recommend a scheme of constitution for India to Parliament". In the same letter we find also the following declaration: "Those of us who desire cooperation between the two peoples must regret this (increasing bitterness), and it is in the hope that you so desire I am addressing this to you." Clear conclusions can be drawn from these statements, and Motilal Nehru has made no other of contrary nature. The issue is not sharpened to the extent of challenging the right of the British Parliament to sanction a constitution for India, and the door is left open for negotiation. It is a very interesting coincidence that Motilal Nehru is compared with Zaghul Pasha. It seems that he is going to play the similar role played by the latter in connection with the Milner Commission. The mass movement against the Milner Commission was utilized by Zaghul to

carry on negotiations in England about the report of the commission which was boycotted. It should be remembered that Zaghlul induced the Egyptian masses to make a revolutionary demonstration against Milner Commission, but finally he himself accepted the recommendations of that commission as soon as under the pressure of a powerful mass movement imperialism made some concessions to the Egyptian bourgeoisie.

Next, let us examine the position of V. J. Patel. In a statement to the press on December 13 he says: "Indeed, I and my friends of the Congress have consistently maintained that the question of relations between Great Britain and India can only be finally adjusted on the basis of India's right to Dominion Status being acknowledged without any reservation and the method of giving effect to this decision being examined in a joint and equal conference between the plenipotentiaries of the two countries. I am also aware that the general scheme of procedure sanctioned by the British Parliament in so far as it ignores that claim and also by reason of the exclusion of Indians the Statutory Commission stands condemned in the eyes of the politically-minded Indians."

This statement is also clear. The demand guardedly made therein is the same as made by the Liberals. The only bone of contention is the presence of Indians on the commission. That concession made, the Congress, as led by Patel and his friends, will join the Liberals in placing the constitution for the final sanction of the British Parliament. Concretely, the quarrel is not as regards essentials, but details.

In the beginning Rangaswami Iyenger came out boldly for a "new programme" which, however, he declared, he was going to draft on the "fundamental principles embodied in the Swaraj Party's national demand." Finally a week before the Congress met he declared the following as the "new programme": 1. "An Indian Federation, in which will enter the Native States, as a Dominion within the British Empire; 2& The King (British) will have the right of veto on the decisions of the Indian parliament; and 3. On the questions of foreign affairs and national defence India will have similar right as the Dominions.

Practically all the important Congress leaders, who are talking volumes against the commission and agitating for its boycott, can be quoted as making statements avoiding the vital issue of a struggle against imperialism and keeping the way open for a retreat. This being the position of its leaders the resolutions of the Congress cannot be enforced as long as the leadership is not changed. The representatives of the capitalist and landowning interests inside the Congress will not permit it to become a fighting organ supported consciously and actively by the masses. The bourgeois leaders have allowed the radical resolution as regards the goal of the Congress to

be passed to deceive the rank and file. They hope that, satisfied with this formal expression of the desire for freedom, the revolutionary rank and file of the Congress will be indifferent to the immediate positive demands, and enthusiastically carry on a mass agitation against the Simon Commission. The bourgeois nationalists will exploit this agitation to secure some concessions, and as soon as some sort of agreement with imperialism has been reached, will sabotage the agitation. In the light of past experience it can be anticipated that they will not allow the mass movement develop beyond the limit of agitation and that they will sabotage it in any case, even before imperialism has been forced to make some concessions. This was the case at the time of the Non-cooperation movement. Had the movement been allowed to develop a little further, imperialism would have made substantial concessions to the nationalist bourgeoisie. But these were as afraid of the movement as the imperialist rulers and liquidated it frantically to the great joy of imperialism. The insulting treatment, that the nationalist bourgeoisie today receive from the imperialist over-lords, is the reward for the services they rendered six years ago. Imperialism knows that the bourgeois nationalists will not fight; therefore it does not take their vituperations seriously and rejects their peace offers with contempt.

The Workers' and Peasants' Party supports the decision of the Congress to boycott the Simon Commission, but warns the rank and file nationalists against the bourgeois leaders. The issue should be approached not from the point of view of constitutional technicalities, with view to a possible compromise. The opposition should be not to this or that commission, owing to its composition or manner of appointment. The opposition should be to the right of determining the political future of the Indian people arrogantly assumed by a foreign power. By boycotting the Simon Commission the Indian people challenges this pretention of British imperialism. The next step should be to assert the right of self-determination. That is, the negative slogan of boycott should be supplemented by positive actions to assert the right of self-determination. This action should be **THE ELECTION OF A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY** which will decide all the outstanding political questions.

None of the existing political organization has the right to speak in behalf of the entire people. A Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage will be the incontestable custodian of the sovereign right of the people. The Indian people do not need the sanction of a foreign parliament to create such an organ of theirs. The campaign for the election of the Constituent Assembly should begin immediately. Committees for the election of the Constituent Assembly should be created throughout the country. There should be a committee in each village as well

as in each town. The masses should be involved in this campaign. Workers' and peasants' representatives should sit on the committees. The participation of the greatest possible majority of adult men and women should be secured in the election.

Thus the attention of the country will be focussed upon a constructive work. Instead of only the negative slogan of boycott a positive programme of action will be placed before the movement. Some concessions as regards the composition of the Statutory Commission will knock the bottom off the boycott movement; but the agitation for the election of the Constituent Assembly will continue. The movement for national freedom will develop, the fighting energy of the masses will be mobilized for a constructive purpose, irrespective of the attitude of the bourgeois parties and leaders. By placing itself in the centre of this campaign the Congress will become organically connected with the masses. But to win the confidence of the masses and secure their conscious, active firm, and abiding participation in the movement for national freedom the redress of the immediate political and economic grievances of the workers and peasants must be incorporated in the programme of the movement. The workers and peasants will enthusiastically participate in the election of the Constituent Assembly and defend its sovereign right provided that it is made clear to them that it will consider their demands and defend their interests.

The Workers' and Peasants' Party will mobilize the toiling masses in the campaign for the boycott of the present commission or any other commission, irrespective of its composition, and for the election of a Constituent Assembly as the only organ competent to determine the political future of the Indian people. The programme for the realization of which the Workers' and Peasants' Party will organize this campaign is: 1. establishment of free national democratic state; 2. nationalization of land (abolition of the Native States and landlordism); 3. abolition of all levies on the agricultural population except land tax not exceeding 15 per cent of the net income; 4. Exemption from taxation of peasants cultivating "uneconomic holdings"; 5. annulment of peasants' indebtedness; 6. control over usury (interest not to exceed 6 per cent per annum); 7. nationalization of public utilities (railways, telegraph, waterways etc.) and mines; 8. minimum wages guaranteeing an irreducible standard of living for the industrial workers; 9. improvement of labour and housing conditions; 10. 8 hour day and 44 hour week; 11. free primary education; 12. insurance against unemployment, sickness, old-age etc. and maternity benefit (employers and the state to contribute 75 per cent to the fund); 13. freedom of press, speech and assembly; 14. right to strike and carry arms; 15. freedom of religion and worship; 16. abolition of caste privileges; 17. equal political and economic rights for women.

This programme corresponds to the interests of the overwhelming majority of the Indian people. The proletariat, peasantry and the oppressed middle class must unite in a struggle for the realization of this programme. Indeed all those who want national freedom as the door to political, economic, social and cultural progress of the entire people, must subscribe to this programme. Only the feudal landowning class representing social reaction will be against this programme, because it cannot be realized without destroying them. The refusal to subscribe to this programme and the unwillingness to fight for its realization will indicate the desire to sabotage the struggle for national freedom. For a real effective struggle against imperialist domination can never be organized without active, conscious and abiding participation of the masses and this can only be secured when national freedom will hold out before the masses some concrete alteration of the present conditions.

A Constituent Assembly elected by universal suffrage will represent the entire people, and therefore will comply with the above demands of the overwhelming majority of the population. Consequently the oppressed masses (proletariat, peasantry and the middle class) should brush aside the controversy over the Constitution and demand the **ELECTION OF THE CONSTITUENTS ASSEMBLY** as the only effective answer to imperialist challenge to the Indian people's right of self-determination.

Proletariat, Peasants, Students, Employees, Poor Intellectuals, Small Merchants, Artisans and all others that are oppressed by imperialism and the native exploiting classes! demand the election of the Constituents Assembly; set up committees to prepare for the election. Every one of you must actively participate in the campaign; otherwise the bourgeois nationalists and their agents in the Congress will sabotage it. Don't be deceived by the oratorical radicalism of the Congress leaders. Demand a real struggle against imperialism by asserting in practice the right of self-determination.

DOWN WITH THE SIMON COMMISSION !

LONG LIVE THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY !

Central Committee

of The Workers' and Peasants' Party of India.

P. 442.

A Star of India File containing the cutting of articles on
Russia.

P. 443.

A Star of India File containing the cutting of articles on
Russia.

P. 444.

A register containg cutting of Newspapers articles on Russia.

P. 445.

Two copies of "The Masses of India Vol. III of July, 1927.

P. 446.

A file containing the following documents amongst others:

P. 446 (1)

(3 COPIES)

Telegraphic Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL

Organ: 2/1, European Asylum Lane,
GANAVANI Calcutta May, 16, 1928.
(Bengali weekly)

To

Comrades Dharani Kanta Goswami, Aftab Ali, Pyari Mohan
Das, Kalidas Bhattacharji, Gopendra Chakravarty.

Comrades.

At an Executive Committee meeting of the party on the 5th
April you have been elected members of the Labour Group of the
E. C. Please do meet in the office of the party on the 18th. instant at
7 P. M. to arrange among yourselves the date of your weekly meet-
ing and now to proceed with the works.

Yours fraternally
General Secretary.

P. 446. (2)

The Annual Meeting of the Peasants' and Workers' Party of
Bengal (Bangiya Krishak-o-Sharamik Dal), which was to be held on
the 18th. March, has been postponed. The arrangements necessary
for the conference could not be completed in time owing to the
Scavengers' Strike. It has now been decided to hold the conference
at Bhatpara (a factory town on the Eastern Bengal Railway, 22 miles
from Calcutta) on the 31st. March and 1st April.

P. 447.

A file headed "GANAVANI, 1927 & 1928, Postal complaints, Government Letters and Miscellaneous Correspondence," containing the following 13 documents amongst others.

P. 447. (1)

Telegraphic Address : "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

The Workers' and Peasants Party of Bengal

Organ : 2/1. European Asylum Lane,
GANAVANI Calcutta July 16, 1928.
(Bengali Weekly) No. P 73.

THE SUPERINTENDENT OF POST OFFICES,
South Calcutta Division.

Sir, I received by the foreign mail a few weeks ago (i e on or about the 22nd June) a letter of which following is a copy:—

Muzaffar Ahmad
Bengal Peasants Workers Party
2/1 European Asylum Lane
Berlin, den 22. 5. 1928
Calcutta (India)

Durch Postanweisung übersende ich den Betrag von 20,— Pfund und bitte nach Eingang un Empfangsbestätigung an untenstehende Adresse.

MitGruss
Max Ziese, Berlin SW. 48
Wilhelmstrasse 131.

This I take to mean:—

"I am sending you by post £20/- (twenty pounds) for which I desire that you will send a receipt to the Address below."

I have not received the money order in question, and wish to ask if it has arrived, and if so why I have not received it.

Yours faithfully
MUZAFFAR AHMAD

P. 447. (2).

Telegraphic Address : "GANAVANI", Calcutta.

The Workers' and Peasants Party of Bengal

Organ :
GANAVANI
(Bengali Weekly)

2/1. European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta February 20, 1928.

Sir,

Herewith I am sending a copy of a complaint addressed to the Post Master General of Bengal and Assam Circle for your kind perusal and action.

Yours faithfully
MUZAFFAR AHMAD

No. P. 62

The Director General of Post & Telegraph.

No. P. 63.

The Post Master, Amherst Street.

Telegraphic Address : "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

The Workers' and Peasants Party of Bengal

Organ :
GANAVANI
(Bengali Weekly)

2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta February 20, 1928.

No. P61

To

The Post Master General,
Bengal and Assam Circle,
CALCUTTA.

Sir,

I beg to bring to your kind notice that my friend and the General Secretary of the above named Party Mr. S. Tagore (Saumyendra Nath Tagore) sent to me Rs. 500/- or so to our former address 37, Harrison Road, Calcutta, by telegraphic money order from Berlin by the last week of December or the first week of January last. But, the said money order has neither been delivered to me nor do I know what has happened with that. When our office was removed from 37, Harrison Road, Calcutta to 2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, on the 1st, November, 1927, we

left our written instructions with the Post Master, Amherst Street and the Presidency Post Master, Calcutta to redirect to our present address every thing addressed to us by name or by our official designations. Both of them informed us officially that they had duly noted the change of our address. In fact our mails have since then been redirected to our present address.

Under the circumstances I am at a loss to understand why this this money order from Berlin was not redirected and delivered to me though it was due many weeks back. The money referred to above was collected by Mr. Tagore from European labour circle for the welfare of the Indian workers whose cause is severely being suffered on account of this illegal detention of the money order. Our complaint against the post offices has become an eternal one. Already a series of them have been "receiving attention" of the Divisional Superintendents and there is no knowing how and when they are going to be remedied. This is why I am addressing this complaint direct to you and fervently hope that you will be pleased to enquire into the matter to pay to me the said money order immediately.

Yours faithfully

MUZAFFAR AHMAD

The copy forwarded to

- (1) The Director General of Post Offices.
- (2) The Post Master, Amherst Street.

P. 447. (3)

A Postal registration receipt No. 011 D/ 3.3.28¹ addressed to S. V. Ghate B. A. 751, Girgaon Road, Bombay No. 4.

A postal registration receipt No. 746 addressed to Herr S. Tagore, Berlin, Germany.

A postal registration receipt No. 747 addressed to Herr S. Tagore, Berlin, Germany.

A postal registration receipt No. 413 addressed to the Workers Welfare League of India 18, Featherstone Building, High Holborne, London.

A postal registration receipt No. 411, addressed to The Editor Labour, Monthly, 162, Buckingham Palace Road, London S. W. 1.

A postal registration receipt No. 412 addressed to Miss Agnes Smedley, Holsteinsche Strasse 36 Berlin Wilmersdorf, Germany.

A postal registration receipt No. 375 D/ 24.5.28 addressed to Miss Agnes Smedley, Berlin Wilmersdorf, Germany.

P. 447. (4)

Change of address
Old No. 141/26

No. 83/27

I Muzaffar Ahmad son of Munshi Mansur Ali of village Musapur P. S. Sandrip District Noakhali at present residing at No.37, Harrison Road, Calcutta and aged 33 Mohammedan by caste, declare that I am the Printer and Publisher of the Periodical work entitled the GANAVANI, printed at Sree Saraswati Press at 1, Ramanath Majumdar Street and published at No. 37, Harrison Road, in the town of Calcutta.

Muzaffar Ahmad.

Acknowledged before me at the Calcutta Police Court, this 11th day of April, 1927.

Identified by me
(Sd)/- Illegible.

(Sd)/- Illegible
Chief Presidency Magistrate
and Justice of the peace.

Chief Presy.
Magistrate.

Chief Presy Magistrate
11 April, 1927.

S-67. 1925.

Seal of the
Chief Presidency Magistrate,
Calcutta.

The Change of place of Publication Old No. 83/27.

No. 119/28.

I Muzaffar Ahmad, aged 34 years son of Munshi Mansur Ali of village Musapur P. S. Sandrip district Noakhali at present

residing at No. 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta declare that I am the printer and publisher of the Periodical work entitled the "Ganavani" published at No. 2/1 European Asylum Lane, and printed at Sree Saraswati Press 1, Ramanath Majumdar St. in the town of Calcutta do undertake to publish the name of Editor in the cover of the paper.

Muzaffar Ahmad.

Acknowledged before me at the Calcutta Police Court, this 13th day of June 1928.

(Sd)/- Illegible.
Chief Presidency
Magistrate and
Justice of the peace.

Muzaffar Ahmad.

Identified by

(Sd)/- Illegible.
Chief Presidency Magistrate.
S-67. 1925.

13 June, 1928.

Seal of the
Chief Presidency Magistrate,
Calcutta.

P. 447 (5)

Bauern und Arbeiter aller Länder, vereinigt Euch.

Paysans et ouvriers de tous les pays, unissez-vous!

Farmers and workers of the world, unite!

Secrétaire Général Adjoint du Conseil Paysan International (Krestintern)
Acting General secretary of International Farmer's Council (Krestintern)
Generalsekretarstellv. des Internationalen Bauern-Rates (Krestintern)

No. 41F. 21. V.29.

Dear Friend,

We discuss a very important question concerning the slogan of a *united front of all farmers* which directs the course of our work. In many a land the farmer masses on their own accord form

this united front for the fight of all farmers for their daily needs. One must clear up what part separated farmers' spheres can play in this fight and deeply reflect some time the platform (program of action) that will be the basis of co-operation between all these spheres.

I request you to give me your personal opinion relating to this question and, if possible, also the opinion of your friends. Could you actualise this slogan of all farmers' united front in concrete conditions of your country and what strata of population this front must embrace? Would this actualisation be possible? If it were, please answer how this realisation is to be done? How a practical alliance of farmers with united front of city industrial workers is to be built?

Waiting for your prompt reply, I am

With hearty greetings, Yours,

(DOMBAL)

P 447 (6)

THE U.S.S.R. SOCIETY OF CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

MOSCOW, SVERDLOV PLACE

Address for telegrams: Wokszag, Moscow

Moscow, May, 2-1926.

Editorial Board, "Langal"

37 Harrison Rd., Calcutta, India.

Gentlemen:

Our Society has been informed by the International Farmers' Council of the keen interest taken by your influential paper in matters concerning the cultural life and general conditions in the Soviet Union and particularly those phases of everyday life dealing with the Russian peasantry. We understand and highly appreciate this interest of Indian intellectual circles in such matters. Your country, as is the Soviet Union is largely composed of peasants and the development of our two countries, to some extent, follow the same road.

In view of the interest taken by "Langal" in the Soviet Union we are taking the liberty of introducing to you the work and aims of our Society, which has the sole purpose of promoting close cultural relations between the peoples of the USSR and abroad. To give you a more clear and detailed outline of the work and activities of our Society we are enclosing our Prospectus.

We can, if you desire, supply your paper with various materials of the Soviet Union in all phases of work which, we think, might prove of interest to your readers, and we are sending you, under separate cover, some photographs illustrating life among the peasants, workers and intellectuals. Together with this package are a few of our Weekly News Bulletins which we will send you regularly in the future. It may interest you to know that there are similar societies, like ours, existing in many European countries, all founded solely through the initiative of eminent savants of those countries and if you desire to get into communication with them we will gladly help you.

Could you kindly send us in exchange some materials on peasant, worker, and intellectual life of India, and also some photographic illustration of such.

Trusting that this letter will be the basis for the beginning of the development of cultural relations between our two countries and with the earnest hope to hear from you in the near future, we remain,

Very truly yours,

O. D. KAMENEVA

A. N. Voznecienski,

President.

Member of Administrative Board.

Encl: 6 copies of our Prospectus.

5 copies of our Weekly News Bulletin.

25 Photographs.

} These materials
are being forward-
ed under regis-
tered cover.

P 447 (7)

The 15th April, 1926.

Dear Sir,

We are sending under separate cover the current issue as well as all the back issues of our journal Langa! with the request that you will be pleased to send us your paper and periodical publications in exchange of the Langa!. We shall send you all of our publications when they will be out. Langa! is the official organ of the Bengal Peasants and Workers Party which was organised in October last under the name of the Labour Swaraj Party but the name has been changed to the Bengal Peasants and Workers Party at a conference of the peasants at Krishnagar in Nadia District. We are sending herewith a copy of the constitution and programme of the Party which was originally drafted of the Labour Swaraj party and which has been adopted with slight modifications at the Krishnagar Conference.

Yours sincerely,

Editor in Charge

(Muza!far Ahmad)

Jt. Secretary of the

(Shamsuddin Husain)

B. P. W. P.

P. 447. (8)

Dear Sir,

We duly received your letter dated the 2nd May, 1926 but we are sorry to inform you that the packet which you mentioned about in the letter did not reach us. We have written to the Post Master General, Bengal and Assam to make an enquiry why it was not delivered to us.

We shall be every much obliged if you keep us informed of your activities towards a close cultural relations among countries. We shall be very glad if you can put us in touch with other societies who are working in this behalf for the amelioration of the toiling masses.

We shall send you all our publications and keep you informed of our activities. We are having the pictures of rural life in this part of the world prepared and send them when they are ready. You will kindly note for some unavoidable reasons we have to change the name of our organ. Its publication was stopped for some three months and it will re-appear with a new name "GANA-VANI" (The Message of the Masses) on the 12th int. and copies of it shall be regularly sent to you and other organisations you will suggest.

With fraternal greetings,

To A. N. Voznecienski.
Ussr Scr
Sverdlov place Moscow.

P. 447. (9)

Dear Comrade,

We duly received your kind letter of the 6th June, 1926 but we are very sorry to inform you that we are not receiving the bulletins etc. very regularly. So far we have received three copies of your press reports. We sent all the copies issues of weekly journal "Langal" so long it was being published. Its publication was suspended owing to some unavoidable reasons from the 15th April last. We are going to re-publish it with a new name-Ganavani (The Message of the Masses) from the 12th instant. We shall be sending it you and shall make arrangements that it reaches you.

We shall be highly obliged if you let us know what are fellow-Peasants in Soviet Russia are doing and we shall also let you know of our activities here for the toiling masses of India.

With fraternal greetings,

Sd/- SHAMSUDDIN HUSAIN

MUZAFFAR AHMAD

To The Manager

Eastern & Colonial Dept.

Kristintern

P. 447. (10)

To the Chief Editor of "Langal"

37, Harrison Road.

CALCUTTA.

Dear Comrade,-

We have duly received your letter dated April 15th 1926 in which you informed us about sending all issues of the "Langal" published till now. But we are sorry to inform you that none of them have been received here up to present day. We should be very obliged if you would investigate this matter in local post office.

We take note of your communication regarding change of name of Labor Swaraj Party.

On receipt of your letter we started immediately sending you our papers, bulletins, etc. as usual, for your information. We also suggested to other scientific and agrarian organisation to furnish you with materials, pictures, books which could be of interest for you. You can ask us for any information, etc, at your convenience.

In the hope that present exchange of letters will develop into permanent correspondence and collaboration for our mutual benefit,

We remain,

With fraternal peasant greetings.

VOZNECIENSKI

ORLOFF

P. 447. (11)

Bauern und Arbeiter aller Lander' vereinigt
Paysans et ouvriers de tous les pays, unissez-vous!
Farmers and workers of the world, unite

Department d'Orient et des colonies du Conseil
Paysan International (Krestintern)
East and colonies department of International
Farmer's Council (Krestintern)
Ost-und Kolonialabteilung des Internationalen
Bauern-Rates (Krestintern)

No. 203

To

The Editor of "Langal"
37 Harrison Road
CALCUTTA INDIA

Comrade,

We have pleasure in sending you herewith the copy of a letter addressed, through the "Akali-Te-Pardesi" newspaper of Amritsar, to the Akalis & Babbar Akalis of the Punjab. As your own newspaper is a defender of the interests of the peasants, we hope that you will find it possible to publish a translation of the letter in your columns.

In the next few days, we shall address you a more detailed letter proposing collaboration between the International Peasants' Council (Krestintern) of Moscow and your own organisation (Labour Swaraj Party).

With comradely greetings.

Yours very sincerely.

MANAGER OF EASTERN &
COLONIAL DEPARTMENT:
REFERENT ON INDIA:
March 11th, 1926.

A. VOZNECIENSKY
Ghulam Ambia Khan Luhani.

P. 447. (12)

MY DEAR COMRADE,

Your letter no. 203 dated the 11th March, 1926 is to hand. The translation of other letter of Krestintern to the Akalis and Babba Akeilis of the Punjab will be published in the next issue of Lungal. I send in a separate Packet all the issues of Lungal published till now. Please note that the name of the Labour Swaraj Party has been changed into "The Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party"

Please do send up us papers regarding the Krestintern. Please also supply us

Please do us one help. We requir see if you can manage to procure articles for Lungal and from a very reliable sources on the condition of peasants in the different countries of Europe. These These articles must refer to the standard of living of peasants in those countries. All articles in English will thankfully be published be translated in Bengali

P. 447. (13)

Workers' Welfare League of India
18 Featherstone Buildings
High Holborn,
London W. C. I.

Weekly News Bulletin
The Press Section of the Society for
Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries
Moscow, Malaya Nikitskaya 6
U. S. S. R.

The Secretary,
Labour Research Department,
162 Buckingham Palace Road,
London S. W. 1.

Agnes Smedly II
Holsteinischestrasse 36
Berlin-wilmersdorf
(Germany).

R. Palme Dutt
Boire 3
Exelles II
Brussels, Belgium.

Zeitungs-Vertrieb
Gebruder Petermann
Berlin-Friedenau
Rheinstrasse 28
(Germany)

The Communist Party of Great Britain
16 King Street,
London W. C. 2.

P. 448.

A file containing the following documents amongst others :—

P. 448. (1)

(Br. Indfa.)

The 4th. August, 1927.

The Gale Book-shop,
802 F. St., N. W. Wash., D.C.

Dear Sirs,

Having seen your advertisement in 'New Masses' we hereby request you to send us by the first available mail three copies of "A.B.C. of Communism" and oblige. We shall send you the money to cover the price of books as soon as we receive the packet and the bill. Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours faithfully,
Editor, "Ganvani".

(Br. India.)

The 4th. August, 1927.

The Workers' Educational Institute,
P. O. Box 24, Station E, Brooklyn,
New York U.S.A.

Dear Comrade,

Be pleased to enlist the name of the Editor of "Ganvani", 37, Harrison Road, Calcutta (British India), as a subscriber of THE MARXIST and send the same from the 1st. issue of the current year. The subscription will be remitted to your office after the receipt of the 1st. packet of the MARXIST. With greetings,

Yours fraternally
Editor, Ganavani.

(Br. I.
(Br. India).
The 4th. August, 1927.

The Manager, The Communist,
1113 Washington Blvd.,
Chicago ILL.
U. S. A.

Dear Comrade,

Be pleased to enlist the name of the Editor of "Ganavani" as a subscriber of The Communist and go on sending the paper regularly from the first issue of the current year. On receipt of the first packet of the paper we shall remit you the subscription.

With greetings.

Yours fraternally
Editor, Ganavani.

— 0 —

P. 448. (2)

Telegraphic Address: "GANAVANI". Calcutta.

THE
Peasants' & Workers' Party of Bengal.

ORGAN: 2-1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE

GANAVANI

(BENGALI WEEKLY)

Calcutta 12 1 1938.

The Manager,
The Communist Book-shop,
16 King Street, London, W. C. 2

Dear Comrade,

Do please send us 25 copies of "MODERN INDIA" by R. Palme Dutt at your earliest convenience. We shall send you the money after the sale of those copies. It will not, of course, take a very long time. There is an Indian edition of this book which is not only badly printed but also sold at a very price, that is at 4s. a copy. Generally the publications of the COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN are prohibited in India. But, the book "Modern India" being the reprint of Indian publications is not so prohibited. During the police search of the office of the WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY of Bombay a copy of the British edition of the book was taken away by police, ~~but returned afterwards~~. Our mails, however, are strictly censored and censored sometimes by irresponsible police men. So, please send the packet per registered post and write on the cover "Modern India," 25 copies. With greetings.

Fraternally yours
Publicity Secretary.

P. 448. (3)

THE
Peasants' & Workers' Party of Bengal.

ORGAN:
GANAVANI
(**BENGALI WEEKLY**)
The Editor,

37, HARRISON ROAD.
CALCUTTA
7-7-1927

Farmer and Peasants' International Correspondent.

Sir,

I regret to write to you that ever since the publication of your journal I have received the first issue only. I am sending my paper regularly every week to your address. However I shall feel highly obliged if you will kindly look into the matter and send me all the back issues.

Yours faithfully
MAHMUD.

P. 448. (4)

H E T

Peasants' & Workers' Party of Bengal.

ORGAN:
GANAVANI
(**BENGALI WEEKLY**)

37, HARRISON ROAD.
CALCUTTA.
23-6-1927

The Communist Book-shop.
16 King Street, London. W. C. 2.

Dear Sirs,

The name of the Communist Book-shop being suggested to us by the General Secretary of the National Minority Movement I am sending to you specimen copies of "Ganavani" (the voice of the people) the weekly organ in Bengalee of the Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bangal.

If you can push the sale of the paper amongst the Bengali speaking people in London at 2 pence per copy we shall allow you a commission of 20 per cent. Be pleased to reply at your earliest convenience.

Yours faithfully
M. AHMAD.
Editor "Ganavani."

P. 448. (5)

THE
PEASANTS' & WORKERS' PARTY OF BENGAL.

ORGAN
GANAVANI
(Bengali weekly)

37, HARRISON ROAD.
CALCUTTA.
23, 6. 1927.

The General Secretary,
National Minority Movement.
38, Great Ormond Street.
London W. C. I.

Dear Comrade,

I am very glad to receive your kind letter of the 30th. May together with a copy of "The Worker", a copy of "Workshop organisation" and two copies of the Report of the Third Annual Conference of the National Minority Movement and thank you very much for forwarding them.

I am sending herewith two forms of individual membership duly filled up with a minimum subscription of two shillings.

Will you be pleased to contribute articles to Ganavani ?

I can assure you this much that these articles will faithfully be translated into Bengali.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally
M. Ahmad
for General Secretary.

P. 448. (6)

THE
Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal.

ORGAN
GANAVANI
(Bengali weekly)

37, HARRISON ROAD,
CALCUTTA.
23. 6. 27.

Com. R. Page Arnot.
Director of Research,
Labour Research Department,
162, Buckingham Palace Road.
London, S. W. I.

Dear Comrade,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 23rd May, 1927. I regret to say that the complete file of "Ganavani" is not available at our office. I am, however, trying to procure it from other people. I shall send it to your Department as soon as I get it.

May I request you to be so kind as to contribute articles to "Ganavani" now and then? These articles will be translated into Bengali.

With best wishes.

Yours fraternally,
Muzaffar Ahmad
Editor, "Ganavani".

P. 448. (7)

THE
Peasants' & Workers' Party of Bengal

ORGAN
GANAVANI
(Bengali Weekly)

37, HARRISON ROAD,
CALCUTTA.
The 12th May, 1927.

To

The General Secretary,
National Minority Movement,
38, Great Ormond Street,
London. W. C. I.

Dear Comrade,

Your kindly letter dated the 14th March, 1927 addressed to Com. S. Tagore, the General Secretary of our Party reached this office in time. Com. Tagore left India a few days back for Continental Europe on an Educational tour. You will hear from him in time.

Sometime in February, 1927 we wrote to you to send to us the constitution, reports of the different Congresses and other papers of the National Minority Movement. But we have not been supplied with them as yet though a very long time has passed away since then. Be pleased to send those papers at your earliest convenience. We shall be very much obliged if you will kindly send us all your publications and other literature also if possible. You will kindly note that we are not allowed here in India to receive the books published by the Communist Party of Great Britain.

We are publishing a weekly paper in Bengali which is called GANAVANI (The Voice of the People). A copy of this paper is being regularly sent to you. Would you please suggest the name of some newspaper-stall where "Ganavani" might be sent for sale amongst the Bengali speaking people in London?

We shall write to you in our next letter about the position we are in here. This much will be sufficient just now to say that we are working here under the teeth of a great opposition not only from the Imperialistic Government of India but also from the bourgeoisie of the Indian National Congress. Our financial difficulty is almost a crisis.

With best greetings.

Yours fraternally,
A. R. Khan,
Offg: General Secretary.

P. 448 (8)

NATIONAL MINORITY MOVEMENT

National Industrial Sections

Hon. Chairman : TOM MANN
Gen. Organising Secretary :
GEORGE HARDY

Hon. General Secretary : HARRY POLLITT
National Treasurer : GEO. FLETCHER

Miners' Minority Movement
Transport Workers' Minority
Movement
Metal Workers' Minority
Movement
Building Workers' Minority
Movement
Gen. Workers' Section
Printers' Section

¶ Address all communications to Gen. Secretary
TELEPHONE : MUSEUM 6708

Room 14, First Floor,

Reference.....
(Please quote when replying)

38, GREAT ORMOND STREET,
LONDON, W. C. 1.
14th March, 1927.

S. Tagore,
General Secretary,
The Bengal workers' and Peasants' Party,
37, Harrison Road,
Calcutta,
INDIA.

Dear Comrade,

Very glad indeed to receive your kindly letter of February 24th. I will give this matter publicity in our press.

I shall be pleased to keep in close contact with you and to publish anything you send along from time to time giving details about the struggle of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party.

With best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

Harry Pollitt,

Honorary General Secretary.

P. 449.

The Workers' & Peasants' Party, Bombay.

17, DWARKADAS MANSIONS,

SANDHURST ROAD,

BOMBAY, 4.

MY DEAR MUZAFFAR,

How is it that Spratt has been silent all these days? We expected to hear from him, but I guess there is nothing of importance to be communicated.

With regard to the printing of the report—the Committee wants quotations from the printing. Here in Bombay one Press promised to print it at 2/8 a page (size and types same as Spratt's India and China). Please let me know if it will be substantially reduced, if printed at your place.

The question of the lost registered article. Dange had sent you the No. of the registered letter which is 65, Bearing Byculla Post Office Stamp.

The names of the Provincial Committee for the All-India Executive will be communicated to you by this Monday.

On the question of £ 40/-. Nothing has been received by the Party. You can ask Tagore to tell you the date of the remittance, if it was transferred through any bank or anything like that, to enable us to make enquiries.

May-Day Celebration. We are organising this day here on a grand scale and I hope you will set about this as early as possible. The B. P. C. C. through out a demand for Rs.250/- in this connection.

How is Halim? Do let me have a report of your Conference.

Yours fraternally,
S. V. GHATE.
5/4/28.

P. S.

Please tell Basak that the Publisher of Modern India refuses to give 50 copies at Re. 1/- He will have to take all (1500) copies, then the price will be Re. 1/-. Let him write to me early. J

S.V.G.

P. 450.

TAGORE

Bei Agnes Smedley

Holsteinische Strasse 36

Berlin-Wilmersdorf

Neither money received Department cannot trace Please enquire
wire date receipt numbers issue office

Muzaffarahmad

P. 451.

A poster in Gurmukhi.

P. 452.

Weekly Organ KRANTI KARI (Hindi) (JHANSI)

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

ALLAHABAD.

Ref. No.....

Allahabad, 26 Jan. 192 .

My dear Comrade Muzaffar,

President;
Dr. Biswanath
Mukherji,
Zafra Bazar,
Gorakhpur.

I sincerely apologise to you for my
silence. After Calcutta I felt so dizzy and
unsettled that I could not make up my mind to
write, again I had to do lots of work in the
Youth League. But surely these can't be
'legitimate' excuses.

Vice-President;
Dharamvir Singh,
M.A.,M.L.C.
Taga Boarding House,
Meerut.
General Secy:-
Puran Chandra
Joshi, M. A.
34, Holland Hall,
Allahabad.

I have not yet recd. (1) the open letter to the Independence League (2) the extracts from the thesis on India (3) Report of the Party Conf: (4) Thesis on Peasantry. Will you please send me one copy of each immediately. Please ask the Book Coy. people to send me the books selected by me per V.P.P. or you yourself make a parcel worth 30/- 40/- some first class stuff on agrarian movement and strategy if possible and send it along. Will you please ask Com. Spratt to send my address to C. P. Dutt and the Labour Research Deptt. peoples, I will pay them in any form & whenever they please. Treat this as very urgent.

Do send com. Halim to me, I will myself manage a room for him near our Hostel he has only to come to me in the Hostel and every thing will be set right.

How has Krishna Gopal bungled by calling Lenin, Mahatma and Karl Marx Bhagwan. It is ignorance and not deliberate insult. I have begun sending him weekly notes for the Editorial. You will please not be grieved by the Kranti Kari, but own it and set it right. Send something on your impressions of the Party Conf: rule of the Party — Simon Commission or Butler Committee. Do ask one of the Bauria Comrades to write for the Kranti Kari a genesis of the strike situation. Has Com. Spratt written to various Comrades about the proposed tracts for the U. P. Party — has he proceeded with his own —, they are absolutely essential for U. P. Comrades.

You need not despair of me. I will always stick to my guns; nor lag behind in revolutionary discipline or party loyalty. My silence was only personal indolence, say.

With greetings.

Fraternally,

P. C. Joshi.

Do send Kantsky's Class-Struggle.

Please send through Com. Halim the kind of attache-case I wanted to buy that day when with you — of better steel or wood — worth Rs. 10/- to present to my cousin for keeping her toilet things & some ornaments. I will pay him the money when he comes here.

Superscription on the envelope:-

Muzaffar Ahmad

2/1 European Asylum Lane

Calcutta.

P. 453.

Berlin, 19th September 1928.

Muzaffar A h m a d .

General Secretary,

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal

2-1, European Asylum Lane,

CALCUTTA.

Indien.

Dear Friend,

In answer to your letter of 19th July 1928 I have written to the Post Office Government there referring the money sent by me. I am sending the copy of this letter, and ask you after receipt of this to reclaim at your Post Office because I can not think that the money shall not have arrived there. I think the mistake is only at your Post Office. If this enquiries have no result please will you inform me, therewith I can propose for repayment. At all events I ask you to do all in your efficacy before I propose for repayment.

Awaiting your answer, I remain

With greetings

Max Ziesse.

Berlin, 19th September 1928.

To the

Post-Office Government

CALCUTTA.

Indien.

The undersigner of this was sending to the following address:
Muzaffar A h m a d , Bengal Peasants Workers Party,
2/1 European Asylum Lane, C a l c u t t a .

on the date of 23rd May 1928 by post money order the amount of 20 Pounds, on 19th June 1928 also an amount of 20 Pounds, and on the 30th June 1928 a further amount of 20 Pounds. Altogether the amount of 60 Pounds were sent on the three declared dates to the above receiver.

Under the date of 19th July the above person addressed wrote me that no money has been received by him nor it could be traced in the Post Office. I find no explanation for this information, because the documents referring to this are all in my hands. Before I claim at the authorities of this place I ask you to make exact enquiries if the sent amounts not yet have arrived there, because I never can think that all the three amounts have been lost. A copy of this letter I have sent to the person addressed, in order he may inquire at the Post Office there.

Hoping that my letter will attain the payment of the 60 Pounds sent by me to the above receiver,

I remain

Max Ziese,

Berlin S. W. 48

Wilhelmstrasse 131/132.

Muzaffar Ahmad
General Secaetary
Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal
2-1, European Asylum Lane

C A L C U T T A

Indien.

P. 454.

"The Real Situation in Russia" by Leon Trotsky—Translated by Max Eastman.

P. 455.

Karl Marx—Capital—Translated by Eden & Ceder Paul.

P. 456.

"An Illustrated History of The Russian Revolution, Volume I.

P. 457.

A group photo of Muzaffar Ahmad, Shamsul Huda, P. Spratt and others. On the back of the photo the following is written "G.P. of the Bengal Communists.

P. 458.

A group photo of Sohan Singh Josh and others. On the back of the photo the following is written: "G. P. of the Punjab Communists".

P. 459.

A group photo of S. S. Mirajkar, R. S. Nimbkar, K. N. Joglekar, B.F. Bradley, S.V. Ghate and others. On the back of the photo the following is written "Bombay group of the Communists."

P. 460.

A group photo of Ajodhya Prasad and P.C. Joshi and others. On the back of the photo the following is written. "G. P. of U. P. Communists".

P. 461.

A group photo of Ryan and others. On the back of the photo the following is written : "G. P. of Ryan & 3 workers".

P. 462.

A photo of Ryan. On the back of the photo is written "Ryan."

P. 463.

Registered Postal Receipt No. 409, dated the 10th January 1929, addressed to:—

Miss Agnes Smedley,
Berlin-Wilmersdorf Germany.

Registered Postal Receipt No. 410, dated the 10th January 1929, addressed to:—

M. N. Roy,
24 Friedrich Strasse
Berlin S. W. 48.
Germany.

Registered Postal Receipt No. 411, dated the 10th January 1929, addressed to:—

The Secretary,
Labour Research Dept.,
162 Buckingham Palace Road,
London S. W. 1.

Registered Postal Receipt No. 412, dated the 10th January 1929, addressed to:—

The Communist International,
Moscow U. S. S. R.

Registered Postal Receipt No. 413, dated the 10th January 1929, addressed to:—

League Against Imperialism,
Berlin, S. W. 48.,
Germany.

Registered Postal Receipt No. 414, dated the 10th January 1929, addressed to:—

Miss Agnes Smedley,
Berlin Wilmersdorf,
Germany.

Registered Postal Receipt No. 425, dated the 12th January 1929, addressed to:—

Mr. Sohan Singh Josh,
Kirti Office,
Amritsar.

by

Muzaffar Ahmad,
2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.

Registered Postal Receipt No. 426, dated the 12th January 1929, addressed to:—

Mr. Ram Sharan Sharma,
151 Budhana Gate,
Meerut.

Registered Postal Receipt No. 427, dated the 12th January 1929, addressed to:—

Mr. H. K. Sarkar, M. D.,
Kustia,
Nadia.

P. 464

Print

To All Workers.

A DEADLY ATTACK UPON YOU!

Government's "Trade Disputes Bill."

Do you know that the "Trade Disputes Bill" may be passed in three or four months' time?

Before that time you must know what this very important Bill means to you. It concerns you directly, whatever your occupation. You must consider it, and show whether you want it or not.

The Bill says :

(1) Government can set up Committees to enquire and try to settle any strike. *It can appoint whom it pleases, and on any occasion it likes.*

(2) The Committee can *legally compel you or your Union* to give evidence or produce any document.

(3) Any Railwayman, Postman, Telegraph or Telephone worker, Municipal worker, or Water or light worker, *can go to jail for a month and pay Rs. 50 fine, if he leaves work without permission or one month's written notice.* All strikers in these industries will go to jail for a month and pay Rs. 50 fine *unless they have all given one month's notice or received permission!* And all leaders will get 3 months and Rs. 500 fine.

(4) All strikes *in one industry or trade in support of another* are illegal, if they are likely to coerce the Government or cause hardship to the Community (all strikes do that). All *strikes with political aims* are also "illegal".

All leaders of these strikes and any who help, will go to jail for 3 months and pay Rs. 500 fine. *And blacklegs will be defended by Government against Unions or fellow workers!*

Comrades! Think what this means!

Half our biggest and strongest Unions will be smashed at once. We are just learning in the Trade Unions, that without big sympathetic strikes, and without political strikes we can do nothing. But these things are prohibited.

The Trade Unions, instead of *fighting organs of the masses* will become *petition drafting offices for briefless lawyers.*

Is this what you want?

Comrades Join us to protest against this monstrous Bill!

Help us to draw up a programme of *action.*

A *General Strike* for the freedom of the workers.

Down with the Trade Disputes Bill!

A mass meeting will be held on _____ at _____ on the
maidan.

For the:

Workers' & Peasants'
Party of Bengal.

Muzaffar Ahmad Secy.

Bengal Jute Workers' Association

Kali Das Bhattacharjee, Secy.

Bengal Scavengers'
Union.
Bengal Textile Workers'
Union.

Dharani Kanta
Goswani.
Manindra Kumar Sinha, Secy.

Report of Zama Conference.

P. 465.

an extremely sharp conflict between the bourgeoisie and the masses, and the desertion of the struggle by the former in the course of the national revolution, and the necessity of preparing for it in India by securing the independence of the masses from bourgeois influence, in respect to both organisation and ideology. He also urged upon the Conference to work for the strengthening of the Indian Trade Union movement, and for its connection with the International working class movement, and in particular with the pan-pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

B. F. Bradley of the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the Communist party of Great Britain spoke of the urgent necessity of establishing the All-India Workers' and Peasants' party. He also dealt with the international movement for freedom from Imperialism, and assured the Conference of the sympathy and solidarity of the revolutionary working class forces of Britain and Europe. Both of these speeches were translated into Hindi by D.P. Godbole.

D. R. Thengdi, President of the workers' and peasants' Party of Bombay, spoke in Hindi, urging all to work for the ideal of socialism.

A.C. Gupta, President of the workers' and peasants' party of Bengal, proposed a drafts committee to consider and prepare resolution to go before the Conference, which was elected unanimously as follows: Bombay: S. V. Ghatge, K. N. Joglekar, B. F. Bradley, S. S. Mirajkar. Punjab: Bhag Singh, Sohan Singh, F.D. Mansur. U. P: L. N. Kadam, P. C. Joshi, Gourishankar sharma, Balwanta Singh. Bengal: D. K. Goswami, Muzaffar Ahmad, P. Spratt, H.K. Sarkar.

The proceedings closed at 6. 30 p. m.

The business of the second day began at 1 p.m. Kazi Nazrul Islam first sang a march song of his own composition. The political resolution, a draft of which was circulated in English, Bengali and Urdu, was moved in English by P. Spratt, and seconded in Urdu by F. D. Mansur. Amendments were moved as follows:--

(1) by Bhagwati Charan that to the account given in the draft of the concessions made by the Nehru Report be added that it proposes to pay all foreign State debts. This was accepted without discussion.

(2) by K. N. Joglekar, that the clauses forbidding the entry of Party members into the Independence for India League be deleted. There spoke for this: the mover, and D. R. Thengdi and S. Kumarananda. Against: Muzaffar Ahmad, S. S. Mirajkar, S. V. Ghate, H. K. Sarkar, P. C. Joshi, A. B. Banerji, and others. The mover then proposed that it be made subject to N. E. C. decision in individual cases. This was rejected as unnecessary. The resolution was finally accepted unanimously. (see app. E for final form).

The short statement on the Principles and Policy of the Party, and English draft of which was circulated, was moved in English by H. K. Sarkar, and seconded in Urdu by M. Abdur Razzak Khan. A formal amendment was moved by G. C. Basak that a word "outside" be omitted from the draft, (p. line). This was accepted. The statement was adopted unanimously after a few more speeches in support. (see app. F)

The resolution on the Trade Union Movement, an English draft of which was circulated, was moved in English by D. K. Goswami, and seconded in Hindi by L.N. Kadam. B. F. Bardley proposed two additions, one to the section on the International relations of the Trade Union movement, urging that everything possible be done to cut off connection with and to destroy the influence of the I.L.C.; the other to add a short programme of demands of general validity for most classes of workers. These were accepted. There spoke on the resolution also K. N. Joglekar, D. R. Thengdi, R.S. Nimbekar, S. Kumarananda, who dealt with the Trade Union work which had been done in Bombay in the course of the year. The resolution was accepted unanimously. (see app. G. for final text.)

The session closed at 6-30 p.m. with a peasants' song by Kazi Nazrul Islam.

The third session began at midday. The Secretary of the Reception Committee read the following telegram which had just been received from the League against Imperialism: "In name League against Imperialism we send heartiest fraternal greetings:

your first All-India Conference. Hope your deliberations will result establishing strong organisation India's working masses for struggle against Imperialism and attainment national social liberty. Call upon you protest expulsion Johnstone American Trade Unionist sent attend your conference as our fraternal delegate. Long live Indian workers and peasants. Long live Independent India. Signed for International secretariat, Muenzenberg, Chattopadhyaya."

A fraternal message was also later received from the Executive Committee of the Communist International, which sent its greetings to the workers and peasants of India, now carrying on an heroic struggle against Imperialist oppression and feudal reaction upon one of the most important sectors of the world front.

Muzaffar Ahmad moved, and S.V. Ghate seconded, a resolution (see app. H.) proposing the formation of All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party. D.R. Thengdi and H.K. Sarkar also spoke, and the resolution was carried unanimously.

It was moved from the chair that the Party affiliate to the League against Imperialism (see app. J). This was carried unanimously.

A resolution (see app. K) was moved by S. S. Mirajkar and seconded by S. Kumarananda condemning the Trade Disputes Bill and pledging the Party to work for a general strike of protest if it is passed. R. S. Nimbkar also spoke, and the resolution was carried unanimously.

A resolution expressing sympathy with the strikers of Bauria was moved by G. Chakravarty and seconded by R. Mitra. S. N. Chatterji moved an amendment, which was accepted, condemning the action of certain labour leaders in encouraging blacklegs. (see app. L).

At this point B.G. Kastle, a schoolboy and son of Bombay millworker, gave a short speech in Hindi, expressing the solidarity on the working-class youth with the adult workers. >

The draft of the Constitution of the All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party, which had been prepared by a small sub-committee, was read out by B.F. Bradley, and discussed point by point. An amendment was moved by D.K. Goswami, that the General Secretary of the Party should be directly elected by the Annual Congress. This was supported by G. Chakravarty, K. D. Bhattacharya, M.K. Sinha, A. Roy, and opposed by H.K. Sarkar, K.N. Joglekar, A. B. Banerji, R.S. Nimbkar.

The discussion was adjourned to the following day, and the session closed at 4-15 p.m.

The delegates and visitors then proceeded to Shraddananda Park, where a procession of workers was formed which marched with banners etc. to the Congress nagar, shouting slogans : Down with the Simon Commission, Down with Imperialism, Down with Dominion Status, Down with the Nehru Report, Long live the Independent Soviet Republic of India. A short meeting was held near the Congress nagar, at which Sohan Singh and R. Mitra spoke.

On the fourth day the proceedings began at 1. p. m. at 121: Lower Circular Road, Calcutta. A. Das read out a manifesto from the Young Comrades League of Bengal to the Conference.

H. K. Sarkar moved, and D. K. Goswami seconded, a resolution embodying the proposals of the Party for the organisation of peasants. S. N. Chatterji moved a small amendment to the proposed demands, reducing the proportion suggested to go to the landlord from the peasants' produce. G. Chakravarty supported, and A. C. Gupta opposed. The amendment was carried by a majority, and the resolution passed unanimously. (see app. N)

The president moved a resolution (see app. O) protesting against the detention of three comrades under Regulation III of 1818. S. M. Shamsul Huda supported, and the resolution was passed unanimously.

The president also moved resolutions, of sympathy with Dr. B. N. Mukherji (see app. P), of protest against the continued imprisonment of certain political convicts after their terms have expired (see app. Q), and of protest against the recent sentences on Trade Union leaders (see app. R)

The remaining clauses of the proposed Constitution of the All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party were read out and accepted without further discussion, the whole being referred to the National Executive Committee for final drafting (see app. M for draft)

The election of the National Executive Committee was then taken. It was proposed by B. F. Bradley on behalf of the drafts committee that four members be taken from each Provincial Party, except that of U. P. which should send two. Objection was taken to this, and it was agreed that there should be four from each. During the nominations dispute arose, and adjournment was moved and carried at 3. 15 p. m.

On resumption at 3. 45 p. m. the President moved resolutions of protest, against the continued detention of two comrades after conviction on flimsy charges (see app. S) and against the preparations for war by the Government against the Soviet Republics. (see app. U) These were carried unanimously.

Election was resumed. The members from Bombay, U. P. and Panjab were nominated by representatives from those Provinces and elected unopposed. Conflict again occurred over the election of the Bengal members, and some of the Bengal delegates walked out. Misunderstanding had been created by outside influences, which were jealous of the growth of the Party, and made an organised attempt to wreck it. The dispute was eventually settled and the National Executive Committee elected as follows:

Bombay: K. N. Joglekar, R. S. Nimbkar, S. A. Dange, S. V. Ghate.

Punjab: Sohan Singh, Bhag Singh, F. D. Mansur, M. A. Majid.

U. P.: P. C. Joshi, D. N. Kadam, Dr. B. N. Mukherji, Gourishankar Sharma.

Bengal: Muzaffar Ahmad, D. K. Goswami, H. K. Sarkar, G. K. Chakravarty.

The session closed at 5. 45. P. m.

APPENDICES.

Appendix A. (Chairman's speech.)

B. (President's address.)

C. Resolution on arrest of Comrade Johnstone.

This Conference condemns the action of the Government in arresting comrade J. W. Johnstone, the fraternal delegate from the League against Imperialism and for National Independence, to the All-India Trade Union Congress and to this Conference. It considers that this arbitrary attack on the part of the Government is a denial of the right of the oppressed and exploited masses, in particular the working class, to organise for their emancipation. It sees in it an expression of the fear of Imperialism for the militant alliance of the oppressed classes of the imperialist countries and the oppressed peoples of the colonial countries, for which the League against Imperialism stands.

This Conference expresses its warmest fraternal greetings to comrade Johnstone, and assures him of its complete solidarity and agreement with the League against Imperialism.

Appendix D. Resolution on the arrest of three comrades of Punjab.

This Conference regrets the absence of its members, Abdul Majid, Kedarnath Saighal and Ramchandra Kapur of Lahore, who on the eve of their departure for this Conference were arrested by the police and detained, and expresses its wholehearted sympathy with them.

- Appendix E. (Political Resolution.)
- F. (Principles and Policy.)
- G. (Trade Union Movement.)
- H. Resolution for formation of All-India Party.

This Conference of delegates from the Workers' and Peasants' Parties of Bombay, Punjab, United Provinces, and Bengal resolves that the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India be established with these parties as its provincial branches and other provincial committees and branches to be formed with the approval of the National Executive Committee.

APPENDIX J.

Affiliation to the League against Imperialism.

Resolved that the General Secretary of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India apply for affiliation to the League against imperialism and for National Independence.

APPENDIX K.

Trade Disputes Bill.

This Conference condemns the Trade Disputes Bill as a measure intended to stifle the Trade Union Movement. It also condemns the attitude adopted towards it by many leaders of the Trade Union movement who have supported it and obscured the dangers to the working class of the proposals to establish conciliation machinery, and have welcomed the Bill as a whole, as a measure to suppress the growing militancy of the workers.

This Conference considers that the only way to prevent the operation of this drastic measure is to wage a vigorous campaign for the declaration of a one-day general strike of protest on the day the Bill is passed, and a further general strike if it is not rescinded with the following demands: (1) Trade Disputes Act to be rescinded.

(2) Freedom of all workers to organise, and affiliate to the Trade Union Congress.

(3) Minimum wage of Rs. 30.

(4) Universal eight hour day.

APPENDIX L.

The Bauria Strike.

This Conference expresses its sympathy and admiration for the five months struggle of 17000 jute workers of Bauria, and assures them of its wholehearted support, and strongly condemns the mean tactics pursued by the employers to break the strike with the help of some reactionary Trade Unionists and the police.

APPENDIX M.

(Constitution.)

APPENDIX N.

Resolution on Peasants.

Resolved that the Party should forthwith proceed to organise the peasants of India with a view to enable them to take their proper share in the political social and economic emancipation movement of the country, on the following lines:

(By the word "peasant" is meant one who does agricultural work with his own hand, and whose acreage does not exceed 60 bighas of land (20 acres). Field labourers, small artisans and menials in the villages and fishermen are also to be organised along with the peasants.)

Trained workers, preferably with a working knowledge of the art of healing, should be sent to the peasant centres, if possible with magic lantern slides and pictorial posters, for organising peasants' Unions and picking up local men for continued work.

Peasants may pay a subscription fixed by their Unions under the direction of the Provincial Executive when they become members of Unions.

The peasants' cause is indissolubly connected with that of the industrial workers through the bond of common exploitation. The fact is also to be noticed that the industrial workers of India are generally recruited from among those of the peasantry who have been ousted from their land by zemindars of money-lenders or both.

The demands set forth here may be enforced by organised mass action, e. g. non-payment of taxes, peasants' strikes, etc.

Immediate demands: (1) Abolition of Permanent Settlement of Bengal and elsewhere, and of all intermediate tenures, ryotwari system, talukdari of Oudh, and the like, without any compensation.

(2) Grant of permanent right in land to actual peasants at a fixed rent.

(3) Fixing the maximum scale of rental for all arable land in proportion to the produce, so that in no case should the scale fixed exceed 10 % of the value of the actual produce.

(4) Legislation embodying the following:

(1) Right of free transfer of land without any Nazrana to the landlord.

(2) Stopping the transfer of land to non-agricultural people.

(3) Fixing the rate of interest on loans at 7 per cent per annum in the maximum.

(4) No decree for an amount of interest exceeding that of the principal.

(5) Exemption from sale or attachment of a peasant's land required for the maintenance of his family, on account of liabilities in the form of arrears of rent, agricultural loans, etc.

(6) Realisation of abwabs and illegal cesses to be declared a cognisable offence.

(7) Introduction of immoral women in the fairs (Hats and Melas) to be made a cognisable offence.

(8) Reservation of sufficient pasture land for the village.

(9) Maintenance of stud bulls by local bodies.

(5) State aid to peasants by means of cheap credit on cooperative basis for the purchase of modern machinery of agriculture and irrigation and for intensive cultivation.

(6) Abolition of the Achiar system (Nisambattai of the Punjab, kud of Maharashtra, and Barga of Bengal) but until that is achieved the peasant should give only 25% of the produce to the owner of the land provided that the latter supplies him with seed etc., 20% of the produce in case of non-supply.

(7) All navigable rivers to be declared free fisheries, and fixity of tenure and rent for other fisheries.

Political demands: (1) Universal adult suffrage on non-communal basis. (2) Village police to paid from provincial revenues

Social demands: Free compulsory primary education at State expense. Ultimate demands: (1) Abolition of landlordism in any form whatsoever without any compensation.

(2) Abolition of all indirect taxes on necessities of life,

(3) Establishment of peasant proprietorship in land.

(4) Institution of graduated income tax on agricultural Incomes above Rs2000 per year, subject to the abolition of all other taxes, direct or indirect.

Appendix O. State Prisoners.

This conference emphatically condemns the action of the Government in continuing the detention of comrades Santa Singh, Gajjan Singh, Dasandha Singh, under Regulation III of 1818, and congratulates these heroic fighters for Indian freedom.

Appendix P. Dr. Biswanath Mukherji.

This Conference sympathises with Dr. Biswanath Mukherji, the President of the workers' and Peasants' Party of U. P. in his sufferings at the hands of hired ruffians of zemindars, and congratulates him on his fight for the interests of the peasants against their oppressors.

Appendix Q. Life-term Prisoners.

This Conference congratulates those heroic fighters for Indian freedom who are undergoing imprisonment, and emphatically condemns the Government for not liberating those who were sentenced to transportation, and who have completed the customary twelve years.

Appendix R. Sentences upon Trade Unionists.

This Conference emphatically condemns the action of the Government in getting the conviction of Shibnath Banerji, Singaravelu, Mukunda Lal Sircar and others, on very flimsy charges, and in spite of the fact that Shibnath Banerji was acquitted once before on the same charge, and Singaravelu and Sircar were found not guilty by the assessors.

This Conference considers these actions of the Government as deliberate and systematic attempts to suppress the rising working class movement.

Appendix S. Akbar Khan and Fazl-i-Ilahi.

This Conference condemns the action of the Government in convicting Muhammad Akbar Khan to 10 years (including 7 years for conspiracy while in prison), and talik Fazl-i-Ilahi Qurban to 3 years merely on the ground that they were students in the Eastern University at Moscow, and demands that they be immediately released.

Appendix T. (Statement re. number of Delegates etc.)

U. War Preparations.

This Conference protests against the policy of encirclement and preparation for war pursued with increasing vigour by the British Government against the U. S. S. R., and warns the working class against the disastrous consequences, economic and political, to India and to the Workers' Republic, if this war is actually launched.

This Conference calls upon all organisations to conduct a country-wide propaganda, to protest against the war policy, and to prepare for direct action by the workers in the event of war.

P. 466.

Red banner bearing the title "The Workers of the World Unite".

P. 467.

A Star of India File headed "First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference, containing the following 7 documents amongst others.

P. 467. (1)

Telegraphic Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

The First All-India Workers' & Peasants' Party Conference 2-1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA

Ref. No. _____

December 19, 1928.

Comrade Sohan Singh Josh, the president elect of the First All-India workers' and peasants' party Conference and many others will arrive Howrah Station to-morrow morning at 7-30 A. M. by the Punjab Mail. Comrade P. C. Joshi, the General Secretary of the newly formed Workers' and peasants' Party of U. P. has already arrived Calcutta to attend the conference. Comrades N. Abdul Majeed, Kedarnath Saighal and Ramchandra Kapur were to arrive Calcutta to-morrow morning from Lahore, but, they along with others had been arrested and detained at Lahore by the Police. This news has thrown a gloom on comrades in Calcutta. The president and other comrades who will be coming to Calcutta to attend the conference will be staying at 121, Lower Circular Road, oppsite to the Campbell Medical School Hospital. Delegates', Visitors' and reception committee tickets are being issued at the office of the committee at 2/1, European Asylum Lane.

Assistant Secretary,
RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

P. 467. (2)

Telegraphic Address : 'GANAVANI' Calcutta.

**First All-India
Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference
(RECEPTION COMMITTEE.)**

2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.
10th December, 1928.

Dear Comrade,

I beg to inform you that there will be held at the ALBERT-HALL, Calcutta, on December 21, 22 and 23rd next, the "First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference". Comrade Sohan Singh Josh of Amritsar, the General Secretary of the "workers' and Peasants' Party of Punjab" will preside.

This will be the first conference of its kind in the history of the country, when a definitely political policy is discussed and laid down from the point of view of the masses, and an All-India political organisation is established representing their needs and interests. It will constitute, we believe, an important event in the history of the Labour Movement, and will assist greatly in strengthening the ideas and consciousness of the workers, to correspond with the rapid advance which they are now making in organisation and militancy.

you are invited to send two representatives to watch the proceeding so that your organisation may be made aware of the principles and policy of the "Workers' and Peasants' Party", which is now a rapidly growing influence in labour and political affairs.

If you decide to send representatives, please apply to the undersigned for Complimentary Tickets.

Yours fraternally,
DHARANI KANTA GOSWAMI
Secretary,
Reception Committee.

To

The Secretary,

P. 467 (3)

Telegraphic Address, "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

FIRST ALL-INDIA
Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference

(Reception Committee)

2-1. European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

10th December, 1928.

Dear Comrade,

I beg to inform you that there will be held at the ALBERT HALL, Calcutta, on December 21, 22 and 23 next, the "First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference. Comrade Sohan Singh Josh of Amritsar, the General Secretary of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Punjab, will preside.

This will be the first conference of its kind in the history of the the country, when a definitely political policy is discussed and laid down from the point of view of the masses, and an All-India political organisation is established representing their needs and interests. It will constitute, we believe, an important event in the politics of the country, and will serve to strengthen greatly the growing mass movement against imperialism.

I beg to invite you, as a sympathiser and well wisher of the cause of the masses, to be present on this occasion and to watch the proceedings.

Yours fraternally
DHARANI KANTA GOSWAMI
SECRETARY,
Reception Committee.

P. 467 (4)

Telegraphic Address : "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

THE FIRST ALL-INDIA
Workers & Peasants Party Conference

2-1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA.

Ref. No.....

Workers' & Peasants' Party, of Bengal & other provinces with branches.
(Delegation capacity determined in accordance with the resolution
passed in a meeting of the committee for general
management of R. C. held on the
24th November.)

1. Names.	Delegation.
1. Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bengal, Cal.	10 actual peasants
2. Do. Mymensingh Branch.	Do.
3. Do. Atia (Mymensingh Branch)	Do.
4. Do. Dacca.	Do.
5. Do. Narsinghdi. (Dacca).	Do.
6. Do. Ghuni (24 Parganas).	Do.
and from individual capacity 50 from Bengal Party.	50
	<hr/>
	110
7. Kirti Party Calcutta.	10
8. Workers' & Peasants' Party of the Punjab	12
9. Workers' & Peasants' of Party of U. P.	20
10. Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bombay	10
	<hr/>
	52

Affiliated Unions.

(at the rate of 5 delegates per 1000 members.)

Names.	Approximate Delegations.
1. Bengal Jute Workers' Association (including branches).	(membership approximately Calculation 8000) 40
2. Bengal Textile Workers' Union. (" " 2000)
(a) Dacca branch }	
(b) Matiaburze }	10

Names.	Delegation.
	B. F. 212.
3. Scavangers Union of Cengal. (membership apporximately Calculation 7000)	
(a) Dacca branch	
(b) Mymensingh	35
4. Transport Workers' Union of Bengal (,, ,, 1000)	5
5. Bengal Paper Mills Workers' Union. (,, ,, 1000)	5
6. Angus Engineering Workers' Union. (,, ,, 1000)	5
7. Bengal Glass Workers' Union. (,, ,, 1000)	5
8. Young Comrades League. Calcutta. Do. Susang, (Mymensingh).	50
50. New individual members to be enlisted on or before 15th December.	50
	<hr/>
Total	367
Visitors and members of the Reception committee & Fraternal Delegates.	
Members of the R. C.	100
Invited Guests.	100
Visitors.	433
	<hr/>
	1000

P. 467. (5)

Protest against War Preparations.

This Conference protests against the Policy of encirclement and preparation for war pursued with increased vigour by the British Govt. against the U. S. S. R. and warns the working class against the disastrous consequences Economic and Political to India, and also the workers Republic, and throughout the world.

This Conference calls upon all organisations to conduct a country wide propaganda and protests against the War Policy and to prepare for direct action by the workers in the event of a war.

Moved by—From the Chair.

P. 467. (6)

Telegraphic Address : "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

THE FIRST ALL-INDIA

Workers' & Peasants' Party Conference

2-1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA.

Ref. No—

Invitation letters issued to the following Parties on 8. 11. 28. :-

1. The Socialist Party of India. Q
2. The Profintern (Moscow).
3. The workers' Party of U. S. A.
4. Perhindo Indonesian, Batavia, Java.
5. The Krestintern (Moscow).
6. The Communist Party of Germany.
7. The League Against Imperialism.
8. Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

P. 67. (7)

Telegraphic Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

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

2-1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

The 1st November, 1928.

Dear Comrade,

I wish to inform you that there will be held in Calcutta on December 21-23 next, the first All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference. It will be the first Conference of its kind ever held in India, and intended to establish the All India Workers' and Peasants' Party by a fusion of the existing provincial Parties in Bengal, Bombay, Pnnjab and U. P. with some groups and Unions in other parts of the country. The Conference will also decide the general policy of the Party, specially in relation to recent developments both in the Trade Union movement and in the national movement.

It has been decided to ask Comrade Sohan Singh Josh of Amritsar, the director of "Kirti" to preside.

You will see that the Conference is very important one, and we therefore desire that you will send a fraternal delegate who will express the international nature of our movement and will give us the benefit of his knowledge and experience and will also convey to you some account of the movement in this country.

Yours Fraternally.

1. Letters sent to

The Executive Committee, Communist International,
Moscow.

2. The Secretary,
Workers' Welfare League of India,
162, Buckingham Palace Road.
3. Communist Party of Great Britain.
4. National Minority Movement.
5. Indian Seamen's Union.
6. Labour Research Department.

P. 468.

A Royal Crown file headed "Reception Committee of the First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party and Conference-File for letters only," containing the following four Documents amongst others.

P. 468. (1)

C. 3. POSTS TELEGRAPHS. No.

Received here at H. M. 03852.

CALCUTTA

18 Dec. 28

S.T.D.

O PG AMRITSAR H 18 12 GANAVANI CALCUTTA.
COMING WITH OTHERS BY CALCUTTA MAIL.
SOHAN SINGH JOSHI.

P. 468. (2)

THE WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY, BOMBAY.

17 Dwarkadas Mansions,

Sandhurst Road,

Bombay, 4.

To
The Secretary,

Reception Committee.

All India Workers' & Peasants' Conference.

Dear Comrade,

Herewith, I have pleasure in forwarding to you the

names of the Delegates that will represent our Party at the Conference.

1. K. N. Joglekar.
2. D. B. Purandore.
3. S. V. Ghate.
4. C. G. Shah.
5. S. S. Mirajkar.
6. R. S. Nimbkar.
7. B. F. Bradley.
8. S. A. Dange.
9. P. Spratt.

Yours fraternally,
S. V. GHATE
Hon. Secretary.

P. 468. (3)

Dear Comrade Mozaffer,

I duly received all your letters and pamphlets that you were so kind to send me. Mr. Joshi and myself will now tour throughout the whole province and bring into existence a strong party of the peasants and workers here. I regret I could not reply to some of your letters and acknowledge receipt of book-lets that you have sent to me. I am trying to reach Calcutta by the first week of December and want to stay with you in order to have an idea of the method of work that you have adopted. Will you not move a resolution about my assault in your All-India session at Calcutta? You must know the landlords who were ready to attempt upon my life were doing so simply thinking that our Kisan organisation were not affiliated to any All-India body; so by moving a resolution about me in the All-India session you will be giving such land-lords a challenge that our organisations at Gorakhpur do not stand alone, but have the support of the entire organisations of the country at their back.

Today I have received certain copies of urdu pamphlets from your place which I have got stuck to the walls of buildings standing in the prominent parts of the town.

Hoping to hear from you soon.

To
Comrade Muzaffar Ahmed,
Peasants and Workers Party,
Bengal, N. P. 2/1, European
Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Yours in true comradeship,
Biswanath Mukerjee, Presi-
dent, Divisional Kisan and
Mazdur Sabha, Gorakhpur.
Dated Gorakhpur, the 22nd.
November 1928.

P. 468 (4)

YOUNG COMRADES' LEAGUE.

37, Harrison Road.
Calcutta, 11. 12. 1928.

To

The Secretary,
First All India Workers' & Peasants'
Party Conference.

Dear Comrade,

In response to your invitation to send 50 delegates to the Conference, I beg to send the names of the following comrades as delegates

- (1) Robindra Chakravarty.
- (2) Narendra Chakravarty.
- (3) A. Roy.
- (4) P. Mukherjee.
- (5) Abdul Halim. ✓
- (6) N. Sen Gupta.
- (7) P. Spratt. ✓
- (8) N. Bhattacharjee.
- (9) J. Deb.
- (10) N. Singh.
- (11) Ranajit Burman.
- (12) Manindra Sen Gupta.
- (13) Amitar Bhanmik.
- (14) Sunity Dey.
- (15) S. N. Chatterjee.
- (16) R. Hazra.
- (17) Sontosh Dey.
- (18) G. Chakravarty.
- (19) P. Ganguly.
- (20) Bidhu Roy.
- (21) Giriga Mukherjee.
- (22) Narayan Lahiri.
- (23) Amrita Prasad Chanta.
- (24) Haranath Banerjee.
- (25) Sachindra Singh.
- (26) B. Bhaumik.

- (27) Ram Raghob Lahiri.
- (28) Sachinandan Chatterjee.
- (29) Shamapada Banerjee.
- (30) Niren Sen Gupta.
- (31) Ashutosh Chatterjee.
- (32) Shamapada Bhattacharjee.
- (33) Atul Dutta.
- (34) Ashutosh Dás.
- (35) Dwarka Das Behari.
- (36) Sudhir Ch. Raha,
- (37) Motilal Behari.
- (39) Nisha Nath Sarkar.
- (40) Jagat Bandhu Roy.
- (41) Upendra Sanyal.
- (42) Benoy Ghosal.
- (43) G. Sarma.
- (44) Anantu Lahiri.
- (45) D. K. Goswami.
- (46) S. Dey,
- (47) Nalini Sur.
- (48) Sanjib Mukerjee.
- (49) Brajendra Das.
- (50) T. Sen.

Fraternally yours

N. S. Gupta,

P. 469.

DAKESWARI COTTON MILL'S WORKERS UNION.

HEAD OFFICE:—61, Nawabpur, Dacca.

Dated 23. 11. 1928.

Your Ref.....

Our Ref.....

Com

Radharaman Mitra

Calcutta.

Dear Comrade:

I think you can remember me. I have got to make myself interested in our firm (Book selling and publishing) wherefrom I get the energy (economic help), to work in this centre.

Today I beg to approach you for favour of your help in my this interest.

Our firm has got some text books which I am charged with, to push that it may be introduced in Corporation schools. I had some acquaintance with Mr. K. P. Chatterji, Education Officer and he has spoken highly of some of the books, a copy of his remark on one of the books I am sending herewith.

I hope every help from you in trying to introduce some of the books in the Corporation primary schools.

Kindly let me know when the meetings of the Corporation School teachers' to meet to discuss about their text books- and let me know if you think my presence there will be most necessary— if so you will kindly inform me when I should meet you.

I think you know that I have started our "Vanguard Literature Co. at Calcutta and have published two books styled" Hell Found by Com. S. A. Dange and "Krishakekatha" by Com. Aftab Ally. Will you kindly inform me what help I can expect from you in selling out these both during, Trade Union Congress, N. Congress and Party Conference period.

Anticipating a sharp reply.

With greetings-

Yours fraternairly,

Gopal Ch. Basak.

P. 470.

Dakeswari Cotton Mill's workers Union.

Head Office: 61 Nawabpur, Dacca.

Your Ref.....

Our Ref.....

Dated 1st Nov. 28.

COM. DHARANI KANTA GOŚWAMI,

Labour Secretary,

Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bengal Cal.

Dear Comrade,

I have written you so many letters without getting any reply. I see Comrade Kali Sen have totally forgotten his words with us otherwise we would have atleast received a few lines from him these days. I think you have come to know that Dacca is going to be made the sit of the government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, i.e. it will a capital—we see all arrangements being made from now. I had a programme that 3 or 4 of you will come to this place—we will organise a Centre at N'ganj, then Ashu, you and I start for Chittagong and have some work done there.

As you are silent and didn't respond to our call, you have and are loosing the chance of getting some money for the coming Conferencce, from places like Narsingdi, Bhaisak-bazar and others. You know the jute market is becoming dumped, so it will be harder for our contributors to pay a good sum as the day is passing by and as the market price of Jute is falling.

However try to come now even. Please come with Spratt also.

Both the Chakravarty Comrades, two Kali Babu and you should come.

What have you done regarding Bengal Textile Workers' Union's affiliation with B.T.U.F. and A.I.T.U.C.?

I am at present hard up regarding money matters, so also Debendra Babu and others and it is becoming even difficult to continue the office rents even. So, please do come to meet the situation—making reorganisation of everything. My family situation is also becoming more complicated. Father is suffering and other difficulties also have made their sudden appearance.

What best greetings,

Yours fraternally,
GOPAL.

P. S.—I am also suffering from slight fever.

DAKE

I send a copy of the resolution being adopted in executive meeting of our Party meeting. Padma doesn't meet in our office—don't know why—he, one day met me in the street and informed, he will help us in some works but sorry we have met anymore.

WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL DACC.

Head Office:— 61 Nawabpur, Dacca.

Your Re
Our Ref
Com

Your Ref.....

Our Ref.....

Dated 22-10-1928.

COM. DHARANI KANTA Goswami (Labour Secretary) Calcutta,

Dear Com

Dear Comrade,

I
intreste
get the

Every day I was expecting either some news from Com Kali Babu or his arrival at Dacca with other Comrades. Yesterday I was thinking of attending steamer at N'ganj as our Premk Chandra informed that Nirode has the possibility of coming to Dacca. However we found that he has not come here.

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Please inform when our Comrades from Calcutta coming to our place. I went to Dhamgaur the other day and arranged a general meeting (of course the meeting was not well attended). However we are asked to see them by tomorrow at N'ganj and Dhanegaur such is the situation. In the workers have passed a resolution electing a representative to the enlarged Executive Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal.

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me l
if so

A copy of the resolution is attached herewith. The full account of the Bengal Textile Workers' Union (Dhamgaur) had long been prepared but as our auditor Mr. Suran Sen has not come to Calcutta, it is not audited. We hope he will reach N'ganj today mail. I will go to N'ganj tomorrow both to meet Mr. and the Dakeswari Workers. I think you have heard from Com Kali Sen about the Jute workers—I was asked by some workers on the day before yesterday about that meeting and I had to ask him to wait for another week.—so, I think you should try to send our Comrades at the earliest possible time—and if they reach there within this Puja holiday, I will be also able to do so. My times, as my press is also closed on this occasion for 12 days.

ture
For
Aff
fro
N.

This much today. Please inform me also about Com. A.

With best greetings,

Yours in Comradeship,
GOPAL Ch. Bas

P.S.—Some two or three Scavengers are coming to us now regularly. I hope to hold a meeting in their busties in a few days.

G. C. B.

Address on the envelope:-

Com. Dharani Kanta Goswami,
Labour Secretary,
Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal,
2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

P. 471.

Dear Comrade:

I forgot to take from you Hindi notices to Scavengers, one on behalf of the office, and one from you—please write it and send atonce for printing. We require another Hindi appeal (pamphlet), to Jute Workers also. Please do send it atonce.

As regards Atia, you must come atonce. With Spratt, I am waiting for your letter asking me to be present at Mymn for starting thither.

Another thing, you have asked your man at Mymensingh to pay up my money Rs. 125/- (who took it for starting Dying & Bleaching).

Do instruct us as regards Comrades League. We expect to send every now & then to Mym & Jamalpur our men for organising Study Circles.

I was told that we have got a branch at Jamalpur, is it so ?

I again remind you to send the membership appeals for printing.

Quader wrote something to Halim, without reply—he enquires why.

Nothing more at present. More when we hear from you.

With best love and regards.

Gopal.

I come to know Dr. Das Gupta has not come this time ask her to come here first train.

I was invited in the E. B. Railway Employees Conference and I joined it. There I pushed forward our circular for propaganda against Trade Dispute Bill.

A resolution protesting against the bill was passed but Mr. I. B. Sen pointed out to me that he can't enumerate the line of action which we proposed in our circular, from that Conference as the rules and regulation didn't allow it. However he has given suggestion to the Council of the said Association for change of rule. I am sending you Chairman's address (most reactionary) President's address and rules and regulations. Nandulal Sing is the Secretary for Dacca Branch.

Tomorrow we are going to hold public meeting to denounce Trade Dispute Bill and suggest General Strike.

With best love,

Yours
Gopal

Address on envelope :—

Mr. Dharani Goswami,

2-1, European Asylum Lane,

CALCUTTA.

SEARCH LIST.

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

1. Date and hour of search—20-3-29. from 6 a.m. to 7-30 p.m.
2. Name and residence of person whose house is searched—Spratt, Mozaffar, Ajothya. Prasad and Shamsul Huda of 2/1 European Asylum Lane.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search, { (1) S. Ahmed of 3/1 Taltolla Lane.
(2) Habibor Rahman of 3/1 Taltolla Lane.
and so on

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>Muttalika</i> and, the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
1 (A)	1 file containing some miscellaneous papers and book, etc., etc.	In one trunk of Mr. P. Spratt.		
2 (B)	1 file containing Do.			
3 (C)	1 file containing Do.			
4 (D)	7 files containing Do.			
5 (E)	1 file Do. Do.			
6 (F)	1 file Do. Do.			
7 (G)	1 file Do. Do.			

II

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articleseized*.	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>matalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
8 (H)	1 file containing some miscellaneous papers and book, etc., etc.			
9 (I)	1 file Do. Do.			(Sd) F. Roxburgh.
10 (J)	4 sheets of manuscript and printed matter.			
11 (K)	7 sheets of manuscript matters.			All papers inside the files have been initialled by the Search witnesses and Mr. P. Spratt.

(Sd.)
Signature with date of
the person whose property
seized if present at the
search.

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

(Sd.) ILLEGIBLE, S. I.
Police-officer conducting the search.
Date 23-3-29 Place Calcutta.

(Sd.) S. AHMED. 20-3-29.
(Sd.) H. RAHMAN 20-3-20.

Signature of witness with date.
Signature by the accused (optional)

F. 4/3.

SEARCH LIST.

Details of Property seized by Police-officers acting under the provisions of section 103 or 155, Criminal Procedure Code.

1. Date and hour of search 20th March 1929 from 6 a. m. to 7-30 p. m.
2. Name and residence of persons whose house is searched.—Muzaffar Ahmed, Ajodhya Prasad, P. Spratt and Shamsul Huda of 2/1 European Asylum Lane.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search.
 - (1) Ganendra Bhusan Mukherji, 1/1F European Asylum Lane.
 - (2) Gosta Behary Shaw of 30 Doctor's Lane.
 - and so on

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where articles seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc. of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>maltalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper etc.
1	One catalogue of Books-styled Book of the day of the Kamala Book Depot, 15 College Square. One catalogue of Books of Com. Brothers of 15 College Square. Some manuscript writing at the back. A small slip of paper with manuscript of English and Hindi writing. A Booklet entitled the Coming of Socialism by Lucien. One cover addressed to Muzaffar, Ahmed, containing of letter dated 14-3-29, from S. V. Ghate of Bombay, received by Post on 18-3-29. One printed book of Index numbers of Indian Prices 1861-1926 on cover in the name of Spratt.	Found in the room of Mr. Spratt, Ajodhya and others.		

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>maltalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
7	One slip of manuscript writing of Urdu and English,			
8	One letter dated 10-3-29 from Gopal Bysak of 61 Nawabpur Dacca, to Comrade Muzaffar Ahmed.			
9	One lady's photo with manuscript writing—Mrs. Spratt in front and on the back some manuscript writings B. M. B. P. M. etc.			
10	One book entitled. Through the Russian Revolution, by Albert Rlys. Williams with rubber stamp mark of the Executive Committee of Workers and Peasants' Party of Bengal in two pages.			
11	One copy of Magazine Kirti for March 1929, Vol. II No. 3.			
12	One booklet in Hindi entitled Sradhanjali by Ramdhain ojha bearing the name of Chiranjilall Shroff.			
13	A booklet entitled Nicolai, Lenin by Karl Radek.			
14	One copy of Modern India, by R. Palme Dutt, bearing the name of Muzaffar Ahmed on cover.			
15	One copy of book on defence of Communism, by Ralph Fox, bearing the name of P. Spratt.			

- 16 6 copies of pamphlet containing a thesis of the Trade Union movement printed at the Saagar Press, 11 Wellesley St.
- 17 One copy of My Reminiscences of the Russian Revolution with rubber stamp mark. The Workers and Peasants Party of Bengal, with manuscript writing on newspaper cover (A. P. Varma 2/1 European Asylum Lane).
- 18 A Hindi book entitled Communism Kattai, by Radha Mohan Gokulji.
- 19 One copy of Anarchism and Socialism by George Plichanoff bearing the rubber stamp mark of the Worker and Peasants Party (Executive Committee) Bengal.
- 20 One copy of magazine entitled Labour Vol. VIII for January 29 No. 12.
- 21 One printed book (The History of Trade Unionism 1666-1920, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb bearing rubber stamp mark of the Workers and Peasants Party (Executive Committee) Bengal with stamp of the book Coy. Calcutta.
- 22 One copy of Social Revolution, by Karl Kantsky.
- 23 One copy of "Karl Marx" and Friedrich Engels, D. Riazanov, bearing the rubber stamp mark of the Workers and Peasants Party (Executive Committee) Bengal with manuscript writing of P. Spratt.
- 24 10 typewritten pages bearing 2-12-28 addressed to the All-Indian Conference of Workers and Peasants Parties from the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Serial No. (Each article to be given aseparate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>malika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
25	One copy of India, Burma and Ceylon Information for Travellers and Residents, bearing the name of Dharani Kanta Goswami.			
26	One Booklet "Hundred Percent Indian" by C. G. Shah, bearing name of A. P. Shrestiv (?)			
27	One copy of Arm and Hammer pamphlet No. 10 entitled The Soviet Revolution, by Olive M. Johnson, bears the Book Coy, Calcutta.			
28	Manuscript article in Hindi in the handwriting of Ajodhya Prasad as stated by him in, 40 pages, entitled Socialism ka Sorup written on the back of the letter paper Workers' Protection League 26, Dixon Lane, Calcutta.			
29	One copy of Imperialism, The State and Revolution, by Nikolai Lenin with the rubber stamp mark of the Executive Committee, (The Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bengal.)			
29A	Found in the above book No. 29. One copy of printed notice issued by Swamy Nidyanenda of Bihar Province Kisan Sabha.			

- 30 One post card written in Hindi addressed to S. S. Mirajkar 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, re-directed to 2/3 Khandke Buildings, Dadar, Bombay; bearing Post seals of Park St. dated 28. 12. 28.
- 31 One cover addressed to Mozaffar Ahmed of 2/1 European Asylum Lane, containing a letter dated 6. 3. 28. in 2 pages from Mr. P. Spratt, written from Bombay with Postal seal Park Street, dated 10. 3. 28.
- 32 One copy of Bengalee Booklet entitled Avinata Sanhita by Biralchandra Mondol.
- 33 One slip of paper containing some figures and letters beginning with "242-1. BXKT. i. any more." etc.
- 34 One blank letter cover.
- 35 One copy of Sat Sri Akal The Gurdwara Reform Movement and the Sikhs Awakening.
- 36 A cover addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed, containing a letter dated 14. 2. 29. written by S. V. Ghate and Umanji from Bombay bearing post seal 18. 2. 29.
- 37 One post card dated 15. 2. 29. Written by Kalle B. G. to S. M. Shamasan Huda, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, delivered from Park St. P. O. on 18. 2. 29.
- 38 One Telegram No. 01487, dated 18. 2. 29, from Majid of Lahore, to Muzaffar Ahmed, Secretary, Workers' and Peasants' Party, Calcutta.
- 39 One letter dated 12. 1. 29, from F. D. Mansur written in the letter Paper form of Kirti, Amritsar in a cover addressed to Mozaffar Ahmed, delivered from Park St. P. O. on 16. 1. 29.

IA

Serial No (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc, of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>matalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
40	Two typewritten sheets showing the programme of Demands of the Indian Seamen's Union. One correction in manuscript—balance on 1st page.			
42	One letter dated 30/1/29, from Kishori Lal Ghosh to Muzaffar Ahmed			
42	2/1 European Asylum Lane (in two pages).			
42	9 Copies of subscription Form of the Young Liberator, Bombay.			
43	One cash memo No. 29134 of the Book Coy for Books.			
44	One letter dated 12. 3. 28 from Barai-			
44	khali written by B. Roy.			
45	One letter dated 10. 3. 28 written by			
45	S. V. Ghate of Bomay to Muzaffar.			
46	One letter dated 5 3. 29 from N. S.			
46	Gupta, Secretary, Young Comrades'			
46	League 78/1 Harrison Road, addressed to			
46	the Secy. Workers' & Peasants' Party,			
46	India, Bengal Provincial Branch with			
46	cover.			
47	One copy of Bengali booklet entitled			
47	Sacco and Venzetty by Dharani Kanta			
47	Goswami.			
48	One copy of Studies in Rural Economic			
48	by P. R. Venkatar Subrahmanyam,			
48	bearing the name of P. Spratt.			

- 49 One letter dated 8. 8. 28 from Jaya Bai of Madras addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed in 4 pages
- 50 One typewritten article under heading sufferings of the Peasants of Atia in 4 pages.
- 51 One cash memo. dated 15-1-29 of Book Coy. No. 22828 in the name of Ahmed showing sale of Books—One Marks Capital, one Russian Revolution.
- 52 One printed appeal of the Workers' and Peasants' Party Bombay, to All the Trade Unions and their Executive Committee.
- 53 7 typewritten sheets beginning with Give me Liberty or Give me death-programme ending with Make up in quality what you lack in quantity.
- 54 One slip of paper with pencil writings, containing the name of the Book Marxian Economic Hand Book and Glossary.
- 55 One copy of newspaper "Workers' Life" in six pages, dated February 1, 1929.
- 56 One letter dated 30-1-29 from Kishore Swarup of Meerut to Muzaffar Ahmed of 2/1 European Asylum Lane with cover bearing Postal seal of Meerut Kachari 31-1-29.
- 57 One copy of Sunday Worker, dated 1. 5. 28, pages 1, 2, 11, 12.
- 58 2 copies of Magazine in Tamil, entitled "The Thalilaha", dated 15. 6. 28 and 22. 6. 28.
- 59 One copy of Mazur, dated Nov. 1927.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallatika</i> and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
60	One copy of Bengali booklet <i>Krisshaker Katha</i> .			
61	One copy of book <i>Resurrection</i> .			
62	One manuscript sheet, under heading instructions for new members at Ondal, Raniganj and Asonsol.			
63	3 typewritten sheets containing 24 items of writing beginning with the Ideal of the Party is attainment of Swaraj and ending with Required by the Workers and "peasants"			
64	5 copies of the <i>Labour Monthly</i> for April 1925, July 1928, Dec. 1928, Jan. 1929, Feb. 1929.			
65	One copy of "Ten Days that Shook the World", by John Reed.			
66	4 copies of the booklet entitled <i>The Communist Party of India Annual Report for 1927</i> .			
67	One copy of the <i>Golden Treasury</i> , bearing the name S. F. Pratt, and some manuscript writings on 1st page.			
68	One copy of the book <i>The Living Age</i> , dated 26. 4. 24.			
69	One copy of <i>Sunday Worker</i> , dated 13, 5, 28, pages 14 and 9-12.			

- 70 .25 pages of manuscript writing beginning with Dear Magt and ending with entitled to.
- 71 One printed pamphlet entitled an open letter to Right Hon'ble J. A. MacDonald, by M. N. Roy. 11 pages.
- 72 One sheet catalogue of Labour Books of International Publishers.
- 73 One receipt dated 23. 12. 27, signed M. Dutta of Sri Gourangya Press for printing manifesto given to Muzaffar Ahmed.
- 74 A bill No. 813 dated 29. 6. 27 in the name of Muzaffar Ahmed, 37 Harrison Road for 2 books.
- 75 One slip with pencil writing—Brijmohan Lal Varma, B., A. L. L. B. Chindwara, C. P.
- 76 One letter dated 7. 3. 29 from Sohan Singh, Amritsar to Muzaffar Ahmed, with cover delivered from Park St P. O. on 10. 3. 29.
- 77 Two copy Hundreded Percent Indian, by C. G. Shah.
- 78 One copy of Kirti, dated Jany. 1929.
- 79 One copy of the War and Agriculture, by Nagendranath Ganguly.
- 80 One copy of Bengali booklet Sacco and Venzetti.
- 90 One copy of booklet entitled Cooperative Movement in the Punjab.
- 91 One copy Land Revenue Settlement, by V. K. Ramanyachariar
- 92 4 pages manuscript writings beginning with (Main Questions ending with Exploit Indian masses.)

X

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial)	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>matalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper etc.
93	One copy of the Young Liberator for September, 1928.			
94	One copy of Worker's life, dated 7-12-28			
95	6 pages. One copy of Sunday Worker, dated			
96	2-12-28, 10 pages. One copy of B. N. Ry. Time Table, bearing the time of A. R. Khan, from			
97	1st October, 1927. One copy of magazine Saroj for			
98	Agrahyan 1925 Sambut. One printed form with letter heading The Class Workers' Union, Bengal, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Head Office, Calcutta.			
99	Two copies of telegrams Nos. 3, 306 respectively, dated 2-9-28, from Ghate of Bambay to Ganavani, Calcutta.			
100	Two copies of Chingari dated 13-3-29.			
101	One post card, dated Bombay, 14-1-29 from R. B. Mantri to Com. Mazaffar Ahmed, bearing postal seal Bombay G.P.O., dated 14-1-29.			
102	Three copies of group photo, containing photos of Muzaffar Ahmed, Nalini Gupta, Dange and Osmani and others in a cover.			

- 103 One copy of Bombay's answer to Lord Birkenhead.
- 104 Three pages manuscript writings in Hindi.
- 105 Two typewritten sheets with manuscript writing at the end, ending with "opposition of this huge loss" under heading "Though the crisis mobilise".
- 106 One letter dated 6. 8. 28 in 2 pages, written by S. V. Ghate of Bombay to Muzaffar Ahmed. delivered from Park St. P. O. on 8. 8. 28 (with cover).
- 107 One printed notice of Goswami with pencil writings at the back containing the name of Satyabrata Chakarvarty, 1, Main Hostel Berhampur.
- 108 One printed letter form of Transport Workers' Union in Hindi with some pencil and ink writings at the back.
- 109 One pencil sketch of a man in Fetters.
- 110 15 printed membership forms of Transport Workers' Union of Bengal receipted by the members.
- 111 One copy of India and the next War, by Miss Agnes Smedley.
- 112 Two copies of a letter (Type-written) signed by S. M. Shamsul Huda, dated 5-1-29, addressed to the Manager, Messrs— from the Transport Workers' Union, Bengal.
- 113 The draft, in manuscript, of the above (No. 112).
- 114 Two type written letters from the Transport Workers' Union Bengal, showing the resolutions passed in the Meeting of the Union held on 1-10-28.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where articles seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>matatika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
115	Draft of a letter of the Transport Workers' Union of Bengal in 2 pages, dated 10-2-29 addressed to the Editor.			
116	One sheet of Banglar Katha dated 8-10-28 bearing pencil writing (red) cal. 308.			
117	Two copies of the Great French Revolution, Vol. I by Peter Kropotken bearing the name P. Spratt.			
118	One membership form of Transport Workers' Union of Bengal, containing some writings in ink and pencil bearing names Abdul Razak and others.			
119	39 copies of magazine "Socialist" 3 copies, dated 9-2-24, 3 copies dated 23-7-24, 2 copies dated 29-7-24, 2 copies dated 6-8-24, 2 copies dated 13-8-24, 2 copies dated 20-8-24, 2 copies dated, 27-8-24, 2 copies dated 3-9-24, 2 copies dated 17-9-24, 2 copies, 24-9-24, 2 copies dated 21-10-24, 2 copies, dated 8-10-24 3 copies dated 15-10-24, 2 copies dated 22-10-24, 2 copies dated 29-10-24, 1 copy dated 5-11-24, 2 copies, dated 12-11-24, 2 copies dated 19-11-24 and one copy dated 27-12-24.			
120	16 Copies of Ganabani, one copy of dates 13-10-28, 4-10-28, 27-9-28, 6-9-28, 30-8-28, 23-8-28, 16-8-28, 9-8-28, 2-8-28,			

- 26-7-28, 19-7-28, 12-7-28, 5-7-28, 28-6-28,
21-6-28, 14-6-28.
- 121 One copy H'ndi Magazine entitled
Chitramoy Jagat, dated June 1928.
- 121 One copy "What are Indians States" by
B. S. Pathik, bearing the name of
P. S. Pratt.
- 123 One copy " Russia in Revolution, by
Daniel De'Lion, bearing the name of
P. Spratt.
- 124 Two copies of Young Liberator for
November 1928 and Sept. 1928.
- 125 One copy of the Lesson of Black
Friday, by Gerald Gould, bearing the
name of P. Spratt.
- 126 One copy of Special Resolution by Karl
Kantsky
- 127 One copy Ireland in Rebellion, by Sylvain
Brollay bearing the name of P. Spratt.
- 128 One copy of booklet entitled Scientific
Socialism by Wm. Pual.
- 129 Two copies of an appeal to the young,
by P. Kropotkin.
- 130 One copy of the Religion of Capital by
Paul Laforgue.
- 131 One copy of Life of Barrister Savarkar
by Chitra Gupta, bearing the name of
P. S. Pratt.
- 132 One copy of the Manifesto of the
Communist Party, by K. M. F. Engels.
- 133 One copy of Monopoly or How Labour
is Robbed, by William. Morris.
- 134 One copy "Memoirs of a Revolutionary
by Upendranath Banerji, bearing the name
of P. Spratt.

AIX

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS - Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>malika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
135	One copy of "Hell Found" by S. A. Dange, presented by the author to Comrade Spratt.			
136	One copy of the report of all Parties Conference, bearing the name of P. Spratt.			
137	One copy of New Tactics, Social Conflict by Laidler and Thomas bearing the name of P. Spratt.			
138	One copy of Modern India, by N. W. Rutherford, bearing the name of P. Spratt.			
139	One copy of Fiery Particles, by C. E. Montague, bearing the name of P. Spratt.			
140	One copy of the Directory of Trade Unions, edited by R. R. Bakhale.			
141	One copy of Gandhi us Lenin by S. A. Dange.			
142	One copy of God and the State, by Michael Baknein.			
143	One copy of Germany in Revolution, by L. E. Matthali, bearing the name of P. Spratt.			
144	One copy of Lawless Lands, by Hem Ch. Nag, bearing the name of P. Spratt.			

- 145 2 copies of rules and regulations in Hindi of Bombay Girmi Kamgar Union.
- 146 One copy of pamphlet printed (India in the Labour World, by Saklatyala.
- 147 A copy of booklet The New Russia, bearing the name of P. Spratt.
- 148 One copy of booklet "Communism", by R. Palme Dutt.
- 149 One copy of the Struggle for the Freedom of Religious Worship in Jaito published by Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee Amritsar, 1924.
- 150 One copy of the Rights of Labour, by John Ruskin.
- 151 One copy of Scientific Socialism, by Wm. Paul.
- 152 One copy of Magazine Kamkari in Maharatti, dated 12 Dec. 1926 and 5 other copies, dated 27-2-27, dated 12-12-26, dated 7-2-27, dated 12-12-26; 12 12-26.
- 153 3 copies of Notices of Central Labour Board in Hindi, with manuscript writing on one copy.
- 154 One copy of the Principles of Socialism, by Mary Agnes Hamilton.
- 155 One copy of Poems by Stevenson.
- 156 One copy of Exploitation in India, by Thomas Johnston, M. P.
- 157 One copy of Amritsar and Our Duty to India by Horniman, bearing the name of P. Spratt.
- 158 One copy of Swami Vivekananda, by Dr. Bhupendranath Dutt, bearing name of P. Spratt.
- 159 One copy of The Aims of Labour, by Henderson, bearing the name of P. Spratt.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articleseized*.	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
160	1 copy of Soviet Russia, by Jawahar Lal Nehru, bearing the name of P. Spratt.			
161	One copy of Logic of Socialism, by August close mens.			
162	One copy of the Working Class, by Karl Kantsky.			
163	One copy of the Irish Labour Movement by W. P. Ryan, bearing the name of P. Spratt.			
164	One copy of Poems Vol. II, by Stevenson.			
165	One copy of Principles of Socialism by Mary Agnes Hamilton.			
166	One copy of a booklet in English Sacco and Vanzetti, bearing the name of P. Spratt.			
167	One copy of Wage, Labour and Capital, by Karl Marx.			
168	One copy of Britain's Record in India, by Woolacott bearing the name of P. Spratt.			
169	One copy of India and its Government by Fenner Brockway bearing the name of P. Spratt.			
1170	One copy of The Pressure upon Constitution and Law, by Benoy Kumar Sarkar, bearing the name, of P. Spratt.			

- 171 One copy of a Short History of Ireland by C. Maxwell, bearing the name of P. Spratt.
- 172 One copy of Hindi book Bolshevism by Binayuk Sitaram Shorbate bearing the name of P. Spratt.
- 173 One copy of Hell Found, by S. A. Dange, bearing the name of P. Spratt.
- 174 One copy of Social Revolution, by Karl Kantsky.
- 175 One copy of the Struggle for Power in India, by Burnard Houghton.
- 176 One copy of the Russian Experiment, by K. T. Shah.
- 177 One copy of the printed report on the International Congress against Imperialism, held at Brussels in February 27, by Jahar Lal Nehru, bearing the name of P. Spratt.
- 178 One copy of Journal of the Indian Economic Society— Edited by K. N. Joglekar, B.A. for March 1924.
- 179 One letter dated nil, from Sudhir of Young Comrades' League, 37 Harrison Road, to Muzaffar Ahmed.
- 180 One counterfoil receipt book from No. 101 to 200 of the Transport Workers' Union of Bengal.
- 181 One copy of Sedition Committee Report, bearing the name of Azizul Huq.
- 182 One sheet of paper with manuscript writings being the agreement of 19 Gang Sardars to form an Union called the Bengal Transport Workers' Union, containing the thumb impression marks of them.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>Mallika</i> and, the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
183	One sheet containing manuscript Bengalee writing beginning with Amar Katha Gulo and ending in Kara Hayeche with the name of Balmakund, Shawl Merchant, Sukapetty mor Punjuli Katra on the back of the letter.			
184	8 copies of Sunday Worker, dated 29-4-28, 13-5-28, 20-5-28, 27-5-28, June 3-28, June 10-28, 17 June 28, 29 June 28.			
185	One letter dated 27-3-28, by R. Chander—Sikhora Sharma, from Tanali Guntor—District addressed to Shamiji.			
186	One copy of British Imperialism in Malya prepared by Labour Research Dept.			
187	One copy of British Imperialism in East Africa, prepared by Labour Research Dept.			
188	One copy of Karl Marx, by Howe J. Losky.			
189	One copy of Red money by Labour Research Dept.			
190	A typed Brief in 28 pages in the suit of Osimuddin Sikdor and 2 others of Mymensingh, vs. the Secretary of State for India.			
191	5 copies of Urdu Pamphlet under heading Rajnaitik Pristab.			

194	5 copies of printed pamphlet showing the statement of programme and policy of Young Comrades' League.	
193	7 copies of Urdu pamphlet showing the constitution of Kirti-Party, Punjab.	
194	One copy of Report of the Working of Bengal Peasants and Workers Party for 1927-28, in Bengalee, with some manuscript writing at the back of the 1st page.	
195	One copy printed report of the Executive Committee of the Peasants and Workers' Party of Bengal, for 1927-28, in English.	
196	Two copies of Address of Welcome by P. Dinda.	
197	One file containing correspondence papers miscellaneous, etc. signed by witnesses and Mr. Spratt.	
198	Do.	
199	Do.	
200	5 copies of the Spar.....dated March 3, 10, Jany. 27, Feby. 27, Feby. 10.	Found in the in the verandah front of the room of Mr. Spratt.
201	5 copies of Bengalee pamphlet, entitled appeal to the Young Communists by Dharani Goswami.	Do.
202	11 copies of Bengali Booklet entitled Sacco and Vanzetti.	Do.
203	7 copies of poster in Urdu with the figure of a man sounding bugle.	Do.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallatka</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
204	One Portable Juventa Typewriter in a case— not in working order.			
205	One copy of consignment memo. No. 128 of Book Coy.			
206	One Bill No. G. P. 5606, dated 12-4-28, of Sree Gouranga Press in the name of Md. Muzaffar Ahmed.			
207	3 receipts of Saraswati Press, given to Editor, Ganabani, No. 2170, 2151 and 2186.			
208	4 copies of the National Research and Publicity Institute Leaflets.			
209	One Deposit Book of the Bengal Central Bank of India in the name of Mozaffar Ahmed with 4 pages written.			
210	One cheque book of Bengal Central Bank. Ltd., in the name of Muzaffar Ahmed with two written counterfoils.			
211	One Pass Book No. 145, in the name of Muzaffar Ahmed of 37 Harrison Road in Bengal Central Bank, Ltd. with entries in 2 pages.			
212	One letter dated 21-6-27 by S. V. Ghatge of Bombay to Muzaffar.	Items No. 205 to 215 found a steel box, the key of which was produced by Abdul Halim in the room of Mr. Spratt.		

213	A cash memo. dated 21-3-27, by the Book Coy. in the name of Muzaffar Ahmed, No. 1023.	
214	One receipt for Rs. 43-14 from Thomas Cook & Son, Ltd., dated 5. 6. 28 to P. Spratt.	
215	One challan No. 890, dated 6-6-28 of Sri Saraswati Press in the name of Muzaffar Ahmed.	
216	A list of 11 books signed by Muzaffar Ahmed with a challan of the Book Coy. dated 11-9-26 showing the sale of the books.	Found in a steel box, the key of which was produced by Abdul Halim in the room of Mr. Spratt.
217	One letter dated 28-5-28 from E. I. Railway Union, Ondal, by Mr. P. Spratt to Muzaffar.	
218	One receipt for Registered Book Post No. 661.	
219	One T. M. O. receipt for Rs. 50/- No. 4720, dated 4-5-27.	
220	One notice for remittance from Netherland India.—Civil Bank, dated 13-12-28.	
221	One cash memo. of the Book Company, No. 26568, dated 5-6-28.	
222	One cash Memo. No. 26564, dated 5-6-28, of the Book Coy.	

11XX

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where articles seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc. of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mattalika</i> and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper etc.
223	One receipted voucher No. S. P. 5593, dated 4-4-28 of Sri Gouranga Press.			
224	One cash memo. of the Mohammad Publishing Coy. No. 1950, dated 8-6-28.			(Sd.) F. ROXBURGH.
225	Two receipted bills of Saraswati Press Nos. 2115, dated 16-6-26 and No. 2116, dated 16-6-26, respectively.			

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

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

(Sd) ILLEGIBLE.

*Police-Officers conducting the search,
Date 20-3-29 Place No. 1/1B European Asylum Lane.*

(Sd.) GYANENDRA BHUSAN MUKHERJI.
(Sd.) GHASTS BEHARI SHAW.

Signature of witness with date.

Signature by the accused (optional)

P. 4/4.

The Workers' & Peasants' Party, Bombay.

17, DWARKADAS MANSIONS.

Sandhurst Road,

BOMBAY, 4.

My dear Muzaffar,

I received your letter which I showed to Nimbkar. He is accordingly issuing notices about the meeting to be held in Amritsar. I think he may alter the date of the meeting to somewhere the first week of April, instead of the end of March, as there is a General meeting of the G. I. P. Union which is an important one for our party here.

Every attempt is being made by our enemies to break the splendid solidarity that has been in evidence among the mill workers but so far such attempts have not met with any response.

The oil strike is still continuing.

Bradley has gone on tour and is expected somewhere at the end of this month. Usmani has been doing excellent work here (since his arrival.

With greetings,

14th March.

Yours fraternally,

S. V. Ghate.

Superscription on the envelope:—

Muzaffar Ahmad, Esq.

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

P. 475.

DAKESWARI COTTON MILL'S WORKERS UNION.

Head Office:—61, Nawabpur, Dacca.

Dated 10/3/1929.

Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad.

.....

Dear Comrade:

I am pained to learn about some disciplinary measures taken by you on Com. Chakravarty. I cannot understand what's the matter with you all at Calcutta. Did we not call ourselves Comrades? Then why these uncomradely actions? There's no denying that personal feeling is playing rampant, for if it had been questions of discipline many other comrades would have been taken to task—as many have not paid their subscription—(so I understand).

Quader has started for Calcutta—you can know from him how we quarrelled on different matters but not of this sort. I know that you have no liking for Comrade Chakravarty and if I am not mistaken I remember you expressed before me more than once your suspicion regarding his capacity and then a few days back you wrote me about him, wondering at his behaviour in submitting some 60,000—membership list of Jute workers—(which you were sure that it was not so.) From all these I deduced that there was some fatal misunderstanding which wouldn't be healthy to the growth of our Party and so I was thinking and trying to analyse the situation.

Here at Dacca I have sent some men to Dakeswari. I am also trying to reorganise the Party and now this blow. I am at a loss where these will lead to. What are all these misunderstandings from Social-Democratic mania or personal ambitions. If you have taken Chakravarty as your comrade, you should have considered how he can pay the subscription as he is not earning anything for himself—or if you thought he could have managed to get it from anywhere as on principle he should pay, then you could have informed me at least, and at any cost I would have managed it.

However I think, that there is yet time that we do not split. No doubt there are opportunist and Social Democrat element in our Party but they are not Comrades Chakravarty and Goswami and neither Kalidas Bhatt. As regards me I can say I have come to know some of them and we will manage to clear them out when we have made the Party stand on a strong footing.

With greeting,

Yours fraternally,
Gopal Basak.

P. 476.

A photograph with some amounts written on the back.

P. 477.

"Kirti" (Urdu) No. 3, Vol. 2 for March, 1929.

E.C.C.-I. dated 2/12/28/

P. 478.

A letter

**To the All-Indian Conference of Workers'
and Peasants' Parties.**

The Communist International supporting everywhere the revolutionary movement of the toilers and the oppressed, through your organisation, albeit not part of our international body, send its greetings to the workers and peasants of India now waging a heroic struggle against imperialist oppression and feudal reaction upon one of the most important sections of the world front. The victorious progress of this struggle demands in our opinion, above all, the creation of an independent class party of the proletariat, the uniting and raising of the isolated actions of the peasants to the highest political level, and the formation of a real revolutionary bloc of workers and peasants, under the leadership of the proletariat not in the form of a united workers' and peasants' party, but on the basis of co-operation in deeds between the mass organisations of the proletariat on the one hand, and peasant leagues and committees on the other, for the overthrow of the imperialists and the destruction of the political and economic basis of colonial exploitation and slavery. The growing influence of the workers and peasants' parties, and particularly the attendance of thousands of peasants at your provincial conferences, proves that the understanding of the necessity for this militant bloc is penetrating among ever larger masses of toilers.

Your Conference is taking place at a moment which may become the turning point in the history of the national revolution. The furious preparations of the British bourgeoisie for a new imperialistic slaughter, and the intensification of all forms of colonial plunder and terror, place the peoples of India in a position from which there is no other way out, but open and determined fight for the overthrow of the alien yoke. The revolutionary crisis in the country is maturing. In the strike movements various detachment of the working class (particularly the textile workers of Bombay) begin to come out as an independent force, conscious of the irreconcilability of its interests with imperialism and the chaffering bourgeoisie, and of its historic role as the champion of the national revolution. More painfully, and slowly, but with equal certainty, the oppressed, ruined and disunited peasantry is entering the path of organised struggle. Growing unemployment, ruin and hopelessness stir also the town petty bourgeoisie to revolutionary activity. The pent-up discontent of the masses, the despair, and the sublime hatred for the oppressors, is already breaking forth to transform these isolated and defensive actions into an aggressive fight against British imperialism and its native allies, that is the fundamental task before your Conference.

The main obstacle to the victorious organised struggle against British imperialism and its feudal allies in the period of increasing terrorism and bloody repression—is the influence of opportunist bourgeois nationalism. Each day brings and will bring fresh proof of the treachery of the bourgeoisie, of its bringing before imperialism, of its intention to bargain and to come to terms with the latter behind the backs of the toilers of India and at their expense. Lately this treachery has assumed the character of the most cynical toying with the slogan of "independence" which the Swarajists now throw out to deceive the masses, now tucked away in their pocket (the Motilal Nehru Report), in order to penetrate into the Simon Commission through the back stairs, and now raise again in a distorted shape, simultaneously with the "dominion status" slogan. However crude and downright dishonesty this game may be, the penal regime and bloody repression of any exposing criticism, particularly Communist criticism, create a state of things under which the fraud of bourgeois nationalism still keep its hold on a considerable section of the toilers. The struggle against this fraud compels you not only to determined and relentless exposure of the bourgeois treachery, exposure, but also through systematic everyday actively to bring home this exposure to the masses of the workers and peasants. The experience of the last movement in Bardoli showed how great the danger is still that not only the bourgeoisie, but even the usurers, who buy out the peasants' lands find themselves able to subordinate the movement of the peasants and to utilise it for their own ends.

No declarations of readiness to combat opportunism have any revolutionary worth if there is no practical and actual proof of the wagging of this struggle among the masses, and of the overcoming of the bourgeois influence is persistent every day work.

The greatest danger to the organisation of the masses, to the creation of a revolutionary bloc of the proletariat and the peasantry and to the proletarian leadership in this bloc, consists not only in bourgeois nationalism as such, but comes from the organisations and groups of "prominent" petty-bourgeois intellectuals actually influenced by the former the "Independence League." The wavering and oscillating petty-bourgeois intellectuals of India are either tied up with the system of landlordism and usury and preach a return to obsolete forms of precapitalist exploitation idealised by them, or they reflect the interests of capitalist exploitation being the agents of the bourgeoisie within the national movement. In either case they deny the importance of the class struggle, and whilst claiming to be "at the head" of the workers' and peasants' movement, they are fit in reality only to behead it. The better elements alone of the petty-bourgeoisie intellectuals with a revolutionary frame of mind may rise to the proletarian class viewpoint, and become a positive factor in the national-revolutionary struggle.

The "Independence League" at least in its present shape in fact assists official Swarajism in its nefarious play with the slogans of "independence" and "dominion status" Duly appreciating the very fact of the organisation of this League as proof that at the present time one cannot approach the masses without demanding independence and the overthrow of imperialism, your Conference at the same time cannot fail to disassociate itself from the confusion and twaddle which characterises the advertised League platform with its lavish promises.

The masses must realise that all the talk of the organisers of the League in their platform about "nationalisation" and "socialisation" is an empty sound if in the same breath they recommend **FOR THE PRESENT** "impartial board for arbitration with a view to making strikes and lockouts unnecessary" (platform of the Bengal Independence League).

There cannot be a shadow of confidence in the verbal promises of the League generally, when in reality some of its leaders (the chairman of the Bengal branch of the League, S. C. Bose) continue to play the part of blacking organisers (betrayal of the last strike in Jamshedpur). The masses want from the political leaders of the petty-bourgeoisie not words but revolutionary deeds. The more determined and outspoken your criticism, the sooner the

League will either expose itself as the Left-wing of bourgeois nationalism, or having shaken off the politicians at the head, will join, for a certain period and within certain limits, the national-revolutionary camp (retaining, however, even in this case their incorrigible half-heartedness, chronic wavering, and inevitable confusion in the whole of their politics and tactics).

The experience of all revolutions shows that the peasantry is inevitably deceived and defeated if it acts without the alliance and the leadership of the proletariat. In explaining to the peasantry the need for the workers' and peasants' bloc it is not difficult at the same time to explain to them, upon the grounds of the sever experience of the Indian revolution, the need for the leadership of the proletariat in the bloc. The Indian proletariat has demonstrated to all the toilers that it represents the most revolutionary force in the country; it has shown that it will stop at nothing in this struggle neither in the town nor in the village, that it marches and will march, in the front rank of the fight against British imperialism, feudalism, and the reformist bourgeoisie. The proletariat is helping and will help the peasantry which has been thrust by imperialism into a singular condition of humiliation, disunion and barbaric exploitation, shrouded in the falsehoods of religion, caste and nationalism, to organise its force and to break shackles of slavery, bondage, land hunger, and imperialist and feudal oppression. The leadership of the proletariat, as the more concentrated, united, enlightened and hardened section of the toilers in this struggle, will secure the victory to the *workers' and peasants' bloc*. It is extremely important to demonstrate to the peasants in deeds and practice the significance of fighting alliance with the proletariat in their everyday struggle, already now.

The organisation of the workers' and peasants' bloc is based upon the common interest of the workers, peasants, and the town poor, in the fight against imperialism and feudal reaction. *Nevertheless, it does not eliminate the class differences, and therefore it does not imply by any means the fusion of the workers and peasants into one PARTY.* (In the Great October Revolution the proletariat gained the following of the peasantry of all the nations which inhabited the former tsarist Russia just because it was organised into the independent Bolshevik Party, armed with the Marxian-Leninist theory, irreconcilable to petty-bourgeois waverings, disciplined, self-sacrificing, capable of screening itself underground from the blows of the tsarist terror, at the same time never ceasing to take advantage of all the legal possibilities. The Indian proletariat, we feel sure, will follow this path.)

The Indian proletariat will be the champion of the national-revolutionary fight and lead with to victory the peasantry, the town poor, and all the toilers, if it organises and consolidates its vanguard-the Communist Party, which will educate the working masses in

the spirit of a clear and unmistakable class policy, in the realisation of the need for tremendous sacrifices in order to overthrow imperialism and bourgeoisie. The existing (only on paper) Communist Party of India, since it does not show any signs of revolutionary life, has no grounds to consider and even to call itself Communist, although there are individual Communists among its members. Under the conditions of imperialist terror, by the feeble organisation of the Indian workers and the bullying of the reformist trade union bureaucrats, the task of building a genuine Communist Party will be considerably facilitated if at the same time broad revolutionary organisations of the workers are formed with the active participation of Communists, or a broad Left wing created in the trade union movement upon the platform of consistent class struggle.

We expect that your Conference will raise the question of participating in the building of such broad revolutionary mass organisation of the workers. These can be built only in the irreconcilable everyday struggle against imperialism and the bourgeoisie, as well as against reformism and the petty-bourgeois groups under the cloak of Socialism. The heroic steadfastness of the Indian proletariat in the strikes, the rapidity with which it gathers its forces although as yet only locally, the persistent endeavours to promote strike leaders from its own ranks,—leaves no room for doubt that the elements for revolutionary mass organisations of the workers have matured.

We are convinced that your Conference will discuss, and severely condemn the grave opportunistic blunders committed by the representative of the workers' and peasants' parties in the leadership of the strike movement, particularly in connection with the heroic struggle of the textile workers of Bombay. The source of these mistakes is the insufficiently clear stand against the reformist blacklegs (Joshi) the relentless exposure of whom is an indispensable condition for every victorious strike (and for strengthening the organisation of the proletariat in the course of its development). Having yielded to the demand of the trade union bureaucrats at the commencement of the strike to refrain from exposing to the working masses the reformist treachery, the members of the workers' and peasants' parties had thus disarmed themselves also for the further struggle. Surrender to the reformists led inevitably to surrender to the employers, to the signing of the demands which were dictated by the chairman of the Arbitration Commission, the Fluncky of the Anglo-Indian bourgeoisie, a surrender all the more inadmissible since, as partial strikes which subsequently broke out proved the workers refused to give up the fight in spite of all their hardships. Only by learning from the severe lessons of the past struggle the working class will promote from its midst a consistent class leadership for the imminent, even more decisive strikes of the textile workers, railwaymen, miners,

and metal workers. With the growing intensity of, the revolutionary activity of the proletariat on one hand, and the bloody onslaught of imperialism against the workers' organisation on the other (the Trades Disputes Bill), the preparation and organisation of the general strike become the most urgent task of the current struggle. The Indian workers who performed wonders of endurance during the defensive fights in the fights of 1928, will show similar wonders of valour in the forthcoming aggressive fights.

In the work among the peasants the task is to pass from general slogans and to draw in the peasants to the real revolutionary struggle in the defence of the everyday interests of the masses. Your organisations cannot afford to wave aside even seemingly backward manifestations of the anger of the peasantry. You must endeavour in every manifestation of this kind to discover its revolutionary substance and to transfer it to a higher level of class-consciousness. In view of the tremendous variety of forms of land tenure in India, and the multitude of forms pre-capitalist and semi-feudal bondage, the best way to embrace the peasant-movement in the various districts and localities is to organise from below peasant leagues led wherever possible by agricultural labourers and poor peasantry proved in the fight. It is necessary, not only in words, but in deeds, to endeavour to raise the isolated actions of the peasants to the level of an agrarian revolution. Under the slogans of abolition of every form and vestige of feudalism and semi-feudalism, of confiscation of the land of Zemindars, usurers, priests and its transfer to the use of the toiling peasantry while securing in the first place the interest of the poor peasants, the agrarian revolution has been and remains the pivot of the national-revolutionary struggle in India.

In purging the leading bodies of your organisations from suspicious and unreliable elements, you will, of course, above all, be guided by the criterion of loyalty and devotion to the cause of the workers and peasants, remembering that the petty-bourgeoisie, not to speak of the bourgeois intellectuals, are closely tied up with the system of big landownership so that they must by all means combat the developing agrarian revolution.

Concerning organisational forms, your Conference will have to discuss the question of *separating the workers' organisations from the peasants' organisations*, so that the former be ensured a clear cut and consistent class development, and the latter the full embracing of the struggling peasantry. Provincial workers' and peasants' parties, after an appropriate distribution of their branches and members upon this class basis, are bound to develop in the future in revolutionary mass organisations of the workers on the one hand, into peasant leagues, and committees on the other, which in turn will strive to gain the leadership inside existing peasant

bodies or will build new peasant organisations. The periodical conferences and meetings of these mass organisations, called from time to time should constitute one of the forms expressing the militant bloc of the worker and peasant masses. If your Conference accepts this point of view, it will put before itself the question of forming a Committee for the coordination of the activities of the local workers' and peasants' organisations, having in mind chiefly their independent revolutionary development upon the class basis.

The Indian toilers, in their hard struggle, are nearing the fulfilment of their great historic task. The proletariat now organising its forces can rely on the support of the peasantry, of the poor of the towns, and of all the oppressed and exploited of India for whom there is no salvation except as the result of the triumphant revolution. It can rely upon the support of the proletarians of all lands and of the oppressed peoples throughout all the world. We appeal to your Conference to wage a determined fight against waverings and backslidings to criticise grave opportunistic blunders, to work out the revolutionary tactics for the forthcoming fights, to pass to such forms of organisation which, as international revolutionary experience has proved, open the possibility for winning the masses to the cause of the Revolution.

Down with British imperialism !

Long live the revolutionary fight of the workers and peasants of India !

Long live the revolutionary rising of the colonies!

Long live emancipated Soviet India !

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

P. 479.

DWARKADAS Mns.

Bombay 4.

6 - 3 - 28.

Dear Muzaffar,

I received your letter today, on returning from Delhi. I have every hope of being able to leave Bombay for Calcutta this week, in consequence of a resolution of the E.C. of the T.U.C. whereby Kishorilal and myself are to inquire into the Bengal Unions and report on their existence or otherwise. My travelling expenses will be paid, so, apart from work here, there is no obstacle. Thanks for your invitation to the Peasants' and Workers' Party Conference.

With Dange I attended the T.U.C.E.C. meeting. We succeeded for the time in stopping the attempt to affiliate to the I.F.T.U. Purcell, Joshi etc. were very keen on it. Nothing was done about the "Council of Action", except to refuse money to it. Some money, 300 Rs. I think, was granted to one Saboo, to organise coolies in the Assam Tea Plantations. Do you know him? The other business was not of great interest, except the decision that the Workers' Welfare League of India is no longer necessary, as the British T.U.C. is now in direct touch with the Indian T.U.C. This is regrettable, and Dange and Thengdi opposed it.

I found our comrades at Delhi in a state of some confusion. I am afraid there is far more intrigue than work going on there.

That very undesirable person Begerhotta has turned up again, and begun causing mischief. But I shall tell you more about it when I see you. There is a Workers' and Peasants' Sangha or something at Meerut. You have probably seen that it has invited Chamanlal and Jinnah to preside over its conferences! Why the conferences are separate I don't know.

We heard dreadful stories at Delhi of the activities of Mukundalal. Giri and co., maintain that he has simply caused a small split in the Kharagpur branch of the Union. I should like to hear what has really happened, but from the accounts in the Press, it is clear that he has done nothing useful. He is expected here soon, I believe.

I have nothing to say, as I expect to see you this week.

Yours

P. Spratt.

Superscription on the envelope:—

Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad,
2/1 European Asylum Lane,
CALCUTTA.

P. 480.

THE WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY, BOMBAY.

17, Dwarkadas Mansions,
Sandhurst Road,
Bombay, 4.

My dear Muzaffar,

I have received your letter of the 11th instant, today when the situation has almost been normal. All these days the Girni Kamgar Union was working in full swing, and it is to the credit of the Party that the situation was fully under control of the union, in the Mill area. There was no communal rioting of any serious nature, and the union was issuing handbills every morning, telling the workers that there should be no communal difference in the union, which had both communities for as its members. As far as the Mill workers are concerned, they have behaved very splendidly, in spite of provocation from the Hindu Mahasabha or the Khilafat. The Mills have been working all the while, during these turbulent days, while we had shifted our headquarters day and night at the Naga Sajaji Wadi and were touring the Mill workers area. The Govt. has been provoking the workers, by wantonly breaking open their houses and snatching away sticks from them and their houses, while the Pathans have been allowed to carry their big sticks. Any way, the danger seems to be over, and the response of the worker to the Party's call to keep peace, has been very commendable.

We are in a similar position as you are, but you know we have been getting on as usual. Com. Bradley is quite well.

With greetings.

Yours,
S. V. Ghatge.

14/2/29.

Dear Muzaffar,

I have already told the editor of Spark that it could only be my ghost to witness the death frenzy of Lenin in Moscow. I was in prison and that he also knows now. The mistake was due to the graphically dealing with the frenzy of the people in Moscow when Lenin died.

I hope you are alright.

B. C. to Spratt and Ajodhya Prasad. Is Halim there?
Usmani.

Superscription on the envelope:—

Muzaffar Ahmad, Esq.,

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

P. 481.

POSTS TELEGRAPHS. No.

Received here at H. M. 18 Feb. 29.
01487.

O KI LAHORE 18 13 MUZAFFAR AHMAD SECY
WORKERS PEASANTTS PARTY CALCUTTA.
ATTEND NARJAWAN CONFERENCE WITH
SPRATT=MAJID=

P. 482.

BOMBAY.

10/3/28.

My dear Muzaffar,

I have sent the papers to you by registered insured post. I hope you have received them by now. They could not be sent earlier for obvious reasons.

Dange has sent his manuscript one to you and the last section to Basak directly. I had received a letter from his.

The Scavengers' union must be congratulated on its success. We know that the Swarajists are not going to do anything unless forced to and a success of that section of workers, means a great triumph—though the increase in their wages can hardly be considered to be substantial.

Sircar had wired us calling Nimbkar to Lilluah—I think it is a matter within your jurisdiction and you should attend to it if you think it necessary.

Spratt may leave for Calcutta in a day or two. I shall let you know when he leaves.

Yours affly
S. V. GHATE.

6/11/17

P. 483;

INSTRUCTIONS FOR NEW MEMBERS AT ONDAL, RANIGANGE AND ASANSOL.

The new members will meet to form themselves into one or more branches as will be decided in consultation between them and Dharani and Kali. Each branch must elect a secretary, and fix upon a place of meeting, where its members shall arrange to meet regularly — weekly or fortnightly. The work of the branch for the present will be (1) self-instruction and education. The Party will send such literature as it can, and "Ganavani," so that a more thorough knowledge of Party principles and policy can be obtained. (2) Work within the E.I. Railway Union: the Party branch must see that the Union branches at Ondal and Asansol are kept working—meeting regularly and collecting subscriptions &c. and a systematic propaganda of our views must be made among the men. When elections to E.I.R.E.C. or other committees are made, one of our men should stand, and get the post if possible. (3) Work with other workers: perhaps after some little time, some comrades must get in touch with workers, e.g. in Burn's pottery works at Ranigunge, Burn's iron works at Asansol, collieries etc. One of these should be tackled first, and only when substantial progress has been made should they go on to another. They should try (1) to get the best workers into our Party (2) to establish a Union there, under the leadership if possible of men with our ideas. (4) Circulation of "Ganavani", "Kirti", and our future Hindi paper. These should all be pushed to the utmost, among workers especially, but among outsiders also.

The secretaries, or if necessary, other specially appointed comrades should see to these departments. Other work will follow later, in correspondence with the Party centre, (e.g. Peasant work, Congress. Commission and Const. Ass. agitation.)

P. 484.

Memo.

'Phone 235 Barabazar,
71/1, Mirzapur Street,
Calcutta.

From

SRI GOURANGA PRESS,

General Printers.

Received from Mr. Mozaffar Ahmad Rs. 53 (fifty three) only
for printing of Manifesto.

(Sd.) (Illegible.)

23-12-27.

P. 485.

Telegrams: "KIRTI"

Telephone: "714".

" K I R T I ".

THE ONLY LABOUR ORGAN IN URDU

The best
medium
for adver-
tisements.

Commands widest circulation

Amritsar 7th March 1929.
(India).

Dear Comrade,

I am very sorry that I could not reply to your letters earlier. I hope you will kindly excuse me for this negligence. The Truth is that I was very much busy with the 2nd session of the Naujwan Bharat Sabha about which you might have read in the Tribune.

The Editor of the Kirti has been arrested under section 124 A. He is out on bail now. The police have taken away some of the registers and papers and have not returned them up till now thus embarrassing us very much.

The Punjab is doing well, we hope you, along with comrade Spratt will be alright. I am safe up till now. We have never heard anything from our Bombay Comrades.

Hoping to hear from you soon.

Yours Fraternaly
SOHAN SINGH.

General Secretary.

The Punjab Workers & Peasants Party, Punjab.

Superscription on the envelope:—

To

M. Muzaffar Ahmad

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

P. 486.

Main questions.

Additional questions.

- | | |
|--|--|
| Q. What is class? | Q. Have you seen any strike. |
| A. A section of the people whose economic condition is equal or A section of people whose means of living are equal example:—working class, capitalist class, lords class, Peasant class, Hand crafts, Shopkeepers, Clereks. | A. Yes. A. B. C. |
| | Q. Who were the parties in A. strike. |
| | A. (1) workers.
(2) owner and manager. |
| | Q. What were their points. |
| | A. Reduction of wages and turning out some people illegally. |
| | Q. (1) Why owners whats to deduct their wages and turn out some workers?
(2) Why workers were not agree to supports formers scheem? |
| | A. Former wants to exploit them more as at present. While latter want to improve their condition. |

Q. Is there any section in the strike which was not effected but struck work with others.

A. Yes. So and so.

Q. Why they have sempthy workers and not with owners.

A. Because their interest and workers interest is the same.
Explanation.

So it is understood that workers class is one and owners deferent.

Similar other question, takes examples of war, political movement and so on.

Q. What is class struggle?

A. Struggle between two or more classes is class struggle.

Examples.

Great war, noncopration movement. Swaraj movement. Working class movement.

Q. Who were the parties in great war?

A. (1) Germany Turkey, Austria etc., Poland.

(2) English, French, Aemrica etc.

Q. Why the great war broke out.

A. Because Germany whanted market from latter one (here general cause of the war to be explained.)

Q. Germany as a nation wanted market or some p. class.

A. Capitalist class.

Q. From whome?

A. English and others.

Q. if market were given that case England as a nation will loose or particular class?

A. Capitalist.

Q. Then who were the chief party in great war?

A. (1) German capelst class and other cple.

(2) English and other caples.

Q. Who are party in Swaraj now?

A. India and English.

- Q. If India will gain Swaraj who will gain in India.
- A. Indias caplist and intellectual.
- Q. Whose interest will suffer.
- A. British caplesit and intellectual.
- Q. Then who are the party in Swaraj movement.
- A. (1) Indian Caplelst and intel. British Caplist and intells.
- Q. What was the great war ?
- A. A class struggle between E.C. and G. C.
- Q. What is swaraj movement.
- A. A class struggle between I.C. & I. & B.C. & I.
- Q. What was the A. Strike.
- A. A class struggle between workers and owner.

- Q. What is political struggle ?
- A. A class struggle between two classes.

POLITICS AND WORKING CLASS

(Specially India).

- Q. Can Indian Caplist lead Revolution.
- A. No, because I. & B. capital malgumated.
- Q. To explain who ownes A. Concern ?
- A. Indian Caplist.
- Q. is it pure Indian ?
- A. No some share belonging to Europeans also.
- Q. Who owned Tata ? so called noted Industry.
- A. Mostly Indians but some English also.
- Q. Who ownes B. Concern ?
- A. English C.
- Q. is it pure English concern.
- A. No some Indians.
- Q. do you know any concern which is pure Indian ?

- A. Not aware particular of all.
 Q. but as much you know what are they?
 Q. is the burgosie struggle is for revolution or reward.
 A. Nearly all mix.
 Q. Can Indian Caplist stands alone?
 A. Indian burgosie all struggle are for rewards
 A. No very difficut but im-possible.
 Q. Supposing they stand alone. Will they loose or gain?
 A. loose.
 Q. So is it possible for them to lead revolution?
 A. No it is too late now.
 Q. What is the main object British Caplilist in India?
 A. To exploit Indian masses.

P. 487.

POSTS TELEGRAPHS. No.
 Received here at.....H.....M.
 0003 Calcutta
 2 SEP. 28
 G. T. D.

X YL BOMBAY 1 14 GANAVANI CALCUTTA.
 LATEST DEVELOPMENTS PREVENT DEPARTURE
 MUZAFFAR SPRATT WANTED HERE IMMEDIATELY
 IMPORTANT - GHATE.

P-487. POSTS TELEGRAPHS. No.
 Received here at.....H.....M.
 00306
 CALCUTTA.
 2 SEP. 28.
 G. T. D.

X PA BOMBAY 2 12 GANAWANI CALCUTTA,
 ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL START BRING MORE
 COPIES DANGES BOOK - GHATE.

P. 488.

THE WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY, BOMBAY.

17, Dwarkadas Mansions,

Sandhurst Road,

Bombay, 4.

6th August 1928.

My dear Muzaffar,

I got your telegram, in time but sorry I could not write earlier. Your letter has just been received, but not the copies of "A Call to Action". I hope the parcel will be delivered.

The strike situation here has changed, owing to the nefarious plans of the owners, who have determined to open the mills by batches. But the workers have displayed splendid solidarity, and today when the first batch of the 11 mills were opened - not one worker even went near a mill. Apart from that, even the few scabs that were going all these days, have stayed away. We are carrying on a programme of intense picketing during this fortnight, i. e. till the 20th instant, and each one of us has undertaken to supervise the mills, to see that people are not victimised, or in any way terrorised by the Police, into submission. The Police want to break the strike, but we will see that their attempts are frustrated.

I think we can go over to Calcutta at the end of this month - not earlier than 20th instant. If you send the money by the 20th, I will wire to you the definite date, we can start from here. By the 20th, we shall have gauged our strength, since the last of the mills will be opened according to the owners' schedule. So, I think you should put off this meeting till the 1st week of September.

Tell Spratt, that he is long overdue here.

Dange is going to Amritsar for the W. & P. Conference, of which he is elected president in the next month of course.

Halim can expect his T. T. there, early.

The Bardoli peasants have been betrayed by the Gandhian gang.

With greetings to all Comrades,

Yours fraternally,

S. V. Ghatge.

(You must advertise in your paper that "Hell Found" can be had from "Advance Literature Co" 97, Girgaon Rd, Bombay 4).

Superscription on the envelope:—

Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad,
2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.

P. 489.

TRANSPORT WORKERS' UNION OF BENGAL

Temporary Head Office,
2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

5 Jan. 1929.

To the Manager,
Messrs.

Dear Sir,

At a meeting of the members of the above Union, who are your employees, the following demands were agreed to:

1 hour recess each day for meals.

8 hour day.

hours over 8 to be paid at proportionate rates.

Official religious holidays should be allowed without victimisation to both Hindu and Muhammadan workers. inc

increase of pay of Rs. 6 per gang per shift.

workers should be paid for work done at the end of the same week.

I am instructed to forward the above demands for your early and favourable consideration. A further mass meeting of the members of the Union will be called at an early date to consider your reply.

Yours faithfully,
General Secretary,
S. M. Shamsulhuda.

P. 490.

TRANSPORT WORKERS' UNION OF BENGAL.

Temporary Head Office,

2/1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA.

4. 1. 28.

To the Manager,
Messrs.

Dear Sir,

At a mass meeting of the members of the above Union the following demands were agreed to

1 hour recess per day for meals

8 hour day.

Hours worked over 8 to be paid at proportionate rates.

Official Religious holidays should be allowed without victimisation to both Hindu and Mohamadan workers.

Increase of pay per shift of Rs. 6/-.

Workers should be paid for work done at the end of the same week.

I am instructed to forward the above demands for your early and favourable consideration,—a further mass meeting of the members of the union will be called at an early date to consider your reply.

Yours faithfully,

P. 491.

Transport Workers' Union of Bengal.

TEMPORARY HEAD OFFICE.

2/1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA.

January 1, 1928.

A meeting of the Transport Workers' Union of Bengal was held at the Kaliday Park at 5 P.M. today, with Mr. S.M. Shamsul huda in the Chair. The following resolutions were passed.

1. This meeting of the Transport Workers of Calcutta, in unison with all reputable working class organisation in country, resolves to boycott the Simon Commission, which is an instrument of Imperialism, designed only to perpetuate Imperialist rule in India. It condemns the action of certain Labour leaders who are trying to lead deputation on behalf of workers before the Commission, and declares that these persons and organisations are in no way representatives of the working class, and in particular of the Transport Workers.

2. This meeting of the Transport workers protests against the policy of the National Congress and the All-Parties Conference in adopting the Nehru Report and the basis of dominion Status for the government of India. It considers that these proposals are the beginning of a compromise between the upper classes of India and the British Imperialist as they will mean continuation of oppression of workers and peasants by capitalism and landlordism, and will bring about no improvement in the position of the poor. It condemns the proposals of the Nehru Report in the following particulars:

- (1) it safeguards British capital and exploitation in India.
- (2) it guarantees to pay foreign State debts.
- (3) it leaves the power of control politically in the hands of the Governors appointed by the imperialist British Government.
- (4) it leaves the army in the control of British Imperialist officers.
- (5) it guarantees property rights.
- (6) it continues the barbarous rule of the Princes over the 7 crore State subjects. This meeting therefore declared that the aim of working class is and remain complete independence from imperialist exploitation and rule, and the establishment of workers' socialist state.

(3) This meeting of the Transport Workers' Union of Calcutta condemns the Government's Trade Disputes Bill, and declares that all its provisions are reactionary and objectionable. It condemns the proposal to introduce conciliation machinery as harmful to the workers' cause and likely to prejudice their freedom to strike. It also condemns the proposal to prevent all strikes on railways, postal services, etc, etc., and to prevent all sympathetic and political strikes.

This meeting therefore considers that the Trade Disputes Bill is a reactionary attack upon the rights of the working class which must be resisted by the most powerful means in the possession of the workers, namely the General strike. It congratulates the Trade Union Congress & All India Workers' & peasants' Party Conference upon their decision to carry out a one day general strike of protest against the Bill if it is passed, and pledges itself to carry out this programme and to assist in the campaign of propaganda among the workers for a General Strike.

This meeting protests emphatically against the arrest and deputation by Government of comrade J. W. Johnstone, the fraternal delegate of the League Against Imperialism to the All India Trade Union Congress, and the All India Workers and Peasants Party Conference, who was in India for the purpose of expressing to the Indian Workers the solidarity of the workers of other countries and calls the attention of all workers to this latest expression of the completely capitalistic and reactionary nature of the Government, which seeks to deprive the working class movement of all freedom of action and expression.

General Secretary Transport Workers Union of Bengal.

P. 492.

"Chitramaya Jagat"—Special Russian number.
Vol 19 June, 1928.

P. 493.

We, the following gang-sardars engaged on flats of I.G.N. and Ry. Co. Ltd., R. S. N. Co. Ltd. and Andrew yule & Co. under the sub contract of Messrs. Pal Chaudhri, Yusia Chaudhri and Guni Babu, do hereby agree this fifth day of November 1928 to form a union together with the majority of the rank and file of workers who work under us, to fight for the betterment of the working and leaving condition and the increment of wages and to ractify other grievances whatever may arise and in whatever way decided by the opinion of the majority of the members of the union which will be styled as the "Bengal Transport Workers' Union". We shall not in any way betray the cause of other workers. We shall not desert the union when workers will be fighting to ameleorate their conditions. If any one of us breaks any of these conditions he will be legally made liable to pay a compensation amounting to the sum of Rs. 100/- (Rupees one hundred only) to the union.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Shaikh Jumman.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Shaikh Afzal Husain

(Left hand thumb impression)

Shaikh Riazuddin

(Left hand thumb impression)

Shaikh Abdul

(Left hand thumb impression)

Shaikh Yousuf

(Left hand thumb impression)

Nisarul Haq.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Fazle Haq.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Amiruddin.

(Left hand thumb Impression)

Abdul Gafur.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Abdur Razzak.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Shaikh Basheer.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Shaikh Qorban.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Jamruddin.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Siraj.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Illegible in Hindi.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Naziruddin.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Habib alias Salim.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Liaqat.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Abdussattar in Hindi.

P. 494.

One page of Bengali manuscript containing note on some lecture. On the back is written "Balmukund"

Shawl Merchant,

Suta Party.

New Punjabi Katra

P. 495.

7 copies in Urdu of aims and objects, rules and regulations of Kirti Kisan Party, Punjab, August, 1928.

P. 496.

The Peasants' & Workers' Party of Bengal Report of the Executive Committee, 1927-28, (Vide P. 52.)

P. 497.

7 copies of Urdu posters regarding the Second Punjab Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha Conference to be held on 22nd, 23rd & 24th February.

P. 498

Md. Muzaffar Ahmed

No. G. P. 5606

2/1 European Asylum Lane

71/1, Mirzapur Street.

College Square, East.

Calcutta, 12.4.1928

Dr. to Sri Gouranga Press

Art & General Printers.

Terms Cash:— Interest at the rate of 12 per cent. per annum
will be charged on all unpaid accounts.

301/29	100	Copies-Report of Annual Conference		
		D/Demy Amo-i Fume.	36	
		Cost of Paper.	8	8
		Binding charges.	2	8
		Rupees forty seven only.		
		Total Rs. ...	47	

Voucher No.

E. & O. E.,

M. N. BISWAS.

P. 499.

A/c No..... Shipping and Forwarding Dept.
P. Spratt. Esq. Reference Accounts.
Calcutta, 5-6-1928.

To Thos. Cook & Son, Ltd.
(Incorporated in England)
Bankers, Passenger and Forwarding Agents.
To charges on 4 packages In Store with our Bombay office.

To our Bombay office bill No. S. 4197.			
Rendered on 19. 5. 28.	Rs.	43	14
Rs. Forty three and annas fourteen only.			
Seal.			
Thos. Cook & Son. Ltd			
Paid.			
May. 1928			
Calcutta.			

P. 500.

No. 890 Date 6. 6. 28.

Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed.
2/1 European Asylem Lane
Please Receive from

SREE SARASWATY PRESS
Art and General Printers.

1. Ramanath Mazumdar St., Calcutta.

The following articles in good order.

1500 Pla cards Royal	
2000 Hand bills ½ D/crown	

Please retain this

S. GANGA

Signature.

P. 501.

E. I. R. Union

Oudal.

28/5/28

Dear Muzaffar,

The workshopmen struck here this morning. That is all we have to report. Except that we are well and what not.

But we want one or two more men. Nirod said he could come in a day or two, so send him if you can. Or Halim. And send some of the Bengali "literature" with him.

Do you want me to write anything for Ganavani? or Dharani? If so please say what, and how long, and I shall do my best. We are, at the moment, in a better place than we had at Chengail, and perhaps I shall be able to do some writing.

Yours.

P. Spratt.

Dear Muzaffar.

Remember the case of 28th of the Scavengers. Instruct Pyari to conduct the same if the Scavengers are alright. Have 3/4 Rupees from Nirod and manage it anyhow. Whenever you require me, wire at once to me, in the above address. Send some a few copies of our party programme, this years report, and other important papers, necessary for propaganda. We are getting nice response from the young men here. Of course these young men all factory workers.

Yours

DHARANI

P. 502.

COPIED.

Nederlandsch Indische Handelsbank.

(Netherlands India Commercial Bank.)

All Letters to be addressed	Telephone No. 2786
and Remittances made payable	Post box No. 2338.
to Netherlands India Commercial	Telegraphic address:
Bank. CALCUTTA.	"HANDELBANK."

The Manager, Calcutta, 13th December 1928.

P. Spratt Esq

2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

In accordance with your application of date we herewith beg to inform you having despatched at your risk and without any responsibility on our part, an urgent telegram to our office in Bombay to pay Rs 500/- to Mr. B. F. Bradley Appollo Chambers Tulloch Street Fort.

The cost of the T. T. (including ~~excluding~~ message a Rs. 1/8/- is at the rate of exchange a Rs 1/- Comm: Rs. 502-8-0. for which amount we duly received your cheque. cash
we have debited your account.

Please send us Rs. _____
We have debited your account with. _____, being cost of cable, and oblige.

Yours faithfully,

NEDERLANDSCH INDISCHE HANDELSBANK

(Netherlands India Commercial Bank)

Sd/- Illegible.

Accountant.

P. 503.

Md. Muzaffar Ahmed.

No. G. P. 4593

2/1 European Asylum

71/1, Mirzapur Street

Lane.

College square, East.

Calcutta, 4-4-1928.

Dr. to SRI GOURANGA PRESS

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276/28	500	Copies— * * *			
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	Paid R 28/-	cost of paper	4	3	0
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	48	Forty Seven Rupees fifty one & annas ten only.			
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			47		

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E. & O. E.,

M. N. Biswas.

On the reverse is written:—

Received in full.

M. N. Biswas.

for Sri Gouranga Press.

6/4/28.

P. 504.

Gana Bani Office

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

CASH MEMO.

No. 1950.

Phone No. 2680

Barrabazar.

The

MOHAMMADI PUBLISHING Co.

Printers, Publishers, Book-sellers and Book-binders.

29, Upper Circular Road.

Calcutta (8-6-1928.)

75

Printing charge of 1000 Bengali handbill
½ foolscap size with 1 Rem 2 qr.
paper complete is sent by Recpt.
No. 448.

	5	2	0
	5	2	0
	2	0	0
Total Rs.	3	2	0

E. & O. E. Received Payment.

Rupees Three and

(Sd.) Illegible.

As. Two only

Receiving Officer.

Sd./- Illegible

20/3/29

P. 505.

The Editor Ganavani.....Dr.

To SREE SARASWATY PRESS.

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1. Ramnath Mazumder Street. Calcutta.

	Rs.	As.	P.
Printing & paper of 1500 Placards	31	6	
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Printing Ganavani 1st issue. 2nd vol			
200 int 3/0n	31	8	
40/—			
15/—			
Total Rs.	67	2	
55	G. B. S.	E. & O. E.	

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Manager.

On the reverse one anna stamp is affixed and written as follows:—

Received in full:

S. Ganguly.

16. 6. 28.

Second page.

The Secy. Bengal Peasant & workers' party Dr.

To SREE SARASWATY PRESS.

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1, Ramanath Mazumder Street, Calcutta.

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Manager.

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Voucher attached No.

Dated 16. 6. 1928.

P. 506.

A book entitled "LENIN" by Valerin Marcu, translated by E.W. Dickes.—1928.

P. 507.

"GANDHI Vs LENIN" by S. A. Dange, Published by Liberty Literature Co., Bombay No. 2.

P. 508.

Report of Third Annual Conference of the National Minority Movement August 28 th, 29th, 1926.

P. 509.

"THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION" edited by Andrew Rothstein. Published for The Information Department of the Russian Trade Delegation by The Labour Publishing Company Ltd., 38, Great Ormond Street, London.

P. 510.

"Elementary Course of Communist Party Training" with a preface by T. B.—Published by The Communist Party of Great Britain, 16, King Street, W. C. 2.

P. 511.

"Trade Unions in Soviet Russia"—

Their development and present position—by A. Lozovsky, (Member of the Executive Committee of the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions).

P. 512.

"Sunday Worker" No. 203, d/ 27-1-29.

P. 513.

16 Copies of "Ganavani".

P. 514.

150 copies of

THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY

OF

BENGAL.

CONSTITUTION

1928

Central Office :

2-1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE,

CALCUTTA,

THE
Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal

CONSTITUTION.

1. **Name:** The name of the Party is the **Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal**. It will be styled in Bengali as **Bangiya Krishak-O-Shramik Dal**.

N. B. This Party shall be the integral part of the **Workers' and Peasants' Party of India** which is yet to be formed,

2. **Object:** The object of the Party is the attainment of **Complete Independence** from **British Imperialism** and thorough democratisation of India based on economic and social emancipation and political freedom of men and women.

3. **Means:** The rallying the People to **Mass Action** will be the principal means for the attainment and realisation of the above objects.

4. **Extent:** The activities of the Party will extend to the entire province of Bengal and the Bengali speaking districts of Assam and Bihar and Orissa.

5. **Membership:** (a) The membership of the Party shall be of two kinds.

(1) Individual and (2) Affiliated.

(b) Any person not below the age of 18 years who will subscribe to the object, constitution and programme of the party may be taken in as an individual member of the party subject to the approval of the Executive Committee. Every individual member, except students and women will have to become a member of some workers' or peasants' union within two months of his becoming a member of the Party.

(c) The Executive Committee of the Party shall have power to affiliate with it any workers' or peasants' union which is in sympathy with the object and programme of the Party. The Party shall undertake the work of giving the members of affiliated unions class-conscious education in trade unionism and politics, and shall assist the work of the unions by advice and propaganda.

6. **Subscription.** (a) Each individual member of the Party shall pay in advance an annual subscription of Rupee one. In the case of the individual being a worker or a peasant the subscription will be Four Annas annually. The Executive Committee may exempt any body from subscription if it thinks so desirable.

(b) Affiliated organisations shall have to pay annually at the rate of One Pice per member with a minimum of Rs. 5/- No organisation shall be compelled to pay more than Rs. 50/- annually.

MANAGEMENT

7. (a) The work of the Party shall be conducted in the following way :—

There shall be held an **Annual Conference** of the Party. This Conference or the Congress of the proposed—"Workers' and Peasants' Party of India"—shall direct and control the policy and programme of the Party.

(b) The Annual Conference of the Party shall be held with all individual members and affiliated societies so long as the membership of the Party does not reach a sufficient number. With the growth of members the Conference shall be held with individual members and delegates of the affiliated unions.

(c) **Special Conference:** In case of emergency the Enlarged Executive Committee or the Executive Committee shall have power to summon a special Conference, one third of the members of the Enlarged Executive Committee or two thirds of the members of the Executive Committee agreeing such a Special Conference may be convened.

(d) **Enlarged Executive Committee:** There shall be an Enlarged Executive Committee of the Party. This Committee shall be constituted within one month after the Annual Conference or meeting of the Party. The members of this Committee shall be elected from amongst the individual and affiliated members, the affiliated unions and branches of the Party electing one representative for every 1000 members, provided that every affiliated union or branch shall in any event elect one representative.

(e) If between two annual election there is vacancy in the Enlarged Executive Committee of the representatives of any affiliated unions or if any new union is affiliated the affiliated union concerned shall elect some of its members to fill up the vacancy or to represent it thereon as the case may be ; and if there is a vacancy of representative of the individual members the Enlarged Executive Committee shall fill up the vacancy by nominating a member from amongst the individual members.

(f) The work of the Party shall be conducted under the guidance of the Enlarged Executive Committee which shall meet every three months.

(g) Whenever required the Executive Committee on its own motion may, or if requisitioned in writing either jointly or separately by one fifth of the members of the Enlarged Executive Committee

must, convene a meeting of the Enlarged Executive Committee. Fifteen members of the Enlarged Executive Committee shall form a quorum for the purpose of a meeting.

(h) **Executive Committee** : There shall be an Executive Committee of the Party elected every year from amongst the individual and affiliated members, residing in or near Calcutta during the Party's annual conference.

(i) If between two elections there is any vacancy in the Executive Committee the Committee shall itself fill up the vacancy from among the individual or affiliated members.

(j) The Executive Committee shall be entrusted to carry out the programme of work of the Party and it shall be responsible to the Enlarged Executive Committee for its work. The Executive Committee shall submit an annual report of its work duly passed by the Enlarged Executive Committee to the Annual Conference of the Party.

(k) For facilitation of works there shall be different groups in the Executive Committee. The members of the Executive Committee shall not exceed twenty and five members of it shall form a quorum for the purpose of a meeting. The Executive Committee shall meet at least once per month.

(l) The member of the Executive Committee shall automatically be considered as members of the Enlarged Executive Committee.

(m) **Office Bearers**: The Executive Committee shall elect from its members one Chairman, two Vice-Chairmen, one General Secretary, two or more Group or Sectional Secretaries and one Treasurer.

BRANCHES

8. (a) A branch of the Party shall be established under the supervision of the Executive Committee in any town or village where there are twelve members.
- (b) The branch shall elect a secretary, chairman, treasurer and branch committee.
- (c) The branch secretary shall receive instructions from the Executive Committee and shall report on branch activities etc, to the Executive Committee, at least monthly.
- (d) Branches of affiliated unions shall be affiliated to the local branches of the Party and shall be represented on its committee.

- (e) The Secretary and Treasurer of the branch shall collect subscriptions from the members. Funds collected shall be allocated as decided upon between the branch Committee and the Executive Committee.
- (f) The branch committee shall subject to the direction of the Executive Committee, supervise and direct all Party work and propagauda within its area.

RULES

9. (a) The Enlarged Executive Committee shall have power to frame general rules for carrying out the programme of the Party.
- (b) Every member of the Executive Committee and the Enlarged Executive Committee shall have to raise some subscription for the Party.
- (c) Any member of the Executive Committee who fails to attend four successive meetings shall automatically cease to be a member.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 1928.

CHAIRMAN.

1. Atul Chandra Gupta, M. A. B. L.

VICE CHAIRMAN.

2. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta, M. A. D. L.

GENERAL SECRETARY.

3. Muzaffar Ahmad.

SECTIONAL SECRETARY (Labour).

4. Dharani Kant Goswami.

MEMBERS.

5. Kalidas Bhattacharya.
6. Nikhil Roy.
7. Gopendra Chakravarty.

8. M. Abdur Razzak Khan.
9. Abdul Halim.
10. Aftab Ali.
11. Nirod Kanta Chakravarty.
12. Pyari Mohan Das.
13. Sudhindra Nath Chakravarty.

*Printed at Zinat Fine Printery, at 38, European
Asylum Lane, Calcutta.*

P. 515.

Two copies of "Political Resolution" (vide P. 56).

P. 516.

"Pyame Mazdoor" Vol: I, No. 2, dated 10-3-29.

P. 517.
4 Copies of
THE
Workers' and Peasants' Party
OF BENGAL.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE

BHATPARA 1928.

A Call to Action

CENTRAL OFFICE:
2-1, EUROPEAN ALYLUM LANE,
CALCUTTA.

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal

PRELIMINARY REPORT OF ANNUAL CONFERENCE

In order to bring its views, aims and methods before the public better than can be done by newspaper reports, the Workers' and Peasants' Party has decided to publish this short account of its preliminary recent Annual Conference. The Conference was held at Bhatpara on March 31 and April 1, which the President, Atul Chandra Gupta, M.A., B.L. in the Chair. The subject most discussed was organisation of the Party, but an effort was made to state the political position of the Party more definitely and to outline more clearly its policy and tactics in regard to various special questions. Thus in addition to the Executive Committee's resolution on the Political Situation, there were passed detailed resolutions on the Trade Union Movement, Youth, and the Peasantry.

The Political Resolution attempts a systematic account of the position of India at the present day, in regard both to its relations with the outer world, and to its internal affairs. The disturbed condition of the world under the reign of universal imperialism and the probability of war, especially between Britain and Russia, in the near future, are pointed out. The decline in the political and economic power of Britain forces the British imperialists to cling ever more tightly to India and to exploit her more intensely. The idea of India's attaining a tolerable position by agreement with Britain is ridiculous. Nevertheless Britain in order to maintain her power in India must come to a compromise with larger sections of the Indian upper classes, including now a large part of the industrial capitalists, hitherto the leaders of the nationalist movement and the congress. The capitalist representatives of the nation have almost ceased to fight, except in their own interest. They are not in favour of complete independence, nor democratic forms of government, nor the increased well-being of the people. The result has been that the Congress movement almost collapsed. It is only now rising again, with a new outlook and different aims.

A survey of the different sections of Indian society reveals a number of class conflicts which divide the nation more and more into two camps. The working class, the peasants, and a large part of the middle class are slowly beginning to revolt against the capitalist class, the landlords, the State rulers, the bureaucracy and the Government. The former fight for national freedom, the latter oppose. The two great movements, for national independence and for the economic emancipation of the masses, are becoming one.

In the light of this analysis, current events are surveyed. Thus, on the Statutory Commission and its landing in India, the resolution says:

“The collapse of the Non-operation movement was not at first realised, and expectation of its resumption and triumph continued for some time. But years went by, the policy of the Council Parties became more and more compromising, and no effort was made to revive a mass movement. Hope of progress along the old lines gradually faded, and at the same time the class conflict within the country and the Congress made itself increasingly felt. At first the reaction on the part of Congress supporters was growing indifference, but later it developed into a vague but increasingly acute discontent. The lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie who had been drawn into the Non-co-operation movement were becoming impatient for a forward move. This tendency has been assisted by various factors—prolonged economic stagnation, the growth of a war-atmosphere (preparations on the frontiers, failure to disarm, despatch of troops to China, etc.), disappointment at the complete failure of the British Labour Government to do what had been expected of a party pledged to self-determination and a fight against Imperialism, the Chinese and Japanese events, continued provocation by Imperialism (the Exchange question, the Bengal detentions and other repressive measures), Saklatvala's propaganda, Miss Mayo's book and its alleged official patronage, all have had their effect. A new policy is being sought, and a national feeling is once again arising, 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 process. The increasing organisation and 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 having its expected effect upon them, and draft constitutions, all contemplating Dominion Status as the goal of nationalist effort, 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 new).

The appointment of the Statutory Commission without Indian members rendered a policy of conciliation by the bourgeois

leaders for a 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 further exposure of the bourgeoisie, and to strengthen them temporarily as the national leaders. It has further hampered a serious campaign of mass opposition on the basis of the Boycott agitation. Nevertheless the public feeling has developed very strongly, inspite of all efforts to accentuate the communal divisions, so that the Congress and even the Liberal and others groups have had to go farther 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. (In Bombay three Unions took formal decisions to strike, and more than thirty thousand workers actually struck and demonstrated. Many workers took part in other places.)"

The conduct of the leaders of the Congress and the other Parties since the leading of the Commission has been far from satisfactory to many sections. Yet, out of fear of destroying "unity", adverse comment has been suppressed, and little or no criticism has appeared in the Press or elsewhere. We do not think that this state of things is healthy, or that "unity", based on abandonment of principle is desirable. Accordingly in discussing the All-Parties Conference, the resolution proceeds:

"Nevertheless the desertion of the majority of the bourgeois leaders, both within the Congress and without, is certain and is already taking place. They have partially abandoned the policy of abstention from the legislatures. Many, e.g. in the Assembly debate, openly appeal for Indian membership of the Commission, and admit the right of Imperialism to the last word in deciding the future of India. Boycott of principle was abandoned by the Assembly resolution which merely declared unacceptable the "present constitution and scheme of the Commission". The decision to draft a Constitution by the All-Parties' Conference is an admission of the right of the British Government to decide whether it shall be granted or not. Otherwise a statement of rights and a programme of action are all that are required of the All-Parties' Conference. The formula which it has accepted, "Full responsible government" and the apologetic plea that "Dominion status is a step towards Independence," mark the collapse of the Congress programme of complete independence. The quibbling over the communal differences show that no fundamental change in the nature of the government is ought, and the petty sectional interests of to-day

are allowed excessive importance. The decision, not to advocate the alteration of the despotic regime prevailing in the Indian States, means that the fight which the nationalist movement must carry on against feudal oppression is to be shirked. The almost unanimous opinion in favour of a second chamber based on some restricted franchise shows the reactionary and unrepresentative nature of the conference, and effectually disposes of the pretence that mass support is to be sought to enforce the demands. The almost entirely bourgeois composition of the conference determines its intentions and policy. The participation of the Trade Union Congress is of no significance, as it is rightly believed to be under bourgeois control. How seriously the inclusion of the Trade Union Congress is taken is shown by the decision not to admit the right of strike among the "rights of workers and peasants."

Nevertheless we agree that some Congress leaders are honestly mistaken in their compromise with the non-Congress Parties, and we appeal to them to give up their incorrect policy:

"Those Congress leaders who have agreed to the All-Parties Conference decisions have clearly shown that their advocacy of complete independence is insincere. The plea of Unity put forward to justify this action is entirely specious. Unity is possible only on the basis of a common principle. Those who want complete independence cannot compromise with those who are opposed to it. The sacrifice of complete independence for the sake of unity with the bourgeois parties is a betrayal of the immense majority of the population for the favour of a minute reactionary minority. Even the agreement of the bourgeois majority to many democratic principles, embodied in the All-Parties Conference decisions, is no adequate gain to weigh against the abandonment of the forward policy implied in the principle of the complete independence, and those who have agreed to this bargain are guilty of a serious tactical mistake, if no more".

The results of this policy are manifestly harmful, and the movement is being once more let down by the sterility and wrong policy of its leadership, due, not to lack of intelligence, but to its class interests. The masses must be aroused, but the bourgeoisie are afraid of arousing them. In the All-Parties Conference the proceedings have been notable only for their timidity and dullness. Outside, an equally painful absence of leadership has been shown:

"The agitation in the country of the Congress leaders, led by Bengal, is confined to the Boycott of British goods. This is a reformist weapon, intended to extort a compromise—alone it can do no more—from the Government. The bourgeois class is demonstrating once more its inability any longer to lead the national movement.

The middle classes, to whom the Boycott propaganda is directed, are reacting to it only in a half-hearted manner. Confidence in the majority of the bourgeois leaders has not been restored by their verbal radicalism over the Commission, and the masses generally are unwilling to be exploited for what they now know to be only the compromising ends of the bourgeoisie. There is a grave danger that the mass protest and indignation caused by the Commission will be allowed to die away in disappointment. Nothing but a militant and uncompromising practical lead will restore it to life and enable it to grow."

The Workers' and Peasants' Party claims to give that lead:

"The policy of the Party must be to carry forward the campaign for the boycott of the Commission 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 such demands, which are clearly the minimum requirements of a nation demanding freedom.

The slogan of the Boycott of British goods may be supported as a means of arousing enthusiasm, but only as a subsidiary to the slogan of a Constituent Assembly. As opposed to the programme of the All-Parties Conference the Party must demand on behalf of the masses Complete Independence, and the establishment of democracy—Universal adult suffrage, freedom of speech etc., the abolition of the Native States and the landlord system, and the guarantee of the economic, political & social rights which the workers and peasants as classes require."

We contend that the call for a "Constituent Assembly" is the only practically useful lead which has been given since the Hartal was decided upon. The country is ready for this measure. The Commission, the Boycott and the Hartals have aroused the feeling of the public as it has not been aroused for years.

This feeling can be given expression through a really popular constituent assembly. The immense power of the masses, all their vaguely felt grievance and protest against the present system, can be concentrated and clarified by this means. If the mass campaign for complete independence which Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar and others propose, is devoted not to mere emotionalism, but to the practical work of rousing and organising the masses in preparation for a constituent assembly, to be called at some fixed and early date, than India will have made a big and valuable step forward.

OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE CONGRESS.

Our position in relation to the National Congress should be clear from what has been said above. Nevertheless, as many indulge in propaganda against us, saying that we are opposed to the Congress, a little more attention may be devoted to this point.

Our Manifesto to the Indian National Congress, Madras 1927, said:

“The programme of bourgeois nationalism (defence of the interests of the landowning and capitalist classes) has failed to stir the enthusiasm of the nation. The people must assert itself and move towards freedom in spite of the timidity of the bourgeoisie. The National Congress must be liberated from the influence of their spokesmen. Those willing to fight honestly and courageously for freedom must become the leaders of the people. The National Congress, if it wishes to conduct the struggle for national liberation must become the party of the people, representing not the fortunate few of the electorate, but the unfranchised majority. Council chambers present too restricted a field of operation for the party of the people, which must find much wider spheres of action.”

Again in our Annual Report for 1927-28, it is remarked:

“On the other hand we must be careful not to oppose the National Congress without sufficient definition of our opinions, or we shall enable our opponents to claim that we are anti-Congress, or even anti-national, and that we stand merely for the sectional claims of labour. Recent developments in the policy of the Congress leaders, their action in connection with the Scavengers' strike (recruiting blacklegs) etc., show that there is a tendency to mobilise nationalist sentiment against us in a Fascist manner. It is unnecessary to say that this development may become an extremely dangerous one for us and for the movement. We must maintain our alliance with as large a stratum as possible of the middle class, and can ally with any section, whatever its social basis, which fights against imperialism. The basis of our opposition to the Swaraj Party is not that it is bourgeois, but that it is not whole-heartedly for national independence.”

And finally, the political resolution passed at Bhatpara contains the following passage:

“We must endeavour to make the Congress adopt a programme of mass demands and to support them in its current propaganda. We and our sympathisers must become members of the provincial and All-Indian Congress Committees, and take active part in such work as leads towards the development of mass movement. We must support the Congress while it fights Imperialism, but must

not hesitate to criticise the compromising tendencies of Congress leaders however prominent. The alliance of the Party with the petty-bourgeois "left" of the Congress must be consolidated, on the basis of direct action for complete independence, against the compromising bourgeois leadership."

These passages should make it clear that we are not opposed to the Congress. Like a great many others, we are not satisfied with the present Congress policy, but, unlike many other, we know what is wrong with Congress policy and our object is to change it.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

The resolution on this subject passed at our recent conference, begins:

"The Trade Union movement, which must in the future play a very important part in the political struggle of the country, is yet in a very backward condition. To remedy this is one of the most important tasks before the party, and demands a large part of its attention and energy.

The chief weaknesses of the movement are:—

(1) Insufficient organisation, resulting particularly in the lack of provision for the effective participation of the members in the work, and determination of policy.

(2) The tendency to restrict the organisation to narrow bounds, of locality, trade or craft, & its result in the prevalence of rival and overlapping unions.

(3) Absence of a militant policy; paying excessive attention to minor grievances, and neglecting the important questions, wages, etc.

(4) Fear of politics.

(5) Unbusiness-like methods, which reduce efficiency and open the door to corruption.

The Trade Union movement has not yet learnt to avoid the mistakes committed by older movements. In particular the British Trade union movement, universally taken as a model, illustrates the necessity of participation in politics, and the dangers of sectarianism and insularity on the part of unions.

The chief root of the faulty organisation and policy of the movement is its domination by leaders drawn from the middle classes, who may have little or no knowledge of Trade Unionism

or politics, and who in some cases act as conscious agents of capitalism. They have shaped the movement to their ends, and imbued it with their outlook.”

Everybody knows that this is the state of things in the Trade Unions, which consequently, instead of being, as in China, a tremendous and active force fighting for national freedom, are held, quite rightly, in contempt by almost all politicians. We are setting ourselves to alter this state of things.

YOUTH.

The resolution on the Youth Movement passed by the Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference, contains the following account of the political future before the Youth of India. and the paths which they can follow :

“The Youth is the only section of society able to free itself from the obsolete ideas of the older nationalist movement, and it is therefore upon the youth that the responsibility rests of forming and educating the new mass nationalist movement. The efforts of the old bourgeois school to retain its control over the Congress, the Trade Union movement, etc., can only be defeated by the new, more vigorous ideas developed by the youth.

In the conflict now developing in India, there are only two sides. Increasingly the upper classes, including a large section of the bourgeoisie, fight on the side of Imperialism against the rising mass movement. Any effort to find a middle course must necessarily fail. All experience of movements based on the middle classes proved that they must take sides, either with the bourgeoisie or with the working class. Fascism, a movement mainly of the middle classes, always and everywhere serves the interest of capitalism. Indian Fascism can only serve the cause of Imperialism, since Imperialism and Indian capitalism are in ever closer alliance. By striking at the working class organisations, Fascism would destroy the only force which can free India from Imperialism.

The rising generation is faced with two lines of action. It may pursue the path of traditional “pure” nationalism, which will inevitably lead to the defence of capitalism, and hence of Imperialism and of political and social reaction. Or it may take the side of the historically progressive mass movement, assist it in its difficulties, and advance the cause of national independence, democracy, and economic and cultural progress.

The youth of all India is now awakening to consciousness on a great scale. It is essential that the Workers' and Peasants'

Party should attract to its banner the newly organising forces of the youth. It must take energetic measures to draw as large a proportion as possible to the side of the masses, and to give them its scientific social outlook and energetic radical policy."

We ask all intelligent persons to consider the account given above of our aims and policy, and to decide whether it is not scientifically sound, and the only policy capable of achieving what all desire to achieve—national independence, and relief from the poverty and oppression which keep nine-tenths of our population in misery.

CALCUTTA:

The 6th April, 1928.

Published for the *Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal* by Muzaffur Ahmad at the office of the Party, at 2/1 *European Asylum Lane, Calcutta* and printed by S. C. MAJUMDAR at the Sri Gouranga Press, 71/1, Mirzapur Street, Calcutta.

P. 518.

A pamphlet entitled "Sacco & Venzetti"—

The exploiter vs. the exploited. Printed by D. S. Sakhalkar at the Lokasevak Press, Khatar Building, Bombay. Published by Shantatram S. Mirajkar, Secretary, The Workers' & Peasants' Party Bombay at 17 Dwarkadass Mansion, Bombay 4.

P. 519.

250 copies of "Ganavani"

P. 520.

3 copies of Langal, dated 25th March, 8th April, and 15th April 1926.

P. 521.

A pamphlet entitled "What the Students of other Country
have done" (Russia)—

"What our student should do (India)—

A Friend.

P. 522.

Two copies of "New Masses".

P. 523.

A CALL TO ACTION

BEING THE

**Resolutions, theses and Report presented
to the Third Annual Conference
of the Workers' and Peasants'
Party of Bengal.**

BHATPARA, MARCH-1928.

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL

2-1, European Asylum Lane. Calcutta,

1928.

ANNAS 8.

A CALL TO ACTION

BEING THE

RESOLUTIONS, THESES AND REPORT PRESENTED TO

THE THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY

OF BENGAL

BHATPARA, MARCH, 1928.

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL

2-1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

1928.

Printed at Sri Gouranga Press, 71/1, Mirzapur Street, Calcutta
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2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta by MUZAFFAR AHMAD.

PREFACE.

This report is published by the Executive Committee, in the hope that it will prove valuable to some of these many who are striving towards a more practical and more effective political policy than has hitherto been offered to us. Although far more study is required, particularly of the question of the peasantry, the resolutions* here given represent, in the opinion of the committee, a real attempt to found a political policy upon a thorough examination of the situation with which the policy has to deal. We do not attempt to conceal our sentiment in favour of national independence, and in favour of the poverty-stricken masses, but the study of the whole position has been carried out, so far as possible, in an objective manner, and the conclusions drawn therefore deserve more attention than any based on mere sentiment or on concealed class interest.

Much of what is contained in the resolutions may appear to be trite, but it is thought worthy of repetition, as the guiding thread throughout is the unfamiliar one of class interests and class struggle as the chief determinants of political events. But in addition to the analysis of the situation and the present and future lines of development, we want to draw attention to the lead given for the immediate future by the resolutions. The general policy is the development of mass movement, based on the economic and social needs of the masses, for which a suggested programme is given in the appendix. The chief battle cry put forward for the immediate future is that of a Constituent Assembly.

We contend that the call for a Constituent Assembly is the only practically useful lead which has been given since the Hartal on the arrival of the Commission was decided upon. The country is ready for this measure. The Commission and the Hartal have aroused the feeling of the public as it has not been aroused for years. It would be criminal to waste this opportunity, as we fear it is being wasted. The feeling of the public can be given expression to by a really popular Constituent Assembly. The immense power of the masses, their vaguely felt grievance and protest against the present system, can be concentrated and clarified by this means. If the mass campaign for complete independence which Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar and others propose, is devoted, not to mere emotionalism, but to the practical work of rousing and organising the masses in preparation for a Constituent Assembly and a real struggle for their wants, then India will have taken a really valuable step towards freedom.

* The five main resolutions were originally drafted by a joint Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Parties of Bengal and Bombay. All except that on the Peasantry have since been substantially altered.

Finally we wish to emphasise a point which causes some misunderstanding, though it is dealt with clearly in several passages of the Report and Resolutions, namely, our relations with the Congress and the bourgeois nationalist. For our criticism of the Congress and our support of the workers and peasants against the capitalists and landlords, we are accused of being anti-nationalist and of splitting the national forces. As is shown in the general resolution, we are not responsible for this split; we merely recognise the fact that it has occurred, and that it has a profound bearing upon the national movement. The split has been going on for many years. It took a decisive turn six years ago at Bardoli. Since then even that section of the Indian capitalist class which is associated with the Congress is in the main opposed to national independence. We conclude that the capitalist as a class are no longer capable of acting as the leaders of the national struggle for freedom, and that their interests and demands are no longer adequate to represent the whole nation. But the leaders of the Congress are still in the main class-conscious adherents of the capitalist class. We have therefore to oppose and expose their policy, with the object of removing them from their position of Congress leaders. But at the same time we build up our own organisation. The masses cannot wait until the Congress changes its policy and personnel so as to take up sincerely the work of organising and leading them. Nevertheless we are always willing to work with the Congress, even while criticising its leaders, for the attainment of common objects.

We propose to conduct in our organ "Ganavani" a discussion on the policy laid down in this volume. We invite contributions and criticism from those who are interested.

Executive Committee.

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A CALL TO ACTION

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL.

THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

The Conference took place on Saturday March 31st and Sunday April 1st at Bhatpara, in a pandal erected near their central office by comrades of the Bengal Jute Workers' Association. The President, Atul Chandra Gupta M. A., B. L. was in the chair, and in all about 80 members attended, including representatives from Dacca and from the Mymensingh Branch, and from the Bengal Jute Workers' Association, which is affiliated to the Party. 100 to 150 visitors also attended. Messages were received from a member of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay, the President and Secretary of the Bengal Trade Union Federation, and Mr. Atul Chandra Sen of Dacca, regretting their inability to be present.

On the first day the proceedings began at 3 p. m. when Comrade A. Roy on behalf of the Executive Committee read the Report, copies of which in Bengali and English were circulated.

The President then made a short introductory speech in Bengali, and the resolution on the general political situation was read and seconded. On the second day the general resolution was rendered in Hindi, and the remaining resolutions were moved and discussed.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

The President gave a short speech in Bengali, in which he remarked that the prospects for our work now are brighter than a year ago. We have a larger and more active membership, and the political situation gives more scope for a militant and energetic policy. He warned particularly the "intellectuals" in the Party against neglecting the fundamental work of organising the workers and peasants. Whatever our theory and policy may be, without that work the Party cannot maintain its existence.

The circumstances of India render our work peculiarly difficult. We have to wage an effective fight against both our own exploiters and the foreign Government, and these two, though usually in alliance, are not necessarily or always so. We have to pursue a policy and conduct much of our work in the economic sphere, but at the same time if we keep aloof from politics our movement will have no value at all. Many labour leaders by doing this achieve the favour of the Government, and labour leaders generally are therefore looked upon with suspicion by many. Our

movement, while fighting for economic demands, must be a political one, and for the present our political work must be done to a large extent in connection with and within the Congress, which we must aim to capture.

GENERAL POLITICAL SITUATION.

Introduction :—An examination and analysis of the present situation of India, which is necessary for the formulation of a correct party policy, requires to take into account many factors. It is necessary to give a brief description of the world economic and political situation in its bearing upon India, the general situation of Imperialism and the colonial countries, the British Empire generally and in particular the position of India within it. In more detail it will be necessary to discuss the economic strength and political organisation of the chief forces and groups with India the British bourgeoisie, the various groups of Indians, Natives States, land-owning interests, financial, commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, middle classes, peasants, working class. In the light of this analysis current political events must be surveyed and Party policy in different spheres laid down.

The International Position :—(2) *Stabilisation*—The period of the struggle by the capitalist states for stability after the war is now coming to an end, a new and relatively stable position has been achieved. At no time has complete freedom from war or revolution on an important scale been actually reached, but the tendency is in this direction, and the conditions are preparing for a new plunge, as in 1914, into international chaos. (2) *Prospect of War* :—The chief features of the new situation are, the relative progress of capitalism in the backward countries and the U. S. A., and the recession of capitalist prosperity in the older countries. Exploitation of labour and unemployment have generally increased greatly, political reaction in an extreme form is triumphant, the pressure of international competition is greatly increased, armaments are larger than ever before, and war is manifestly to occur in the near future.

The Soviet Republics not only add greatly to the strength of the movements for emancipation all over the world but prove the possibility of socialistic reconstruction of society by the working masses alone. They constitute a menace to the stability of Imperialism and capitalist exploitation, and the capitalist world, especially Britain, prepares to attack and destroy this menace. Only the unstable state of international relationship in Europe and the class situation in Britain have prevented the consummation before this time of the policy of attack on Russia. The danger of

war against the workers' Republics 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. (3) *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 Elections, the British Miners, etc.). (4) *Colonial Question*:- The economic and political development in the colonial countries has given rise to movements of revolt 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 became 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 function of the money-lenders (Co-operative Banks), to consolidate holdings with a view to more efficient cultivation (Bombay Small Holdings Bills) 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 secession 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 and its position still is declining; especially in comparison with the U. S. A. This critical situation leads the British Bourgeoisie to seek support within the Colonies, to secure its hold upon them, particularly in the event of war, which almost led to the separation of India on the last occasion. This political necessity, combined with economic developments, dictates the fundamental line of Imperialist political policy within India—the extension of the alliance with the Indian Upper Classes (Feudal

Rulers, Landlords, etc.) to the Bourgeoisie as a whole. This is the essence of the Reformed Constitution and the other Policies of Indianisation of Services, etc. which go with it.

The position of the British Bourgeoisie in India:—The British bourgeoisie as a whole derive wealth from India in four main ways : by selling British goods, by buying or producing cheap raw materials, by taxation, and by investment of Capital in Indian industries. Though the monopoly of India as a Market is lost, British goods still occupy the most important place, and in other respects British Capital is predominant. The direct holding of Capital from Britain in the big companies, usually registered in London, gives British Capital a practical monopoly of Railways, shipping, Banking and the Jute and Tea industries. London interests are also predominant in Coal and Steel and Engineering. Local British Companies, mainly in Bengal, have strong interests in Electric Power, Dock and Transport, Flour Mills, Rice Mills, Timber and Construction Companies, etc. Indian Capital is predominant only in cotton among the large industries (The Tata Steel Firm is now partly British and American), but owns small firms in all branches of Industry and controls most retail distribution, etc. Of the capital invested in Joint Stock Companies, over 80 per cent. probably 85 per cent. is British, and in these companies, British influence is extending. There is of course much unregistered Indian capital in small and private firms. The penetration of other foreign capital is not yet important but is likely to grow (Sir Dorab Tata's American Tour).

The central financial institution is largely under Government control, with participation of British and Indian industrial and financial representatives. The new scheme will probably not alter this position. The Indian bourgeoisie have been pressing for popular control, *i. e.* greater representation of their interests, but have been foiled up to the present. They have been especially anxious to achieve this control, since the exchange rate controversy, when the strongest (textile) section of the Indian bourgeoisie, with the small companies with business conducted in rupees, were defeated, and the Government and financial interests (British mainly,) with the big firms doing their business largely in London in sterling, were benefited.

The policy of Imperialism in India to retain its position of dominance, is a 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 it 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 rulers 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 them in the suppression of internal revolt (Recent passing of order for deportation of State 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. Mukherji, G. D. Birla, etc.) The industrial bourgeoisie, and with them the professional class, lawyers, University teachers, etc. are increasingly in the position of constitutional supporters.

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

Nevertheless the support of these section 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 are placed upon the education given to the middle classes 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 the 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 fomentation 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. As also in Bengal, most of the peasants are Mussulman and the Zemindars and money-lenders 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 inflammation 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.

At the same time the policy of Imperialism has been one of continued suppression 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 Cownpore 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. 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 practically no case is there any important industrial development, and even communication is poor. Almost all States are under a complete despotism, only a few being tempered by some rudiments of democracy. The rule is in practice often harsh and arbitrary to an intolerable degree, and outbreaks of opposition by peasants often occur. Almost all rulers of Native States are active or passive supporters of Imperialism.

A large part of British India is also under the dominance of big landholders, zemindars, etc., who in some cases wield powers approximating to those of the States rulers. In many

districts forced labour and other feudal dues are still exacted from peasants, and arbitrary expropriation of peasants' holdings is common. Rents are forced up usually to the maximum possible limit, often many times higher than the Government tax assessments.

The Princes and the big Zemindars of the eastern (and to a smaller extent the Western) Provinces are the chief owners of the land of the country, and the chief obstacle to the economic advance and prosperity of its main occupation, agriculture.

The Chamber of Princes and the various Zemindars' Conferences, the organs of these sections, are practically without exception loyal to Imperialism and for long represented its chief support within the country. It is a part of the policy of Imperialism to maintain the Native States and to some extent the Zemindary system, as a stronghold of reaction and political backwardness within the country. Political advance within the States is discouraged, suppression of opposition movements supported. Similarly in British India, the landlords in their own interests suppress peasants' movements or capture and lead them for their own purposes.

The Indian Bourgeoisie:—As shown previously the Indian Bourgeoisie is in a position of subordination to British capital, and is relatively weak and backward. It is partly allied with British Capital in industry and finance, especially in Northern India but even in Bombay, to a less extent. And it is partly independent, chiefly in Bombay, but also to an extent which is politically important, in Bengal. In general its development is blocked by the competition of the established large scale British industries and British control of finances and tariff policy. In Bombay the Indian interests, more compact and independent, 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 North India the bourgeoisie is more divided. A section is practically loyalist while other, especially 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 direct part in the Congress.

The political organisation of the Indian Bourgeoisie is weak. Apart from the Chambers of Commerce etc., which seek no popular support, there are several political parties, mainly the product of successive splits from the Congress. Of these the Liberal Party, primarily an industrialists' party, alone has achieved permanence

and membership outside the Councils. The 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 Bourgeois parties, in any case, has attempted or achieved a mass membership, except the Congress. Even Congress membership has near been more than a formality, though at the period of its greatest activity a large proportion of members were active. There has never been close organisation or discipline. Subscription is low. Since 1922, 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 pressing for concessions and a *modus vivendi*. All parties have been united on these occasions. Similarly on political questions. The united demand of the 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 bring pressure to bear and no more. Even the Labour movement, which is still largely in bourgeois hands, is looked upon in this light (cf. 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 constitutions drafted by an ex-President and ex-Secretary of the Congress, one demanding "literate suffrage," and the other the present suffrage). The bourgeoisie on the contrary 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 up 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 the leader of a national movement in the interests of the mass of the Indian people.

The Petty Bourgeoisie:—Consists of various sections, but a large part of it suffers more or less abutely from poverty. The pressure of exploitation and the retarded economic development of the country lead to an excess of supply over demand of small retail businesses of all kinds, and of small industrial undertakings. For similar reasons there is intense competition among the 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 Europeans is a standing grievance.

The membership of the Congress has for long been predominantly petty bourgeois. 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, where it exists, represents mainly village craftsmen, small landholders, and others 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.) through 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 bourgeois leaders without means of support. The 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 business men, 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 for 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 often misunderstood, 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 remnant of the terrorist parties, are the unformed "left" 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 money-lenders and village shop-keepers, often identified with the landlord, by entangling the peasants in debts at high rates of interest, add to their misery and economic insecurity. Exaction 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 overpressure 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, as many investigations show. 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, successful peasants, money-lenders, 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 the poor peasants on the one hand; and the big landlords, the religious institutions, the money-lenders, shop-keepers, 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 number (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 peasants 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 Panjab (The Akali movement) a partial success was achieved, and in Rajputana and Central India, and in Bengal, peasant societies of Radical tendencies exist. Feeling in Rural areas is becoming strong, particularly in U. P. but the movement finds little organized 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 persons, 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, victimisation and arbitrary expulsion, by jobbers, and excessive fines, etc. render the life of the workers of his class intensely miserable. While in some industries, competition and mismanagement render profits apparently low, there is reason to suspect hidden profits, and in many cases 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 unionism 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 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, etc. 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 spreading 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 increase in military and class-consciousness and in actual organisation. The position of the workers forces them into active struggle, in which class-consciousness and the need for organised action are clearly shown, and these effects are being made manifest. Political consciousness also is growing (three unions' decision for one day strike on the landing of the Commission).

Recent developments:—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 the 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, and to unite with the 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 (failure of leaders to agree to Hindu-Moslem pact, etc.)

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 the 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 the 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 indigeous culture, and even such elementary physical necessities as adequate sanitation, elementary education, and a tolerable standard of life.

The movements 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, the peasants, and the middle classes, against Imperialism and its allies, the state rulers, the big landowners and such of the bourgeoisie as will not sacrifice their immediate economic intrests to the higher intrests of the great mass of their countrymen. This movement will incidentally provide the only ultimate solution of the communal questions which have split India's ranks in the past. Co-operative work for the fundamental needs of the masses will swallow up the minor differences 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 acquescence indeeds, is opposed to the progress of the movement. All experience of similar movements shows that the Industrial working class alone is fitted to lead this struggle through to the end, and to fight consistently for the interests of all the Indian people. The working class through its own struggle learns discipline and organisation, the tactics and the strategy of political struggle. It alone can provide the steel frame necessary to guide the scaattred and vacillating masses of the urban middle class and peasantry to freedom. It alone has the determination and agresive 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 form bourgeois control, under which most of them now exist. They must also obtain freedom from the reactionary and confused ideas which the bourgeoisie cultivate among them. These things require an independent workers' political party to educate, organise, and lead the workers in their struggle.

Under the leadership of the industrail workers, the movement of the masses can go forward to abolish foreign exploitation, to establish democracy, and those elementary per-requisites of life which 95 per cent. of the populations of India still lack. By means of strikes, demonstrations, hartals and the more laborious 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 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, 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 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 leaders 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 Non-Co-operation movement was not at first realised and expectation of its resumption and triumph continued for some time. But years went by, the policy of the Council Parties became more and more compromising and no effort was made to revive a mass movement. Hope of progress along the old lines gradually faded, and at the same time the class conflict within the country and the Congress made itself increasingly felt. At first reaction on the part of Congress supporters was growing indifference, but later it developed into a vague but increasingly acute discontent. The lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie who had been drawn into the N.C.O. movement were becoming impatient for a forward move. This tendency has been assisted by various factors—prolonged economic stagnation, the growth of a war-atmosphere (preparations on the frontiers, failure to disarm, despatch of troops to China, etc.), disappointment at the complete failure of the British Labour Government to do what had been expected of a party pledged to self-determination and a fight against Imperialism, the Chinese and Javanese events, continued provocation by Imperialism (the Exchange question, the Bengal detentions and other repressive measures). Saklatvala's propaganda,

Miss Mayo's book and its alleged official patronage, all have had their effect. A new policy is being sought, and a national feeling is once again arising, 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 process. The increasing organisation and 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 effort, 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 rendered a policy of conciliation by the bourgeois leaders for a 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 as the national leaders. It has further hampered a serious campaign of mass opposition on the basis of the Boycott agitation. Nevertheless public feeling has developed very strongly, in spite of all efforts to accentuate the communal divisions, so 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. In Bombay three Unions took formal decisions to strike, and more than thirty thousand workers actually struck and demonstrated. Many workers took part in other places).

Nevertheless the desertion of the majority of the bourgeois leaders, both within the Congress and without, is certain, and is already taking place. They have partially abandoned the policy of abstention from the legislatures. Many, *e. g.* in the Assembly debate, openly appeal for Indian membership of the Commission, and admit the right of Imperialism to the last word in deciding the

future of India. Boycott on principle was abandoned by the Assembly resolution which merely declared unacceptable the "present constitution and scheme of the Commission". The decision to draft a Constitution by the All-Parties' Conference is an admission of the right of the British Government to decide whether it shall be granted or not. Otherwise a statement of rights and a programme of action are all that are required of the All-Parties' Conference. The formula which it has accepted, "Full responsible Government" and the apologetic plea that "Dominion Status is a step towards Independence" mark the collapse of the Congress programme of complete independence. The quibbling over the communal differences show that no fundamental change in the nature of the Government is sought, and the petty sectional interests of to-day are allowed excessive importance. The decision not to advocate the alteration of the despotic regime prevailing in the Indian States, means that that fight which the nationalist movement must carry on against feudal oppression is to be shirked. The almost unanimous opinion in favour of a second chamber based on some restricted franchise show the reactionary and unrepresentative nature of the conference, and effectually disposes, of the pretence that mass support is to be sought to enforce the demands. The almost entirely bourgeois composition of the conference determines its intentions and policy. The participation of the Trade Union Congress is of no significance, as it is rightly believed to be under bourgeois control. How seriously the inclusion of the Trade Union Congress is taken is shown by the decision not to admit the right of strike among the "rights of workers and peasants".

Those Congress leaders who have agreed to the All-Parties Conference decisions have clearly shown that their advocacy of complete independence is insincere. The plea of Unity put forward to justify this action is entirely specious. Unity is possible only on the basis of a common principle. Those who want complete independence cannot compromise with those who are opposed to it. The sacrifice of complete independence for the sake of unity with the bourgeois parties is a betrayal of the immense majority of the population for the favour of a minute reactionary minority. Even the agreement of the bourgeois majority to many democratic principles, embodied in the All-Parties Conference decisions, is no adequate weight against the abandonment of the forward policy implied in the principle of complete independence, and those who have agreed to this bargain are guilty of a serious tactical mistake, if not more.

The agitation in the country of the Congress leaders, led by Bengal, is confined to the Boycott of British goods. This is a reformist weapon, intended to extort a compromise—alone it can do no more—from the Government. The bourgeois class is demonstrating once more its inability any longer to lead the national movement.

The middle classes, to whom the Boycott propaganda is directed, are reacting to it only in a half-hearted manner. Confidence in the majority of the bourgeois leaders has not yet been restored by their verbal radicalism over the Commission, and the masses generally are unwilling to be exploited for what they now know to be only the compromising ends of the bourgeoisie. There is a grave danger that the mass protest and indignation caused by the Commission will be allowed to die away in disappointment. Nothing but a militant and uncompromising practical lead will restore it to life and enable it to grow. It is the task of the Workers and Peasants Party to supply that lead.

Tasks of the party :—The 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 leading section of the mass movement which is now rising in India. It is the duty of all who are concerned with obtaining national freedom, establishing democracy within the country, and rescuing the population generally from its poverty, ignorance and social backwardness, to assist in this work. The chief immediate task for the Party is, by putting forward its correct, consistent and uncompromising policy, in contrast to the un-historic, vacillating and timid policy of the present leaders, to gather together 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 Workers' and Peasants' Party is the most pressing need of the present.

The policy of the Party must be to carry forward the campaign for the boycott of the Commission to the utmost extent in spite of any sabotage. Strikes and hartals 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 must work for the calling of a Constituent Assembly elected by universal adult suffrage which will concentrate and express authoritatively the diverse demands and scattered struggles of the masses. The Constituent Assembly, which can give the masses the united and militant lead which the All-Parties Conference failed to give, will be the nation's real answer to the British Government and the Simon Commission, and will constitute a definite step forward in the struggle of the masses for complete independence and the satisfaction of their pressing economic needs.

The slogan of the Boycott of British goods may be supported as a means of arousing enthusiasm, but only as a subsidiary to the slogan of a Constituent Assembly. As opposed to the programme of the All-Parties Conference, the Party must demand on behalf of the masses Complete Independence, and the establishment of democracy—Universal adult suffrage, freedom of speech, etc., the abolition of the Native States and the landlord system, and the

guarantee of the economic, political and social rights which the workers and peasants as classes require.

The Party must also carry on propaganda in relation to International affairs. The League against Imperialism must be supported, and its propaganda for the alliance of the revolutionary Labour movement and the colonial revolutionary movements be assisted. Solidarity must be encouraged with the Russian and Chinese revolutions, particularly in view of the danger of war. And a definite campaign must be conducted against war, especially among the peasants, who supply the soldiers, and among the workers, who supply the materials and transport. The slogan must be advanced of non-co-operation with the Government and the war machine in the event of war.

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 and to support them in its current propaganda. We and our sympathisers must become members of the provincial and All-India Congress Committees, and take active part in such work as leads towards the development of mass movement. We must support the Congress while it fights Imperialism, but must not hesitate to criticise the compromising tendencies of Congress leaders, however prominent. The alliance of the Party with the petty-bourgeois left of the Congress must be consolidated, on the basis of direct action for complete independence, as against the compromising bourgeois leadership.

(2) We must conduct propaganda among the youth that they may assist us in our work. The ideas of youth are sufficiently fluid and free from obsolete prejudices to enable us to enlist them on the side of the masses. We must assist in the establishment of a youth organisation with an advanced programme of demands and action, which shall broaden the social basis of the existing, primarily middle-class, youth movement.

(3) We must undertake the organisation and political education of the masses of workers and peasants. With the industrial workers our task is twofold (a) We have to organise the unorganised masses. (b) We have to emancipate those which are 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 propaganda 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, and the formation of central bodies such as 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 of work or residence, the holding of regular and frequent meetings, the discussion by members 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 the acceptance of our policy in the 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, Peasants. The masses of the peasants require organisation almost from the beginning. 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 peasants on sound lines. We must also undertake visits by our own members to villages, and induce our members and sympathisers among Trade Unionists, especially 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 items:—

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 moneylenders, by legal limitation of the rate of interest on loans and the provision of credit through banks. Provision of educational facilities, liberal, technical and hygienic. 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 propaganda organs in Bengali and English and an agitational organ in Hindi. Each branch of the Party should have its sub-committees for various classes of work, Trade Union, Peasants, Youth, Congress, Training.

The time is now ripe for big developments in the Party and the opportunity must be seized. At present the membership is far too small to undertake efficiently the numerous and laborious tasks which the Party has to perform. The most urgent need is the propaganda of the 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.

YOUTH.

An analysis of the situation of India at the present time, reveals that the Nationalist movement is undergoing a rapid change. The old movement, based upon the sectional interests of the capitalist class and its conflict with imperialism, is almost played out. The partial satisfaction of its needs, and the new policy of alliance with Indian capitalism which Imperialism has adopted, have deprived it of almost all inclination to revolt against Imperialism domination. At the same time the interests and sentiments of other strata of the population are forcing them to take up the struggle for freedom. The masses are becoming less amenable for use by the bourgeoisie for the peaceful extortion of concessions, and are tending to come forward on the political field as an independent force, acting in their own interests. The nationalist movement is being rapidly transformed from a movement of the wealthy and educated to a mass movement of the workers, peasantry, and lower middle classes.

Imperialism denies to the masses of India the elementary rights of personal and national freedom, democratic institutions, the free development by society of its own material resources and culture, and even a tolerable standard of life. The Indian bourgeoisie, who claim to be the protagonists of the whole people, have ceased to fight for these elementary necessities. Only when the masses themselves take in hand their own struggle will success be in sight.

The urgent need of the present, for the interests of the whole population, and its future economic and social development, is the organisation and education of the mass nationalist movement, now slowly and hesitatingly making appearance on the political field.

The most serious obstacle to its progress is the absence of a clear outlook and system of ideas corresponding to its needs and the circumstances of the time. Organisations of all kinds are still dominated by bourgeois interests and bourgeois mentality and timidity.

The Youth is the only section of society able to free itself from the obsolete ideas of the older nationalist movement, and it is therefore upon the youth that the responsibility rests of forming and educating the new mass nationalist movement. The efforts of the old bourgeois school to retain its control over the Congress, the Trade Union movement, etc., can only be defeated by the new, more vigorous ideas developed by the youth.

In the conflict now developing in India, there are only two sides. Increasingly the upper classes, including a large section of the bourgeoisie, fight on the side of Imperialism against the rising mass movement. Any effort to find a middle course must necessarily fail. All experience of movements based on the middle classes proved that they must take sides, either with the bourgeoisie or with the working class. Fascism, a movement mainly of the middle classes, always and everywhere serves the interests of capitalism. Indian Fascism can only serve the cause of Imperialism, since Imperialism and Indian capitalism are in ever closer alliance. By striking at the working class organisations Fascism would destroy the only force which can free India from Imperialism.

The rising generation is faced with two lines of action. It may pursue the path of traditional pure nationalism, which will inevitably lead it to the defence of capitalism, and hence of Imperialism and of political and social reaction. Or it may take the side of the historically progressive mass movement, assist it in its difficulties, and advance the cause of national independence, democracy, and economic and cultural progress.

The youth of all India is now awakening to consciousness on a great scale. It is essential that the Workers' and Peasants' Party should attract to its banner the newly organising forces of the youth. It must take energetic measures to draw as large a proportion as possible to the side of the masses, and to give them its scientific social outlook and energetic radical policy.

There must be established an Independent Youth organisation which shall have as its main functions to draw the youth into the political struggle, and to broaden the social basis of the traditional youth organisations by recruiting working class and peasant youth. It shall undertake the following tasks:- (1) participation in the political nationalist movement. (2) advance the cause of trade unionism among young workers, and study their working conditions. (3) fight for the redress of the special grievances of the youth,

especially the unemployed. (4) political study and self preparation. (5) conduct of education in political and economic subjects among workers, villages and students. (6) act as a centre within the existing general youth organisations for the propaganda of radical ideas and the advancement of a sound policy.

The Party must appoint a sub-committee to work with the youth organisation.

RESOLUTION ON THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

The Trade Union movement, which must in the future play a very important part in the political struggle of the country, is yet in a very backward condition. To remedy this is one of the most important tasks before the Party, and demands a large part of its attention and energy.

The chief weaknesses of the movement are:—

- (1) Insufficient organisation, resulting particularly in the lack of provision for the effective participation of the members in the work, and determination of policy.
- (2) The tendency to restrict the organisation to narrow bounds, of locality, trade or craft, and its result in the prevalence of rival and overlapping unions.
- (3) Absence of a militant policy; paying excessive attention to minor grievances, and neglecting the important questions, wages, etc.
- (4) Fear of politics.
- (5) Unbusiness-like methods, which reduce efficiency and open the door to corruption.

The Trade Union movement has not yet learnt to avoid the mistakes committed by older movements. In particular the British Trade Union movement, universally taken as a model, illustrates the necessity of participation in politics, and the dangers of sectarianism and insularity on the part of unions.

The chief root of the faulty organisation and policy of the movement is its domination by leaders drawn from the middle classes, who may have little or no knowledge of Trade Unionism or politics, and who in some cases act as conscious agents of capitalism. They have shaped the movement to their ends, and imbued it with their outlook.

Grosser cases of exploitation of the movement by un-principled leaders have already called forth many protest from the workers,

and there has grown up in some cases a dangerous distrust of "outsiders" of all kinds, and even of Trade Unionism itself. Even the best-intentioned among the older leaders have to confess to a relative failure to organise at any rate the great mass of lower-paid labour. The defects of a non-militant leadership have been very clearly shown recently in the B. N. Railway strike, and the Bombay textile strikes. In neither cases did the leaders attempt even to maintain the already demnable economic conditions of the workers, in spite of the magnificent stand which they were making.

The workers are ready for the sound and militant lead which the Workers and Peasants' Party alone can give.

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

One Union for one Industry.—In many Industries we find a number of trade unions catering for one trade. This multiplicity of Unions means overlapping of work and finance; this spells inefficiency. The fact that we find members of one Union working whole members of another in the same trade are in dispute is to be deplored since this means weakness and defeat. This question must be vigorously dealt with and amalgamation must be advocated and achieved. There must be one Trade Union for Railwaymen, one for Textile workers, etc. Party members must always oppose the formation of splitting or rival unions, except where they only union existing is controlled by Government or by employers.

T. U. C. and Trades Councils.—The Trade Union Congress must be made the co-ordinating body linking up the activities and struggle of the workers throughout India, and in this sphere the members of the Party must play an active part. All Unions must affiliate to the Trade Union Congress, and to its Provincial Committees where they exist.

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

The party considers that propoganda and preparatory work for the formarion of Trade Councils in Howrah and Calcutta, with the participation of all Unions and branches, should be begun at once.

100% Trade Unionism. The only way to wring any improved conditions from the employer is by the organised power of the workers and by their being prepare to use their power. Therefore, 100 per cent. organisations must be our Slogan. The Council set up by the T. U. C. for this purpose must get to work and members of the Party should use every effort to achieve this.

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

Factory Committees :—Workers in factories, etc. should elect Factory committee from among themselves. Representatives should be elected from Departments which would form the Committee. They should look after the interests of the workers, take complaints to the employers, inspect T. U. cards, and assist in bringing about 100 per cent. Trade Unionism.

Youth. :—Vigorous work must be carried on among the youth. They must be organised in the Trade Union movement on the same footing an older members and have the same rights of voting, etc.

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

- (1) Eight hour day ; (Two weeks holiday with pay per year).
- (2) Abolition of child labour.
- (3) Abolition of system of fines.
- (4) Minimum living wage.

- (5) State support for unemployed, old age pensions, Maternity benefit, sickness benefits.
- (6) Improvement of laws regarding workmen's compensation and employers' liability.
- (7) Installation of modern safety appliances in factories, mines, etc.
- (1) Abolition of the system of sardars.

Immediate Demands for individual Industries :—It is necessary for the Party to work out a programme of immediate demands for individual industries, such as one for miners, one for Railway men, Textile, etc., with slogan that will rally the workers of those particular industries around the Party in their struggle for better conditions.

RESOLUTION ON PEASANTS.

Three fourths of the population of India, or to be more precise, 221 millions out of a total of 320 are dependent on agriculture. Thus the very numerical strength of the peasants and their importance in the total production of social wealth and the basic, vital necessities of life must compel on our part a predominant attention to their needs and their position and part in the general National struggle for freedom.

Every section of public thought and organisation, including pro-government investigators repeat without a mistake, like a school lesson the fact that the peasantry in India is poverty-stricken and debt-ridden. A general analysis of the causes of peasant poverty and starvation reveals that the peasant is exploited by Government's high taxation and rent, the money-lender's exploitation and the exactions of the landowner. On the top of all this is the excessive subdivision into uneconomic fragments of land, and the merchants-trader's machine-manufactured goods entering the village, ruining the handicrafts and making hundreds into wage-earners. The money-lenders taking possession of land on failure to pay debts or the huge interest is creating landless-labourers, slaves of an absentee landlord. Matched against this poverty, and land-hunger, meagre strips of a few feet, worked upon by a primitive plough and rickety bullock stand the huge unbounded estates of the Talukdars, Zamindars and Rajahs of Bengal, Bihar and U. P. exacting tributes and high rent from their tenants and spending their loot in the cities of the land or elsewhere. Such idlers living on the incomes derived from the peasants toil are a Crore in the 22 Crores dependent on agriculture, but they hold more than 70 per cent. of the whole land in their possession and their levy on the peasantry amounts

to the huge figure of 190 Crores. In Bengal alone the landlords pay 2½ Crores in revenue but they make more than 13 Crores on mere idling and holding the scrap-paper of title to the land. Where the landlords are absent, as in Ryotwari, the Government takes almost whatever the peasant produces in rent. And apart from this, he is saddled with indirect taxation, which he does not see but feels. The effect of all this that a handful of five per cent. of the whole people own nearly 30 per cent. of the wealth of the land, while 60 per cent. of the people, mostly poor peasants and workers get only 30 per cent. of the wealth i. e., half of what they ought to have. No wonder, the result is that the bitterness in social relations, the class-cleavage between the excessively rich and the excessively poor is growing and the inevitable contradictions between their interests is becoming clearer.

Recognizing, where this class-cleavage would lead to and partly dictated by the needs of their own position, the Government has started taking stock of the potential resources of the peasantry and accentuating re-construction of Indian agriculture in the capitalist basis. This would temporarily raise the productive power of the individual peasant and thus make him a better consumer of industrial products and help the British heavy industries to their feet again. But, it would again embitter the class-struggle more by creating peasant unemployment and the expropriation of the poor peasants of his holdings. The Reserve Bank will replace the village money-lender and the Consolidation Bills will create rich farmers but the grip of the state, allied with rich Zamindars and farmers will be more thorough in its exploitation and will aggravate the struggle.

The Workers' and Peasants' Party therefore unequivocally stands for giving land to the peasants-cultivator, eliminating all idlers living on the tributes from the peasants. Uneconomic holdings must be made economic, not by capitalist consolidation and looting the poorest peasant but by adding to the share of the poor holder from the big limitless stretches of the absentee landlords. The Party stands for allowing none to exploit him by way of interest on debts or tributes or free labour. He must be absolved from all compulsory obligation including highrent and the heavy load on his produce. He must be under obligations to none but the State, representing his own interests and himself.

Therefore to achieve this ultimate aim in view, and to widen the outlook and develop capacities of class-conscious resistance on the part of the peasantry, the Party adopts the following programme of immediate needs.

- (1) Elimination of all mid-agencies between the peasant and the State.

- (2) Direct representation of the peasant on the State apparatus through an adult universal franchise, working through peasant Panchayats.
- (3) Immediate provisions of land from big estates.
- (4) Substantial reduction in rent.
- (5) Review of the debt and interest obligations through peasants-courts with a view to their extinction.
- (6) State credit to the peasants.

The Party makes it clear that the above are merely immediate demands, which are ultimately to lead to a Swaraj of unexploited and free peasant and worker, each working his own destiny, unhampered by Zamindars or money-lenders or an Imperialist Government or a capitalist investor. The Party is willing to co-operate with every organisation working for the realisation of the above demands, with a view to ultimately secure a social reconstruction to emancipate the peasant. All the same, it does not countenance the reversion to mediaeval forms of labour or addition of work to the peasants life, but is radical, scientific and advanced guard in political, social and economic matters.

THE LILLOOAH WORKERS.

This conference expresses its sympathy with the relatives of those were killed and the wounded in the outrage at Bamungachhi on Wednesday.

It protests against the action, taken by the Government forces and European Staff, which has now become a regular practice in strikes, of shooting upon strikers with the object of disheartening and defeating them.

It congratulates the E. I. Railwaymen now locked out, and those on strike in sympathy with them, both on the railway and in other works, and promises them the full support of the Party.

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF INDIA.

This Conference endorses the action of the Executive Committee in attempting, in agreement with Parties and groups in other parts of India, to establish the "Workers' and Peasants' Party of India," and appoints comrades (1) Muzaffar Ahmad (2) Dharani Kanta Goswami (3) A. Roy (4) Abdul Halim to form a sub-

committee to represent the Party in making arrangements to form the united Party and to hold an All-India Conference in December next.

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM.

This Conference welcomes the formation of the "League Against Imperialism" and approves of its work for the alliance of the revolutionary working class of the imperialist countries and the revolutionary nationalist movements in the subject countries. It urges the formation of a centre for conducting the propaganda of the League in India, and protests against the proscription of the publications of the League by Government.

WORKERS' WELFARE LEAGUE OF INDIA, LONDON.

This Conference congratulates the Workers Welfare League of India upon the service it has rendered for years past to the masses of India, and deplores the action of the Executive Council of the All-India Trades Union Congress in breaking off relations with it.

WORKERS' DEFENCE CORPS.

In view of the fact that it is the general practice with the capitalists to try to break strikes by violence, this conference urges upon the T. U. Movement, the necessities of organising disciplined Workers' Defence Corps for conducting strikes, demonstrations etc., in an effective manner.

ORGANISATION.

If the Workers' and Peasant's Party is to fulfil its role, to form correctly and carry out successfully its decisions, it must pay for more attention than hitherto to organisation. The political effect of the Party, and its ability to carry out its main function, that of leadership, depends very largely on its state of organisation. Thoroughly organised, even if numerically weak, the Party can become a power to be reckoned with in the industrial and political world. Without this condition energy will be wasted, and the movement which the Party attempts to lead will remain chaotic and ineffective.

(1) The Party must be on such a basis that decision can be easily transmitted, correctly understood and quickly put into effect.

(2) It must be able to remain constantly in touch with the masses; and to ascertain quickly all their trends of thought and action.

(3) It must be able to participate actively in the every day struggle of the masses, to show them the value of the Party, and to rally them to itself.

(4) It must be able to receive, train and organise in its ranks those who agree with its policy and want to help it.

PLAN OF ORGANISATION.

Subject to alteration upon the establishment of the All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party, the following should be the plan of organisation:—

(1) There shall be an Enlarged Executive Committee representing all branches and affiliated bodies, and an Executive Committee consisting of members resident within a short distance from the Central Office.

(2) Branches should be set up in Towns, Districts, Subdivisions and Villages under the direction of the Executive Committee.

(3) Groups set up in Factories, Railways, Mines, etc. should work on Factory Committees.

(4) Fractions or Groups should be set up in Trade Union Branches, Management Committees, Executive Committees etc. and also in Provincial Congress Committees. This applies to the T.U.C. and A.I.C.C.

(5) A definite Youth Organisation should be brought into being to work in the existing Youth movement, Trade Unions and Congress Committees, etc.

(6) A Women's Section must be set up to work among women and organise them where possible in Trade Unions, and in special women's organisations.

OPERATION OF ORGANISATION.

1. Study Circles must be started forthwith in order that members may understand and correctly apply party policy. The Study Circle should be begun under the leadership of a member approved by the Branch or E.C. as capable. He must submit a report at the end of the course of study on the work of the group and the progress of each individual.

2. It is essential that all Committees, Branches, and Fractions should meet regularly. and keep up to date with current events.

The Executive Committee must meet at least every two weeks and Branches and Fractions or Groups every week.

3. The entire Branch Membership shall be grouped in accordance with their special party work, *e. g.* in Trade Union Groups, Congress groups, Peasants groups, etc. Each member must belong to at least one group. Each group shall appoint a group leader, who shall be responsible to the Central or Branch Committee according to size.

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

5. **Branch Committees** :—The branch Committee shall co-ordinate the entire work of the own or village and be responsible to the Executive Committee to which it must report all work, and receive instructions on general lines of policy, which it should convey to the groups.

6. **Executive Committee**:—This Committee shall coordinate the whole party activity. It conveys instructions on policy to the Branches, groups, etc. and must receive report regularly from Branches groups, etc. on work done, future meetings or organisations, election of officers, etc. The Executive Committee shall have power to deal with all problems, and to issue manifestoes and leads in the name of the workers' and Peasants' Party.

7. **Committees elected**:—Branch Committees and office bearers shall be the Chairman, Secretary, Executive Members and Treasurer, who shall be elected by the whole branch membership and with group leaders shall constitute the E. C. of branch.

8. **The Executive Committee**:—This Committee shall be elected by an annual meeting of representatives, elected by party Branches and groups affiliated organisations.

Reporting:—It is essential that group and fraction leaders report after each meeting of their group or fraction, or more often,

if necessary, on work, done future work difficulties, new developments etc. The reports should go to Branch Committee and thence to the E. C. The correct formulation of policy and concentration of energy by the Branchwhole party, depends upon accurate and complete knowledge of the statuation, obtainable only from such reports.

Training :—New members admitted to the Party as individuals should be incorporated in study circles as soon as possible. The E. C. should prepare an outline syllabus suitable for a short course of such study.

Fraction :—Should be set up in all existing Trade Unions, Congress Committees, Youth Organisations, Peasants' Unions and Branches of same.

Groups :—Branch Committees and E. C. must divide work into suitable groups, which shall co-ordinate the work of fractions, study groups, etc.

Meetings :—In order to push forward work, and maintain contact, Party meeting of all kinds must take place for more regularly and frequently than hitherto. All committees and groups should meet weekly at a fixed time and place.

Membership :—The basis of individual membership shall be the acceptance of the Party programme, the payment of dues, and the performance of organised work. Admission should be subject to the approval of the E. C.

Affiliated bodies :—Particular attention must be paid to affiliated unions and Peasants' associations. Affiliation to the Party must be made a reality to the members of the Union. Branches of of the Union should be affiliated to the local branch of the Party and close relations established. Party members, must undertake the political education of the affiliated members, and must assist the organisation especially at periods of struggle. Fraction building within the affiliated body must be carried on vigorously, as the only guarantee for the hold of the Party policy upon the organisation is the existence within it of a strong fractions of Party members.

Discipline :—It is essential for Party work that individuals should observe the requirements of a Party discipline. Decisions once taken by the appropriate organ of the Party, must be obeyed.

THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL

CONSTITUTION.

1928.

1. NAME :—The name of the Party is the *Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal*. It will be styled in Bengali as *Bangiya Krishak-O-Shramic Dal*.

N. B.—This party shall be the integral part of the *Workers' and Peasants' Party of India* which is yet to be formed.

2. OBJECT :—The object of the Party is the attainment of *Complete Independence* from *British Imperialism* and thorough democratisation of India based on economic and social emancipation and political freedom of men and women.

3. MEANS :—The rallying the People to Mass Action will be the principal means for the attainment and realisation of the above objects.

4. EXTENT :—The activities of the Party will extend to the entire province of Bengal and the Bengali speaking districts of Assam and Bihar & Orissa.

5. MEMBERSHIP :—(a) The membership of the Party shall be of two kinds.

(1) Individual and (2) Affiliated.

(b) Any person not below the age of 18 years who will subscribe to the object, constitution and programme of the party may be taken in as an individual member of the party subject to the approval of the Executive Committee. Every individual member, except students and women will have to become a member of some workers' or peasants' union within two months of this becoming a member of the Party.

(c) The Executive Committee of the Party shall have power to affiliate with it any workers' or peasants' union which is in sympathy with the object and programme of the Party. The Party shall undertake the work of giving the members of affiliated unions class-conscious education in trade unionism and politics, and shall assist the work of the unions by advice and propaganda.

6. SUBSCRIPTION :—(a) Each individual member of the Party shall pay in advance an annual subscription of Rupee One.

In the case of the individual being a worker or a peasant the subscription will be Four Annas annually. The Executive Committee may exempt any body from subscription if it thinks so desirable.

(b) Affiliated organisations shall have to pay annually at the rate of One Pice per member with a minimum of Rs. 5/- No organisation shall be compelled to pay more than Rs. 50/- annually.

MANAGEMENT.

7. (a) The work of the Party shall be conducted in the following way :—

There shall be held an *Annual Conference* of the Party. This Conference or the Congress of the proposed "Workers' and Peasants' Party of India" shall direct and control the policy and programme of the Party.

(b) The Annual Conference of the Party shall be held with all individual members and affiliated societies so long as the membership of the Party does not reach a sufficient number. With the growth of members the Conference shall be held with individual members and delegates of the affiliated unions.

(c) **SPECIAL CONFERENCE** :—In case of emergency the Enlarged Executive Committee or the Executive Committee shall have power to summon a special Conference, one third of the members of the Enlarged Executive Committee or two-thirds of the members of the Executive Committee agreeing such a Special Conference may be convened.

(d) **ENLARGED EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE** :—There shall be an Enlarged Executive Committee of the Party. This Committee shall be constituted within one month after the Annual Conference or meeting of the Party. The members of this Committee shall be elected from amongst the individual and affiliated members, the affiliated unions and branches of the Party electing one representative for every 1000 members, provided that every affiliated union or branch shall in any event elect one representative.

(e) If between two annual elections there is vacancy in the Enlarged Executive Committee of the representatives of any affiliated union or if any new union is affiliated the affiliated union concerned shall elect some of its members to fill up the vacancy or to represent it thereon as the case may be and if there is a vacancy of representative of the individual members the Enlarged Executive Committee shall fill up the vacancy by nominating a member from amongst the individual members.

(f) The work of the Party shall be conducted under the guidance of the Enlarged Executive Committee which shall meet every three months.

(g) Whenever required the Executive Committee on its own motion may, or if requisitioned in writing either jointly or separately by one fifth of the members of the Enlarged Executive Committee must, convene a meeting of the Enlarged Executive Committee. Fifteen members of the Enlarged Executive Committee shall form a quorum for the purpose of a meeting.

(h) **Executive Committee:**—There shall be an Executive Committee of the Party elected every year from amongst the individual and affiliated members, residing in or near Calcutta during the Party's annual conference.

(i) If between two elections there is any vacancy in the Executive Committee the Committee shall itself fill up the vacancy from among the individual or affiliated members.

(j) The Executive Committee shall be entrusted to carry out the programme of work of the Party and it shall be responsible to the Enlarged Executive Committee for its work. The Executive Committee shall submit an annual report of its work duly passed by the Enlarged Executive Committee to the Annual Conference of the Party.

(k) For facilitation of works there shall be different groups in the Executive Committee. The members of the Executive Committee shall not exceed twenty and five members of it shall form a quorum for the purpose of a meeting. The Executive Committee shall meet at least once per month.

(l) The member of the Executive Committee shall automatically be considered as members of the Enlarged Executive Committee.

(m) **office Bearers:**—The Executive Committee shall elect from its members one Chairman, two Vice-Chairmen, one General Secretary, two or more Group or Sectional Secretaries and one Treasurer.

BRANCHES.

8. (a) A branch of the Party shall be established under the supervision of the Executive Committee in any town or village where there are twelve members.

(b) The branch shall elect a secretary, chairman, treasurer and branch committee.

(c) The branch secretary shall receive instructions from the Executive Committee and shall report on branch activities etc., to the Executive Committee, at least monthly.

(d) Branches of affiliated unions shall be affiliated to the local branch of the Party and shall be represented on its committee.

(e) The Secretary and Treasurer of the branch shall collect subscriptions from the members. Funds collected shall be allocated as decided upon between the Branch Committee and the Executive Committee.

(f) The branch committee shall subject to the direction of the Executive Committee, supervise and direct all Party work and propaganda within its area.

RULES

9. (a) The Enlarged Executive Committee shall have power to frame general rules for carrying out the programme of the Party.

(b) Every member of the Executive Committee and the Enlarged Executive Committee shall have to raise some subscription for the Party.

(c) Any member of the Executive Committee who fails to attend four successive meetings shall automatically cease to be a member.

The Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal.

Report of The Executive Committee, 1927-1928.

History of the Party :—The Executive Committee, in presenting its report of work done to the Party Conference has thought fit to deal with the whole history of the Party from its formation, since no report has previously been issued.

The original motive of the formation of the Party as a group within the National Congress, was dissatisfaction at the stagnation of the Congress, and the apparent inability of its leaders to originate any fruitful policy, and at the same time indignation at the way in which the Congress and the Swaraj Party were dominated and used for their own ends entirely by the landlord and capitalist classes.

The Party came into existence as the "Labour Swaraj Party of the Indian National Congress," on 1st November 1925, and a provisional constitution and statement of policy were issued over the signature of Quazi Nazrul Islam. The statement declared that, all other means for attaining independence having failed, the Party will seek to achieve Swaraj and the salvation of the country by the organisation of Labour and Peasantry, who form eighty per cent of the population, so that they may wrest freedom from the hands of vested interests by their own might and for their own interests. The Party would fight for the economic interests of workers and peasants and would support candidates for legislatures who would put these items in their programmes. It proposed also to send its

own members into the legislatures, and to co-operate when possible with other organisations engaged in National service. Party members were allowed to be members of the Swaraj Party.

The chief among those who were identified with the foundation and early work of the Party were Comrade Shamsuddin Husain, of Birbhum, who has since died, Comrade Hemanta Kumar Sarkar, who has left Bengal, Comrade Qutbuddin Ahmad, who has left the Party, and Comrade Quazi Nazrul Islam, who is politically inactive.

An All-Bengal Tenants' Conference was held on 6 February 1926 at Krishnagar, under the Presidentship of Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta, M. A., D. L. Many representatives of peasants and tenants were present, and several members of the Labour Swaraj Party. It was decided forthwith to form the "Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal," in which the Labour Swaraj Party was merged, and a committee was elected with Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen as Chairman and Comrades Hemanta Kumar Sarkar and Qutbuddin Ahmad as secretaries respectively of the peasants' and workers' sub-committees. A constitution was approved and published, embodying the main points of policy of the Labour Swaraj Party.

The second conference of the Party was held in Calcutta on 19 and 20 February 1927 under the presidency of Comrade Atul Chandra Gupta M. A., B. L., when an address of welcome was given to Comrade S. Saklatwala, M. P. About 40 members were present, and about 300 visitors. A new programme of demands and organisation was adopted.

Organisation and work :—During 1926 the membership remained at about 40, and was confined to Calcutta, except for the branch at Mymensingh. (The "Mymensingh Peasants' and Workers' Party" had been in existence for some time before the formation of the Labour Swaraj Party, and on the formation of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party it entered as a branch). The national movement was still in a state of apathy and disorganisation, and funds being short and the political level of the membership low, the Party was able to make little progress.

In 1927 conditions generally improved. New life began to appear, if slowly, in the Labour and political movements, and the Party was able to effect a certain amount of substantial work.

(1) In the labour field: (a) The Party conducted propaganda among the Jute workers, in conjunction with the "Bengal Jute Workers' Association." The President Vice-President and General Secretary of the Association are Party members, and it affiliated to the Party in October 1927. Re-organisation and extension of the work of the Association are now being carried on.

(b) Party members are engaged in re-establishing the "Dakeswari Cotton Mill Workers' Union" at Dacca.

(c) Party members are reorganising according to Trade Union principles the "Bengal Glass Workers' Union."

(d) In January 1928 under the auspices of the Party was formed the "Scavengers' Union of Bengal," begun at Calcutta, with branches already formed at Howrah and Dacca, an one in process of formation at Mymensingh. A successful strike was fought by the Calcutta Scavengers in March.

(e) Party members have established the "Workers' Protection League," which has contested in court many cases under the Indian Workmen's Compensation Act.

(f) In December 1927, Party members rendered assistance in organisation and propaganda in the strike of dock-workers at Calcutta.

(g) Some Party members went to study the situation at Kharagpur during the dispute of October and November 1927, but in the absence of close contact with the men, and with inadequate resources, were unable to take any useful action. In the conflict which developed between the leaders, both sides seemed to be adopting wrong tactics, for improper motives, and the men, in spite of their great fight, achieved only a very partial success.

(h) In the prolonged conflict between the two rival Trade Union Federations, the Party has seen no reason to take up a position on either side. It is, however, in favour of strengthening the association of Bengal Trade Unions, and now that the dispute has apparently ceased, it will urge all unions with which it is connected to affiliate.

(2) In regard to peasants: A new branch of the Party has been formed recently to cover Atia and Tangail, and it is making rapid progress. (In the Tangail sub-division of the Mymensingh District, the Government, in agreement with the zamindars has declared "Protected Forest" an area of 104 square miles, covering 104 villages, and a population of over one lakh. The villagers have been prevented from cutting trees, grazing cattle, fishing, etc., and even from carrying goods or driving carts along roads. The object of the policy is to cause the area to revert to forest, which owing to its timber etc. will be more profitable. Cultivation is already declining, disease increasing, and if the policy is allowed to continue, the area will be depopulated within a short time.)

Nevertheless the Peasants' and other sub-committees of the Party have not worked, while the workers' sub-committee has acted

only in an unorganised manner. As the work of the Party extends, the efficient operation of the Central Office and its departments will become essential, and they should be put a sound footing at once.

During the year the individual membership increased, and is now 125, consisting of peasants and intellectuals in about equal proportions, with a few workers. A branch of the Party is to be established shortly at Dacca. The affiliated membership, including branch membership, is over 10,000. The numbers, social composition, activity and political education of the members are far from satisfactory, but some progress has been made in all these respects.

Relations with other organisations:—A few of our members were able to attend as delegates the Delhi and Cawnpore Sessions of the All-India Trade Union Congress (March and November 1927) and in agreement with comrades from Bombay and the Punjab were able to press our point of view with some success. Two of our members are in the Executive Council of the Trade Union Congress.

Three of our members were elected in 1927 to the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, and two to the All India Congress Committee. At the Madras Session of the Congress (December 1927) with comrades from Madras, Bombay, Ajmer-Merwara and the Punjab, we formed a fraction which was able to give effective expression to our views in the subjects committee.

At the Dacca Young Men's Conference in August 1927, one of our members was elected to preside over the Workers' and Peasants' section.

Publications:—On 16 December 1925 the "Langal" (Plough) was started as a Bengali weekly paper, the organ of the Labour Swaraj Party. Qutbuddin Ahmad provided all the initial expenses and Quazi Nazrul Islam conducted it. Fifteen issues were published, the last on 15th April 1926. It was stopped owing to financial embarrassment. It reappeared under the name "Ganavani" (Voice of the People) the official organ of the Peasants' and Workers' Party, on 12 August, and was edited by Muzaffar Ahmad. Nine numbers appeared, the last on 12 October 1926, when it ceased publication owing to lack of money, and the ill-health of the editor and the manager. Again from 14 April to 27 October 1927, 23 numbers appeared, and publication then ceased for lack of money. The paper was able to run only because of the assistance of many comrades, among whom should be mentioned Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen, who gave Rs. 170, and Comrade Atul Chandra Gupta, who gave Rs. 50. Qutbuddin Ahmad also suffered much loss on account of the paper.

Both papers, which were intended primarily for the student class, intellectuals, etc., were partly propagandist, partly agitational.

At the beginning we had a circulation of about 5000, but after the Hindu-Muslim riots of 1926, it decreased considerably. Nevertheless we were successful in creating an atmosphere in Bengal favourable to the ideas of the Party.

The Bengali weekly "Jagaran" (Awakening), published from Kustia in the Nadia District, though not a Party organ, is conducted by a Party member, and supports our policy.

(2) In April 1926, on the occasion of the first communal riot, two manifestoes in Bengali, and one in Urdu, were issued, giving a clear account of the origin and consequences of communalism. In December 1927 the Party published in English a manifesto addressed to the Indian National Congress. Copies were circulated at Madras, and in other provinces. It urged the Congress to declare for unconditional Boycott of the Simon Commission, not to be obsessed with the necessity of unity with the hesitating bourgeois parties, but to declare boldly for complete independence, and to call for a National Constituent Assembly, based upon universal suffrage, and to adopt a programme of popular demands to rally the people.

Parties in other Provinces:—In 1926 was formed in Bombay a "Congress Labour Group," which in 1927 changed its name to Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay. For some months in that year it published "Kranti" (Revolution) a workers' weekly paper in Mahratti. Some members of the Party have from time to time met and corresponded with the Bombay comrades for the purpose of common action and the formulation of common policies. Similarly the Party has been in touch with the Workers' and Peasants' group at Lahore, which published an Urdu weekly "Mihnatkash" (Worker), and the group at Amritsar which publishes "Kirti" (Worker), a Gurumukhi monthly, and has recently started a monthly Urdu "Kirti." It is proposed to form a joint Committee to decide upon the formation of an All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party, and to hold an All-India Conference.

Policy:—The policy pursued by the Party has been in the main that laid down at its formation—to work in alliance, so far as possible with other national bodies, for the development of a mass movement for national freedom of the workers and peasants, based upon their economic and general interests. In regard to communalism, we have proposed not to abolish or limit it by agreement, a policy which inevitably fails and does more harm than good, but to undermine it by the creation of a movement based on the genuine interests of the masses. The policy proposed by us in connection with the Commission agitation have been dealt with above. We have tried to draw the Trade Union movement into politics in an anti-imperialist direction. We have approached the Youth by pointing out that the

Party policy is the only one capable of attaining national freedom and democratic institutions, and that the policy of other nationalist parties is calculated to attain no more than minor concessions, and in addition is indifferent to the welfare of the great majority of the nation. Our policy and tactics in connection with the national movement and the Congress require careful determination. On the one hand we have not been sufficiently aggressive. Especially in the absence of our organ, the Party policy has not been brought sufficiently before the public which has been allowed to suppose that on such important questions as the Boycott of the Simon Commission, or the Boycott of British goods, we had no policies at all, or none different from those of the Swaraj Party. On the other hand we must be careful not to oppose the National Congress without sufficient definition of our opinions, or we shall enable our opponents to claim that we are anti-Congress, or even antinational, and that we stand merely for the sectional claims of labour. Recent developments in the policy of the Congress leaders, their action in connection with the Scavengers' strike (recruiting blacklegs) etc., show that there is a tendency to mobilise nationalist sentiment against us in a Fascist manner. It is unnecessary to say that this development may become an extremely dangerous one for us and for the movement. We must maintain our alliance with as large a stratum as possible of the middle class, and can ally with any section, whatever its social basis, which fights against imperialism. The basis of our opposition to the Swaraj Party is not that it is bourgeois, but that it is not whole-heartedly for national independence. This must be made clear in our propaganda.

Our duty :—Nevertheless our task in the coming year lie mainly in the sphere of organisation. The revival of the nationalist and labour movements will be fruitful only if it is accompanied by the growth of a Party. The increased work required of us will only be possible on the basis of a larger membership and an improved organisation. Our membership must be increased, especially from the working class, study circles must be instituted, and our whole apparatus tightened up. We must pay particular attention to the organisation of groups of our members who are also members of other organisations, Trade Unions and their committees, Peasant Societies and their committees, Congress committees, Youth organisations, etc., so that our policy may be put forward to the members of these bodies in a systematic manner. Finally all Party committees, central or local, branches, groups, fractions etc., must make a point of meeting frequently and regularly and of reporting their activities. Without these things, the Party work, as distinct from the work of the individual members, cannot go on.

Representative Abroad :—In April 1927, the general Secretary of the Party, S. N. Tagore was sent to Europe to study the labour

political and movements. He has studied particularly in Germany. In October 1927 an invitation was received from the Federation of Russian Rural Co-operatives to send a representative to take part in the celebration on the 10th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. As the time was short, and passports are difficult to obtain, Comrade Tagore was asked by us to represent us. He was however, not able to do so.

Class Struggle Victims:—Two of our comrades of the Cownpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case, S. A. Dange of Bombay, and Shaukat Usmani of Bikaner, were released in the period under review. Comrade Muhammad Shafique, of N. W. Frontier Province, after suffering three years' imprisonment for conspiracy, and 18 months' detention in his native village, was also released. Comrade Ramchandra Kapur of Lahore, the first editor of "Mihnatkash," was sentenced to six months imprisonment for sedition and was released in February 1928. Comrades P. Spratt of the Labour Research Department, London, and S. S. Mirajkar, Secretary of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay, were prosecuted for the publication of a pamphlet "India and China," but were acquitted. Comrade Malik Fazl-i-Ilahi Qurban of Lahore, was sentenced in August 1927 to five years' imprisonment, reduced on appeal to three, for conspiracy, he having been a student of the Eastern University of Moscow. Comrade D. Campbell of the Communist Party of Great Britain was sentenced in March 1927 to 18 months' imprisonment for being in possession of a counterfeit passport, etc. Comrade Muhammad Akbar Khan is still in prison, having been sentenced in 1921 to three years, and in 1922 to seven more years' imprisonment for conspiracy.

Our Mails:—The Executive Committee desires to make a public protest against the petty persecution suffered by the Party at the hands of the C. I. D. Our mails, especially foreign mails, are not delivered to us properly. They are always late, and often not delivered at all. A registered cover posted to us in Bombay on 11th February has not been delivered yet. A second registered and insured cover posted later was so long delayed before delivery that it was useless for its original purpose. The Federation of Russian Rural Co-operatives sent us two telegrams in September and October 1927. The first was not delivered, and the second arrived too late to be of use. The General Secretary sent us by M.O. from Germany in December last £40 which he had collected for the publication of a paper for Jute workers. It has not yet been delivered. A similar sum sent to Bombay for a Textile workers' paper has also not been received. All periodicals sent from abroad, whether proscribed or not, are withheld (except the "Press Reports" of the I. F. T. U.) Our protests to the authorities are met with promises of "inquiry",

and a denial of our assertion that the C. I. D. interferes. We have our own ocular evidence to prove that the C. I. D. officers habitually search the mails. In some cases ignorant persons are employed at this work, who indiscriminately carry away all packages addressed to suspects.

Proscription:—Similarly we wish to protest against the practice of proscribing books and periodicals. Proscription has now gone so far that it amounts to nothing short of throttling the intellectual life of the country. Many publications of an objective and theoretical kind are banned; a recent case is that of "The Future of Indian Politics", by Comrade M.N. Roy. Even under the present law such proscription could not be defended in the court. A still clearer case is that of the pamphlet "India and China". The Government has refused to remove the ban from it, although the author has been judged not to be guilty of sedition in writing it. The Press and other defenders of the public have been lacking in their duty in not conducting a more persistent propaganda against this and similar tyrannical practices, which constitute a serious obstacle to the progress of the national movement.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1927-28

President:

- (1) Atul Chand Gupta, M. A., B. L.

Vice-President:

- (2) Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta, M. A., D. L.

General Secretary:

- (3) Saumyendra Nath Tagore, B. A. (Abroad).
- (4) Muhammad Abdur Razzak Khan (Acting).

Sectional Secretary (Labour):

- (5) Dharani Kanta Goswami

Sectional Secretary (Peasant):

Vacant.

Members:

- (7) Pyari Mohan Das
- (6) Muzaffar Ahmad

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6. Ashutosh Ray
7. Gopendra Chakravarty
8. M. Abdur Razzak Khan
9. Abdul Hafim
10. Aftab Ali
11. Nirod Kanta Chakravarti
12. Pyari Mohan Das
13. Sudhindra Nath Chakravarti.

APPENDIX

*The demands formulated in the Second Conference of the
"PEASANTS' & WORKERS' PARTY OF BENGAL"
held on the 27th February 1927.*

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS

(A) Political Demands.

- I. Universal adult suffrage.
- II. Removal of all racial and cast distinctions
- III. Complete liberty of the press, of speech and the right of associations.
- IV. Removal of all obstacle in the path of the Trade Unions and guaranting to them all the rights which would place them on a footing of equality with the Trade Unions of all progressive countries.

(B) Economic Demands

- I. Abolition of all indirect taxes as far as practicable and fixing the scale of Income Tax on a progressive scale on incomes of Rs. 200/- or over per month.
- II. Abolition of landlordism and nationilisation of land.
- III. Legislation permitting leasing out of agricultural lands direct to the actual peasants.

- IV. Fixing the minimum scale of the rental for all arable land in proportion to the produce so that in no case should the scale fixed exceed ten per cent. of the actual produce.
- V. Starting of State Co-operating Banks for advancing loan to the cultivators on which the maximum rate of interest should be 7 per cent. per annum. This legal rate of interest should also be binding on those who carry on private banking.
- VI. There should be no transfer of land in case of failure of the peasants to pay their debt.
- VII. Measure for educating the agriculturists on the modern scientific methods of agriculture.
- VIII. Reduction of working hours for Industrial Labour to 8 hours per day and five days and half in the week. The women and child workers should have their working hours still more reduced.
- IX. The establishment of National Minimum wage for the industrial workers by statutory measures. This should be 33 per cent. above what is required to satisfy the essential human needs of the workers.
- X. Legislative measures for the institution of old age pensions sickness and unemployment Insurance Funds in every industry.
- XI. The Workmen's Compensation Act which determines the extent of employers' liabilities should be liberally recast and prompt measures should be taken to give due effect to it.
- XII. To compel the employers by means of legislation to introduce the use of those improved appliances invented for securing the workers against dangers incidental to working in the mines and other industries.
- XIII. Payment of weekly wages.

(C) Social Demands.

- I. To drive out illiteracy amongst the masses completely.
- II. Establishment of hospitals and health resorts for the Workers and the peasants and of maternity homes for women workers about to become mothers.
- III. Measures for imparting lessons on sanitation and hygiene to the masses.

- ✓ IV. Compel the employers to make proper housing arrangements for the workers and charge rents that may not be beyond their means.
- V. Measures prohibiting the employment of women and child labour on work attended with danger.
- VI. Legislative measures against employment of children below the age of 14.

In view of the fact that the only means for the successful working of this programme is COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE OF INDIA FROM BRITISH IMPERIALISM the "Peasants and Workers' Party" would never hesitate to work in co-operation with all parties who are in agreement with this ideal and ready to work for its realisation.

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P. 524

One pamphlet in Bengali entitled "Political Resolution",

P. 525.

A Star of India File containing the following 4 documents amongst others :—

P. 525. (1)

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E. A. Dasi & Sons, Printers, Bombay.

P. 525. (2)

A map of Hamburg showing route to International Seamen's Club.

P/525. (3)

P. Sptatt.

20. 3. 29.

Calcutta Tramway Workers' Union

Address: 8 Old Post Office St.

Officers. Pres. Dr. B.N. Dutt; V. Ps. S. N. Banerji; B. P. Godbole; & Mahbul Huq, (3) Sec. P. K. Sayd; 7 Asst. Secs. (representing workers, 6 Depots & 1 Workshop). 2 Treasurers (Workers) 35 Committees in all.

Date of foundation 27 Nov. 1927: Howrah Busno asst. Sec., Shop (Nanapukur). (these came in late) Belgatchia Rajabagan. Poli Circus Strongest section Kidderpur, Kalighat.

History: Hartal Feb. 3 1928. 47 suspended of which 17 dismissed—who were the leading members of the Union (4 Asst. Secs. & 2 Treasurers etc.)

17 were supported for by turn to the men of the Union.

Provincial question (Hmd V. By.) arose at this time on initiative of employees. Hmd people joined on Feb. 3, & were the cause of the failure.

This has continued, and destroyed union. Union prospered up to.

Ogn. Section Committees (7 Secs.) of 35 members with one Sec. who is also Asst. Sec. of Union.

Meetings are held at 7 centres.

No special reps. of grades.

S.G.M. in May 27. — and also Sp. Exv. meeting.

17th June, 13 may

24 March.

Also Section meetings (none since July).

Cat. 1 E. C. meetings 15 Sept. last. 13 June. now monthly.

Work. Petition formulating grievances sent by workers in Nov. 1st week, 1927. (before union). 20 Nov. Co. reptive refusing. 7 Dec. E. K. S. replied refuting orgn.

11 Dec. Puell & Holesworth meeting. 12 Dec. some concession.

i. e. 8 hrs. work instead of 10, 11, 12 or 0.

Fine fund. for sports, gratuities etc. Formed Committee of higher officials to manage it.

Prov. Fund (est. actually July 1928).

Listen to individual grievances (Previously no one dared etc.)

Conditions in depositing cash with cashiers with less delay (no checking on spot) much time saved.

Leave. Previously 14 days $\frac{1}{2}$ pay now full pay (after 1 yr.)

Short cash. Prev. fine of 8 as. Now 4 as. refund within 24 hrs. no fine)

Fines now taken at end of month.

Promised if Co. gets lease fr. Corpn. will give barracks for 50% of men and after more.

No benefit funds.

Pol. Hartal.

On Pay day officers go with acct. books to take subscriptions etc. and recruit. One co-officer stand at pay office to keep them away.

No Pubns. leaflets and const.

Finance. (1) Rate 2/as per month.

(2) -- given.

(3) up to 31 March from member.

464 Rs. 9/9/- (4 months).

Apr. 65/13/-

May. 82/14/-

June. 70/10/-

July. 53/8/-

Aug. 25/10/-

Sept. 21/2/-

Donations for Support of.....
on up to end of Mar.

(for. T. U. C. 80)	93 Rs.	237/-/-
Apr.	124/-/-	
May	3/12/-	1026/2/9
June	2/-/-	
July	5/-/-	
Total loan Rs.	9/-	

237/-/-

some ac.

same men.

Exp.	On relief up to 31 March 180			
		Ap.	My.	June.
		54	58	25.
	Loan	58/3/-	largely to	57/8 20/-
	clerk kept up to Sept. at Rs. 20/-			
	new clerk on to Rs. 15/-		Relief	
			July	Aug.
			9.	2/10/-
			Relief	328/10/-
	nominal bal of RI in bal		Loan	129/11/-
	Affn. to B. T. U. F.	fee paid	definitely in Feb.	
	Members no admitted	1871		
	left	155	(for nonpayment of 3 month)	
		<u> </u>		
		(1716)	(31 March)	

P. 525. (4)

(Seamen's Union).

A new programme has been drafted and accepted by the E. C. which embodies the principle of demanding concessions from the Steamship Companies. (instead of the policy pursued hitherto, of demanding reforms from the Govt. in regard to recruiting machinery etc.). The principal demands are:

- (1) 50 per cent. increment for all.
- (2) 48 hours week at sea (42 in Port).
- (3) Overtime pay.
- (4) Free passage to home ports for seamen left abroad.
- (5) Monthly allotment noted to relatives up to 75 p.c. of pay.
- (6) Accommodation on ships to be improved.
- (7) Pension scheme after 20 years service. Union cards have been printed, with adhesive stamps as receipts, and a yearly subscription system introduced.

A branch office has been opened (for Saloon men) at Park Circus.

P. 526.

A file containing the following 48 documents amongst others.

P. 526. (1).

A score of music headed "The International."

P. 526 (2).

C/o Mr. Sandwell
Apollo Chambers,
Fort, Bombay.

14. 1. 29.

Dear P,

Will you send that along what we spoke about on Howra Station, as I cannot locate any here. I see you are busy with the Jute workers the question of Financial assistance to the Jute strikers will be dealt with at the Managing committee meeting of the Girni Kamgar Union on Wednesday, 16th. I am rather busy. Best wishes.

Yours,
B. F. Bradley.

P. 526. (3).

POSTS TELEGRAPHS.

No. 02083

Received here at ———H.———M.
15/12.

O NL BOMBAY 29 22 SPRATT WORKERS PARTY
1/2 EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE CALCUTTA.

SEND REGISTERED POST ARTICLE THOUSAND WORDS
PUBLIC SAFETY BILL-DESAI SPARK BOMBAY 4.

This form must accompany any enquiry respecting this telegram.

Karim Bux Bros. Printers Calcutta—354 (B. 72)—16-6-28 —
40,000 BB.

P. 526. (4).

To: Jariwalla mansion, Sandhurst Rd.
Philip Spratt Bombay. 4.
European Asylum Lane, 4-2-29.
Calcutta.

Dear Mr. Spratt,

I am sorry I could not write to you earlier as I have been frightfully busy bringing out "the Spark." And I am afraid for the same reason it will not be possible for me to accede to your request and write a pamphlet on Class struggle to be subsequently translated into Hindi—not for some time to come atleast. Under these circumstances it may not look very graceful on my part to expect an article from you on Public Safety Bill ; but realizing my difficulties you will please pardon me. Did you get our wire and is the article coming along I am banking on it. How do you like the Spark ? We are going to add a few more features next time-space permitting. By the by can you get some one to send us very brief but bright Calcutta notes, not more than a column long ?

I dont know if this is going to be my last letter to you. In that case au revoir. But try to keep the Spark in mind and write something for it from wherever you might be.

Very sincerely yours,
M. G. Desai.

P. 526. (5)

The undersigned requests

Comrade.....P. Spratt Esqr.....
to attend the 2nd Session of The Punjab Naujawan Bharat Sabha
Conference to be held under the Presidentship of Comrade SOHAN
SINGH JOSHI on the 22nd 23rd and 24th February 1929 at Brad-
laugh Hall Lahore.

IHSAN ILLAHIE

G. Secretary R. Committee
Punjab Naujawan Bharat Sabha Conference
LAHORE.

P. 526 (6).

34 Holland Hall,
Allahabad.

My dear Comrade Spratt,

This is again to remind you of the two pamphlets! They can very safely be of 32 P. P.-size the same as A Call to Action. It is a pity Dange has not yet acknowledged my letter nor whether he would write the pamphlet on Bardoli.

You will hear from Muzaffar about our weekly. Could you suggest some foreign contributors? Of course, we cannot afford to pay. Could you write to them yourself, and send me their addresses. We want C. G. Sah to write the pamphlet on 'Workers and Peasants Swaraj.' But you said he is indolent. Could you or the comrade there best known to him write to him about it.

We are penniless, and a good party library is so badly needed. You must have yourself seen how the active workers themselves are unscientific and sentimental. Without a library we cannot recruit new and young members from the university and the demand for our books is really great. How to have a library? Could you write a registered letter to the Labour Research House and British Communist Party to send us one copy each of their publications, free! If this be not at all possible, we will try to send them money by instalments, or still better, we would become their agents and hawk their books. Or at least book orders for them—I assure you the demand here is so great that it will be really good business! for them. Please do something on this account.

I am absolutely raw. You comrades ought to make me right!

Fraternally,
P. C. Joshi.

P. S.

Please advertise Kranti Kari prominently in Ganavnni and send to Krishna Gopal, Editor, the name of friends who you think and a specimen copy should be sent and who wd. thereafter accept the V. P. P. 16 P. P.—one anna per copy.—Theory and labour news.

P. 526. (7).

Dear Spratt,

Mr. Johnston is now in my place. I am taking him to Bauria by the 2—24 train. If yourself and Mozaffar can go to the station in time, if possible with Huda, it would be very good. You may wait at the Booking Station (B. N. R. Inter Class)

Yours

Sd/-Illegible.

28. 11. 28.

On the reverse the following is written :—

Mr. Philip Spratt,

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Bengal Peasants' & Workers' Party.

P. 526. (8).

Dear Comrade,

Thanks for your kind letter and the welcome tract. It is really very well done. It is so scientific, impassioned, and yet highly popular. I am translating it into Hindustani. It will be out of the Press by the Calcutta Conf:— I am also translating the Prov. Workers Delegation Report on Soviet Russia. I wish I could also do the same with Purcell and Halls-worth's report but it is not available here. They would be ideal books for propagandists. I am anxiously awaiting your other pamphlet. I hope it will sell more if your name is there on it, so I would keep it there. If however for any reasons you are strong on the point, you will please write to me immediately and I would not have it there.

I am glad you think that of the importance of the Library and I hope you would hurry up with something.

I have been talking to the Railwaymen here. It is so hard to begin. The true base, for the E. I. R. so can only be Calcutta— you alone can give the 'push'. By the way I would suggest a Party Com. to draw a programme of immediate org:— we must concentrate on strategic centres and strategic industries etc.—

surely we are not Social Reformers, and the time is so short, the experts see the next war within 3-5 yrs.

I hope you must have written to the Bombay Comrades about the tracts and articles to the Kranti Kari and you must have sent him one yourself.

How many of you are coming to the T. U. C. I think I will benefit by watching things and men there. With greetings.

Fraternally,
P. C. JOSHI.

P. 526. (9).

Bengal Trade Union Federation.

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

President: Office: 34, Bowbazar Street,
Sj. Mrinal Kanti Basu.
Secretary: Dated Calcutta the 29-11-1928.
Sj: Kishori Lal Ghosh.

Dear Mr. Spratt,

I am not aware what your engagements for the day are. Yesterday I wrote to you a letter requesting yourself, Muzzafar and Huda, if convenient, to see me at Howrah Station so that we may all go to Bauria. It seems none of you except Huda could do so.

To-day by 12-30 Johnston is coming to see me. After that I am going to have an interview with some one and discuss with him some very vital questions having distinct bearing to the situation at Bauria and Chengal. If you can see your way to come to my place by 12-30 we might go to the place and your presence would be useful as one who has been able to form a detached (too detached) view of all the developments in which you had more or less personal touch.

Yesterday I met Bankim Babu at Bauria. Amongst the things I learnt was that the telegram was sent not by anybody else but by Spratt though the suggestion originated from Radha Raman Babu.

The telegram was despatched to Saklatwalla but Bankim Babu did not know which address was given for the expected remittance. It is six days and you have not been able to see Radha Raman Babu nor I presume the latter has been able to see you. I learnt some other matters which I shall tell you when we meet.

I found Gopen Babu there who told me that he had been staying at Bauria for the last 40 or 45 days with an absence of about a week during the whole period. And though I had been to Bauria at least six or seven times, if not more, during the period I know nothing about it. But of this I have no mis. as my limited experience of Gopen Babu has given me the idea that he is a decent man who talks little and works much and that intrigues and back-intrigues are not in his line.

However, I hope you would come to see me by 12-30 or at any rate send me a line per the bearer of this note letting me know your inability and if possible the cause.

Perhaps Mr. Huda informed you that Johnston has made an appointment with you at 5 P. M. in his hotel, if you can't meet come here.

Yours
K. L. Ghosh.

P. 526. (10).

10/9/28.

My dear Mr. Spratt,

Weeks ago our mutual friend wrote to say, that I should recover from you the loan of Rs. 200/- two hundred given to you from his a/c with me. Will you please make it a point to have it returned to me without delay?

Hoping you are fit and well.

I am,
Yours
B. F. B

On the reverse the following is written:—

Industrial Commission 1917-

Muddiman Committee. 1924-

Currency Committees.
(1893. 1919)

Rs. 4-2

Reports on Working of
Reforms 1927.

2-14

India 1926-7

1925-6

etc.

22-3

1918 perhaps

Press Bill 1928.

ably Spall

P. 526. (11).

2/1, European Asylum Lane,

May 20, 1928.

To the Editor, "Forward"

I shall be obliged if you will allow me to make some comment on the revelations of your London correspondent about the "pact" which he says the British Trades Union Congress has agreed to for capturing the All-India Trade Union Congress. I do not know, of course, whether such a pact has actually been drawn up, though I think that is quite possible. But I can say from my personal knowledge that, whether concrete expression of it exists or not, the policy of the official leaders of the British Labour movement is such as your correspondent describes. It is unnecessary to add that the power and influence of that movement are so great that its sinister policy constitutes a serious danger to Indian Labour and to India generally.

The propaganda of Messrs. Purcell and Hallsworth, and of their Indian supporters has always been for a "non-political" trade union movement. There have even been hints, repeated *e. g.* in the May issue of Mr. Ernest Kirk's "Indian Labour Review", of a policy of expulsion of communists and member of the Workers and Peasants Party from the Indian Trade Unions. This would be done as in Britain and elsewhere, not because these people are "disruptive" (quite the contrary is actually the case), but because they stand for the direct political action of the working class against Imperialism.

The British Labour will not contemplate a revolutionray policy, the only possible policy for Indian Labour. But they realise that to advocate "constitutional" political action on the part of Indian Labour is absurd. They are consequently forced to advocate a completely non-political movement, which they do on the plea that all the nationalist parties should be eschewed because they are capitalist. This is of course mere hypocrisy. For on the one hand the British Labour leaders themselves have for long carried on a flirtation with the capitalist Swaraj Party, and even with the British Liberal Party. And on the other hand, Messrs. Purcell and Hallsworth were even more bitter against the Workers and Peasants Party than they were against the bourgeois nationalist.

The proposed assistance to the Indian Unions from British Labour will therefore mean that Indian Labour is artificially held back from its most important line of action, namely its part in the movement for Indian independence. And it would also mean, consequently, that that movement itself would be frustrated. This is of course the fundamental aim of the British Labour leaders in relation to India, since, as you have pointed out, they are definitely and finally committed to an Imperialist policy on all questions, and indeed are a recognised part of the Imperialist machinery.

I feel it necessary therefore to justify the attitude on this question of the British Communists and left wing, who have always been in favour of assistance of Indian Labour by British Labour. They advocate this assistance only on the basis of the recognition by British Labour of the right of India to complete Independence, and the right of the Indian workers to organise and fight for it. Carried out in this spirit, the militant alliance of Indian and British labour against Imperialism would be of great benefit. But carried out on the lines proposed by the present British Labour leaders, the alliance of British and Indian Labour will merely constitute another chain binding India to British Imperialism.

May I add a few words on what I believe to be the proper policy for Indian Labour to adopt in the political field. It does not follow from what I have said that Indian Labour must rush into the arms of the Swaraj Party or the Congress. Though for quite different reasons, I agree with Mr. Purcell on this point. Labour must have its own independent political Party. But it can cooperate with other organisations, be they bourgeois or anything else, on the basis of certain principles. And the principle which Labour will put forward in the present stage is militant struggle for complete independence. Labour can have no truck with "Dominion Status" or, what is the same thing, "Full responsible Government". It is for this reason that Labour looks with some suspicion on the Congress as an ally, thinking that it desires labour support for the

attainment of aims such as this, with which labour has no sympathy. Even after the Independence Resolution, I think Labour is quite justified in its attitude, since it is clear that most of those who really control Congress policy do not mean to carry out the resolution, but are still angling for concessions.

Yours etc.

P. 526. (12).

The Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bengal.

2-1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE,

Organ :
GANAVANI

Calcutta 26-5-1928.

(Bengali Weekly).

Dear Comrade Spratt,

Your letter of the 25th instant is to hand. I am glad to know that Ondal struck work. It is published in this morning's papers. I have not seen Nirod as yet. I am just going out to see him. If he is not in a position to go, Halim is prepared to go. But there has arisen difficulties about Scavengers. The matter is going to be complicated daily. A strike is necessary. There is no other way left. We are going to hold a Public Meeting tomorrow. I am sending herewith a leaflet. But it is doubtful whether the citizen will at all attend the meeting. They are callous, "Ganavani" will appear on the 14th June. Please write some things preferably on the "Roll of the Workers' and Peasants' Party". I am sending some literature in a separate packet. I am sending membership forms also. Please enlist members. Annual subscription is As. 4/-/- only for workers. If they are not in a position to pay subscription now it does not matter. Let them become members. We shall see about the subscription later on. I am sending an old set of "Ganavani". Please urge the workers to become members. Please ask Goswami to keep a diary about the whole thing. Tell him that Miss Prokhabati Gupta has returned to Calcutta.

There is no letter for you excepting from Thomas Cook's. They have demanded of you Rs. 43/14/- being their storage charges for 4 packages stored with them since 14th June 1927.

Nothing more today.

Yours fraternally

Muzaffar Ahmad.

PUBLIC MEETING.

On Sunday the 27th May 1928 at 6 P. M. at Shradhananda Park, Mirzapur, there will be a Public Meeting where the "Scavengers' Union of Bengal" and representatives of the scavengers of the Calcutta corporation will place before the rate payers and the public of Calcutta the facts relating to the failure on the part of the Calcutta Corporation to give

effect to the terms agreed to by the then Mayor of Calcutta upon which the Scavengers' Strike in March last was called off. At the meeting it will be announced by the scavengers' representatives that the scavengers will go on strike again shortly to enforce the terms of settlement about which the assurance had been given by the then Mayor of Calcutta or to secure better terms.

All are cordially invited to attend the meeting.

PROBHA DAS GUPTA
Chairman,

MUZAFFAR AHMAD
Vice-Chairman,

THE SCAVENGERS' UNION OF BENGAL.

P. 526. (13).

BENGAL TRADES UNION FEDERATION.

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

President: Sj. Mrinal

Kanti Basu.

Office: 34 Bowbazar street.

Secretary: Sj. Kishori

Dated, Calcutta, the, 192

Lal Ghosh.

Dear Spratt,

So you have come down to Chengal with the other conquering-hero I mean Mr. R. Mitra. The British Chamber of Commerce (Bengal) has really, it seems, not been wrong when it suggests that British Foreign office should be approached by the much harrassed government of India on behalf of the lamb-like Chamber so that passports in future may not be issued to stormy petrels like your Stanic self. Otherwise, how could you appear as a meteor on the Chengal scene when the situation was such as to require your presence? I enclose herewith a cutting from the *statesmen* of a letter I wrote in reply to its thundering article on the Moscow school. Please preserve the cutting to be returned to me this afternoon when I meet you, as I am keeping these things in the Federation file for future reference.

I enclose herewith a telegram—and I owe you an apology. The telegram reached me in the dusk of the evening and postman said it

was mine—I signed it, took it to light and without looking at the envelope tore it open. But subsequently I came to realise when it was too late that it was yours directed to my "care". However the mischief is done, but is it really a greater mischief than that it has been known exactly by those of our wives' brothers who are paid to poke their nose into other people's affairs

Yours truly,

K. L. Ghosh.

P. 526. (14).

B. C. BASAC Proprietor	ALBERT LIBRARY, DACCA Book selling & Publishing Firm. (Eas. in 1900 A. D.)	Dealers in new and Old Law Medical College and school books; English & Bengali Prize and Library books.
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Dated the 18. 4. 1928.

Com. Philip Spratt,
Cal.

Dear Comrade,

These days I was busy with Mill Workers and Scavengers. Some trained mistries of Dakeswari Cotton Mills had gone on strike, not in the name of the Union but in their individual capacity for increase in their wages.

As I reached Dacca and came to have a hint of it, I hurried to the situation and found that all had joined work, as after some few hours of their strike the majority of them returned—(only seven Mistrys did strike—not the other workers). One Mistry has resigned and left Dacca altogether. However they had been given some increase in their bonus. Yesterday I went to the Managing Director, some mill workers accompanying me, and it is arranged that the Managing Director will meet us, along with his Manager and other directors in a Conference.

So much today of it. I am meeting the Scavengers, individually in different quarters the Municipal authorities are trying their best to apply their tactics.

These days I have eagerly gone through papers but have not found anything particular about Lilua and Howrah, only that the Magistrate is expected to take some steps against Sachinandra.

I hope to be fully informed as regards our Howrah and Lilua brethren—the workers here are also eager to be informed of the situation.

Now as regards Dange's book, did you find any time to go through the proofs and give Nirod Chakravarty as regards printing and binding.

What do you think of simultaneous foreign publication—if you think it is necessary you can send some. I think we should write to Labour monthly and others for advertisement.

Nothing more today. More when I receive your letter.

Yours Comradely

GOPAL Ch. BASAK.

P. 526 (15).

Bengal Trades Union Federation.

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

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

Dated, Calcutta, the 23. 4. 28.

Secretary : Sj. Kishori Lall Ghosh.

Dear Mr. Spratt.

Heard from Mr. K. C. Mitter who had been to see me this morning that you returned to Calcutta last night. The situation at Chengal is serious. My unavoidable engagements make it impossible for me to leave Calcutta to-day. Bankim Babu and Radha Raman Babu are doing their best. If you can manage to go with Radha Raman Babu it would be very helpful.

Yours
K. L. Ghosh.

P. 526 (16).

2/1 European Asylum Lane

CALCUTTA

1-7-28.

Dear Mr. Ginwalla,

I am sorry I have been prevented by strikes and so on from writing to you sooner.

I see from the Press that Mr. Allison was deported after his release, and was not allowed to take his clothing etc, with him. The clothing in question, as you know, is in my charge, and is deposited at Thos. Cook's in Hornby Road, and their receipt for the four packages is in your possession.

I wanted therefore to ask you what can be done about it. Is it possible to induce the Bombay Government to transport the things? If so, would you mind moving in the matter? In your position, and as Allison's solicitor, you are more likely to be successful than, say, myself. If this cannot be done, I shall have to send them at my own cost.

Moving the Government, whether the result is favourable or otherwise would take some time, I suppose, and so, if you decide to take that course, I should like to get the thing removed from Cook's as soon as possible. I received a fairly heavy bill from them recently, and the next is mounting up, as it were. I am therefore writing to Mr. C. G. Shah (Mr. Lotwalla's secretary) asking him to see you get the thing out, and take charge of them while arrangements are being made.

I am afraid I do not know his address, if in case of success with the Government, you require it.

You will probably hear from Mr. Allison himself soon on the matter. But if not, I can only suggest that they be addressed to C/o Labour Research Dept. 162. Buckingham Palace Road. London S. W. 1. or C/o H. Pollitt, 38 Great Ormond Street London W. C. 1. Either would communicate with him and send them to him.

Will you please inform me if you think it impossible to make the Government take them? I shall have to make inquiries about transport charges etc. and I shall want to do so as soon as possible.

Yours Since.ly

P. 526. (17).

2/1 European Asylum Lane
Calcutta.
29-4-28.

THE EDITOR,
Chitramaya-Jagat.

Dear Sir,

You will remember that I promised some time ago to write an article for your special Russian number, on "Russia and India", which I was to give you by May 1st. I am sorry to say that I have not yet completed it, and my present continuous work in connection with the local strikes will prevent my doing so for several days. I intend, however, to finish it, and I shall send it to you when I have done so. But I wish to ask you not in any way to delay publication on this account. For I am not sure when I shall be able to let you have the article. And I am doubtful if you will consider it worth publishing, since I shall have to write it spasmodically in these very awkward conditions, and I am not at present in possession of the historical and other material necessary if an article is to be produced worthy of inclusion.

I hope you will not be put to serious inconvenience by my omission.

Yours sincerely,
P. SPRATT.

P. 526. (18)

2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.
8-7-28.

THE EDITOR,
Chitramaya-Jagat.

Dear Sir,

I feel that I owe you a very humble apology for not having replied previously to your letter of the 5th May, for not having

sent you an article as I promised. Actually, however, owing to my absence etc. I did not see or hear of your letter until some time in June, when I thought that in any case I was too late for the special number.

I decided however to write some thing, since I had promised to do so, thinking that you might make use of it in some other way. Accordingly I wrote out, in such leisure as I could get, what I had planned in April, and have just now managed to type it and send it to you. I do not know if it is the kind of thing that you would like to publish. You will notice that it is very general; I have practically no references except my memory to draw upon. But you might like it as a fairly representative statement of the Communist point of view on the questions dealt with.

Although I have no real knowledge of Maharati, I should be very pleased if you could let me have a copy of your special number, and, if you make use of my article, of that also.

You must have noticed the unexpected prolongation of the E. I. Railway dispute, which have occupied a great deal of my time and energy and kept me away from Calcutta for weeks together, and also the numerous other strikes which have called for my presence. I hope therefore you will forgive my inexcusable negligence in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
P. SPRATT.

P. 526. (19)

Dakeswari Cotton Mill's Workers Union.

HEAD OFFICE :—61, NAWABPUR, DACCA.

Dated 15-5-1928.

Your ref.....

BANI PRESS,

72 Nawabpur Dacca.

Our ref.....

Com. P. Spratt,

Calcutta.

Dear Comrade,

Dacca Workshop workers and the jute grower and jute bailers are ready to be formed into respective Unions, I am waiting

all these days for you all here, when I have decided to call those meetings.

Some three of our workers have left the place, so it has become difficult to see to all matters when I have taken the management of a press.

Within two or three days, I am expecting that a conference with authorities of Dakeswari Mill will take place, I don't know what I have to do then, as I not familiar the tactics they will play.

However you will let me know when you will be able to come here. The other day I read that Chakravarty has been arrested and no further news was published in any papers. We are all anxious of it.

You will please let us know what has become the Lilua strike and our comrades.

With best greetings and wishes.
Yours Comradely,
Gopal Ch. Basak.

P. 526. (20).

Bengal Trades Union Federation.

(PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE OF THE ALL-INDIA TRADES UNION CONGRESS).

President: Sj: Mrinal
Kanti Basu

Office: 34, Bowbazar Street.

Dated, Calcutta the, 8-4-1928.

A Secretary : Sj. Kishori Lall Ghosh.

My dear Spratt,

I am sorry I could not go to you as I promised yesterday. I am however sending Indu with you who would deliver a letter to Mr. K. C. Mitter and another to Mr. Baroda Pain about the enquiry. Committee. You would also let me know by Indu either

verbally or by a note as to whether you start this night and if so how many days you would remain.

I am sure you would be ready with the article on May day as also prospectus on the Research affair.

Yours truly,
K. L. Ghosh.

P. 526 (21).

Telegraphic Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

The Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal.

2-1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE,

Calcutta, 11-4-1928.

Organ :
GANAVANI
(Bengali Weekly).

My dear Mr. Spratt,

President of Ishapor ordinance Workers'
Union.

I came to get signatures for certain papers but unfortunately could not find

I leave these paper with Mr. Abdul Halim. I hope, you will kindly sign the same and oblige. I deposit -/8/- annas eight only for necessary postage stamps.

Hoping to be excused for having given you so much trouble.

A. Banerjee
Ishapore.

P. 526 (22).

2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.
26/7/28.

Dear Comrade,

I hope you received the ~~manuscript~~ I sent you last week on the question of the Peasant movement in Atia, and I hope you were able to publish something of it. I forgot to ask you, however, to arrange, if you do publish anything to send me a cutting, of it. You will realise that the "Sunday Worker" is proscribed in India, and it is therefore hopeless to send the whole copy. Cuttings however, may get through.

Will you please therefore arrange that a cutting of anything published will be sent to me at this address ?

Yours fraternally
P. Spratt.

The Manager

The Sunday Worker

254 Gray's Inn Road

London W. C. I.

P. 526 (23).

DAKESWARI COTTON MILL'S WORKERS UNION.

Head Office:—61 Nawabpur, Dacca.

Dated 21. 8. 28.

Yours Ref.....

Our Ref I.....

Philip Spratt,

Calcutta.

Dear Comrade,

The next day, as I reached Dacca I attended the Railway Employees Conference and passed a resolution there protesting

against the Trade Dispute Bill, but as regards the law of actions that was proposed by circulars of our Party couldn't be adopted by the Conference, the rules and regulations of which doesn't allow any such things. Mr. I. B. Sen, the President-elect assured me that he was trying to change the rules and regulations and he hoped that its reactionary phase would soon pass. I have a problem here, as regards what I can do with workshop workers. The Employees association has got as members some of the points men and station-menials but no workshop workers, where as in N'ganj and Dacca there are only (nearly) 200 workers in all. However you let us know about it.

Regarding Dakeswari Mill shall I write now to Kishori Babu or to Kishor? Babu and Joshi both (?) What do you advise ?

Just you left at Mymensingh, that evening I had talks with many of the students and other workers on intellectual worker there and at Dacca are very eager to go to Atia.

Here at Dacca I had talks with many people including even some officers of forest dept. regarding Atia, I understand that really there we can find atrocious doings of the foresters, they are really oppressing them. The foresters here argue about it to impress me with their innocence and tell that our report is exagarting.

However, I think we should start for Atia within a week, your presence there will be, I think essentially necessary—what do you think (?)

If possible you will come with one of our Comrades for proceeding thither to.

With best love,

Yours fraternally,

Gopal Ch. Basak

P. 526 (24).

Workers of the world
Unite! you have nothing
to lose but your chains.

THE
Weekly Mehanat Kash

"The Mehanat Kash"
labours for your benefit.
Read and advertise
with profit.

No. _____

Lahore 23rd July 1928.

We will live to

1. Stop all exploitation of man by man;
 2. Help the organisation and safeguard the rights and interests of the peasants and workers of India;
 3. Support the youth movement;
 4. Struggle for women's rights;
 5. Fight for India's national freedom; and
 6. Promote all movements working for a better social, political and economic order in India.
- * * *

Dear Comrade Sprate,

Since long I heard nothing from you and I am very anxious at present to have full information about your energies.

We have organised the Workers and Peasant Party in the Punjab. The Conference of which shall take place at Lyalpur in September. Comrade Dange has been appointed as a president and invitation cards are being sent to different parts of the country and I hope that you shall also receive the same shortly and please us by attending the Conference.

With comradely greeting.

Yours.

Ma. Majid

RUSSIA AND INDIA.

feature of Indian Nationalism which has often been commented upon and regretted is its spirit of isolation, its tendency to pay attention to India and India's problems alone. Partly a result of the policy of Imperialism, as expressed in its educational system and its censorship, it is also an inevitable feature of a bourgeois nationalism such as developed in India. It is a sign of the change which is going on within India itself and its national movement, that close attention is now being paid to the affairs of other countries, especially those of the East, which are, in the current phrase, "awakening". Japan has received its share of notice, as have Turkey, Afghanistan and China. But of all the countries of the East, or indeed of the world, none more deserves study than modern Russia.

It is reasonable to regard Russia, as being in some respects ahead of all other countries, and this alone renders it desirable that more should be known about it. But further, as many writers have pointed out, the conditions of India today, and those of Russia before 1917 present in many ways so close a parallel, that developments in Russia must form an instructive commentary on India's history also. It is unnecessary here to elaborate this point, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, in his recent series of articles in the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" has remarked that the similarity between the two peoples extends to the smallest details of customs and practices, as well as embracing their broad economic structure. Both are backward peasant countries, just escaping from feudalism, though with a considerable growth of large-scale industry. (Many Indians resent the statement that their country is "backward". Nevertheless it is true. As Marx wrote in 1853 (in the "New York Tribune", Quoted by R. P. Dutt in "Modern India") "England has torn down the whole scaffolding of Indian social order, without so far any signs of a rebirth being visible," And to this day it stands. India's ancient civilisation, a civilisation essentially mediaeval based upon a feudal agriculture is gone never to return. But nothing has yet replaced it. The upper classes have imbibed something of Britain's imperialist "culture"; the faint beginnings of the future culture of the working class are to be seen in the industrial areas; but the masses as a whole, slowly but inevitably are relapsing from their old state of civilisation into sheer ignorance and backwardness. India is a colony, that is, in spite of her technical development she is backward, and will become more and more so, until she is free.)

Given then that the two countries are somewhat similarly situated and conditioned, what light does Russian history throw

upon India's present and future problems? In other words, can or will India follow the "Moscow Road" as Mr. Norman Angel has called it, or will she travel some totally different road such as that of Japan, or an altogether new one? This is the question it is proposed here to discuss.

It is important to have a clear idea of the change which has taken place and is still going on in Russia. Many thinkers among the bourgeoisie do not venture to give any general characterisation. Few are so bold as the egregious Mr. Ernest Kirk, who says (Indian Labour Review, May 1928) "The Russian Revolution was a freak." Others use the confusing phrase "Awakening of the East" under which to comprehend the Russian Revolution. It is true that a profound change, plausibly called "awakening" is going on throughout the East. And it is true—we have the authority of the notorious "Augur" for it—that Russia is no longer to be regarded as belonging to the aristocratic west, but is numbered with the outcasts of the East. Nevertheless the formula is an inadequate one, and has been and is now the cause and expression of some confusion of thought in India. The "awakening" has affected in turn Japan, Russia, Turkey, Persia, China, and is now coming to India, Java and so on. Such a conception leads to the conclusion that India, when fully "awake", may turn out to have become a second Japan, or to be revelling under the despotism of an Amanullah. The conception in fact is too vague to be of use; it has no political meaning.

In order to conceive the Russian Revolution as a whole in relation to the rest of the world, it has to be realised that that Revolution was only one event in a process embracing not only the East but the west also, affecting indeed every corner of the globe, namely the growth and collapse of Imperialism. In the view of the social theory held by the Russian revolutionaries, which the present writer holds to be correct, this phase in history none other than the culminating and final phase in the development of capitalism, "capitalism in decay" as Lenin described it. The Russian Revolution was simply the first break through of the new forces, the masses of industrial workers supported by the peasants, through the decaying structure of capitalism, to the foundation of a new order, which will in time embrace the whole world. The Russian Revolution, far from being a "freak", was the type of what is to occur everywhere, probably within a fairly short time.

It may be worth while, as this question of imperialism is vital, to halt upon it for a moment. It is astonishing how blind the whole bourgeois world is to the events which are going on around it. Imperialism, in the modern meaning of the term, when it began to obtrude itself upon the attention of Europe in the eighties of last century, was looked upon at first with some misgiving.

But this was soon forgotten, and the world has since come to accept it with hardly a thought. J. A. Hobson almost alone among bourgeois historians and economists has shown some appreciation of the sinister meaning of this development. Even the lesson of the pre-war "armed camp" of Europe, the great war itself, the European Russian and Chinese Revolutions, and the present headlong rush towards a new world-war; even these things have not taught the Western world that the days of capitalism are numbered, and that Imperialism is but its last feverish struggle to rid itself of its internal weaknesses.

See for example H. G. Wells, in his "Outline of History". He regards imperialism as an "idea" originating in Germany, and spreading with some difficulty to France and England. It never reached America at all!

"The influence of her (Germany's) new doctrines of aggressive Imperialism was particularly strong upon the British mind..." "Yet the Imperialist movement in Great Britain never had the authority nor the unanimity it had in Germany. It was not a natural product of any of the three united but diverse British peoples." "Modern imperialism is the natural development of the Great Power system which arose, with the foreign office method of policy, out of the Machiavellian monarchies after the break-up of Christendom". always it finds its strongest support in the military and official castes, and in the enterprising and acquisitive strata of society, in new money, that is, and big business."

the World Historian on the most striking and important historical phenomenon of recent times. He is correct in pointing out that imperialism is natural in the bad sense. He admits that it "finds support" in the ranks of business.

The real significance of imperialism he misses altogether. He is his very typical of the whole thought of his class, and bears striking witness to the cultural as well as the political and economic decay which is underlying the bourgeoisie of Europe.

Contrast Lenin, who in his pamphlet on the subject gives a most profound analysis and estimate of Imperialism.

Imperialism is capitalism (my italics throughout) in that phase of development in which the domination of monopolies and finance-capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired very great importance; in which the division of the world among the big international trusts has begun; in which the partition of all the territories of the earth among the great capitalist powers has been completed". "It is known in general how much monopolist capital has deepened all the inherent contradictions of capitalism.....This keeping of contradictions constitutes the most powerful driving force of the transitional period of history, which began from the time of the definite Victory of finance-capital. Monopolies, oligarchy, the tendency towards domination instead of the tendency towards liberty, the exploitation of an increasing number of

small or weak nations by an extremely small minority of the richest or most powerful nations—all these have given birth to those destructive characteristics of imperialism which oblige us to define it as *parasitic or decaying capitalism*." " We must define it as *capitalism in transition*, or more precisely, as *dying capitalism*.

I have spend an apparently inordinate amount of space upon this point, because it is essential (and at the same time very difficult, as Mr. Wells demonstrates) to realise these truths, as background to any intelligent discussion of modern Russia and modern India.

Imperialism now dominates the whole world, which is being dragged forward at a terrific pace by it, through one of the great turning points of world history the collapse of world capitalism. And these events are bringing about startling reversal of the previous order of human affairs. In accordance with the dialectical movement of history, the countries which previously led the van of progress will drag in the car. Those which were despised as backward are taking the lead in this great transformation. Russia, a backward country, already lead.

*Foot note: Relatively backward, it should be noticed, Russia, China and India are all more advanced than E. G. Turkey, Afghanistan or Central Africa leads the way. China, still more backward, will probably be the next to follow. India, also a backward country, cannot but take a forward place in this march of progress.

For it is the backward nations which feel the contradictions of imperialism to the full, and it is they consequently who are the first to break away from it. It was backward Russia which suffered most severely, precisely because of her backwardness and subjection to foreign capital, during the first great imperialist war. When other combatants lost men in lakhs she lost them in millions. When others suffered economic dislocation she suffered economic disaster. So with China and India. While Europe and America gain (for the time being) from imperialism, they lose. So it is China and India, not the advanced countries, which must take the plungs first.

This roughly is the conception of Lenin, and all events during the years since he wrote have confirmed his view. Accordingly it is next the turn of China and India to follow Russia along the path which she has taken, the only possible path for a country which seeks to free itself from imperialism. This then in the relation of Russia to India at present, and such is the importance of Russia to India. She is a guide, showing the way along which India must tread.

Before pursuing the discussion, it will be as well to deal with a point which crops up here. Many probably will agree that India

is likely to follow Russia's example, to the extent of breaking away from Imperialism. But that India will go any further after Russia will not seem so obvious. There is the example of Japan, which refused to submit to foreign control, but is far from communist! So too with Turkey and Afghanistan, and so on. It is essential to make this clear.

At the time of the establishment of their political freedom, Japan, Turkey, Afghanistan, etc., were for various reasons only partly or imperfectly subject to imperialism. They were perhaps used as markets, or as sources of materials, but not to an appreciable extent as fields for investment. Their technical progress was therefore very slight. Consequently, unless like the central Asiatic countries they could put themselves in relations with a technically more advanced, but anti-imperialist country, Russia, their emancipation was not complete. They remain within the orbit of capitalism. They are in fact opposed, not to imperialism but merely to other imperialist countries. Their ruling classes are trying - that of Japan has completely succeeded - to become imperialist themselves. Their revolution against foreign control involved fundamentally the overthrow of their feudal regime, by the advance guard of their indigenous capitalism. This was a step in advance for them, and is in each case to be welcomed.

But the case is different in India. Here the overthrow of feudalism was effectively complete decades ago - by 1857. Kemal or Amanullah would be reactionaries in India. This country is now technically fairly advanced, like Russia, and has all the possibilities of a completely successful revolt against imperialism. And not merely the "possibilities". It is not difficult to see, (indeed the Non-Cooperation Movement proved it) that any anti-imperialist revolt in India must become an anti-capitalist revolt, i. e. it must follow the Russian model. China, admittedly is in an intermediate position. But even so, it is questionable if she will be able to establish herself as an independent capitalist country, or if so, how long that regime will last.

On these general grounds then, it is possible to say that India may "follow the Moscow Road". India is now in the full sense within the orbit of imperialism, and if she overcomes imperialism, it can only be done completely following the Russian example.

Nevertheless this argument admits two possible lines of development for India. She may break away from imperialism or she may remain within the system of imperialism. On general grounds the former seems the more probable. Imperialism is still emphatically "decaying" capitalism. Many are deceived by the relative stabilisation which Europe in particular has been able to achieve in the last five years. But there are many indications that all is not well with capitalism, and that a bigger conflict and collapse than

ever before is preparin. But this subject is too complicated to be delt with shortly, with any definite result. What light can be shed on the question by an examination of India's internal conditions and developments?

First it may be noticed that the two main lines of advance indicated here do correspond with the two schools of thought now crystallising out among India nationalists. Apart from the section, now no longer of importance, which looks to some earlier Vedic period of history as the model which India should have in view as its ideal, there are roughly these two realistic schools of thought. The one aims at replacing, more or less completely, the British governing class and bureaucracy by Indian individuals. It conceives it under swaraj as essentially the same India as it is to-day, even to the it of remaining within the British Empire. It looks upon the attainment of tnote: It is to be noticed that practically all of this school have given up they ever hold it, the idea of separation from Britain. Even when they demand dependence" as a few still do, they hardly trouble to conceal that they not mean it. This then practically rules out the possibility of an independ, capitalist India, on the model of Japan etc., and is in agreement with the conclusions previously reached.)

"Swaraj" as a legal process, to be conducted through constitutional channels, the only a gradual transfer of power and place from their present holders to Indian hands. It is the Swaraj of the Bureaucrat, the bourgeois, the "two percent I. C. R. Das' phrase.

The other school, which is only now beginning to take definite form, says that Swaraj must involve a fundamental social transformation of India. Not merely the British bureaucrats and borgeoisie, but the whole system maintained by them must go. And the attainment of this real Swaraj cannot conform to legal channel the law was laid down by British capitalists, in their own interests, and it cannot countenance a complete subversion of its own basis and principles. This is anti-imperialist Swaraj, the Swaraj of the masses, of the ninety-eight percent".

The two ideas represent the fundamental difference which must occur within any movement of a nationalist or similar type in modern times. It occurred in Russia in the conflict between the the Cadets, allied with the Mensheviks, the Socialist Revolutionaries, etc., and the Bolsheviks; in China in the fight between the "Right" Kuomintang and the Communists; and the clearness with which the conflict is seen is a measure of the advancement of the movement. In India we are still backward in this respect. It is still possible for many in the dominant Party in the Congress to take up an intermediate position between these two, *e. g.* by demanding at the same time a "Round Table conference" and "Complete Independence".

But the confusion is clearing. On the one hand, those who shrink from any important social changes who want mere readjustments, are quite logically becoming cooperators, "responsivists" or what not. And those who really want complete independence are coming to the position of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and the Workers' and Peasants' Party, who openly demand the organisation of the masses and their impregnation with a "revolutionary psychology", and realise that the that the future organisation of India must be "some form of Socialism".

In case it may be thought that the various political policies now before India were grouped rather too thoughtlessly under these two heads, it is best to consider the matter here in a little more detail. Apart from the revolutionary policy under discussion they are roughly: (1) "Gandhism": (2) Terrorism; (3) the liberal-Responsivist policy (nobody will dispute that this group is really one), (4) the Swarajist policy: (5) the Social-Democratic policy, advocated mainly by British parties, the I. L. p. the Trades Union Congress, etc., but also by some Indian labour leaders of the moderate school.

(1) The non-cooperation policy pursued under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi in 1919-22 has much in common with the tactics of the revolutionaries, and can be assimilated to their policy. They will make substantial alterations especially in regard to programme, which will be framed with the needs of the masses primarily in view, but the two are alike in that they are both policies of revolutionary mass-action.

But the later developments of Mr. Gandhi's teaching are a very different thing and the number of its adherents is falling and is probably already negligible. A policy whose slogans are "Back to primitive agriculture" and "self-purification" is not taken very seriously except by political and religious dilettantes, and must die out, as did the very similar movement of the Narodniks in Russia, long before matters came to a head.

(2) Terrorism, the policy of seizing power by means of a secretly prepared armed revolt or coup d'état, is again hardly a serious one. And like the corresponding Russian policy, that of the older Socialist Revolutionaries, it disappears as the genuine mass political movement grows up.

(3) The Liberal—responsivist policy, as was argued before, cannot result in anything but India's remaining a capitalist country within the British Empire. Indeed now there is hardly any pretence that it is aimed at independence. Its "Swaraj," if it uses the word, means a more favourable compromise with imperialism. The analogy with the closely similar "Cadets" in Russia will be seen. The Cadets assented to the first revolution, against the Czar, but many of them (like the Liberals and the Simon Commission) only wanted to alter the Personnel of the Czarism, and they latter supported Kornilov in his frankly monarchist campaign.

(4) The Swaraj Party's policy, it must be insisted, is in no point different from the last, essentially. There is a small section of the Party which will perhaps eventually break away and come to the side of mass movement. Many members play with the ideas and phrases of the movement, as many of the bourgeois politicians of Russia flirted with Marxism. But the bulk of the Party, while calling for mass action and independence, will take no steps to get these things, and "steps" are essential, as independence will never be given for the asking. They have failed now for six years, and no more proof of their unwillingness is needed. In fact, the risks to the bourgeoisie of "rousing the masses" were so clearly demonstrated by the Non-Co-operation campaign, that they will oppose it. Some recent occurrences show that even the Swaraj Party is turning away from the masses, and moving towards Fascism.* The intransigence of the Swarajists is intended simply to prevent a complete loss of middle class support, such as would follow if it pursued the sensible bourgeois policy of the Liberals. In this the intermediate interests of the smaller bourgeoisie are inflected. But it is a universal political experience, which India shows every sign of confirming, that a stable political policy cannot be founded upon the interests of the middle classes. However much they may vacillate in between, they must eventually go one way or the other. Such is inevitably the fate of the Swaraj Party, and however strong it may appear now, its collapse is inevitable, and is being widely predicted.

(5) Finally is to be considered what is called the "Social-Democratic" policy. Its chief features are (1) concentration mainly upon securing economic improvements for the workers through their organisations and through the legislatures. This is clearly the same tendency as the "Economism", the ancestor of Menshevism, against which Lenin fought so vigorously in 1900-1905, and like it, will have the effect of obscuring the revolutionary potentialities of the workers' movement, and reconciling it with imperialism and (2) practical abstention from politics, in the sense of leaving the national struggle to the bourgeois parties with, at worst the hostility, and at best the benevolent neutrality, of the workers. In particular nationalist or revolutionary propaganda within the labour movement is avoided. The similarity to the Menshevik policy is again to be seen. The Mensheviks supported the Cadets during the Kerensky period believing that a long interregnum of bourgeois "democracy" must occur before the coming of socialism. As in Russia the inevitable outcome of this policy is support for the bourgeoisie, and hence in

*FOOTNOTE: It is fashionable nowadays to contrast Fascism with Communism as a relatively "constructive" revolutionary movement, and there are many who, deceived by the nationalist fervour of the Italian Fascists, look upon Fascism as a possible national policy for India. Fascism may well develop in India, but it cannot be nationalist. Like all Fascism it can only defend capital, *i.e.* mainly British capital against Indian workers. It ordinarily cannot at the same time attack British capital).

the ultimate for autocracy also. It is to be noticed that the advocates of this policy within the labour movement are in several cases active Swarajists or even Liberals. The Social-Democratic policy here, as elsewhere, is simply a variant of the liberal bourgeois policy.

Thus it can be claimed that there are only two policies now being offered to the people of India, and reasonably so, as there are only two possible. One is that of the two percent, the landlords, capitalists, high-officials, big lawyers etc., and leads inevitably to compromise with imperialism, "Dominion" or some other "Status" within the Empire, and the continued exploitation of the masses. The other is that of the "Ninety-eight per cent," the middle classes workers' and peasants, and leads to a revolutionary struggle for independence and a complete social transformation—the "Moscow Road". Many regret that the class conflict should arise in India at this stage, and advocate that its solution should be postponed until Swaraj is obtained. Merely from a study of Indian condition it is clear that postponement is impossible. As in Russia, the overthrow of the autocracy of the Czar immediately developed into the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, because, in spite of their differences, the Czar and the bourgeoisie were too closely bound together. The class conflict, and the problem of obtaining Swaraj are at bottom the same question, and will be solved together.

It can be admitted then, that there are fact only two fundamentally different political policies now being offered to India, and that there are only two theoretically possible ones. But before the subjects can be left it should be established that these theoretically possible policies are also practically possible. There are many objections levelled against the revolutionary policy on the score of practicality, which require to be dealt with briefly, and the experience of the Russian Revolution will be of great use in dealing with them.

They fall under a few main heads. The first set are variations on the theme that India is a backward country. As has been shown before, this is precisely why such a policy can expect rapid success. Given that India has achieved some industrial advance, and that a town proletariat has been created, the fact that the people are illiterate, ignorant, steeped in superstition, and so on, though a grave difficulty, does not in the least constitute a fatal obstacle. Russia was in just this condition. Again the religious convictions of the Indian people give much ground or satisfaction to reactionaries. Religion is a serious obstacle revolutionary policy especially if it is well organised and the organisation is in the hands of the upper classes. Such was the case in Russia. The orthodox Church was one of the chief supports of the Czardom. In India this is far less definitely the case. And there is no reason to suppose that superstition in India is any

more intense that it was in Russia, or that it is dissolving any less rapidly under the rationalising influence of industrialism. In the past too, superstitious disabilities have not prevented the occurrence of extremely revolutionary mass activities even on the part of the Indian peasants.

Communalism will of course be used to the utmost, as it is being used now against the Labour movement by the opponents of national freedom. And in this respect there is no doubt that India is in worse position than Russia, (But remember the formidable use made by Kornilov Krasnov and others the Cossacks and the Mussulmans against the Revolution.) Communalism, however, strong as it may appear to be, is but a weak weapon to use against the power of real economic interests. The discipline and solidarity of the organised labour movement is the best weapon against communalism, and even now is being employed with success.

The form of this argument, often met with in the Anglo-Indian Press, perhaps hardly deserves mention. It consists in the statement that India is a peculiar country in which these ideas (or any others disliked by the bureaucracy) will never take root. All countries have this illusion. Communism, whatever it may do elsewhere, will never grow in America, or Britain, or China, or India, as the case may be. The fact is that Communism or any other policy will flourish in any country whenever the economic and political conditions demand it. Somewhat similar is the view, so admirably expressed by Mr. L. Kirk, that "The Russian Revolution was a freak". Or more fully, that opportunities for revolution such as that which occurred in Russia in 1917 will not occur in any other country. The answer to this really depends upon the general theory of the nature of Imperialism briefly considered before. But whatever views may be held about that, it is undeniable that revolutions do occur, and that revolutionary situations may crop up even in India, especially since, as has been shown, there exists a sharp and growing class struggle in India, and the conditions of the mass of the population are such as preceded revolutionary outbreaks of the type of the French revolution of 1789—and the Russian revolution of 1917. It should be remembered too that in India the national and social revolutions go together. The population as a whole is instinctively disaffected. No such experience is required as Russia had to go through, before she rose to the point of throwing off the Czar and the bourgeoisie.

Of more weight is the view often expressed that the unarmed condition of India will necessarily prevent any action on her part—she must wait until freed by external agency. This consideration, while decisive against any attempt at a sudden forcible coup d'etat does not weigh decisively against a policy of mass action. The overwhelming power of the State can deal easily with terrorist

conspiracies lacking mass support, as the Czar did with the Nihilists and their successors, but it is deprived of its power before mass movement which necessarily sweeps away those masses on whom its power normally rests.

It can now be claimed that this essay has shown (1) that there are only two possible lines of development before India, (2) that only one of these, that much involves a revolutionary policy roughly similar to that adopted in Russia, can possibly lead to the independence of the country; (3) that this latter policy is at any rate not wildly impossible; (4) that already, in spite of the political backwardness of the country (compared with its objective position) these things are being realised, and political organisations and persons are gradually ranging themselves in two camps accordingly. This is the main thesis of the essay. It will not be complete however unless some attempt is made to estimate the relative merits of the two courses, from the point of view of their effects upon the population of India and that of the rest of the world. As to which road should be chosen by any individual, this is a matter of taste, which will be solved primarily according to the chooser's class position. The Special Russian number of "Chitramaya Jagat" gives material which can help in forming a conclusion.

Many sympathetic persons who discuss the Russian Revolution, even many who read the enthusiastic, though obviously truthful accounts of Mr. Phillips Price, John Reed and so on, shrink from the suffering which the events in question evidently inflicted upon all concerned. They feel that revolution must be avoided at any cost, and this is the basis for much of the support given to the timid, contradictory policies of Mensheviks, the I.L.P. and many Similar bodies, who propose to achieve socialism and the results of revolution without its pains. This idea is due to an unhistoric conception. The revolutionary historians mentioned, and others also bear emphatic witness that the revolutionaries did not make the revolution; history made it. The revolutionaries were prepared to take advantage of the situation for constructive purposes, and in doing so they were responsible for avoiding and saving an enormous amount of suffering. They were not responsible in fact it is the general arguments put forward in this essay that these things will occur frequently throughout the period in which we are living, the period of Imperialism. And it is the duty of all those who wish to take more than a spectator's interest in them, to prepare themselves and the masses, for the inevitable opportunities for action which will be presented to them.

But secondly, they must consider what is the alternative to revolution? It has been indicated in general terms what that alternative is. It means that India enters and remains within the circle of Imperialism. Slowly no doubt, but more and more,

Indian capital will become an exploiting force in world economics and a determinant in world politics. (cf. Sir Basil Blackett's statement as to the investment of Indian capital and South America, Africa, quoted in "India 1926-7" India will become a part of the Imperialist system. Mr. Bernard Shaw has predicted that some centuries hence the capital of the British Empire will be situated at Baghdad. Delhi would have been more in line with present tendencies. India might thus eventually absorb the British as it has done earlier invaders. But this is imagination. For the immediate future what is to be expected? And what even in the circumstances just imagined would be the result? India and imperialist power, or a subordinate partner in an imperialist alliance, providing ever larger and more expensive armies to defeat China, Russia, America, Japan India's workers and peasants, possibly a little raised above their present position of extreme degradation (though even this is improbable in view of the present situation and prospects of Imperialism in the economic sphere), but still exploited, still ignorant, still toiling to provide for the glories, luxuries, and military follies of their rulers. Even if she were materially benefited, which is extremely doubtful, is this what India wants? Even this, the most favourable possible picture of India's future under imperialism, can recommend itself to nobody. Or India involved in some final catastrophe such as Mr. Wells (in his younger and more sensible days) has so forcibly sketched, when two or three imperialist giants fight each other to the death, and sweep the population of every corner of the world to destruction with them? This, it should be mentioned, is no mere flight of fancy. It is a very serious possibility, as numerous experts on modern armaments have testified. Imperialism is not merely a temporary cause of unpleasantness and suffering, it is a menace to civilisation itself, which every right-thinking man must help to get rid of.

It is clear in any case then, that difficult and dangerous as it may be, the revolutionary path is no worse than the alternative. And apart from these difficulties and dangers, there can by this time be little doubt that the revolution in Russia has thoroughly justified itself. Every year more and more witnesses, and they can not all be bamboozled by propaganda, are describing how under the soviet democracy there is being constructed at a remarkable speed a civilisation which promises to be in all respects superior to any yet known. It pays attention to the basic economic questions first, and yet does more for the true education of the masses than any other system. It achieves a mass-culture, in which the individual is duly subordinated to society, in accordance with modern necessities, and yet does not neglect the claims of the individual for the cultivation of his personality. It defends itself jealously from the attacks of the hostile capitalist world, and yet has for the first

time almost in history, completely overcome the narrowness of national rivalry and hatred. And it is not merely paternal; it is based, not even on the acquiescence, but on the enthusiastic cooperation and self-sacrifice of millions of the common people, it is the first real democracy of modern times.

Consider the basic problems which face India, almost identically the same problems which Russia had to face, and is so triumphantly overcoming lack of sanitation and knowledge of healthy illiteracy and ignorance, the extreme technical backwardness of the basic industry, agriculture, division into multitudes of different races and languages; and a vast population spread over a huge territory, with comparatively little industry and poor communications. These are problems which Russia is solving and is alone in solving. Her methods can be used in India also.

It is indeed the belief of the writer that Russia by its sacrifice, suffering, hard thinking and hard work of the past ten or fifteen years, has conferred an enormous benefit upon mankind. It has shown in practice, which is more valuable than theory, the road which the world must follow if it is to avoid the dangers inherent in a rapidly developing material civilisation, and the rapidly growing ability of mankind to control the forces of nature. And it has provided in doing so, a reasonable assurance that the world will be able to follow that road.

A study of Russia, present and past, and the theories very clearly expounded by its leaders, is accordingly one of the most important things for any politically minded person to undertake. Many lessons, from the period before the revolution, and the period after, are to be learnt from that study, and the writers hope to have shown, if nothing more than this, that these lessons are of very intimate importance and application to India's problems.

P. 526. (26).

Telegraphic Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

THE
Peasants' & Workers' Party of Bengal.

Organ :
"GANAVANI"
(Bengali Weekly).

2-1 European Asylum Lane
Calcutta, 9. 1. 1928.

My Spratt,

I was told by Aftab Ali that he left you in Madras on the 4th instant. I wonder that you had been living there for so many days. I am writing to you this letter to Bombay thinking that you have reached there by now. Please do not fail to start for Calcutta at once. This is the finest time for the study of labour condition in Bengal. Please do come direct to Calcutta. You will be able to go to different places, specially to coal and iron fields from here. A friend from Rangoon asked me whether you would be in a position to accept an invitation from there.

I received a few letters from Majeed. He wrote to me that he managed to find out Mr. Chaman Lal in his house with utmost difficulties who informed him that your articles other than books had been sent to Calcutta. In fact I have received nothing as yet. It seems to me that Mr. Chaman Lal had given a bluff to Majeed.

I do not know where to write to you in Bombay. I address, therefore, this letter to the care of Ghate.

With fraternal greetings,

• Yours

Muzaffar.

P. 526. (27)

The Workers' and Peasants' Party.

17, Dwarkadas Mansions,
Bombay 26th January 1928.

Comrade. P. Spratt,
Bombay.

Dear Comrade,

I have to invite you to attend the meeting of the Executive Committee of the above Party to be held on Sunday the 29th

instant at 12-30 p. m. at the Congress House to consider the resolutions on the following subjects.

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

Yours fraternally,

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

P. 526. (28)

Workers of the world.
Unite! you have nothing
to lose but your chains.

THE
Weekly Mehanat Kash

"The Mehanat Kash"
labours for your benefit.
Read and advertise with
profit.

No. _____

Lahore 1st February, 1928.

We will live to

1. Stop all exploitation of man by man;
2. Help the organisation and safeguard the rights and interests of the peasants and workers of India;
3. Support the youth movement;
4. Struggle for women's rights;
5. Fight for India's national freedom; and
6. Promote all movements working for a better social, political and economic order in India.

Dear Com: Sprate,

Your previous letter was replied to on your Calcutta address, which I can not say that you have yet received or not though Com: Muzaffar had acknowledge its receipt. There, in I had written that I had convinced Mr. Chamman Lal to dispatch your article to Calcutta and I succeeded in getting a promise from him to that effect. But the letter of Muzaffar Ahmed that the articles in question have not yet been received by him. I concluded therefore that Chamman Lal has not yet fulfilled his promise in despatching your articles to Calcutta. It would therefore, be proper if you on your way to Calcutta stop here at Lahore for a day or two. This will serve you by getting all your goods from Mr. Chamman Lal. In absence of your visit to Lahore I am afraid that Mr. Chamman Lal would not give any clue of your goods. He already say that he has despatched the goods but as Com: Muzaffar Ahmad has not received them, his lie has been proved.

With comradely greeting to all of you.

Yours,

M. A. Majid.

P. 526. (29)

Dear Dutt,

I am very sorry I did not get the article ready in time for the Feb. issue. I intended to send it by this mail, but have been too busy that week. I can write it by next mail I hope. You may not care to print it, especially as it can only put in the March issue but perhaps you will be able to use it in some other way. I must humbly beg your pardon for delaying it so much. I received your letter during the Congress, about the 28th or so, and began to write at once. But I was staying not at a hotel, where to finish it quickly would have been simple, but with friends, where I could hardly get a moment to myself. Such procedure is desirable in some ways but it is a nuisance in regard to work of this kind.

You can understand the position I am in, I think. I have the misfortune to be something like a public man. Constantly people in the street rush up and say "Ah Mr. Spratt I must have a *long* talk with you"—and many of them try to carry out the threat. If you are staying alone you can be rude to them and send them away, but if with friends it is more difficult, at any rate with their acquaintances.

I am in the further difficulty—a very serious one—of having lost practically all my books and papers. Some, with my typewriter are in the hands of the Bombay Police though I shall get these this week, I think. And the major part, plus the bulk of my clothing is still with Chamanlal, who silently refuses to send them to me. In the end I shall probably have to go to Lahore again, to get them, and that will be a great nuisance. I very much regret having stayed with him, on this ground and on others. It was waste of time, I now feel, as I am convinced that he is of no use from a labour point of view. Though temperamentally extremist with convictions, he is exceedingly lazy. His only consistent aim is the attainment of limelight and other rewards of political activity, such as trips to Geneva. I have a vague recollection of warnings of this type from people who claimed to know him, before I left England. But he is very smooth-tongued, and I am very easily led away. I fear too that he is not the only one who has led me astray. I have said a number of weeks—still, I did not intend to write you an article on if not actually foolish things, e. g. on Congress platforms. It is due to the same defect, I suppose. I have often said that I have not the moral courage to be rude to Chaman's or my psychological weaknesses to anybody. I have asked Muzaffar Ahmad, of Calcutta, whose knowledge of these things is encyclopaedic, to write one about political persecution etc. He will do so with a little more persuasion from me, I think.

I hope, by the way, that your presence as acting editor does not mean that your brother is out of action again. I have not seen the Monthly for some time → it was again proscribed in May last, as you probably know. In fact, I am getting badly out of touch with events. When in prison I saw the "Times of India" somewhat irregularly, since then I have been so constantly moving that I have not been able to see even the Indian Press properly.

Robin will be getting very angry with me, I am afraid. I must write to him, though I have nothing much to say yet. I spent about ten days in Calcutta, and intended to go back there after Madras, but I am probably stuck now in Bombay for the duration of the textile strike. My short stay in Calcutta was enough to give me some general idea of the T. U. Movement there. It is far weaker than that of Bombay, I think, and suffers far more from bad leadership. The chief people are: Kali Das, who has quite a good union, in its way, in the Jute industry, though the actual membership is very small. He makes the mistake of keeping aloof from the other unions there. Kishorilal Ghosh, who is an honest man and very intelligent. He "control" only one union, the Press Workers. Kd. He is rather inclined to be "Statesmanlike" like Joshi, but is improving. He has a perpetual difference with Kali Das though have certain mutual respect. Mrinal Kanti Bose, otherwise similar to him, is not improving. K. C. Roy Chowdhary is self-interested, entirely, and is a loyalist. He controls about three or four nominal unions. You may have seen that his Kankinarah Union presented an address recently to the Governor of Bengal. Kishori put up an opposition, but he did not, I think, treat it seriously enough, and let it go through. He does not like displeasing people, and, in any case has to go carefully, to avoid the formation of a majority bloc against him in the Bengal T. U. Federation.

M. Daud is partly humanitarian, partly self-interested, is a moderate, and a communalist. He has the votes of three or four unions also. Aftab ali is an honest young man, with excellent intentions, but is very flighty, and not very intelligent. He is unable to triumph for long against the crafty Daud:

Finally Mukunda Lal Sircar, who also controls about four nominally existent unions. It is difficult to give an objective account of him, as his name arouses such passions in all with whom I have talked about him: I do not know yet what his real motives are, but he appears to have irresistible cravings for money and for dominance. He is moreover a master of intrigue, that is clear. Wherever he interferes, there is a split, a fight and collapse. (He is now talking of founding a rival A. I. Railwaymen's Federation)! But generally the fact that his policy is often apparently sound makes it all the more regrettable. Owing perhaps to his habit of

quarrelling with everybody, the blackest rumours are current about him, and probably his political life in Bengal will not last much longer. But I may be mistaken.

The mill strike here is going on fairly, but I cannot at the moment predict developments. You will probably know the result before you get this. Only the two groups of mills with 22,000 men are affected by the new system yet. Joshi argues that as the others will not feel the pinch very hard, they will not stand very firmly, and consequently a general strike is to be avoided. (He has even been persuading the spring Mill's men, who have been offered some compromise terms, to go back). He thinks that the effort to introduce the new working methods will not be carried much further, but that a direct general attack on wages will be made, probably in the spring. Then a general strike is inevitable—though he says it will fail. I don't know what there is in this theory, or if it is nothing but an excuse for doing nothing now.

The Girni Kamgar Mahamandal is almost equally compromising, and is moreover divided internally. D. R. Mayeker, the secretary, shares Joshi's view, almost, and he is supported by most of the Committee. A. A. Alve, the president, is in favour of explaining to the men the actual state of affairs, but stops short of calling for a general strike. He will instantly plump for it if there is any further provocation, such as another will attempting the new system.

P. 526. (30).

SHANTARAM S. MIRAJKAR,

JOURNALIST.

2/3, Khandke Bldgs.

Ddaar, Bombay No. 14,

Date, 21st February 1928.

My dear Spratt,

I am sorry I could not meet you last night. I am leaving for my native place to meet my sister who is very ill there.

I think you will have already left for Delhi by the time I return to Bombay. I will be back the latest by Friday (24/2/28) next; because on Saturday I have arranged a meeting of the Govt. Dock Workers.

Before you leave Bombay, please meet Mr. F.J. Ginwalla and speak to him about the matter. I hope you will not fail to do so. Please, also, be writing to me and keeping us always informed of what you are doing. Please, also, leave for me a copy of your "Draft Constitution" of T.U.C.

Please return to Bombay as early as you can.

Yours sincerely,
S. S. MIRAJKAR.

P. 526. (31).

E. I. R. DISPUTE.

GANAVANI.

bratt
The great lockout and strike on E. I. R. just tragically finished is full of lessons for the labour movement. In spite of the illegible of giving offence it must be discussed fully for the benefit of the movement.

First, it must be admitted, in agreement with the "Statesman" that the Lillooah strike was a tactical mistake. In the absence of effective organisation on the line, a strike in a workshop alone must be in a very difficult position. Further retrenchment was in the air and against it, only united action is likely to be successful. (Nevertheless to accuse, as the St. does, the "outsiders" or leader of this mistake, is unjustified. The strike was a spontaneous only, against oppression. Once began outsider tightly held it to be their duty to help it).

But it must be said that the most was not made of the opportunity. The fund originally in the possession of the Union at Lillooah was substantial, and it was the proper tactic immediately to try to spread the strike so as to stop traffic. The extension of the strike to the other works in Howrah, in so far as it was not spontaneous probably an error. Or, if not, it should have been pursued with more energy. The object was by urging workers in Howrah and neighbourhood to strike in sympathy, to force the authorities to interfere and compel the Agent to agree to some concession. It was done however, in a half-hearted manner. Engineering shops struck, but the numerous jute mills, which were at that time almost at boiling point of discontent, were not called out. All or none.

In any case, this tactic is inferior to the proper one of extending the strike on the line. Either at the beginning, or after the Bangachhi incident, this should have been done with all available forces. Especially the Union Secretary, who has far more influence than any outsider should have done this. Actually he did not leave Lillooah until not merely his original fund, but the second big contribution received from the Russian Unions, was practically exhausted, and the strike already in an almost hopeless position.

Nevertheless, it was correct, even at the late stage at which, it was attempted to spread the strike, and probably the big centre Asansol, and the subsidiary workshop at Ondal, were the best places to begin at. It was however, done even then with insufficient energy. The Union Secretary himself did not go until some weeks later, and only three propagandists were sent in the first place. The almost complete absence of organisation at the places, the depression still felt after the disastrous strike of 1927 and the late stage of the dispute, all rendered the task extremely difficult. At the success obtained showed what could have been done at earlier and more opportune occasions, with more energy and better finances.

The fact that the strikers at Asansol and Ondal have been penalised (up to the present) more than those at Lillooah, is a case of sheer vindictiveness on the part of the authorities, and could hardly have been expected. But in any case it does not alter the fact that the attempt to spread the strike even at that late stage, was justified, and the the Union if it had not done this, could not have claimed that it had done any thing possible for its members.

It is probable that these mistakes would have been avoided if more democratic control had been instituted at the centre. A strike Committee, of strikers, with or without "outsiders" as necessary should have been set up at the beginning, and allowed to work. There is no place for autocracy even benevolent autocracy in the labour movement. A committee, mainly of outsiders, was set up when the strike was about five weeks old, but in fact never functioned.

Minor points of criticism can be made against the attitude of personal devotion which was encouraged, or at any rate, tolerated, throughout the strike. This kind of policy is out of place, as it replaces devotion to the mass, and to the principles of the labour movement, by a mass bourgeois personal ideal, and also in this case tends to encourage false and reactionary ideas of a pseudo-religious type. The danger of this kind of policy has several times been exemplified in Indian Trade Union history, indeed on the E. I. Railway. The exploitation of the religious sentiments of the masses by unscrupulous demagogues is a very serious obstacle to our political progress, and should be avoided by all sincere labour men.

Another question is that of the "Satyagrahis" performed by some of the Union members outside the Howrah Police Court on the occasion of the dismissal of the case against those guilty of the shooting at Bangachhi. A class protest was certainly justified and proper, but the form it took was objectionable. On the one hand Satyagraha is foreign to the labour movement. It is the tactics of middle-class impotence. And on the other hand, the steps actually taken were such as to give the police the chance they were looking for, of striking a little wholesome terror into the men. About twenty arrests were made, and many men, including indispensable union workers, were severely injured.

We cannot lacking as we do, detailed acquaintance with the situation, criticise the internal administration of the strike, though it appears to an outside observer that the sums at the disposal of the Union were rather recklessly spent. In any case this is a minor matter. The main point is that the strategy of the strikes was mismanaged. One of the great lessons of Kharagpur—that the workshop strike only succeeds when supported in the line—was neglected. The line was almost completely unorganised and this alone made success extremely difficult. But even so it was not tackled until all enthusiasm had died down, funds were almost exhausted, public sympathy waning, and the chance of the strike in general diminished almost to zero. It is not our concern to lay blame for this or other mistakes at the door of any individual, or to discuss whether it would have been practical to act in any other way. The question is that these are the lessons which have to be borne in mind for the future. This strike provided a very instructive reputation of an old error in the labor movement which is again cropping up.

Before leaving the subject it is worth while to remark upon one or two other features of this strike. There can be little doubt that the severity of the attacks of the Railway administration and the Government was to some extent due to the active part taken in in the strike by the Workers' & Peasants' Party ("The Communists" as the A. I. Press calls us). Incidentally it is nice to notice how the reactionary labour leaders played up to this... Mr. K. C. R.C. Mr. C.F.A., Mrs. Besant, Mr. B.K., Mr. B.S. Rao. All indulged in propaganda exactly on the "Statesman" line against "Moscow Gold" etc. In order to discredit us they have told many lies about us, and at the same time made special efforts to crush the strike. The lesson is obviously just the contrary of that which they wish the workers to draw. If they are so anxious to discredit us, that itself strong evidence for the rightness of our policy. Incidentally it may be remarked that it was the W. & P. members who throughout pressed for the policy of extension of the strike, and who took a large part in carrying it out.

Peasant.	Worker,	Clerk.
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"GANAVANI"
 Official organ of the Workers' and
 Peasants' Party of Bengal.

P. 526. (32).

"SELLING GANAVANI"

The Party's Bengali organ "Ganavani" is at last published again. It is now for the Party to make the best use of it, as a means of spreading its propaganda, and of strengthening its organisation. It is also the duty of the Party to see that the paper is well established, so that it does not again cease publication.

These things necessitate that the circulation of the paper be raised very soon to a far higher level than it has reached in the past. Both for political reasons and from the financial standpoint, the customary circulation of a few thousands is hopelessly inadequate. It is, however, impossible for the Party to support the paper either by obtaining remunerative advertisements, or by spending large sums on distribution. The work of increasing the circulation and revival must fall upon the Party members.

It is the custom in working-class parties in Europe, America and China, for a very large proportion of the members to devote themselves for some hours each week to selling the Party organs. Such a custom could be adopted with advantage here. If the Party could become, from a Party of theorists, a Party of newspaper-boys, it would have the most beneficial effect, not only on the paper's circulation, but on the influence, organisation and efficiency of the Party.

All members connected with Trade Unions must sell the paper among their Union members. But that is not enough. All colleges, and public assemblies of students such as College Square on Saturday evening, should be visited weekly. Every public political or trade Union meeting should be attended by a Party member,

with his stock of papers. Most important of all, the paper should be sold each week to the workers coming out of all possible factories and similar places of work. In towns and villages where there are no such places, the paper can be sold in some public place or even from house to house.

All Party members, but especially those students and others who for lack of time or similar reasons cannot take part in the general propaganda and organising work of the Party, can do this work. The Constitution lays down as a condition of membership the performance of organised work. Here is organised Party work, which every member without exception can do.

At the same time it need not be looked upon as inferior or menial work. It is highly important that it should be done. Further, if carried out regularly, it becomes extremely interesting. The seller e. g. to factory workers, soon gets a regular clientele of readers who stay to converse and argue with him. He acquires a knowledge of workers' life and mentality which is very valuable. He lays the foundation for the organisation of a Trade Union branch or factory committee in that factory.

Remember: (1) That in selling *regularly* is the key to success.

(2) That a regular subscriber to the paper is worth ten "casuals"——he is half-way to becoming a party member.

And be careful: (1) To report results each week, so that supplies for next week may be assured.

(2) To pay in all money received to the "Ganavani" fund.

All members in Calcutta are asked to come to the Office to arrange a "beat" and time suitable to them. A comrade has been put in charge of this work, so that our resources will be used to the best advantage. All in other towns are asked to get supplies from the local secretary or agent, or to write to this office for them. Any sympathisers who are not members, but are willing to do this, will of course be very welcome.

If this is done—and there is no reason why it should not be done immediately—we can confidently expect a greatly and progressively increased sale for "Ganavani", and at the same time a larger, more efficient, and better organised Party.

Programme for fraction work.

Programme of demands for trades in question.

Congress: MADRAS. Fraction of 7. A. I. C. C. resolutions.

- (1) Resn. On League Against Imperialism — More or less carried.
- (2) War Danger — Their resn. accepted our point.
- (3) Anniversary of Russian Revolution — Dropped.
- (4) Complete Independence — Carried in other form.
- (5) Boycott of Simon Commission — Dropped hartal and strikes.
- (6) Programme of mass organ — Dropped.
- (7) China — Different.

Created impression ... Spoke for & against.

Successful in one point — keeping face down
No A. I. C. C. meeting since.

Bombay P. C. C. 5009 Rs. to strike.

Simon Hartal. — W. & P. Party did not act officially.

Simply through Congress.

Party issued manifesto & resolutions.

Submerged itself in Congress.

Pres: of P. C. C. altered resolution, and W. & P. fraction
brought vote of censure still pending.

Allowed them to capture mass meeting.

Benares boycott Assn.

~~General decision that capturing Congress is hopeless. We~~
have to be at critical force.

Muzaffar's resn. No Congress office to be accepted by
party members ?

Independence Co-operative Party. Letter to Jawaharlal.
A. P. C. Condemns report and W. C.

Stand for (illegible) and mass movement and Universal
suffrage.

Calcutta A. I. C. C. Resolution condemning Nehru Report
and W. C. Sympathising with strikers etc.

P. S. & T. D. Bill.

Congress CALCUTTA.

1. Change of creed to Independence.
2. Against War Danger.
3. Anti-Working class legislation and asking working class & Peasants to organise on basis of class struggle.
4. Condemn Bengal Congress Party for attitude on Tenancy Bill.

A. I. Party.

Votes { Bengal Party.
Bombay Party.
Punjab Party.
C. P. & Berar Party.
Gorakhpur Union (W. & P.)
Trichinopoly Party.
All-Unions.
All peasants.

Date 20, 21, 22 Dec.

President: SOHAN SINGH.

Rajasthan Seva Dal.
Hindustani Seva Dal.
Other individuals.

Fraternal Delegates.

List to be drawn up.

Resolutions:

1. Orgn. plans.
2. Political situation & policy constitution for A. I. Party.
3. Peasant.
4. Trade Union (needs little change).
5. Affiliation to league against Imperialism.
6. All-Parties Conference.
7. Independence League.
8. Minor resolutions.

Preparation: Pamphlet on need for A. I. W. & P. Party

Meetings. Who to write? Dange.

Propaganda in Calcutta in October.

Reception Committee in Bengal (Illegible).

Organisation of Party A. I. E. C. representing the constituent.

Parties: Bombay, Bengal, Punjab Others suggested.

E. C. meets quarterly. Seat of E. C. at Calcutta.

P. Manifesto: details to be decided.

Money: To be arranged. Rs. 1500 required.

Resolutions etc. printed in 5 languages.

P. 526. (33).

WHAT SHALL WE DO WHEN THE SIMON COMMISSION COMES ?

This is now becoming an urgent question for all workers and peasants and everybody else. The bourgeois politicians have decided what they will do. Some will straight forwardly ask it for Dominion Status through the All-Parties Conference and the columns of the Press. Almost all of them, whether they believe in boycott or not, or whether their boycott is conditional or unconditional, agree that they want Dominion Status. And they agree that the way to get it is directly or indirectly to ask the British Government to grant it. A highly ingenious way, suggested by "Forward" 's London Correspondent, is to ask for independence and then perhaps they will give you Dominion Status; (This may throw much light on the tactics of many eminent Congressmen) In any case, all these methods come to the same thing in the end—some peaceful agreement between the British and Indian capitalists to exploit the masses.

They have decided their line of action. What shall we, the masses, decide? One thing is certain, we must do something. We are tired of being exploited. All over the country we are striking and demonstrating and refusing to pay taxes and so on, all to show that we demand the end of exploitation. And if there is one thing more than another that we learnt from these strikes etc. it is that while the present or any similar Government remains in power, we shall still be exploited. Who beats us if we refuse to work? Who prevents us from picketing against blacklegs? Who boots us if we try it in spite of their prohibitions? Who wastes all our money by putting us in prison when we have committed no crimes? Who prevents money from coming to our help from Comrades abroad? Who spies upon our organisers, so as to throw them in

prison whenever opportunity occurs? Who evicts us from our quarters during strikes and persuades the landlords to throw our Union office out of his property? Who protects the employer against us by refusing to take our serious complaints against him? We could go on for pages showing up the "impartiality" of the State and its Police and Magistrates and C.I.Ds.

The fact is that we are all realising now that some serious change must be brought about the— system of foreign exploitation must be abolished and the whole system of government which protects and upholds it must be abolished also. That is to say, we aim at complete independence. But we are also coming to realise not merely that some change must be brought about, but that something must be done very soon.

Up to the present we have supported the bourgeois politicians' policy of boycott of the Simon Commission, and have observed hartals and strikes to emphasise it. When Simon Comes again in October, we shall of course do so once more, and more effectively. But that is only demonstrations—it is a "negative policy". A positive policy is required. We must act, and the coming of the Commission gives us an excellent chance to act.

On the last occasion when such a crisis faced the country, we had at any rate the Congress and Mr. Gandhi to look up to, to lead us and give us hope for the future. They failed us. But now we have not even that broken reed to depend on. Who seriously thinks that the Congress (with D. E. Ansari or Pundit Motilal as its president!) will lead the masses to independence? No, the masses must set up their own organ of leadership.

The Annual Conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal in March last passed a resolution on this question in which it said:

"The campaign must demand complete national independence and must work for the calling of a *Constituent Assembly*, elected by universal adult suffrage which will concentrate and express authoritatively the diverse demands and scattered struggles of the masses. The Constituent Assembly, which can give the masses the *united and militant lead* which the All-Parties Conference has failed to give, will be the nation's real answer to the British Government and the Simon Commission, and will constitute a definite step forward in the struggle of the masses for complete independence and the satisfaction of their pressing economic needs".

No special wisdom is required to see that their measure of something like it, is what is required. As a first step, we should

try to hold Conferences in all parts of the country, say one for each province, representing all Trade Unions and their branches. Peasant Association, such Congress Committees (local and provincial) as are willing to attend Hindustani Seva Dal and similar organisations, Youth Organisations, W. & P. Parties and branches which will prepare the way for convening the constituent Assembly.

Such conferences should set up permanent Committees representing all the constituent bodies, for the purpose of

(1) Organising mass demonstrations against Simon and carrying on propaganda, and preparing the masses for a Constituent Assembly,

(2) Support all workers or peasants on strike or in disagreement with employers or landlords or Government— in co-operation with T. Us & T.U.C.,

(3) promoting the organisation of workers trade unions and peasants organisations,

(4) preparing for general strike by workers, and non-payment of taxes by peasants, as political weapons for securing independence.

These are the main tasks of the masses at present. All workers who have been on strike in recent months and many others also, know that it is of no use to go on striking alone— mass support is required. Our employers are in league with all other employers, either directly or through Millowners' Association, Chambers of Commerce, Clubs or what not. And all employers have the Government behind them. We must have our solidarity and organisation also. We all know that only the strength of the masses, exerted in direct action, will emancipate us from the domination of employers and employers' Governments once for all. Everyone knows this, yet nothing is done. It is no good to wait for the Congress, or the All-Parties Conference— they will do nothing. Let us get to work now, and prepare a real "answer to Simon and Birkenhead".

P. 526. (34)

Complete Independence.

The workers' and Peasants' Party stands for Complete Independence. Why? It is important to make clear that the Party has much more than sentimental reasons for this—unlike the Congress, which frivolously* passed a resolution for Complete Independence, obviously without realising what it meant. Thus the resolution logically demanded, as will be argued later, that the Congress creed should also be changed to exclude all those who do not wish to work for Complete Independence... But this was not done. The workers' and Peasants' Party on the other hand, in saying that it works for complete independence, seriously means what it says, and unlike the Congress, realises and accepts fully all the implications of that policy.

Many have argued, especially since the Congress passed the resolution, that since "Dominion Status", the avowed aim of the Liberals, the Swaraj Party, and many others, involves among other things the right of separation, it is as good as complete independence. Whether it actually involves the right of separation or not seems to be doubtful—the statesman denies it—but it is in any case a matter of minor importance. What is important is that it shows either a complete confusion or a deliberate deception on the part of those who advance the argument. "Dominion Status" or "Swaraj within the Empire" etc. etc. are treated as being but a step removed from complete independence. The Amrita Bazar Patrika says so quite clearly, arguing that as these objects are so near together, united action on the part of their respective advocates is possible. Actually nothing could be farther from the truth.

"Dominion Status" is an aim which is put forward as one which India can attain by constitutional and peaceful means. Even the Swarajists advocate a "Round Table Conference" *i.e.* agreement with Imperialism, as the way in which is to be established (*plus* a little pressure—not so much as to be dangerous from the masses—cf. Bardoli). Now is it seriously to be supposed that imperialism will voluntarily grant to India a status which is "equivalent to" or even only "one step removed from" Independence? Or that if she did, India would be allowed to take "that step" (of Egypt). This one question should be enough to convince anybody of the falsity of this position.

(*Footnote: Perhaps it was not so frivolous. Of Forward's London Correspondent July 1st 1928. "Even those who think that Dominion Status should be the goal of India will not find it difficult to see that if India by her own efforts wanted to secure Independence, Britain might conceivably come forward to discuss Dominion Status....."

What then is "Dominion Status"? The phrase is in the air nowadays. The Liberals, the Swarajists, the Home rulers, the Responsivists, all want it. Even many British statesmen have spoken approvingly of it. The Labour Party is more or less pledged to it. It will therefore quite possibly be realized, sooner or later. It is as well to be clear as to its real nature.

It would be labourious to discuss the positions of the various British Dominions, and it would be unnecessary. The words of British statesmen and newspapers in connection with India are quite clear enough. Though they do not at all use the expression "Dominion Status", it is evident that the important, ruling section of British capitalism is practically united on the question. And the British official labour leaders are at one with them. They are unanimous that India must remain within the British Empire. That is really the vital point, for it can only mean that India is to remain under the exploitation of British capital. The other matters or comparatively unimportant. They speak of the "progressive realisation of responsible government", "the gradual extension of democracy" from its present small beginnings, etc. Even those who speak of "Dominion Status" do not want it now. It is an end to be gradually arrived at. This is the sole basis of their quarrel with Swarajists and others. Why do they insist upon gradualness? Because Indians are "politically immature", they need training in "parliamentary methods", they must acquire a "sense of responsibility" etc. etc. Though at first sight the merest political clap-trap, it is easily translated into realistic terms. All it means is that as and when the Indian bourgeoisie is willing to defend the interests of British capital, it can be entrusted with a larger share of the work of administration and legislation. "Dominion Status" is but a more advanced stage in this process of Indianisation, when, subject to the final control of the British armed forces, India will be ruled (largely) by Indians, for the profit of British capital.

It needs no discussion here to show that this is the policy of British Imperialism over since the time of the war. Industries have been rapidly established, British capital invested on a large scale, and Indian capitalism for the first time "recognised" as a "junior partner". British and Indian interests are already inextricably mixed; Tata's, the premier "Indian" firm, is an example, where Both British and Indian capital participate, in close relations with the Government, with arrangements to provide munitions in war time, etc. The Indian capitalists and their henchmen are being quickly taught by this means and others, to defend the interests of British capital.

That is not to say that "Dominion Status" is to be granted to the Indian bourgeoisie immediately. It is still little more than

a bait, held out to entice them along the constitutional path. And the important point to notice is that all, even the Swarajists, are being slowly but surely dragged along that path. At present certain sections are still too "unruly" to be granted the privilege of fighting the battles of British capitalism against the Indian masses. Why, some of them support even such unconstitutional actions as the Bardoli Stayagrah ! * They must be taught better ; hence the gradualness, the "progressive realisation" of "responsible government"

It is clear that however "free" India might be in theory under "Dominion Status" it is not a freedom which will have any relation to the Indian masses we want to be free from the exploitation of British capital. "Dominion Status" or any other status within the British Empire will not give that. Therefore we cannot remain within the Empire. We must have complete independence, which means for us independence from the exploitation of British capital.

Now this is a serious policy. It is obvious that there is no question of getting it peacefully, or by agreement with Britain. British capitalists are not going to be expropriated to the extent of a thousand million pounds (not to speak of many other losses they must suffer), without fighting for it. And they will fight, as every Indian ought to know, with the utmost determination and ruthlessness. X

Is this what the Congress contemplates when it demands "Complete Independence" ? The question has only to be asked. Nevertheless there are many in the Congress who sincerely desire independence, and have the logic and courage to face the implications of their desire. It was they who forced the leaders of the Congress, in many cases against their will, to vote for independence. But it must be asked, how long can this deceit go on ? Can there be unity between the those who really want independence, and are prepared to fight for it, and those who really want a compromise,

(* FOOTNOTES: It is interesting even in this case, to notice how the Swarajists show the cloven hoof. The Bardoli Stayagrah, in itself an intense and genuine mass movement, is being kept by the leaders in harmless channels, and indeed provides very clear case of exploitation of a mass movement by the bourgeois leaders for their own ends. The actual leaders, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel and others have consistently, but mistakenly, confined the issue as narrowly as possible. But the Swarajists etc. have made it against Mr. Patel's wishes, an 'All India' question, not, be it noticed, in the sense of extending the agitation to other peasants, or even of helping it substantially with money, but simply of using it for propoganda against the Government. Or again, why do they take no notice of the movement of the peasants of Atia, who are more numerous, and have far worse grievances to endure, than those of Bardoli ? The reason is that this (Atia) movement is directed against the Government in *alliance with Indian zemindars*, so it cannot be exploited for the purposes of the superficial nationalism of the Swarajists.) XX

but voted for independence only to frighten the Government or to avoid displeasing their "followers"?

There can be no such unity. Complete independence means revolution. Dominion Status means peaceful evolution. Independence means breaking the power.

A feature of Indian nationalism, which have often been commented upon and regretted is its spirit of isolation its tendency to pay attention to Indian and India's problems alone. Partly a result of the policy of Imperialism, as expressed in its educational system and its censorship, it is also an incontestable feature of a bourgeois nationalism. Such as developed in India. It is a sign of change which is going on within India itself and its national movement, that close attention is now being paid to the affairs of many other countries. Of all the countries of the east or indeed of the whole world, must more deserves study than modern Russia.

It is reasonable to regard Russia as being in some respects ahead of all other countries, and this alone renders it desirable that we should know more of it. But further, as so many writers have pointed out, the condition of India today, and those of Russia before 1917, present in many ways so close a parallel, that developments in Russia must form an instructive commentary on India's history also. It is unnecessary here to elaborate this point. Pandit Jawahar-Lal Nehru, in his recent series of articles in the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" has remarked that the similarity between the two peoples extends to the smallest details of customs and practices, as well as embracing their broad economic structure. Both are backward peasant countries, just escaping from feudalism. (I fear that especially those of the East which are, in the current phrase, "awakening". Japan has received its share of notice as Turkey, Afghanistan, China. But even then that two countries are similarly situated and conditioned, what light does Russian Meeting throw upon India's present and future problem. In other words, can or will India follow the "Moscow Road" as Mr. M. Majid has called it, or will she travel some other road, such as that of Japan, or a new one altogether? This is the question I propose to discuss.

The statement that India is backward will be resented by many nationalists. Nevertheless it is true. As Marx wrote in 1853 (in the "New York Tribune," quoted by R. P. Dutt in "Modern India"). "England has torn down the whole scaffolding of Indian Social order, without so far any signs of a rebirth being visible." And to this day it stands. India's ancient civilisation, a civilisation essentially medieval, based upon a feudal agriculture, is gone never to return. But nothing has yet replaced it. The upper classes have imbibed something of Britain's imperialist culture the faint beginnings of the masses of the future culture of the working slowly, but inevitably, are to be seen in the industrial areas, but as a whole are relapsing from their old estate of civilisation into sheer ignorance and barbarism. India in spite of technical development is a colony that is backward, and will get more and more backward, until she is free.)

It is important to have a clear idea of the change which has taken place, and is now going on in Russia. Many bourgeois thinkers do not venture to give any general characterisation, very few are so bold as the egregious Mr. Ernest Kirk, who says (*Indian Labour Review*, May 1928) "The Russian Revolution was a peak". Others use the confusing phrase "Awakening of the East," under which to comprehend the Russian Revolution. It is true that a profound change, which is plausibly called "awakening" is going on throughout the "East". And it is true, we have the authority of the notorious "Augur" for it—that Russia is no longer to be regarded as belonging to the aristocratic West, but is now among the outcasts of the East. Nevertheless the Russian revolution then was simply the first successful "break through" of the new forces—the masses of industrial workers supported by the peasants—through the decaying structure of capitalism, to the foundation of a new order, which will in time embrace the world. The Russian revolution, far from being a "feat," was a type of what is to occur everywhere probably within a fairly short time.

Formula is an inadequate and misleading one, and has been and is now, the cause of some confusion of thought in India. The "awakening of the East" has affected in turn Japan, Russia, Turkey, Russia, China, and is now coming to India, Java, and so on. Such a conception obviously leads to the conclusion that India, when fully "Awakened" may turn out to have become a second Japan, or to be revelling under the despotism of an Amanullah. In fact the conception "awakening" is altogether too vague to be of use to us. It has no political meaning.

In order to conceive the Russian Revolution as a whole in relation to the rest of the world, and India, we have to realise that that Revolution was only one event in a process, embracing not merely the East but the West also, affecting indeed every corner of the globe, namely the growth and collapse of Imperialism. In the view of the social theory held by the Russians, which the present writer holds to be sound, this phase in history is none other than the culminating and final phase of the development of "capitalism in decay" as Lenin deserved it. It may be worthwhile, as this question of imperialism is capitalism vital, to halt upon it for a moment. It is astonishing how blind the whole bourgeois world is to the events which are going on around it. Imperialism, in the modern meaning of the term when it first

Page 5-

It means that India enters and remains within the circle of Imperialism. Slowly no doubt, but more and more. Indian capital must become an exploiting force in world economics and a determinant in world politics (of Sir B. Blakett statement (illegible..... in South America "Ind. 1926-7.) India will become part of the

imperialist system. B. Shah has predicted that some centuries hence the cup of the B. Gint will be Baghdad. Delhi would have been more in line with present tendencies. India might eventually absorb the B. as N. has done the earlier invaders. But in other case what does this mean? India an Imperialist power, (or of course more probably a sub-portion in imp. power) providing armies to defeat China-Russia-Am. Japan? Even if in her own int. is this what India wants? Or to be involved in some final catastrophe such as Mr. Wills has sketched, when two or three imperialist giants fight each other to the death, and involve the population of every corner of the world in their destruction? This is no flight of fancy for a serene possibility as all expect on modern amament testify Imperialism is not merely a temporary cause of unpleasantness and suffering in it is a menace to civilisation itself, which every right thinking man may help to rid of.

On the reverse is written:—

Industry and poor communications. These are problems which Russia has so long and is alone insoling. Her methods can be used in India also. It ended the belief of the writer that Russia by its sacrifice, suffering, hard work and hard thinking for the last ten years, has conferred an inestimable benefit upon mankind. It has shown, not only in theory, but also in practice, the road which the world must follow, if it is to avoid the dangers inherent in a developing civilisation and the rapidly inceasingly ability of mankind to utilise forces of nature. And it has provided, in doing so, a reasonable assurance that the world will be able to follow that road.

A study of Russia, present and past and the theories very clearly set forward by its leaders is accordingly one of the most important things for a politically minded person to undertake. Many lessons, from the period before the Revolution and from the period after, are to be learnt from that study, and the writer hopes to have shown, if nothing more than this, that these lessons are of very intimate importance and application to India's problems.

P. 526 (36).

A draft mauscript of "The Power of Labour" (vide P. 527 (3)).

P. 526 (37).

RESOLUTIONS FOR CONFERENCE.

- (1) Manifesto.
- (2) Function of Party.
- (3) Trade Union Movement.
- (4) Peasant's Movement.
- (5) Relation with Congress and Indian League.
- (6) Candidates for Municipal etc., elections.
- (7) Constitution and principles of organisation.
- (8) Affiliation to League against imperialism.
- (9) Nehru Report.

P. 526. (38)

C/o Congress House,
Bombay.

11/2/28.

Dear Comrade,

Mr. Bharucha has asked me to write to you this week as he is very busy in connection with the "Herald" reorganisation or liquidation, whichever it may be.

He met Miss Clarke as you asked him and with Desai arranged a tour for her. He introduced her to Tagore's secretary, who has undertaken to do what she wants in Calcutta. I understand that she left Bombay this week, probably for Calcutta. I wanted to see her myself, but I was so busy in connection with the Hartal and the Municipal and other workers' strikes that I was unable to arrange a meeting.

The second thing which he wishes to tell you is that on the 4th of February he received a letter from the General Telegraph Office asking if he had received a cable of about 1000 words from the Communist Party of Great Britain. He went to the Office

and instituted inquiries, and in a few days received another saying that the should take the first letter as not having been sent. I think this is an accurate account of what happened. At any rate it is in substance correct. He is rather mystified and wants to inform you about it.

Third he wants me to tell you that there has been a hitch over the sale of your car. Some people took it, but returned it saying that it was defective in some ways. Rather than cause a row, Bharucha took it back, though they had agreed to buy it. He expects to sale it soon, though I imagine it needs some small repairs.

Finally, he asked me to send you the enclosed cutting. He looks upon it as a joke, but it may have some effect he thinks upon his backward Parsi friends.

We had an excellent Hartal here, and the students and workers' strikes were a great success. It has been reported that the M. W. were forced to apologise. This is quite untrue. So were dismissed but were all taken back next day when the other men stood out. There was only one condition, that neither side should claim a victory. So A. P. promptly broadcasted that the Municipality had won. I intended to go to the All-Parties Conference as a spectator, as I had been invited through the T. U. C. but I have not been able to get away from Bombay through lack of money. The first session takes place tomorrow. So I am already too late. We have been trying to put forward the slogan of a Constituent Assembly. But the press, even the Herald has boycotted it entirely. The reports of our speeches have omitted it, and direct communication to the Press on the subject have been refused. We want to hold a meeting in the Marwari Vidyalaya next week, and than they cannot any longer refuse to mention it.

Yours fraternally,
Sd. P. SPRATT.

P. 526 (39).

6-9-28

Thengdi }
Dange } Officials.
Jhabwala }

(1) T. U. Work T. U. C

against W. W. L. No work in
secretariate— Bulletin No.
Reports no.

C of A— no money allowed.
A. I. R. F. Textile Fed— Trades Council.

Bombay Provincial T.U.C. Annual meeting only—nothing we had
no representation our strength
no election of office increasing.
bearers.

G.I.P. and B.B.C.I. (more or less) Municipal- still stationary
Press workers non existent.

Tramway. workshop 80%. line-staff not. Port Trust. Ry and
Emp with us. Majgaon & R. I. M.
danger of European dominating.

Generally failure of Party members to strike at work.—
letting Jhabwala let us down.

Textile Labour Union. G.K.U. N.N.D.U. we are uptodate in
control of strike.

Taxiwalas "Motormen's union some influence.

Telegraph-men some indirect influence.

Seamen. No. influence. Union started at Myanghat.

Small unions member Jhabwala's but useless. Textile workers

Nagpur. Raipur working more or less. with us Nasumla no.
Ahmedabad no.

Organised factory work in Textile strike committee and G. I. P.
only.

Bengal T.U. Fedn. Affiliation to Fedn. and representation
at Jharia. Fract work.

T.U.C. Officials Pres Ghat

G. Sec. pamphlet on R. I. L. U. and
Ass. Sec. Joglekar. I. P. T. U. to be drawn
up by Dange.
Resolutions not reported
Auditing of accounts by
Actified Auditors
Rescind this clause of Cont.

Resolutions W.W.L.
was danger. R. I. L. U. Pan Pacific Secretariat & League
against Imperialism.

Nomination to Geneva Council
T. D. Bill Indian Labour Year Book to be put.
Condemning repression Supporters of same.
by Govt. Trades Councils
P. S. Bill. All Parties
Conference decisions.

Public Safety
P. 526 (40).

“Public Safety Bill.”

A new wave of revolt is sweeping over India. Almost at the same time we hear of the arrest or conviction of hundreds of Working class strikers in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay, a crop of arrests for sedition and political murder in Punjab, a series of prosecutions for sedition in Bengal. The Simon Commission tours round the country leaving behind it a trail of broken heads. The Assembly is presented simultaneously with three startling new essays in repression—the P. S. Bill, the Trade Dispute Bill, and the Press Bill.

In India, the lawcourt serves even better than the legislature as a thermometer of public affairs and the moment both are rising rapidly. There can be no doubt that the political condition is well on the way to boiling point.

The most striking feature of the present political movement, as contrasted with the last great wave of the national revolutionary in 1921, is its working class character. The workers themselves are being savagely attacked.

His members of the Workers' and Peasants' Party who are arrested in Calcutta doing the boycott demonstrations, on account of the revolutionary posters they carry and again W. & P. Party members who are arrested for the Saunders murder (and then in the absence of any evidences tried for sedition speeches). Two out of the three Government bills are simply for the purpose of suppressing working class propaganda and activity.

In 1921, the petty—bourgeoisie, and even the bourgeoisie to some extent, led the movement drawing the masses behind them. In 1929 already the working class is to the fore. Perhaps this is shown in the most striking manner by the nature of the propaganda of Imperialism. Fear of communism (i. e. of the working class) it is no exaggeration to say, is the leading nob of the recent imperialist speeches from Col. Gidy to the Viceroy President of the Jute Mill Owners. European candidates for the Assembly. Mr. J. Landford James, of the E. A. summarises all these warnings and pronouncements when he says: "In this Assn. there are no two views, I think, on the subject of Bolshevism. We regard it as the most imminent and the most dangerous menace which this country has to fear at this moment." Such statements as this suggest two questions: is this fear genuine? and is it justified? There is no doubt that it is difficult to see (illegible) for the panic of these spokesmen in the actual strength and organisation of our movement. It is often suggested therefore that this (illegible) of propaganda is simulated; it is only a scare like the "Zenovieff letter", and is used, at this ticklish time, when the new reforms are coming into force, to dissuade the Indian bourgeoisie from indulging in any unnecessary opposition. It will suffice to reply that the Zenovieff letter was in no way a false alarm from the imperialist point of view. The Government which it helped into power smashed the General Strike, crushed the miners, and passed the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Act of 1927— not to mention a host of minor outrages upon the working class. The letter was a false, but the fear of the British workers was genuine.

Is it justified then? A theory is gaining currency among wide sections of the population, which certainly would deny it. Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar for example argues from a mass of data that India is two generations behind industrial Europe. Banking finds itself numerically functionally, as well as morphologically, somewhere near the level of World-progress attained by the pioneers of modern industry and commerce, say, about 1886 or even 1870." The First Indian T. U. Act (of 1926) is to be compared with the legislature of England 1971-6, and of France 1884. Even the ideology of present day (illegible) is that of Europe in the 60's and 78's.

This is the theory of the Indian bourgeoisie, for it points to a future of rapidly growing industry and rapidly swelling people. And as usual, the theory of the bourgeoisie is also that of the labour-reformists. Professor Sarkar says it clearly for them: "1927-8 The Peasants and W. P.communications." (See 1-2 Page). This is the theory (if they have a theory) of the Indian labour reformist school. They are looking forward to a generation or two of peaceful progress, on the lines of the European

labour movement from the 1870's onwards; The T. D. Bill is only a temporary difficulty, like the gum with (socialist laws.) That will be concerned, not with the sanguine of power, but with election to parliament. They will sit not in the workers' soviets, but on Royal Commissions.

The answer to this conception is not only far to seek. It is familiar to all concerned with the Indian cotton Industry. Hear it also at the Annual Dinner of the Mining and Geological Associations of India.

"Turning to the "black spot" of the mineral industry, Mr. Chartres said the coal trade was suffering from the same complaint as many of the industries in England today—a capacity for over production and the consequent low sale price of the product. The remedy was in rigid reorganisation to cut production costs. (St. 8-1-29).

Not much room for "peaceful expansion" here.

There is no need to discuss the subject any further. Lenin did so quite adequately fourteen years ago. He emphasised that Imperialism was the period of *world wide* crisis and decay of capitalism. Capitalism has extended its rule over the whole earth, and the proceed of collapse of capitalism necessarily involves in one way or another all countries, including India.

Indeed there seems to be a certain reversal in the order of progress. The most highly developed capitalist countries, although they show in some cases, very clear signs of decay, are not the first to undergo political collapse. Their long accumulated strength still suffices to keep them going. Russia was backward compared with Europe as a whole; yet Russia saw the first successful proletarian revolution. China shows the same possibility. It was the undeveloped, numerically insignificant proletariat of China which led the great nationalist revolution. So it will probably be in India whether the subsequent history of betrayal and destruction of the movement by the bourgeoisie, will be the same, as for us to guard against.

The theory of capitalism, and of reformists, is thus unsound. The path of progress, for the workers, the path which they will be forced to follow, is that of militant struggle—not merely for reforms, but for power.

In the course of their struggle there will be repression foreshadowed only dimly by what has gone on up to the present. They will be attacked by all enemies—Govt. Indian (illegible) and the reformists in the value of labour. They are (illegible) of splitting the workers rank is (illegible) commission rooted

away the illegible). It will be more than any Govt. can do to (illegible) them of it. And in the light of communism, the working class will perform, in spite of all opposition, the tasks which are set before it.

That is why the Govt. and its spokesmen are alarmed about communism, any why they are trying in any other thing, the P. S. Bill. Their alarm is both genuine and justified. For, not only the reforms, are coming within the rest few years. The second great world war, and with it the second stage in the world wide crisis of imperialism, will be upon us.

P. 526. (41).

The Role of the Workers' & Peasants' Party.

Especially at this time, when the activity and influence of the Workers' and Peasants' Party are extending, and its organ is being restarted, it is desirable to state in general terms, as well as in particular cases, what the Party stands for and what historical function it undertakes. This article is an attempt to make such a statement.

First it is necessary to mark in what historical conditions the Party comes into existence and develops. Expressed as succinctly as possible, the present is the period of Imperialism, but not merely of the existence of Imperialism, but of its ~~culmination, decline and collapse, which take place amid world-wide destruction and chaos.~~ It is the period when in all countries of the world the working-classes rise against the intolerable pressure of decaying capitalism, and when the oppressed colonial countries rise in revolt against the increasing tyanny and exploitation they suffer at the same hands. It is the period of wars, orgies of mutual murder on the part of the oppressed of all countries, in the interests of thier several oppressors.

Such a historical epoch, which is to be seen at its most characteristic in India to-day, demands of a subject country a most determined fight, both for the freedom of the country as a whole from foreign domination, and for the emancipation of the masses within the country from the exploitation and ignorance which make foreign domination possible. The interests of the masses of the population of India demand, now more than ever before, a movement of the masses for national independence.

But at this very time, when national freedom is needed more than ever, the political nationalist movement, the Congress, is in a state almost of collapse. It is as well that this point should be considered rather fully. All would agree that the national movement received a very severe blow by the Bardoli decision, and that never since then has it recovered completely. But many profess to see in the revival of feeling which has taken place during the past year, on the coming of the Simon Commission, and the All-Parties Conference, a genuine movement which can once more threaten and eventually overthrow Imperialism. This view is partly correct, but is also very seriously wrong. It is true that the movement of the people towards national freedom is again gaining rapidly in strength. But it is a complete mistake to look upon the Congress, with its Boycott, and the All-Parties Conference, with its Constitution, as the expression of this mass movement. It is true that these actions on the part of the bourgeois parties have been brought about largely by the pressure of the masses, who have to be kept in a good humour. But they cannot be regarded as in any way a satisfactory lead for the masses, or as providing even a possible line of action for them.

It is impossible here to consider in detail decisions and recommendations of the All-Parties Conference, but it must be clear that the compromise of the Congress with the liberal Party and other reactionaries represents nothing but a surrender to the big bourgeois interests which are openly opposed to mass action and the independence of the country.

The policy of Boycott of British Goods may seem at first sight better. But actually, as everybody knows, the movement is of relatively little value in India, and has by now lost all dynamic character. It appeals of course only to the middle classes, and in fact serves mainly to keep alive among them some consciousness of the national struggle. As Mr. Gandhi himself has confessed, it can never be a successful revolutionary weapon unless it is supported and enforced by the militant strength of the masses, as it was in South China in 1925-6. This is the essential point to notice. The Boycott movement however "extremist" it may seem, is in fact carried out in a reformist manner. It is intended simply to bring a little more pressure to bear upon the Government to urge it toward concessions.

The third main point of Congress policy is the Boycott of the Commission, about which there can be no misunderstanding. Was there ever a more polite, "constitutional" Boycott? At the Congress at Madras, "strikes and hartals" were expressly ruled out for fear of offending the liberals. The mass movement was sacrificed altogether, for the sake of the big bourgeoisie. Only in January, at Benares, was mass feeling found to be so intense that

hartals were allowed. To look upon this as a sign of the revolutionary determination of the Congress leaders is absurd.

It is important to go in this detail into Congress policy, since it must be realised quite clearly that the bourgeois class as a whole, and the organ even of its left wing, the Congress, is now reactionary and is not seriously fighting for national freedom. It aims merely at more advantageous compromise with the Government. (The humbug of the independence resolution needs no exposure here.)

It is because of this that the need for a new organisation is being felt. It is essential that, in place of the old, a new nationalist movement shall be created, giving expression to the growing urge of the masses for emancipation, economic and political. The old movement, though drawing its members from several different classes of the community, was dominated politically by the *industrial* bourgeoisie, whose gradually changing position in regard to imperialism brought about the collapse of the movement. The new movement is altering this entirely. While seeking support from individuals of all classes, it bases its policy mainly on the working class and the peasantry. In them it sees not merely an overwhelming majority of the population, but also the object of all imperialist exploitation, whose emancipation in itself means the destruction of imperialism, and the effective striking force, whose militant mass action will be the instrument whereby imperialism is overthrown. This is the essence of the policy of the new national movement, the policy of the Workers' and Peasants' Party.

In spite of what has been said above, it is often asked, and will be asked, why a separate Party? Cannot the historic Congress, which now exists to fight imperialism, suffice? And if its policy is still unsatisfactory can it not be changed? The Workers' and Peasants' Party is not yet so old and well established that it need not defend its existence. The answer to these questions is, that the possibility of changing Congress policy is little more than a theoretical one. At the best it must take a very long time, and the masses are not waiting. Already their rebellion is widespread, and is growing rapidly, but their organisation to correspond with it still lags pitifully behind. It is impossible to wait until the Congress changes its entire policy, not merely in name but in fact, and takes up mass organisation, not with a humanitarian object, as it does occasionally now, nor with the intention of exploiting the mass movement for bourgeois ends, but in the spirit of a genuine mass organisation.

On the other hand, the Workers' and Peasants' Party desires that the Congress should make this change in its policy, and its members have been fighting within the Congress for some years

for the necessary changes of policy and personnel. But as everybody knows, while making some verbal concessions, it still *pursues* essentially its old policy. With few exceptions, the important Congress leaders are entirely opposed to change of policy in this direction. The Workers' and peasants' Party therefore cannot abandon the urgent task of bringing into existence some organisation, however faulty, with the right outlook.

The historical function of the Party then, is to gather together all the social material useful for the purpose of overthrowing Imperialism, that is, for attaining the complete independence of the country. As its name indicates, the chief sources of strength will be the working and peasant classes, but that does not rule out other sections of the community. A large part of the middle class is exploited by Imperialism, and is willing to support a policy of determined opposition to and overthrow of Imperialism.

The Workers and Peasants Party is destined in India to play a part somewhat similar to that fulfilled by the Knomintang in China in 1924-6, that of a mass party uniting several different classes on the basis of a policy of opposition to Imperialism, and complete Independence. But the party in India will not have the same difficulties to face as did the Knomintang, namely those arising from the conflict of interests within its own ranks. The Indian bourgeoisie as a class has already left the scene before this stage is reached; whereas in China the bourgeoisie did take part for a time in the mass movement, only later to go over to the side of Imperialism, and thereby to split and set back the movement which they had sponsored. (The decisive moment of this historically necessary split occurred in India in 1922, and by now, as we have tried to show, it is practically complete.)

This is a very great advantage for the Indian movement. The Knomintang was for long merely a Party exploiting the masses, for bourgeois ends, and though this assisted the masses, it also inflicted terrible defeats on them. Here the Workers' and Peasants' Party is from the first a Party genuinely fighting for the interests and needs of the masses. It can and does wholeheartedly take up the cause of any struggling section of the working class or the peasants, and while helping that section to gain its immediate ends, it assists the *fusion* of that section with the whole of the mass forces fighting against the fundamental enemy of the Indian people, Imperialism. The rise of these mass forces is the most impressive and important occurrence in recent Indian history. At present the struggle of the masses, though increasingly widespread and intense, are isolated and easily defeated. In particular the two great sections, the working class and the peasants, lack almost any fighting contact. Their salvation lies in their co-ordination under a common aim—the overthrow of Imperialism—, and a common direction, that of the Workers' and Peasants' Party.

Finally, the Party holds out before the masses the goal which they have to reach, a goal to which independence is but a necessary step. It realises that after the destruction of the system of foreign exploitation, the only possible solvent for the miseries and poverty of India is socialism. The Party stands for the nationalisation, with workers' control, of the chief industries and services, as the basis for the reorganisation and improvement of Indian economic life. This is the age of imperialism—the age of the decline and death of capitalism, when all who care for the future must earnestly look forward to and prepare for the system which is to replace capitalism.

This then is the general policy and function of the Party. In present circumstances the work placed upon it is becoming more and more important. We are faced with a first-class political crisis and first-class industrial crisis at the same time. In accordance with its general policy, the Party will bring the two into close relations—for all economic conflicts are political, and vice versa. Every strike, every struggle of oppressed peasants against landowners or Government, must receive its support and assistance. The full implications of these struggles, which are but skirmishes preparatory for the great struggle for power between the exploiters and the exploited, must be brought out and demonstrated to the masses.

At the same time on the political field, the Party must attempt to bring together all sections genuinely opposed to Imperialism, to fight against the menace of the Simon Commission and the danger of war. The Party must expose mercilessly the attempt now being made to bind India to Imperialism under the name of Boycott of the Commission. Comrade Dange expressed the view of the Party very clearly when, at the Bombay Session of the All-Parties Conference, he pointed out that the only fruitful policy for the Conference was to establish a united front for the fight against Imperialism. To utilise the occasion merely for drafting a constitution is simply playing into the hands of Imperialism. It reduces the fight against the Simon Commission from a mass struggle to a parliamentary pretence. The Workers' and Peasants' Party cannot take part in such a betrayal. It will attend the Conference to urge such a fighting alliance against Imperialism, and to expose the reactionary and compromising nature of the bourgeois Parties, which strike the fight. The Party cannot take part in drafting a constitution for the division of power between the Indian and the British bourgeoisie. It has before it the more important work of fighting for independence.

P. 526. (42).

Dear Philip,

3-1-29

It is a very long time since you had a letter from me and also very long since I heard from you. I hope that even now as we shall be able to keep closer in touch with one another as I am very desirous of hearing your opinion on things in general and am equally ready to tell you about anything in which you may be interested over here.

At the moment my thirst of news must be greater than yours could possibly be, for we are just getting the snippets of telegraphic information about the happenings in Congress week which appear in the ordinary press here and just saw to what the appetite without satisfying it. It is a greater pity that you could not arrange to let us have telegrams for our press as just now there is a keen desire to know what is the situation and our press has nothing to go on. It is already January 3 and I have not seen a single report as to what happened at the A. I. T. U. C., to say nothing of the latter meetings. Could not something be arranged about such things? Would you not please really go into the matter carefully and let me know what could be done & whether general assistance from the press here would be required and how much and who would undertake to send the messages (say to S. W.) & what exactly stands in the way of anything being done?

I regret to say that copies of the long statement arrived at after a full discussion of the colonial questions at Manchester are not yet out of the press. In a few days at most I hope that it will be possible to get you the copies, and I hope also that you will let me know when you have received them.

As you will have gathered from the press, the Party is having a very difficult struggle just now. While the new policy already meets with heavy opposition in the Labour Party and can only make headway by energetic action, the party has to meet at the same time a serious offensive in the trade unions. The debate on the question of paying the political levy will be waged very fiercely at the coming congress and the question of the left wing also will demand a thorough re-examination. The difference of opinion on these two subjects alone is an indication how little firmly established the new line is as yet. I hope you are keeping in touch with events over here.

Yours
C

P.526. (43).

June 14, 1928.

Dear Philip,

I feel that I must send you just a line to say that I hope that you are in good spirits and to express my appreciation of your hard working endeavours.

Your letter in Forward was very good and should help in the general campaign. It is a pity only that their leader will confuse the expression of the leaders with the character of the whole class and thereby draw just the same wrong moral always that they are all tarred with the same brush.

You will have noted the significant remarks of Subash at the Maharashtra Conference. They need dealing with and reply for they are very indicative of the much boomed new leaders of the Congress. In general your remarks about Fascims were very much in place. But Subash's speech was revealing as to the whole character of the advanced bourge, nationalists. Their historical role is still and always the same as that of the great C.R. Das, to take up the cause of the masses in order to betray them. Their concern for the 98 per cent is merely part of the defence of their class interest and to divert stifle and destroy the rising movement of the same 98 per cent. Yet in your remarks on Labour and Swaraj for the sub-Contee, you dare to speak of the Congress as "the anti-imperialist organisation of the middle classes" It is necessary to point out always that Congress is the organ of the bourgeoisie, that its anti-imperialist role is strictly limited and that we have not to ally ourselves with it but to use it as an arena in which to fight our enemies and to make propaganda for our independent aims. Furthermore, I think that the idea of capturing the Congress is an illusion. I will like your opinion on this. I note also a terrible statement in the Executive report of the Bengal W. P. P. that we are not against the Swaraj Party because it is bourgeois. This wants clearing up. All the time I think we need to put more and more stress on our independent role, that is the only way forward. We are not a left wing, we are a new force.

I see you have become the leader of a trade union. I hesitate to congratulate you because I see enormous dangers of our following in the same path as the old gang and putting ourselves forward as representing the workers. Unless we can get committees and leaders from out of the ranks of the workers themselves, all our work will go for nothing. You know too much to reply to me like Bhuvan and Co. that the workers are cattle and are incapable of doing anything for themselves. Those who have that opinion should keep away from the workers movement. Seriously,

I have been rather more than unhappy because I read in the papers, in Bombay especially, of all sorts of committees being set up, always with the old familiar names and with not even a single worker in addition. I think we are making a tremendous mistake. The task of those of us who are not workers is primarily to help forward from below and not to take the leadership in our own hands. The whole of this struggle in the T. U.C. Council is very nearly a sham, because it is only a sham fight between leaders and not of the masses. This is a slightly different point but it is part of the same thing. How is it, I ask you, that we have got a stronger position inside the T. U. C. than in almost any other T. U. movement in the world and yet there is no movement. Because we have got our position without fighting and therefore they mean nothing. The present wave of activity gives us a wonderful unexampled opportunity to bring forward the workers themselves, to be behind them in giving them the leadership, to build real committees with roots in the masses, to help the creation of the workers own movement. That is a much more difficult thing than coming forward as the representative of 'n' different trade unions all of which are in your pocket (I am not speaking of you personally), but it is a thing on which the effectiveness of the work done will depend.

I have been rather led into writing at greater length than I intend by touching on this, but it is such vital importance that I could not help it. I will write more later on. I have been away for some while and that is why I have been such a bad correspondent. I am afraid that there is very little news from home that I can tell you. I met Jack the other day and he had a lot to tell me but I have not time to write about it here.

You will have heard already that the young fellows are going to meet in Manchester in August. It is a sine qua non that one of your crowd should come over for it, if possible a real factory rank and filer who knows what's what. That is a job for you to bring to light such a one!

The weather here has been pretty awful. It is pouring now while I write this. Yet I expect that you would welcome it as a change from the tropics. I hope that is not hitting you too hard and that your health remains good.

Wishing you all the best.

P. 526 (44)

Please forward.

JANUARY 10 1929.

Dear Philip,

I was very sorry to hear from your last letter now already some time back that you have been suffering from bad health. The symptoms that you described sound rather alarming and I hope that you are taking all possible precautions. You must have had a very strenuous time recently and I hope that as soon as the hot weather comes this year you will be able to go into the hill and take a real well earned rest. This might also give you an opportunity to do some writing and I am sure that in that way alone you are in a position to confer an inestimable benefit on your fellow men. I would like to speak to your parents about this. What do you think about it yourself?

We are anxiously awaiting your account of the many different congresses in which you must have taken part recently. Not a word has appeared in the newspapers here of what was decided at the T.U.C. not to speak of the other meetings which were held in conjunction with the National Congress. It is essential that you should give us a real first hand review of events.

So far as I can judge from British newspaper telegrams, the reactionaries seem to have carried off the victory if a barren one in the Congress. The effect is that nothing will be done in the way of getting a move on for another year. In effect the decision about the Nehru report does go back on the independence resolution. Still, nothing very much is to be expected from a movement led by the petty bourgeois crowd. Their inner desire is to take the wind out of the sails of the W.P.P. but in practice they will only expose themselves in so doing. Of course we cannot blame them for not really understanding the situation, not even for being direct representatives of Indian capitalism, as seen, for instance, in the remarkable (and windy) programme of the Bengal Independence League, but we can blame them if they do not even take action on their own programme or if it definitely represents a piece of bluff like the talk about abolition of landlordism.

There was an article in the G.V. a little while back (about October) on the trouble at the root of Indian trade unionism. It was astonishing to find that this dealt not with the fact of outside leadership but with the character of the leaders and actually declared that the main task of the W.P.P. was to warn the workers against the wrong type of leaders. It puts forward the old argument that the workers are afraid of victimisation and therefore will not take responsible positions, but instead of concluding that the task must be to get this

issue of victimisation fought out and won, it merely concludes "hence up to the present we cannot do without outside help". This seems to indicate that more fighting on this issue is necessary, if such statements can be made by a responsible organ. The reasons are different but the conclusion in the article is much the same as that of the reactionaries, for instance Shiva Rao recently on the necessity of outsiders.

The results of the conference of the W.P.P. are awaited with the greatest expectancy. The way forward here is full of difficulties and they are not made less by the attempts of the Independence Leaguers. Nevertheless I think that there is a very real danger of the petty bourgeois elements getting hold of the W.P.P. in its form so far and I sincerely hope that the working class elements at the conference did find some means of combatting this danger.

Please write to me on this and also let me know about your health. I am still wanting to hear your suggestions about arranging for a supply of telegraphic news to the press over here. I hope that will get this letter but I do not know to what address I ought to write.

Best regards.

G. B. S.

P. 526 (22)

THE LABOUR MONTHLY ✓

A Magazine of International Labour.

Editor: R. PALME DUTT.

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Telephone: Sloane 5412.

November 30 1927.

PHILIP SPRATT,

c/o All-India T. U. C.,

Servants of India Society,

Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay.

Dear Spratt,

I have to write and ask if you would be so good as to try and write, or perhaps to get for us, an article for the Labour Monthly on political imprisonment and political repression generally in India.

If, however, you would prefer to write an article on some other subject, please do so by all means. For instance, you might like to deal with the National Congress and its line of development, though it is doubtful whether anything on this could be done so that it would reach us in time for the February issue. It would be best if you could manage to wire length and date of arrival beforehand. We should like to have something by you before the March issue. I hope it will be possible for you to send your mss. very soon.

Heartiest congrats on your great triumph. Everybody I know who has ever met you is delighted and especially rejoices over your T. U. C. appointment.

Wishing you all the best,

Yours,

D. P. Dutt.

(Acting Editor.)

P. 526. (46).

Bombay.

9/3/28.

Dear Robin,

I must apologise for not having written to you for many months. I had intended-but I hesitate to speak of my intentions. The fact is that I have been falling into a worse and worse state of disorganisation, and I must make a serious effort to recover from it. As you have probably gathered, organisation is not a strong point in the Indian labour movement, except in a very narrow sense. And instead of improving things to any extent, I have succumbed to the insidious atmosphere of inefficiency.

I believe all the invaders of India, before the British, did the same kind of thing, as Miss Mayo says

I have made a great effort, and recovered some of my goods from Chamanlal. This is in itself, I am told, a remarkable feat. I had to go to Lahore to do it but I am not satisfied. Most of the clothing has come back, but only a rather miserable remnant of my books, and none of my much prized documents. All the rarer and more useful books have been kept by him. All the earlier, and now unobtainable, numbers of the AITU Bulletin I had by great labour, acquired nearly a complete set-and most of the earlier T. U. & T. U. C. reports—also in most cases to be obtained only by chance, have gone. He has stolen Mann's earlier book on a Deccan Village, definitely a "rare book" by now? Pillai's Indian Economics, B. Narain's "Population" Hunter's "Indian Empire", Broughton's "Labour in India" Panditkar's "Bengal Delta". The Indian workmen's Compensation Act, Merchant shipping Act. These happen to occur to me but there are dozens of other. It is a curious thing that he had not got them himself.

P. 526. (47)

Workers of the world
Unite! you have nothing
to lose but your chains.

THE
Weekly Mehanat Kash

"The Mehanat Kash"
labours for your benefit.
Read and advertise
with profit.

No. _____

Lahore the 10th Feby. 1928.

We will live to

1. Stop all exploitation of man by man;
2. Help the organisation and safeguard the rights and interests of the peasants and workers of India;
3. Support the youth movement ;
4. Struggle for women's rights;
5. Fight for India's national freedom ; and
6. Promote all movements working for a better social, political and economic order in India.

* * *

My dear Comrade,
Your letter to hand yesterday morning. In reply thereto, I may point out that I know as well as you do that the things were never despatched to you. I have called at him more than once and have made every effort but to no avail. I think if you come here yourself, you may succeed in recovering the things in question, as he told me that he had sent the things, and when I said that they were not in receipt by you, he promised to investigate which he never did.

We have learnt the news about the strike in the papers. Thanks to you and our other comrades that the strike was a success. The papers say that the dismissed element is reinstated and consequently the Hartal is over. You will, perhaps, be free by this time and I hope to see you very soon. The workers of the Dhariwal mills have gone on strike and their success does not seem probable. Your presence on the occasion may do a great deal of good to the cause of these workers. Nothing practical has been done by our local labour leaders.

Comrade Shafik appeared here all of a sudden the other day.

He proposes to proceed to Delhi on the 11th instant. He is expected to return to Lahore on or about the 19th. I intend to leave for Peshawar on the 12th instant and shall be back in Lahore by the 18th. I hope that you will also arrive at Lahore by this time. Comrade Shafik offers his comradely greetings to all of you.

With Com. greetings to all,
Fraternally yours,
M. A. Majid.

P. 526 (48).

AFFILIATION TO T. U. C.

Youth.

Reactionary-
Class opened—3 men regularly.
after strike began collapsed.

Nationalism.—Norman etc.

Theosophy.

Ind. Youth organ to be formed. necessary.
Students work of importance.

Party.

Indifference on question of recruiting Associates members
passed Bombay membership 26.

Bombay.

Groups.

T. U. worked fairly well mainly Textile
but also others.

Congress.

Youth

Propaganda

T. C. set up.

No

.....

Simon Commission.

T. D. Bill.....etc,

Lack of
money

Statements & manifesto on T. D. Bill

Ry bill

A. P. Conference.

Youth Conf.

T. U. C. Bl.

Organs.

(*Spark*)—Socialist Paper for
but not an official Party organ.
first 29/10/27.

Kranti—started again 31/6/28. (bi-weekly).
actually a strike bulletin. but also Party
policy is dealt with.

Self supporting 2 pice—2000 circulated
Surplus of Rs. 50 p. m.

Ganavani. started again 14/6/28. a weekly.

Indra. Irregular news. price 1 anna 1000-1200
& propaganda sheet. free. heavy loss.

(Lal Nishan.) Hindi weekly.

P. 527

A Star of India File containing the following of documents
amongst others.

P. 527. (1).

2/1 EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE,

CALCUTTA.

14th March '29.

Dear Datt,

I received your letter of 11 January about two weeks ago, owing to the fact that Kishori Ghosh was away from home for some time. You need not be alarmed about my health. It is now quite good, except for occasional symptoms of debility and weakness. While the cool weather lasts I am trying to take regular walking exercise etc., and this has done me good.

You suggest that I should retire and do some writing. It is an attractive idea, though I do not quite know what I should write? But it will depend upon other events, and in any case the position here is now very bad, and I should not like to leave it.

You remind me of the question of sending press reports to the Sunday Worker and so on. I feel very guilty about this. I found soon after I came that I should have to get some sort of licence from the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs, in order to wire at Press rates. Otherwise it is impossibly expensive of course. And at that I simply dropped it. Subsequently Desai told me in Bombay that he intended to do something, but I don't know if he is. I saw him for a few days at Calcutta, but forgot to raise the question. Muzaffar is writing to the Sunday Worker this week, asking them to apply to the D. G. at Delhi on his behalf. This seems to be necessary. When he has got his licence, if he gets it, perhaps we can do something.

Have you seen Desai's "Spark" by the way? Ho has done it quite well, I think, in the circumstances, but it was a hopeless proposition from the first. We have heard nothing of it now for three weeks, so it must have collapsed. I suppose. (I am wrong. As I write, Nos. 5 and 6 (but not 4) are received).

About the Conferences etc., you again embarrass me. I was present at the T.U.C. of course, and took fairly full notes up to a point. After that the atmosphere became so heated that it was impossible. I might give some sort of account, but it would be difficult. Bradley said he would send as complete a report as possible to the W.W.L. At Bombay he has access to the official documents, so his report, if he has sent one, would be the best.

As for the others, I really know as little as you can have gathered from the Press; rather less in fact, as, though I collected mountains of cuttings, I confess that I have not read them all. I followed the W.P.P. meetings and subsequent private discussions

closely, of course, and attended the A.I.C.C. once or twice. That was all there was time for. The Independence League was, as you suggest, a piece of bluff from the beginning, at any rate on the part of the leaders. Jawaharlal may have meant what he said, but he could not stand out against the pressure of his father and Mahatma on the one hand, and the intrigue of Srinivas and Subhas on the other. I think we were right (in the W.P.P. "Political Resolution") in describing the Bengal League as a brake on the others. Anyway the whole thing has collapsed now. It is a curious compromise—Dominion Status this year, Independence next! It is not quite true to say that it has wholly collapsed of course. It seems to have some life still in Madras, where the W.P.P. has never been heard of. But while they keep Satyamurthi & Co., at the head of it, it won't do much I am afraid.

I saw your article, and was interested in your suggestion about Jawaharlal. I had not noticed the passage you quote, I confess, though I was present at the time. He spoke in Urdu of course (which I am sorry to say I don't know yet). You are right though, as to his character. He has the I. L. P. mentality.

As for the future, the Congress is making every effort to keep the leadership of the mass movement, and the police by arresting Gandhi are doing their best to help. But in spite of all talk, they cannot get beyond the middle-class and cloth-burning. If only we had the men and resource! Bombay and Punjab seem to be going on fairly well, but activity here is at a low ebb, and U. P. is too big a job to tackle with the men we have got. The All-India Party is a farce, as might have been foreseen.

The Bengal W.P.P. events are nothing short of a tragedy. I write in a mood of despondency about this; I feel that the work of a year has practically been destroyed. The bulk of the Party members remain, but of the active men, half have gone (they resigned recently, and we gather, will form a "People's Party"), and what is worse, the other half all seem to be paralysed—through sickness, other occupations, or mere slackness. I blame myself to some extent. I feel that if I had exercised the firmness (not to say brutality) of Bradley or Allison, it might not have happened. That, at any rate, I fancy. But I admit that I can see nothing concrete which I shall have done otherwise. I have been trying to write an analysis of it, which I thought might be published as a pamphlet. (It is not typed yet, so I cannot send you a copy). I show to my own satisfaction that there is an undercurrent of political and ideological difference between the two groups. The opposition tends towards an anarchism somewhat reminiscent of Bakunin (at any rate in the political methods!), and on the other hand towards reformism and sheer capitulation to the Congress. The petty bourgeois influence which you have hinted at. But I have to admit that it would

be absurd to say that this is the principle cause of the split. A knowledge of psychology is required here. I am at a complete loss to understand the ferocity of the opposition. Why for example should Dr. Bhupen Dutt go about all over Bengal, as he seems to have been doing for months, spreading the most atrocious personal libels against us? We have never injured him at all, beyond the very mildest protest when he borrows our most expensive library books and "loses" them. (He is not a Party member, though he has often been asked to join, but is nevertheless a member of the opposition group.) The same question may be asked about Dr. P.B. Das Gupta, and other non-members, as well as about all the actual oppositionists. The conclusion is irresistible that there is some very capable provocateur at work, whose function is to exacerbate personal quarrels. He may be acting on behalf of the Congress, or the other people. Who he may be of course, we cannot tell.

I must say, in justice to ourselves, that we have kept our tempers very well, and have done nothing which could be said to be provocative. We did not even reply to their statements which you must have noticed in "Forward". The split when it came was quite unexpected by us, but had obviously been carefully prepared from their side, and developed at once to an extreme of personal bitterness. Some sort of relations were kept up for some time, and we were hoping that when tempers cooled and so forth, some at any rate of the opposition would realise their error. They rallied their forces energetically however, and did their best apparently to make any peace impossible. They approached us how and then, but apparently with the object of finding out our intentions, and of creating further disagreement among us, in which they succeeded to some extent. Both the Bauria and the Union Jute Mill Strikes collapsed partly because of their efforts to fight us out by propaganda among the workers. At length, when the situation was becoming impossible we expelled two of them (after due notice etc.) for non-payment of subscriptions for two years. The rest chose to make a grievance of this and resigned enbloc. We were not sure whether to be sorry or pleased. It is fairly clear even in this case that they were simply waiting for us to move and give them an excuse. It was first aggressive act we have undertaken throughout the whole affair.

You will reply, with truth, that after all it is only a temporary difficulty. It does not affect the workers. But even a temporary difficulty is of great importance at this time. You must have noticed how threatening the atmosphere is becoming. Heaven knows where any of us will be in six months. Unless something can be done immediately nothing can be done at all. And of course this affair has resulted in a general withdrawal of support, so that we are absolutely crippled.

I note you point about working-class leadership. I do not remember hearing of this article before. Your criticism is of course correct, but I feel that the writer whoever he may have been has some excuse. Roughly speaking you can have working-class leadership in a Union in India in two conditions. On the one hand you may become in effect a shop-union, like the B. N. R. and many others. Or on the other, you have to get absolutely on top of the employers, as they have in the Bombay mills now. In any intermediate position, victimisation for leaders is a certainty. I know from experience that almost everywhere the workers are in deadly fear of it. They are all married of course (this is, I believe, an important point to remember in discussing Indian Trade Unionism) and there is no unemployment benefit, State or otherwise. I am, I am sorry to say, the President of the Garden Reach Workers' Union (of the workshops repairing river and other steamboats). I was first approached by these men in December last. I asked them to make a worker president. They absolutely refused. They would have Subhas, or K. C. Mitra, or myself. So I accepted. The Secretary is an outsider also. Even now they will do absolutely nothing except under the cover of the Secretary or myself. They are educated men, several of whom know English, and could perfectly well conduct the Union on their own.

I have been thinking about the working class—Youth movement. There is no such thing in existence yet, even in Bombay, so far as I know. Here we formed the "Young Comrades League" about eight months ago. Unfortunately, when it might have begun to make contact with the working class, it was "captured" by the opposition, who swamped it with class-conscious young "bhadralok". So, if anything is to be done, it must be started again from the beginning. I enclose a copy of its "Statement of Programme and Policy".

I intended to mention previously, but forgot, a point which may be of interest. We gather from Bhukun Dutt's propaganda and chance remarks, and from what Jawaharlal has said in private to a party member, that there is in Berlin some group who are interested to decry and malign everybody who is working here. It doesn't matter much of course, but they have succeeded in doing quite opposite damage in Bengal at any rate. If you think it worth while, and if you can, you might make tactful inquiries, and find out what is at the bottom of it.

Some few weeks ago I attended a conference at Kustia, where was inaugurated the "Bengal Peasants League". Some of the leaders who were put in the Committee are rather reactionary, I think, but the programme is all right, and the active men are good. The said reactionaries will not interfere too much. I gather, also. So there seems to be no reason why it should not progress well.

There is, as you know a fairly well-developed peasants' movement in various parts of Bengal. I wrote months ago a longish account of the movement in Atia (Mymensingh Dist.) for the Sunday Worker. But I think they cannot have received it, and I have not another copy. We have just met a man with an interesting story from Khulna District. Some one of us must go there also.

I can think of no more gossip at the moment. I should say, by the way, that I have heard practically nothing yet of British Party affairs, nor even anything of value about the International.

Best wishes,

Philip.

P. 527. (2)

Mr. J. Ryan,
Trades Hall,
Goulborn St.
Sydney,
Aust.

Organisation :

(1) Organisation is a somewhat dull and uninspiring subject to read about or discuss ; but it hardly needs to be pointed out that it is a matter of the highest importance for us in the working-class movement. It is a common place that all human affairs can be conducted only by this means. Governments, armies, industries maintain themselves only by highly perfect organisation. Even civilian population have to deal with their own affairs by means of more or less elaborate organisation (a caste system or whatever it may be) depending upon the conditions of their life. How necessary then is organisation for us, at present a small minority, who have to make an attack upon the well organised powers that be, to convert to our view a large population of ignorant people and set them in well-directed action—briefly, to pursue a task of enormous difficulty with the very slenderest resources.

The task of organising is more difficult in India than in e.g. America or Europe, not because of any supposed Oriental peculiarities or Eastern mentality, but because industrialism is young and not yet wide-spread in India. Industrialism produces the physical and psychological conditions (concentration of population, regularity and discipline of habits etc.) which make organisation easy. Discussion of organisation is all the more necessary therefore, and as real effort to put into practice some at any rate of this most important principles.

What is contained in these pages makes us pretence of finality or authority. The type of organisation fitted to any given conditions has to be found by experience in those conditions. But here it is attempted to give some suggestions derived from both Indian and European experience, which may be of use in Indian practice.

(2) Organisation is subservient to policy. In determining organisation there have to be considered the end aimed at, the means to be employed and the conditions in which the policy is to be pursued. Organisations therefore differ a great deal. But generally any organisation carries into effect the principles of specialisation, and of discipline. Specialisation involves both economy of strength and the raising of the level of efficiency etc.

of the weaker members of the organisation to that of the strongest. By means of specialisation, all members, however, they may differ, may be equipped more or less effectively with the resources, of knowledge, experience, etc., of the best among them. Discipline involves the most elementary principle of common action—"Unity is strength"—but also means more than merely enforcing unity and obedience. It supplies a psychological corrective to ordinary human weaknesses, faction, laziness etc.

Barabazar Lab. U. Asst. Sec 1. Chiranji Lal.	Each month and back number 89/8 Lower Chitpur Road, "Kirti" Calcutta. (Rameshwar Docks).
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3. Let us consider first Trade Unions, as the first organisation two which the workers have recourse, and the basis of our movement. There are to subjects, necessarily interconnected, to be considered (1) how to see about getting an organisation (2) what kind of organisation to establish. It is primarily the second which will be dealt with here. It is assumed that the first object of Union organisation is to force the best possible conditions out of employers, by the only effective means i.e. vigorous attack. The way in which this can be done in practice, is discussed a little more fully in "The power of labour." The essential thing is to formulate the programme of the Union—i.e. the things which, the members are to achieve by their joint action. It is assumed that there are at any rate mainly *demands*, i.e. things which the employer is to be induced to grant. Other things benefit etc. will be discussed later.

The question is then, what kind of organisations to establish. It is generally agreed that the principle of industrial unionism is sound; that for purposes of fighting T. U.'sm the industrial union i.e. one union for the industry, is best. According to this principle there should be e.g. for cotton mill workers, one union covering mills, ginning factories, cotton godown, etc. etc. and having branches in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Nagpur, Madras, Calcutta, Dacca, etc. etc. And so on with other industries and services.

It is worth while to spend a moment on considering whether this is a desirable plan of organisattons for India—although except in one or two industries, this is not yet a very practical question.

Industrial unionism is not a sacred principle; it is a more or less workable compromise. Briefly, the interests of workers are found together among themselves in various different ways; and corresponding to these different ties, different types of organisations should be suitable.

Actually there have been in this history of labour a few main types of union organisation. The chief of them are these: (1) the "*craft*" union based upon the performance of the same (usually skilled) type of works (examples: the spinners, weavers, carders etc. Unions at Ahmedabad and the Indian Quartermasters' Union at Calcutta), (2) the "*shop*" union, based upon employment in the same works (example: the Jamshedpur labour Unions; and in an extended sense, all the Indian Railway Unions;—and many others.) (3) the local general union, (example: the Mazdur Sabha at Cawnpore, which tries to organise all workers living in that city; The "Syndicates" of France and other European countries were similar in principle, (4) the general or "One Big Union" (In India the Bauria Labour Union, which takes in all kinds of workers and establishes branches in various places, Rangoon, Bassein etc. is the only approach to this. The "Knights of labour" and later "Industrial Workers of the world" of America, the "Australian Workers' Union", the "One Big Union" of Canada, the "National Union of General and Municipal Workers", and the "Workers' Union of Great Britain are well-known examples outside, (5) the Industrial Union (examples, the Bengal Jute Workers' Union the Colliery Employees' Association (Jharia), and in another sense the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, are the beginnings, skeletons as it were, of this kind of Union).

Briefly to review these type in turn:

(1) Nobody now-adays defends craft-unionism, (in theory though it is still very common in practice) and it is hardly worth discussing. It is enough to say that it can organise only skilled men dividing them from the unskilled and semi-skilled; it divides even the ranks of the skilled into many different groups, it is therefore completely destructive of class-consciousness; it cannot survive in any case in an industry whose technique is subject to considerable change. (Such change as has now been going for sometime on in America, and has already resulted in the practical destruction of large sections of the old T.U. movement. The same process is now beginning to be seen in England—the old craft unions in several industries are in a state of ferment and are visibly breaking down.

(2) Although it is so widespread, few also defend shop-unionism, except capitalists. Capitalists, when they establish workers' Union under their own control in order to fight the workers, always establish shop-unions. And they have far less difficulty in "capturing" even an originally genuine workers' union which is built on this principle, than they do in getting hold of a union which covers several different firms.

(cf. the old Jamshedpur Labour Association), the B. N. Ry. Indian Labour Union, the N.W. Ry. Unions, E. B. Ry. Indian Labour

Union, (and the new "Federation") all of which were or are in some cases in other more less effectively captured by the management).

(3) Few now defend the local general union principle—except ambitious labour leaders. Because by its means the largest number of workers can be organised with the least trouble—without regard to the effectiveness of the organisation. The syndicalists of Europe built their movement on it, but even they insisted more and more on the strong national organisation at the expense of the local body. Weakness lies, not in its uniting all workers of a locality—that is essential; but in its inevitable if involuntary tendency to disunite workers of one industry in different localities. The practice if not the idea of the local general union is likely however to be popular in India, because of the great distances, the poverty of the movement and the prevalence of local difference of language & dialect which prevent communication on a natural scale. Miss Broughton (Lady Chatterjee) actually advocates it on these grounds. The writer's view however that for most industrial workers it is quite unsuitable. The bond which most directly unites workers the world over, is the fact that they produce for a common market. This is certainly the case nowadays in India. The local union cannot hope to cope with this situation.

The issue then in theory lies mainly between the Industrial Union and the One Big Union. (The latter has yet not many individual support in India, but there are a number of organisers whose actual work tends in this direction. It should therefore be dealt with.) The advocates of the O. B. U. can argue that, even if in the early days of capitalism an "industry" could be considered isolated, that is not to the same extent the case now.

The concentration of capital proceeds not only "horizontally" (uniting many firms which do the same work) but also vertically" (uniting many firms doing different processes with the same material), and finally heterogeneously (uniting firms doing altogether different work). In India the concentration of capital is very far advanced, and we are definitely under the third stage. The biggest capitalist group—Sassoon's, Tatas' Birla Bros., Andrew Yule, Bird & Co., Burn & Co., Sir R. N. Mukharji, not to mention the Government, extend their operations into all spheres of production. In the important industrial region of Bengal, Assam and Bihar (apart from Jamshedpur) the chief industries—coal, jute, tea, metal, engineering, shipping, electric supply, pottery etc., are almost completely controlled by a small number of firms, (including both Indians and English), which are so closely connected and interlocked as to constitute in effect a single group.

This is a powerful argument for the O. B. U. as is the further point, that if we take—as we must—the largest view, and

construct workers' organisation with the object of taking power into the hands of the workers, we must concentrate mainly on getting *class* consciousness, (not *craft*, or *locality* or *industry* consciousness). To them the industrial unionist replies (1) the fact of the concentration of capital cannot be questioned. None the less, the unity which is needed most is unity in on the basis of the common market. These who produce the same goods under different capitalists compete against each other even more directly and these need unity of orgn. more than those who produce different goods for the profit of the same capitalist. (2) We must be practical. Workers join unions primarily to get better conditions immediately. The industrial union necessarily concentrates on this more definitely than the O. B. U. which appeals too directly to the workers' idealism and class consciousness, without giving time for these things to be learnt by experience. (3) We can get something of the necessary unity by joining the unions together in the T. U. C., Provincial T. U. Fedn. and Trades Councils. (4) In any case the question of the political (class) struggle is primarily one for the workers' Party. The O. B. U. is an attempt to make one organisation serve as Union and Party at the same time—with the inevitable result of inefficiency in both—the Union aspect and the Party aspect.

On the whole then, the industrial union has it, and in fact the principle is in theory now almost universally accepted. It is however, a fact to be reckoned with that up to the present in India practically all Unions are local or sectional in one way or another and there is yet no large scale successful industrial Union in existence. The reasons for this are familiar, and are important. It is however the belief of the writer that, at any rate in the most important industries, the difficulties must be fought and overcome. No good case can be brought forward for keeping Indian Unions in a more backward stage than those of other countries.

The following are the industries which certainly, or in the writers' opinion probably, should be organised on the industrial plan.—

(1) Railways: (the formation of the A. I. R. Fedn. shows that this necessity is felt. The transformation of this Fedn. into a genuine all inclusive Union is a most urgent task).

(2) Seamen: (There are completely separate Unions at present. In order to have any real strength the Union must be united, and all those Seamen who sign on at Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon (and also Colombo and Singapore) should be in one Union. It should have offices also at Madras, Karachi, Mangalore, Chittagong, and indeed all minor ports. The inland Seamen (on the Bengal and Assam and Burma river systems) might remain as

they are, separately organised, though they should be in close touch though standing (illegible) with the general seamen's Union, (and of course with the railwaymen's Union—E. B. K. A. B. P. and B. R. Sections).

(3) Miners: (It would be desirable to include with the coal miners those small and scattered groups of workers in the salt, gold, mica, manganese and other ore-mines).

(4) Tea-garden workers: (including those employed in the tea-factories).

(5) Jute workers—including those employed in mills, presses, godowns, and in subsidiary industries, such as rope-making.

(6) Cotton workers: including those employed in mills, ginning and baling, and perhaps also clothing factories, and those in the small number of woollen and silk mills.

(7) Pottery, cement, lime, bricks, firebrick tile, and glass (etc.) workers, and those engaged in quarrying and dressing stone etc.

(8) Chemical, dyeing, bleaching, indigo, bone and manure, matches, paint, soap etc. workers.

(9) Engineering and iron and steel workers, including foundry, smelting, engineering, construction, ship-building and repairing, ordnance, motorcar manufacture and repairing, etc. etc.

(10) Dock workers—including Port Trust and private docks, waterside transport workers, jetty workers, etc. (It is perhaps necessary to point out that the work of a dock is not merely of local application. If one dock is closed by a strike, in most cases ships can be diverted to another dock and essential material carried by rail etc. to its destination. All waterside workers therefore, except those engaged in ship-building and structural repairing, should be in the Dock-workers Union, which should however have close relation with the Seamen on the one hand and the railwaymen on the other).

(11) Oil-wells, refineries, depots, stores, tinning and packing factories etc. (mineral oils and other oils if any used for industrial purposes).

(12) Timber getting, wood-productive, saw-mills, carpentry, cabinet-making etc.

(13) Food, sugar mills, rice mills flour mills' tobacco factories, breweries, ice-factories, oil mills, coffee factories, caning and bottling, mineral water factories etc. etc.

(14) Leather works, tanneries, boot and shoe factories etc.

(15) Postal telegraph, telephone. All these work for an all-India or international market, more or less, and their interests are bound up all over the country to such an extent that (except perhaps in the smaller and more diverse industries) and groups there can be little doubt as to the propriety of industrial unionism. It should be noticed however that there is much room even in the bigger and more clearly defined industries, for disputes as to the allocation of workers to one industrial Union or another such disputes as e. g. whether carpenters etc. employed in ship-building should be in the building-workers or in the engineering and ship-building Union, or whether Railway Press workers should be in the Railway or Press workers' Unions etc. No principles for the settlement of such disputes can be laid down in advance. They must be settled by agreement among the unions and groups of workers concerned, with the object in mind of providing the most efficient fighting machine. It will also be seen that the grouping is in some cases rather arbitrary. It is not intended in any way to be final. It is merely thought by the present writer that some concrete outline will be useful, even if it is not accepted and consequently (in some cases without any intimate knowledge) the workers in the various industries have been allotted to what seem suitable unions, which it should be said, in several cases have yet no existence at all.

A somewhat different position is occupied by various other occupations, which are more definitely local in regard to their market, or their supply of labours or both. As these cases, if the necessity of country-wide unity is not so strong nevertheless some kind of uniformity of organisation should be adopted and in most cases a federal principle, country-wide, but somewhat looser than the discipline of an industrial union, is to be expected ultimately. Again, therefore, a scheme of allotment to a small number of unions is put forward, which it is thought will conduce best to unity and effectiveness. These workers are: (1) Municipal (scavengers, workshops, clerks, roadgangs etc.) and gas, electric light and power, and water supplies.

(2) Press, book-binding, paper-mills.

(3) Town or local transport, train, bus, taxi, tanga, ricksha, etc., workers.

(4) Building (perhaps excepting large-scale metal construction which may be apart of this engineering industry).

- (5) Shop-assistants, domestic and hotel-servants.
- (6) Clerks (Commercial and Govt.). (other clerks should be organised by their industries e. g. Ry. clerks.)
- (7) Agricultural labourers.
- (8) Teachers. (Etc. other groups will probably occur to the mind of any reader, but none are likely to be of importance).

There is no room in any ordered and comprehensive scheme of organisation for miscellaneous or rather, casual labour unions, such as exist in almost all countries. There are few examples yet in India, as only skilled workers have yet been organised to any appreciable extent. The organisation of casual labours (i. e. those who work at unskilled occupations such as docks—labour, road-making, railway permanent-way gangs, buildings labour, etc. etc and usually drift more or less rapidly from one to another) should be in the different industrial unions, with provision between unions for recognition of each others' membership cards, or for interchange of members. Such systems work successfully in Europe and America.

Of the structure of the industrial Union, much could be said. Such Unions will naturally differ a good deal in detail, but generally they will have as part of their machinery (1) general meetings, which will decide all important questions (at any rate in theory). (2) control committee, (3) District or Provincial Committees, covering suitable subdivisions, which may or may not coincide with the existing political Provinces; (4) Branches, consisting of all the members in an area sufficiently small to enable them to meet frequently; (5) Branch Committees.

As to G. M's the principal point is to see that they are made genuinely representative of the rank of file. All delegates should be elected in branch meetings—either one or more delegate per branch, or one delegate to represent a local group of branches. The danger to fear is the control of the G. M. by the Union bureaucracy. This is bound to occur to a certain extent, but a democratic method of election etc. may avert it.

An important difficulty which will become manifest if unions actually are formed on the scale suggested here, is that of the expense of G. M's. It can be reduced by having a minimum number of delegates, consistent with adequate representation, but otherwise will have to be tackled as best it can. In some unions it is the practice to hold G. M's every two or even three year. This would save expense etc. but is not to be recommended. Annual meetings are necessary, if the Union is genuinely active.

A similar difficulty, but if possible on a graver scale, occurs in connection with Executive Committees. The T. U. C.

and the A. I. R. F. almost the only country-wide labour orgns. at present illustrate this. Their E. C. meet so infrequently (last yr. only once each between Annual Meeting) that they are useless as *Executive*. In present crisis with E. C. S. of the size which is usual in all kind of Indian organisations this is inevitable unless the members are rich. The only method is to cut down the size; then one can insist on regular quarterly bi-monthly or monthly meetings and get value from an E. C. There must of course also be a responsible Sec. at some suitable centre and small advisory committees with him. This is done e. g. in Australia; where conditions in regard to distance etc. are similar to ours (worse in comparison with population).

The question of Trade Union bureaucracy arises most acutely in common with the Centre E. C. Almost all Union, of any size show this tendency, for there to be formed a group of professional leaders, whose interests differ from those of the mass of workers, and who consequently mislead the Union. This is at its worst when the leaders are now workers, as in India, but it is also occurs in a very grave form in England for example, where not one in a hundred Union officials is a non-worker. Some Unions avoid it by enforcing a rule that all E.C. members and officials must attempt to spend a certain proportion of their time actually working at the trade. This is healthy, of course, but by itself is not enough. The only cure actually is the consciousness and vigilance of the rank and file. The same evil is to be looked for and combatted among the subordinate bureaucracy of the Districts and Branches.

The function of District Committee are intermediate and vague. In some industries they will not be necessary at all, but usually some orgn. intermediate between branch and centre is necessary for its ability to concentrate upon local affairs more quickly and with less important reservations than Central officials. In the Jute Industry e.g. the great bulk of which is closely concentrated, D.C.s will not be necessary, except for the jute press etc. Workers, who are scattered along the rivers in North and East Bengal, and who would in any case have a sub-Committee to secure this special interest. In the railway union the D.Cs. would probably correspond with the lines. D.C.'s can be constituted by direct election annually by the member of branches in the area covered.

Branches constitute the basis of the Union in all cases, and it is in regard to them that the greatest change in present practice is required. At present branch meetings take place very seldom, are addressed almost exclusively by national officials, and admit all workers whether member or not. While general propaganda meetings for nonmembers are necessary, there is an even more important place for branch meetings i.e. meetings of all the branch members, for the purpose of discussing and deciding their own affairs by themselves.

Officials are not necessary, non-members should not be admitted, meeting should take place at regular intervals (month, or two weeks,) or week and at a regular time and place. A regular practice of collecting subscriptions at br. meetings should be established. Decisions taken should be properly recorded, and communicated to the H. Q. of the Union etc. etc. Only in this way can there be any training of the mass of workers in self government and administrations of working class affairs and any creation of a real leadership from among the workers themselves. If it is found that branch meetings are poorly attended, efforts must be made to make them more attractive and important. This and all other activities of a branch are made facilitated if it possesses a room or hall sufficiently large to hold meetings in Small committees may meet in private houses, though of course a permanent office is better. But practically no Union or branches in India have a room large enough for fullmeetings, and this is in the writer's opinion, one reason for the backwardness of the movement in this vitally important matter of holding branch meetings. It is very difficult to conduct a serious business meeting in the open air. The only practical way of tackling the question is for the branches different Unions in each centre to cooperate in the maintenance of a hall or room of sufficient size for meetings, e. g. through the *Trades Council*. But by whatever means, br. meetings must be held and encouraged. No reform in the present practice of the T.U. movement is more urgent than this. A similar important point which is badly neglected in present T. U. practice is the maintenance of effective contact between branches and centres of Unions. This can only be done by requiring delegates and representatives to report regularly and fully to their branches on the doings of District and Central Committees. Such procedure should be automatic, but in fact it is not done, and the result is extremely harmful.

Factory Committee: A part of the organisation of the working class which is of great importance should be discussed here, org. the factory (or shop, station, yards, dock, mill etc.) Committee. These Committees can usually be established only when a considerable degree of solidarity and militancy is attained, so that victimisation can be resisted. From each department or suitable subdivision of the works, one delegate (or more) is elected by all the workers, and these form the Committee. It is the chief function of the committee as a whole, and of the delegate in their departments, to lead the fight of the workers against the management in all the questions which come up in working hours—allotment of work, speeding-up, fines, punishments, favouritism, etc. etc. This can obviously be done on the spot far more effectively and quickly than by the clumsy method of correspondence or deputation from the branch. The Factory committee will also assist very materially in securing 100 per cent Trade Unionism

in the factory, and can see (by periodically inspecting T. U. cards) that all members pay their dues regularly. The Factory Committee should have direct representation in the branch committee and in the Trade Council, and should be a recognised part of the Union machinery.

A number of problems which arise in connection with the organisation of Union must be touched upon, though in some cases no very definite solution can be suggested.

Such is the question of the division of powers between the branches and the centre (and as a subsidiary, the district orgn.) And, what is in practice almost the same question, that of the division of funds between the branches and the centre.

The remarks made in para—(re. industries) apply here. Those industries which are closely inter-connected (Jute, cotton, Seamen, tea, coalmining, perhaps railways,) demand more centralisation than less highly "integrated industries." In practice Unions differ to some extent in these matters. Most industrial Unions are fairly strongly centralised in regard to constitutional powers the C. E. C. retains final control of negotiations with employers, and complete control of strike action, and may even (this is perhaps undesirable) control affiliations of branches, etc., but in regard to finance may leave substantial sums, subject to constitutional safeguards, in the hands of branches. A plan which is probably suited to the requirements of the average Union, is to divide automatically all money collected as subscription into the various funds, roughly as follows: to remain in hands of branch (Br. general fund) 15%; to Centre, General Fund, 35% and special funds (say) Reserve or Strike fund 34%, Unemployment 10%, Sickness 10%. (Other special funds may be added or substituted; the division between Branch and Centre may be altered; provision for Dist. Orgn. may be added. This is suggested as a workable proportion in normal circumstances.)

If variation which is popular in European Unions, is to have a fixed rate of subscriprion to each fund (roughly in the proportion suggested), but to make contributions to certain funds, such as sickness, death benefit, etc. Voluntary.

The actual collection of funds is usually a difficult matter. But it can be said generally, that until this question is solved, no permanent mass Unionism and therefore, working-class consciousness is possible. The older syndicalists for example, controverted this view. They depended upon the "militant minority to lead the unorganised mass. The Russian Revolution of 1905 illustrates how an unorganised working-class can act in a conscious

manner. None the less, while the organisation of Unions of a fairly free and militant type is still legally possible, there is no need to fall back upon this counsel of despair. It was without saying that a Union must be active in the defence and service of its members if it is to continue to receive their support, and must conduct intelligent propaganda among the workers on the principle of Trade Unionism. Historically it is the fact that only when the Unions instituted benefit funds did they become permanent mass organisation. Some will question whether this method is to be adopted on the ground that the possession of benefit funds by a Union tends to make its members, and especially its officials, cautious and conservative—to breed a capitalist mentality in fact. This undoubtedly does happen, and must be fought against by the class conscious members of the Union. It is the writer's view none the less, that more good to the Unions in the present day in India is to be expected from instituting Benefit Funds then by abstaining from them. But it is in any case desirable to make the Unions more than purely "business" organisations. Educational work, social entertainment, etc. can with advantage be taken up, and will render the Unions more stable than they would otherwise be.

Much depends upon the method of collection. The method which is now usual in Eur. Union and is the best if it can be done, is to collect the subsn automatically at the meetings as Part of the branch business. In this way no commission is given, and generally the minimum of expense and disturbance is incurred. Though aften the Branch Sec. or treasurer (who is a worker) is given some small sum either monthly or annually, as a compensation for the time he expends in book-keeping and correspondence: But this requires a membership trained to some extent in Unionism. Other wise collectors have to be employed, either full-time Union employees, or worker doing the job in their spare time, and this is expensive (commissions etc. have to be paid) and unless the collectors are tactful men, the members are apt to be estrayed and driven away from the Union. These however, are the only two methods open to a Union. Unless, like most Indian Unions, one depends upon chance, that is to say, these are the only organised methods.

In either case, it is advisable to use the system of membership cards—(Model cards)...If the rate of subscription is constant, the use of adhesive stamps as receipts is very effective, and saves trouble. (They can be specially printed for the Union at quite cheap rates.) If however, separate contribution is made in various funds, so that members' payments vary, the system of stamps becomes complicated and troublesome.

The rate and period of subscription provide another problem. In Britain, where weekly payment of wages is almost universal, weekly payment of subscription is usual. In India monthly wages

are the rule, and in consequence monthly payment is usually the idea. Many Unions however, in despair at their lack of success in getting monthly payments have introduced a system of yearly subscription. This is bad, for two main reasons: (1) it weakens the tie between the member and the Union, reducing that constant contact which is necessary for loyalty and discipline; (2) it renders it in most cases impossible to get enough money to run the Union properly. (The maximum which can be exacted from a man at one time, even yearly, is about one rupee. Unless the workers happen to be humerous and closely concentrated so that organising expenses are small, income thus obtained hardly be enough at any rate for an active Union.) It may be said definitely then that (except in Seamen's Union) monthly subscription should be aimed at (or quarterly at least), and that an average of about as 4 per month should be asked from all except low-paid workers, and that the Union and its branches, both in their primary work of fighting for the workers' interests and secondarily as social and educational centres, should be sufficiently active to keep the loyalty and support of the members.

A minor point which is worth mentioning in this connection is the necessity of adequate controls over funds. It is always necessary to insist on proper book-keeping, so that the same actually collected and spent can be easily ascertained; it is necessary to give receipts (in the form of stamp, receipt form or signature or card) to all men from whom money is taken; it is necessary to place two men in charge of all funds; and it is necessary to insist upon annual audit by the E. C. or D. C. of Branch books. It must be remembered that to a worker with a family, even the forms in the heads of a branch will represent quite a big temptation; many good men have been lost to the w. c. movement because in a moment of weakness they have realised the ease with which they could steal their comrade money, and have done it.

Finally should be discussed the burning question of "outside" leadership. Every body is aware of the possible and actual dangers of it; that it leads to reformism and obstruction of the workers' struggle and prevents the development of working-class leadership. As also everybody is aware of the apology for it: the absence of educated men, and the fear of victimisation. Actually these two reasons are not as compelling as is often supposed. A Union can usually hire (and thus control) one or two men who are educated enough to do all necessary technical work; and victimisation can be avoided by the same means at any rate as effectively as by the use of unpaid outsiders. In any case, in most Unions led by outsiders, much of the real organising is done by workers—and the employers know it. The real reason for the almost universal recourse to outsiders is the workers' "inferioity

complex'. They think a "big man" will assist them in negotiating with the management, etc. This is so, (if at all) only when they are content to negotiate on terms of appealing to the employers generosity etc. There is no need to point out that this type of negotiation is of no real use, and that when the workers attempt a real fight, outside leaders are usually a hindrance than an assistance.

If a real fight is attempted the question of victimisation is certain to come up. It may well occur even if no serious fight is intended, being resorted to by the employer simply as a warning. There are two ways of dealing effectively with victimisation. One, which is resorted to by all too many Indian Unions, is to convince the employer, the Union really must be harmless, i. e. useless. The other is to convince the employer (and this commonly be done by action) that victimisation will be so dangerous for him, that he will not do it. This must be the aim of all unions in connection with this important matter.

Another question, similar to the foregoing, is already of great importance in the T. U. movement in this country. That is, the question of representation of different grades in the Union and its committees. It is natural, and is usually found in practice, that the upper or skilled grades (except the highest, which are frequently opposed to T. Unionism) are proportionately more strongly represented in Unions than the lower grades, and even more strongly in the Union committees. The result varies in different industries and different circumstances, but in some cases it is as bad as the control of the Union by reactionary "outsiders." (As examples may be cited: the old Jamsheedpur labour Association, the Postal and R. M. S. Association, which in many places—throughout Bombay Presidency for example—has split, with the formation of a new (Postal and lower Grade Staff Association; the E. B. Ry Indian Labour Union—and other Railway Unions—and the Bengal Mariners' Union). This danger may be combatted by making provision in Brach and Dt. and even in E. C.s for representation of different grades. The dangers of such provision are, that the committees may be made unwiedly, and that a craft or sectional spirit may be evoked. Unless the thing is pushed to excess however, there is not much danger of encouraging such a degree of sectionalism as to be dangerous to unity. But especially in a Union All-India E. C., if attempt is made to represent geographical as well as occupational divisions, the result will probably be to swell the numbers excessively. It would therefore probably be wiser to avoid sectional reprn. in the E. C.s of Unions which however, should be representative of geographical areas. But fundamentally the only cause for this danger is the spirit of revolt of the workers themselves. They must be

apprehensive of, and ready to fight against any tendency for clerks or other privileged sections, to "boss" in the Union, not on grounds of mere sectional spirit, but because they are aware of the probability of its resulting in a reactionary regime of policy.

An even more pernicious thing, which is to be observed in some Unions, is the control of the Union by Sergans, jobbers, sardars (or their equivalent). These, though workers in origin, are often actually exploiters, and if so should not be admitted to the Union at all. It is in any case essential to prevent such people, or even lower grades (foremen, mistries, etc.,) from controlling the Union and divided body. There should certainly be a single Railwaymen's Union, with some kind of subdivisions according to companies. Similarly in the cotton industry. Most of the centres are now connected with the rest, by bonds of common ownership. Even where the this is not the case, the case for unification of the Union is strong, since otherwise there is always the risk of blacklegging by one upon the other. Among the big industries Jute is even more obviously, one in which a single Union is necessary, as also is coal mining. Engineering is an industry which requires one Union, though it desirable that at present the railway and marine workshops should be organised with the Ry. and Marine Unions as they are. The engineering industry is one in which national unity is particularly required. The mere fact that some shops are in Bombay and others 1200 miles away in Calcutta does not mean that blacklegging by one or the other is not impossible. They should however have a jt. Com. with the Ry. and Marine workshop repr. of the Ry. Unions etc. The metal (iron industry etc.) workers should be in the same Union. There is nothing to be gained by separating.

Printing Town In the case of seamen again, the existing division is *Transport.* indefensible. The seamen which are signed on at Bombay (Colombo also), Calcutta, Rangoon, (Singapore also) to be in one Union, and those seamen who even temporarily are ashore at Chittagong, Karachi, Madras, Aden, Mangalore and other minor ports should have the services of Union Office. Here the problem of government of the Union could be difficult (as in all Seamen's Union it is more of less difficult). Only the inland seamen of the Bengal waterways might remain in a separate union (which however, should be connected by a joint committee with the general seamen's Union and the A. I. R. Union, E. B. R. Section).

As to dock workers, there seems to be a stronger case here for decision; but in the opinion of the writer one Union is really required here. If the possibility of a dock workers' strike are considered, it is clear that those strikers of one centre must be

protected against the possibility of blacklegging through the transre of shipping to another centre. One Union is required.

One the other hand, as has been said, there are classes of workers, municipal employees, town transport workers (tanga, taxi, buss, tram etc.), water, gas and electric supply workers, club usually with main industry.

Railways

Seamen (separate inland seamen)

Mines (incl. gold, salt, metals)

Docks.

Tea Gardens and factories.

Jute (incl. presses), subsidiary and allied (rope &c.)

Cotton (incl. ginning and baling) (and wollen and silks) and clothing, hosiery.

Engineering (metal smelting etc. also, ship-building, ordnance, motor-car repairing etc.)

Printing, book-binding (papers)

Oil (wells, refineries, stores, tinning and packing factories etc.)

(Cement, lime, bricks and tiles) Stone dressing, glass.

Food (Sugar mills, rice mills, flour mills, tobacco factories, brewery, ice-factory, oil mills, coffee, canning and bottling.

Leather (tannery, shoes.)

✓ Municipal (scavengers, road gangs, workshops, light, gas, power, water supplies.)

(Town transport (taxi, tonga, tram, bus— bullock carts) ricksha.

Saw mills, (carpentry, cabinet making etc.,)

Chemical, dying, bleaching, indigo, bone and manure, matches, paint, soap.

Building.

Post, Tel. Clerks (Commercial, and Govt.)

Tel. Shop Assn. etc. Dom-Secr. and Hotel emplr.

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The Power of Labour

(1) To the Workers and Peasants.

This pamphlet is meant to appeal to the poor. In all countries most of the people are poor. But in India nearly all the people are far poorer than in almost any other country.

Let us take a few examples, and compare them with the poor of England. (the English workers are rather better paid than most European, but worse than most American workers.)

Indian farm labourers get from Rs 5 to Rs 15 per month. English farm workers get Rs 60 to 80.

Indian scavengers get Rs 8 to 20 ; English Rs 100 or more.

Cotton mill workers Rs 20 to 60 ; in England Rs 100 to 200 or more.

The average wage of all Indian Railway employees, including Europeans, is less than Rs 40. In England the minimum is over Rs 100.

(Miners (men) get Rs 20 to 25 ; in England the worst-paid miners get Rs 60. Many get Rs 100 or more.

These are only wage workers. Everybody knows what is the poverty of the peasants. It is worse than that of industrial workers, and on the average can be little above that of the farm labourers.

After this it is hardly necessary to speak of other matters, which however, really bear equally hard upon the poor of India. The figures given, which, if not accurate, are representative, should be eloquent enough.

But consider (1) hours of work. Why is there a statutory eight-hour day in many European countries (which is observed in practice even where it is not legally enforced), and in India a statutory eleven hours (often not observed in practice) ? And no legal limit to hours in most of the States ? While Indian workers spend practically all their day in labour, they will be much hampered in their task of educating and organising themselves for getting improvements.

And then (2) housing. All observers agree that the housing of workers in India, in practically all places, is worse than anywhere in the world. The houses of peasants are as bad or worse, as they are to poor to build good houses, and in many places are

prevented by landlords from building proper buildings at all. Even in India good houses are necessary, for health, and for the enjoyment of a proper educated life.

With housing goes sanitation, upon which, with proper food, depends the health of the country. Indian sanitation is well known to be among the worst in the world.

(3) education. Again it notorious how bad is the system of education in India, which is indeed one of the most backward countries in the world in this respect. Only about 9 p.c. of the whole population can read and write; that is, about 5 p.c. or less of workers and peasants can do so. Moreover those who are educated in Government schools etc. are often given false ideas as to the economic and political position of the country. They are miseducated.

(4) social and political rights and status. In this respect also India is one of the most backward countries in the world. Messrs. Purcell and Hallsworth in their Report on Labour Conditions in India (1928) express the greatest protest at the fact that the wages and other conditions of work of practically all workmen are "imposed upon them" without their wishes being consulted at all. In almost all countries, including some which are industrially less advanced than India, workers habitually take part in determining conditions of employment.

Similarly in regard to the Government of the country, both central and local. In almost all countries nowadays, the poor have some sort of right, in theory, to determine the Government. They vote for candidates at elections etc. Even though this right of voting in itself gives no real control over Government, which is almost always in the hands of the rich, nevertheless the workers and peasants usually have powerful parties which fight to impress their views upon the Government, or even to overthrow the rich men's Government and to establish their own rule.

But in India, the poor have practically no voice, even in theory. Most of them are disqualified from voting, which is almost confined to the middle and rich classes. While even the representatives of these voters do not govern. We are governed by outsiders whose only interest is to exploit us. And up to the present there has existed no organisation of the poor which could fight for their interests.

In short, the situation is that we, who produce the food and other necessities of life, conduct the transport, keep the land sanitary and healthy, and in fact do all the necessary work of society, receive far less than our proper share of the wealth of society, and in fact occupy the status of slaves in the country which we ought to own and rule.

(2) How To Alter It.

The only way to alter it is by organisation. The British in India and, rich classes generally, maintain their power only by organisation. Their wealth and education make it easy. We have no wealth, no education. Our task of organisation is immensely difficult. But we have numbers on our side. When well organised, however poor and ignorant, we shall be irresistible.

Much has been said of organisation. Many people are getting sick of the word, for while much is said, little is done. All Parties cry for organisation of the people as the only and obvious way to get freedom for the country. But they have all failed.

We must begin organisation seriously, and in a practical spirit. All other organisations have failed. Why? Because they ignored the fact of class-interest. They attempt to organise "India"— zamindar and cultivator, master and servant, landlord and tenant, capitalist and wage-earner, rich and poor. They attempt to organise for what purpose? To fight for India's freedom— freedom for India's rich to sit on the back of India's poor. Naturally they failed, and will fail.

We take into account class interest. We believe that strong organisation of the people can be brought about only if it is set up and carried to fight continuously for the real interests of the people, regardless of the interests of those who exploit them. The poor and exploited, in India as in all countries, form an immense majority. The rich exploiting minority stands in their way, with interests in almost all respects contrary to theirs. If mass organisations are to be effective, and if they are to command the support and confidence of the majority, they must rigidly keep out the expression of the opposing interests of the rich. That is to say, these organisations and their members must be "class-conscious".

It is failure to secure this which has been the principal cause of the collapse of so many industrial workers' Unions and peasants' organisations in the past. How often have Unions been formed, with members of the rich employing or managing class as their officers? Such Unions usually go well for a time, until there comes a fight with the employers over some real issue. The "leaders" of the Union, who may be really more in sympathy with the employers than with the workers, stop the fight, "conciliate", make peace somehow or other, and the workers' cause suffers. The members lose faith and drop away. Eventually it collapses.

Similarly there have been formed on many occasions Unions of peasants to fight for some cause or other. But only too often there have been made leaders or committee members (because

they are big men, educated, etc.) rich peasants, landowners, moneylenders, lawyers, or what-not, who turn out to be afraid to lead a fight against their own class. Some of these middle or upper class people even go to the length of telling us not to fight for improvements at all, that we must achieve satisfaction by reducing our needs, not by demanding the satisfaction of more needs. This of course is directly helping the upper classes to keep the lower classes in contented subjection to them.

Ours must be a class movement, class-conscious, and led so far as possible by members of our own class. In any case, if we must have middle class leaders, we must make sure that they are well-meaning and honest, and must control them.

Further, our movement must be militant. No "gradual reforms" or "moderate demands" must satisfy us. The sufferings of the poor are too intense. We must put forward clear and bold demands, and then work to gather support and strength as rapidly as possible to enforce them. We enforce them by any possible means, peaceful or otherwise, by threat, demonstration, or strike. Having achieved our first aim, we must push on for further aims and so on.

What should we aim at? This can be seen more clearly when we have reviewed briefly what the masses have achieved in other countries. But it is in any case clear that the workers in industries, or in railways, under municipalities, etc., must aim at improving wages. This is the most fundamental thing. We should have a standard, the "minimum wage" which would give fair comfort to an average family, which we should strive to get for all workers. Then we must get a reduction in hours of work for workers. We can not easily become educated, or build a powerful movement for our own advance, until we have leisure. These things will obviously be resisted fiercely by employers, since if they are granted, profits will decrease; but we must not mind. We must face their opposition and overcome it. We are engaged in a class-war.

In the same way peasants must not abate their demands out of fear of the opposition of landlords, moneylenders, or other exploiting interests. There is a class war in the countryside also, which must wage to a successful conclusion.

(3) What The Workers Have Done.

Let us look for a moment at what the workers and peasants of some other countries have done.

(1) in England. In England industrialism, which has grown up only recently in India, began 150 or more years ago, and

has gone on extending until 4/5 of the people are engaged in industry, and only the minority in agriculture. In the early stages of industry, the workers who had previously been engaged in farming, or in cottage-industry, etc., were driven from their previous occupations by bankruptcy due to competition, or by seizure of their land by landlords etc., and went into the factory towns, where they suffered very great cruelty and hardship. Their wages were about the same as Indian workers' wages are now. Their housing was very bad; no sanitary arrangements, great overcrowding etc. Their hours of work were unlimited, even for young children.

They soon began protesting. They smashed machinery, and were imprisoned and executed for it. They formed Unions, which were declared illegal and criminal in 1799. Nevertheless they continued to organise secretly, until in 1824 Government was forced to allow the Unions to exist openly. They then formed a Grand National Union, with five lakhs of members intending to overthrow the employers' Government and establish their own. They failed, and they again set to work to build up the Trade Union movement as it exists at present. For nearly a century this movement has been struggling on and now has a membership of between 50 and 60 lakhs.

Its chief achievements are: (1) it has raised wages for practically all workers from a level of about 20—30 Rs. per month to about 100—150 per month. Some workers, agricultural labourers, some miners, etc., get less, perhaps as low as Rs. 60, but others get more, Rs. 200 etc.

(2) It has with almost complete success fought for the standard eight hour day. This is not enforced by law, except in mines, and, but is practically observed. If a worker works more than eight hours he is usually entitled to "overtime" pay at increased rates.

(3) It has forced central and local Governments to improve housing. Most workers now live in houses, which, if small and uncomfortable, are fairly clean and sanitary.

(4) It has forced Government to grant (a) much factory legislation, to secure safer working, proper ventilation, sanitation etc., in factories. (b) state sickness insurance, unemployment benefit, old-age pensions etc. (c) a secure legal status to Trade Unions (d) universal primary education (e) universal suffrage.

(5) It has built up a powerful workers' political Party, the Labour Party, which, if still backward in consciousness and timid in policy, has been and is still a great instrument for training the workers for their future task, which they are now contemplating,

of overthrowing the capitalist Government, and taking political power into their own hands.

The history of British Labour gives us several lessons. We learn from it first, the immense power which a solid workers' organisation can wield. The Unions were the chief cause of the reforms just mentioned, which they extracted from a selfish ruling class, in spite of their fierce opposition to such heavy expenditure. Second, we learn the necessity of political action by the working class. Much against their own will the British workers were forced into politics in order to achieve the purely economic aims which they set before themselves. Their chief problems now are political. Actually the British workers are themselves now learning a third lesson, which we can well notice also. The steady pressure of the workers' advance is becoming unbearable to the rich ruling class, and they are now engaged busily in reversing the order of history. They are reducing wages, stopping unemployment benefit etc., destroying the legal status of the Unions, and so on. The British movement is being faced with the fact that it cannot get the conditions which it wants while a capitalist government remains in power, and that their first and most pressing duty is to overthrow that government and establish their own.

(2) Let us turn to Russia. Here conditions were and are more like Indian conditions. Industry occupies only 15 or 20 % of the population, the rest being engaged in agriculture. As in India, too in Russia, industry developed fairly late. When about forty years ago the workers began to be recruited in large numbers for the factories, forced from the fields by hunger, they were treated, as everywhere else, with great cruelty and negligence. They revolted, and began to organise. Their organisations were suppressed the leaders cruelly punished. They continued to organise secretly, and established a strong workers' Party the Communist or Bolshevik party, which helped the organisation and fought the Government. By this means they were able to get some improvements, though their conditions remained very bad.

Ultimately, with the increasing strength of the organisation of the people, the cruel and reactionary government of the Czar and the landlords was overthrown in March 1917, and a capitalist-middle class government took its place. The Unions and the workers' Party were then made legal, and their membership and influence quickly grew. They immediately came into conflict with the capitalist Government, and very soon, in November 1917, they overthrew it. In this they sought and secured the help of the peasants, who were very much oppressed by the landlords. Under the leadership of the workers' Party and its allies, the peasants organised themselves and threw out the landlords, refused to pay rent, and seized and divided among themselves the big estates which the landlords had been keeping for their private use.

Now, since 1917, there is a Workers' and Peasants' Government in Russia, although many of the other Governments of the world, which speak for the capitalists and landlords, have made war against Russia with the object of overthrowing that Government. They have not succeeded, and the Workers' and Peasants' Government continues to work on for the benefit of the poor. It is impossible to give a list of the improvements that they have made, in the course of a rule of ten years. But here are a few items.

(1) The Government, instead of being by Parliament or Assembly, is controlled and carried out by workers', peasants' and soldiers' council ("soviets"), which are elected by the workers from their factories, the peasants from their villages, the soldiers from their regiments. Thus real democracy and control by the people is obtained.

(2) The Trade Union movement has been built up to include almost all workers (outside agriculture) and is now the biggest and best organised in the world. It has just one crore of members. It takes a prominent and active part in the control and running of industry, as well as pressing for the interests of its members.

(3) All means of communication, and all larger factories with all sources of raw material are owned and controlled by the workers' Government. Only some distribution and smaller factories are owned by private capitalists.

(4) Wages, after a disastrous fall in the war time, have been brought up again to the pre-war level, and are steadily advancing.

(5) Hours of work are brought down to a rigid standard of 8 per day (6 for some kinds of work.)

(6) All kinds of amenities, clubs, sports, hospitals, children's homes, rest houses, etc. are provided by the State of the Union, using largely the houses and palaces of the old ruling class.

(7) The peasants are in practical possession of the land, the only tribute being a single tax paid to the State. The Peasants requirements are provided to a large extent by Cooperative Societies, State aided, which seek to provide goods at the cheapest prices. Village Government is controlled by councils of poor peasants.

(8) Education is compulsory, and is usually continued up to 16 or 18 years. The poorest can easily take university courses. All, even the old are being taught to read and write. Before the Revolution about 10% was literate. Now about 80% are literate.

We can learn many lessons from the work of the Russian working class. We learn for the first time by practical example

that it is possible for ordinary poor ignorant workers and peasants to conquer power from the rich and to construct a Government and economic system suitable to themselves, that is, for the benefit of the great majority. And we learn in detail how it can be done—how it is necessary to build up the workers' revolutionary Party to lead the struggle for power, and to lead the effort of the masses to consolidate the power and to construct a new socialist economic life. We can learn the strategy, organisation and tactics necessary for the struggle, but that cannot be dealt with here. Perhaps the most important point should be mentioned however, and that is the relations between the workers and the poor peasants. In India also the interests of these two sections are closely allied, and the poor peasants can have no leader ultimately other than the working class. The chief thing is however, that we have now before us a practical example, showing us that the masses can triumph over almost any difficulties, and giving us hope for our own future work.

(3) In China. From China also we have much to learn in regard to the workers' movement. China is like India in that there is relatively little industry, most of the people being peasants. Most of the industry, moreover is owned by foreigners, who had in consequence established some sort of Government over a large part of China. After the last great war, a movement developed in China, as in India, for attaining the freedom of the country for foreign rule. In this movement, as time went on, the workers and peasants took a more and more active part. Especially the workers in the Trade Unions developed very great activity in the years 1925-7. Beginning in about 1921, the Trade Union movement grew very quickly, and with a very militant policy. By 1927 it had a membership of 25 lakhs, and the Communist Party had about 50,000 members.

Owing largely to the help of the masses, the national movement was very successful, the foreigners were fairly quickly driven out of a considerable part of China, and National Governments were set up. At this point the masses began to demand that their position, which was extremely bad, perhaps if anything worse than that of the Indian masses, should be improved. They began to try to get their representatives into the Government etc. And this is where they found a mistake they had made. They had relied too much upon the upper classes for the organisation and leadership of their movement. The Trade Unions were led by workers, but the Kuomintang, the big nationalist Party, was still largely under the leadership of capitalists and landlords, while the peasants armies had landlords mainly as their officers.

Almost in the moment of victory the split appeared. The foreigners used the opportunity to bribe some of the upper class leaders, and a war broke out between the two sections, in which the

landlord and capitalist classes were helped by the foreign money and armed forces. The upper class side won, for a time, and were permitted by the foreigners to establish their rule, on condition that the foreigners property was allowed to remain in their possession.

The Chinese workers' experience can teach us much. As they found there so we shall find here, that while we remain under the rule of a foreign Government we shall not achieve much improvement in our position. It was this fact which led the Chinese workers Unions to take up their fight against the foreigners' rule, and we shall have to do the same. We shall find that we are obliged to take a leading part in securing national freedom, and until we have done that, however hard we fight, we shall not get satisfactory conditions.

Secondly, we learn the need for the independence of the Workers' and Peasants' movement. We must take part in the political movement, but as an independence force. We must not rely for leadership or assistance upon the upper classes, or at any rate must free ourselves from that leadership as soon as we can. We must develop strongly our own ideas, our class consciousness, and our independent organisation.

(4) What has been done.

What have we in India done up to the present? In our country industrialism began relatively recently, and has grown quickly only in the last twenty years or so. Now India is considerably more industrialised than China. The organised workers movement practically dated from 1918--ten years ago. In 1918-22, for about three years, many big strikes took place and many gains were achieved. But few permanent Unions were established, and after that time many of the gains were lost again. While in 1920-21 the movement was powerful, if still very badly organised, by 1923-4 it had almost collapsed. Since then in the last three years it has again been recovering, and has made a big stride forward this year. But it has many weaknesses still. Its total membership is probably not more than 2 lakhs (less than one-tenth of that of the Chinese movement!) It is not united-many unions are not affiliated to the Trade Union Congress the central organisation to which all unions should belong. Some unions fight against others in the same trade. Many unions exist only in name. In very few do the members take a really active part in determining policy. Many confine themselves to too narrow a sphere—one town, or even one factory. Most unions lack a fighting policy. They try perhaps to remedy little grievances, but not to get advances in wages and improvements generally. Consequently workers do not look upon them with enthusiasm. Finally, and summing up

most of the faults of the movement, the leadership is mainly in the hands of the wrong type of people, middle class men who do not understand the real purpose of the workers' movement.

As for the peasants' movement, it is, as is to be expected, more backward even than the Trade Unions. In a number of places there are Unions of Peasants, but compared to the total number they are indeed a drop in the ocean. They again are often misled by outsiders who have contrived to get the leadership into their hands.

Finally, there is coming into existence the Workers' and Peasants' Party, which is trying to unite together the Unions of workers and peasants and to organise the others who have not yet joined Unions. It tries to invigorate the Unions, to free them from bad leaders, and to give them a militant policy.

(5) Organisation and Programme.

Thus the workers' and peasants' movement is still weak and backward in India, though it is making hopeful advance in some places. Up to the present it has few gains to record, in spite of all its struggles, some of which have been very fierce and prolonged. But that is no reason for despair. Success cannot come without effort. Rather it is a reason why everybody should enter the movement, to strengthen and invigorate it. Organisations must be started where they do not exist; all must be imbued with the right class outlook and policy, so that in as short a time as possible we may rival other workers' organisations, and their successes.

What then is the right policy? The examples of other countries show that the first and most important thing is the industrial workers' movement: The peasants' had been exploited and oppressed for ages, but had been unable to make much effective resistance, until another class came to their assistance. Only when the class of industrial workers is organised and conscious, even though it be small, can the Indian peasants form a strong and permanent movement. The workers' movement will be the leader of the peasants.

Thus we begin with the industrial workers. The fundamental workers' organisation is the Trade Union. All workers must form and join suitable Trade Unions. The workers in any occupation, in any factory, on any railway etc., must meet together, and decide to fight against their employers for better conditions. They must frame their demands, propagate these demands, among all their fellow workers, to get their support for them, and enrol them in the Union. Some time may profitably be spent in preliminary work must set the example. No serious work is possible without it.

(4) Discipline. Necessity of discipline. Discussion on [✓] general question before decision, which when taken must be obeyed by all including opposition. Only way to get unity and effectiveness. Proper persons must be elected to committees etc. and when elected, must be obeyed. Fraction leaders and fraction decisions also. (Lenin's insistences on "iron discipline".) Party is the highest organ of working class. Mas very difficult task. Absolute devotion to Party essential. No personal aims and ambition. No petty quarreling etc.

Effort must also be made to draw into really active work those members who are employed. Party cannot depend upon full-time workers. Only a disciplined well-functioning organisation can do this.

(5) Fraction work. importance of fraction meetings before W. P. P. T. U. etc. meetings. Obedience to lead given by Branch committees etc.

(6) Reporting. In order that Party may know what it is doing, and what are the conditions in which it is working etc., it must receive regular reports from all members. Reports go to group leaders, branch committees etc. Essential if centralised character of party is to be maintained.

(7) Training.-

[(8) Organs. Party organs are extremely important part of party machinery. Must be helped in circulation and contents by all members (selling to workers; "worker correspondents" etc.)

Lesson 7. Recapitulation. (Should be in the nature of an examination in part. Take care, by judicious questioning, to get from the class if the most important points are grasped by all.) until most, if not all of the workers concerned are members, and some fund has been collected. All workers should be frequently called to meetings in which they discuss conditions, demands, etc., and learn the policy of the Union, and the necessity of doing faithfully what the Union decides. The greatest thing which has to be learnt by all workers is necessity of solidarity, of sticking together. It is the beginning of class consciousness. And it is essential for this purpose to draw all workers into the active life of the organisation. No Union can be said to exist properly, unless the members meet frequently and discuss the Union business and decide all important questions. These things cannot be left to committees. This is one of the biggest mistakes our unions make.

Then as to programme. We must not hesitate to make big demands. Unless we do this we shall never get anything. Employers will laugh at our "insolence" if we are weak. If we are strong they dare not.

First wages. We must try to establish a minimum wage. The standard adopted by many Unions is Rs. 30 per month. This is a very moderate figure, but is much higher than what most workers actually get. The average wage of Indian workers is probably below Rs. 20. So if we can get a minimum of Rs. 30 enforced, we shall have done much. But of course that does not mean that we must not fight for increases for those who get above Rs. 30. A gain for any section of the working class is a gain for the whole class. A big general advance in wages must be the first item of our programme, and it must include the enforcement of the Rs. 30. minimum.

Only less important is the question of hours. Here there is no difference of opinion. We must aim at the standard eight-hour day (and 44 hour week-5½ days.)

In regard to housing, it is best to press for a housing allowance from the employer, and to force the municipal authorities to build decent houses. Some employers will build houses for their workers, but this is dangerous, as it gives the employer a strong weapon to wield in case of dispute, he can evict strikers, etc. and cause them much trouble.

Within the place of work it is necessary to press for proper facilities for taking meals, for sanitation, ventilation, etc., and for safe methods of working.

It is also important to wage campaign against the system of recruiting labour which is common in many industries, viz. through sardars, jobbers, mukadmas, foremen, etc. The system is productive of very great evils; the sardars exploit and oppress the workers in many ways; it must be abolished.

A fight must be waged also against the employers' practice of fining and dismissing without notice or proper cause. Particularly victimisation of workers for Union activity must be fought.

There are many other matters which a Union can deal with, but these are the most common and most pressing. The most important questions are wages and hours, and a Union stands or falls by its success or failure to deal with these two things.

There are other kinds of activity which a Union will undertake. It will try to give on its own some service to its members. It may establish a club in which its members meet and discuss; it may start benefit societies (to give unemployment, death, and similar benefits); it may start a journal, etc. etc. All these things are good, and may be made to help the Union substantially. But it must never be forgotten that they are not the primary work of the Union, which is to fight for better conditions.

There are still more things a Union must do. It must join with the rest of the Labour movement. It must affiliate to the Trade Union Congress and its proper Provincial Federation. It must seek to establish effective unity with all unions in the same or kindred trades—“one Union for one Industry” is the object. (This is an important question in India at present. There are already probably too many Unions. The maximum strength is not brought to bear upon opponents unless unity is attained among the workers.) It should help where possible to organise unorganised workers in other industries. It must assist to establish Trades Councils in all towns where there are several Unions or branches. (Trades Councils are joint committees of the workers of all trades and occupations living in one town or conveniently small district. For the struggles of the Labour movement as a whole, they are extremely important bodies.)

Second, we have to consider the peasants. The workers' movement comes first, and leads the peasants in a general sense, but it must learn that the peasants constitute an essential ally to the workers. Peasants organisations must be brought into close relations with the Trade Union movement by affiliation with the Trade Union Congress and its local bodies.

It is necessary for peasants' Unions, equally with those of the workers' to be careful in regard to leadership, and not to let the organisation be dominated by any class other than the actual cultivators, and generally the poor of the countryside. There are several different classes in the rural population, and if the Union is to represent the exploited majority, it must depend primarily upon the agricultural labourers, i. e. those who are employed, part or whole time, in agricultural work; the peasants who cultivate their own land without employing outside labour; and the village employees, craftsmen, etc. If in our organisation we depend upon these, we shall be doing good; if we are led by rich peasants who employ others, or landlords who do no work but collect rent from others, or upon shopkeepers, moneylenders, etc., we shall be strengthening the grip of the exploiters over those whom they exploit.

The agricultural poor must organise, village by village, and district by district, to wage the class struggle against those who exploit them. They must resist attempts by Government to increase their assesment, or by landlords to increase rent. They must attempt to reduce rents, to stop arbitrary exactions from them by landlords, and to stop forced labour etc. They must strive to establish their right to tenancy, against the landlord's right of eviction. In all these things, the power of solidarity can be employed, by demonstration etc., and ultimately by direct action, i. e., the withholding, by common decision, of rent or

payment due. In a similar way, the fight can be carried on against other oppressors, such as moneylenders. There are a number of instances in Indian history where the peasants have achieved considerable gains, against Government, or landlords, by the power of solidarity and concerted action.

(6) The Future.

Such is in outline the programme and type of organisation which we propose for the immediate future. We believe that experience in India and other countries shows that it is practical, and the most desirable road for Indian workers and peasants to follow. It provides indeed the only hope for them of attaining within any reasonable time, to a tolerable condition of life. Present conditions are unbearable; they must be altered, and this is the way.

But, as our short examination of other countries and movements shows, the workers and peasants have other tasks before them. It was the experience of the English, Russian, and Chinese workers (and all others) that they could not get the elementary things which they wanted, better wages etc., without entering politics. They had to fight against individual employers and landlords for their particular demands, and against the Government, i.e. the general committee of all the employers and landlords, for their general demands. We shall have to do the same.

We want education; we want proper sanitation and public health services. Only the State can give them to us. We want legislation in connection with conditions of work, insurance against unemployment, sickness, old age, etc. We want the State to assist agriculture to increase production etc. We shall strive to force the state to do these things; we want universal suffrage, so that we can get greater freedom to develop our political movement. Further, we shall find that the only solution to our difficulties is the taking over by the state of the public services and big industries, which are at present run by private capitalists. While big capitalists exist, we shall be exploited and crushed by them. The big industries must be taken from them. Similarly the peasants will find that while the landlords remain in possession of the land, they can do little to improve their lot. They will have to aim, not merely at reducing rent and alleviating oppression, but at ousting the landlords altogether, and taking over the land entirely, as the Russian peasants did.

These things a capitalists-landlord Government will never do; we must establish therefore a popular democratic Government.

But first, we must acquire the freedom to do that. The Chinese workers and peasants found themselves in the same position as we are. They were not free to do anything they wanted, because

they were under foreign rule. They found actually that they were not free to take even the most elementary steps to better their position. If they merely tried to get better wages, the foreign police interfered and stopped them. We have found also, in many recent strikes, how difficult it is to make any headway against employers who are backed up by a Government which is unaffected by popular feeling. Our first task is therefore to free the country from foreign rule.

The Chinese workers found themselves helpless under foreign rule, they revolted against it. So must we. We must organise as they did, a mass movement of all workers' and peasants' Unions for the attainment of national freedom by direct mass action. This is the only weapon mighty enough to perform the enormous task of getting national freedom, which has foiled our upper class politicians for generations. But we can succeed in it, as the Chinese masses succeeded.

That is our greatest task for the present, and for it we must consciously prepare, by organising the Workers' and Peasants' Party, whose principal aim is the attainment of complete independence by the direct mass action of the workers and peasants. Individuals should join the Party, and get all Unions to affiliate to it, by conducting propaganda among their members in this direction.

Thus, to sum up, our immediate practical task is to organise on a class basis, and fight for better conditions; and this can only be done with a militant programme and policy, as here outlined. For this purpose we have to build up a strong Trade Union and Peasants' Union movement. But at the same time we have to prepare and organise for bigger political tasks—in the first place the attainment of complete independence. For this purpose we have to see that the workers' and the peasants' movements are closely allied together, and to build up a strong Workers' and Peasants' Party, to lead the struggle. The two lines of action go together. Each will help the other—each is essential for the success of the other.

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Elementary Course—for workers etc.

(For methods of conducting class, see "Elementary Course of C. P. Training" C. P. G. B. Generally: (1) supplement class work with all relevant literature in members' languages. (2) be as concrete as possible. Get, from the members or elsewhere, facts regarding their experience of the class struggle, their own Union organisations, reformist leaders whom they know, economic position of their own firms etc. Also use freely instances drawn from Chinese and Russian Revolutions. (3) be careful to proceed by means of discussion (see "Elem. Course" pp 5 6 7), drawing in *all* members of class. *Avoid lecturing.*)

For instruction to non-Party workers the same syllabus may be used with slight modifications. The necessity of the C. P. must always be stressed in such instruction, and its object must be to make the members into suitable recruits for the Party. *e. g.* the first lesson "Need for the Party" etc. may become "What is the Working Class Movement?" (see p 2a)—leading up to the function and necessity of the Party as the highest organ of the working class, but dealing also with the duties of other workers in Trade Unions etc. on the same lines.

For W. & P. P. members (workers) it may also be adapted similarly. But care must be taken again to emphasise the leading position of the C. P. and the provisional and temporary nature of the W. & P. P. The aim of all W. & P. P. workers should be to qualify for membership of the C. P.)

Elementary Course.

- Lesson 1. What is the Party?—need for Party etc.
2. Capitalism—Socialism etc.
3. Method and Policy (general).
4. Trade Union Work.
5. Other work—in the workshop etc.
6. Party organisation and discipline.
7. Recapitulation.

Lesson 1. Need for Party.

(1) What is the Party? First, what is the political—class struggle. (brief account of class situation and struggles in India Working class must play a part in the class struggle (1) in order to get living conditions (2) also to get rid of capitalist system and establish workers' rule. This struggle is very difficult. Party is

therefore necessary as *leader* of the class. C. P. is leading organisation of the working class.

(2) Brief account of working class movement throughout the world—achievements and organisation. C. I. and C. P. s. Objects; the attainment of working class rule internationally by overthrow of capitalist governments etc. Begun in U. S. S. R. Necessity of same process in India, hence need for C. P.

(3) Relation of C. P. to working class. Most intelligent active class-conscious members—not divided from working class, only the most forward section—always in touch with working class feeling, leading struggle, expressing grievances etc. Work of C. P. among workers through T. U. fractions, factory groups, open agitation, demonstrations, Councils etc.

(4) Function of C. P. as leader. In all work in connection with workers the Party or fraction formulates policy (1) in light of its special knowledge and study of politics (2) after study of the needs of the situation (3) with the revolutionary object in view. The best possible use is made of the situation at each moment, if the workers follow this policy.

Hence necessity of *centralisation* in Party. And necessity of *discipline*.

Lesson I (modified for non-Party workers).

(1) What is working class movement? Struggle of workers, as sections, and later as class, for certain aims. (Hence, nature of class: economic grouping, with approximately same interests etc.) What are the aims? (1) sectional, immediate, economic primarily.

(2) -general (i.e. of class), primarily political, to be attained only ultimately after victory of class. This division is only partial). Necessity of both types of aim-workers cannot achieve immediate demands; therefore must fight for political power etc. (2) By what means and organisation can these things be done? By T. U. s? Unsuitable as aims are sectional and mainly immediate. Organisation, including backward workers etc. precludes political activity. T. U. C.? Unsuitable because merely a coalition of sections (hence not a true class organisation) aims mainly immediate, organisation cumbrous and includes various even counter-revolutionary elements. Type of organisation required—Party of most conscious active individuals (C. P.). This will be leading organ of class.

(3) Illustrated by history of labour movement in other countries.—begins as a T. U. movement demanding reforms—passes

into political movement led by Party. International nature of movement. Similarity of conditions. Actual position, especially U.S.S.R., and England. (In England preliminary stage of Labour Party—analogue to W. P. Party—a preparation for, but not a real workers' Party).

(4) How does class struggle go on? In workshops etc., in T. U.s, open political movement (meetings, demonstration etc.), in legislatures. etc. etc. In all Party lead required.

(5) Determination of policy requires special study, knowledge of political theory, firm maintenance of revolutionary outlook etc. Hence centralisation of Party. Also required Unity of action. Hence discipline. Relation of Party to class—not separate, simply most advanced individuals, leaders.

Lesson 2. Capitalism, Socialism.

(1) We dealt in the last lesson briefly with the necessity of the Party, arising from the class struggle of the workers. In order to lay down a sound policy it is necessary first to know more about the class struggle, and second to know more about our aims in it. What are we fighting against, and what are we fighting for?

(2) The working class in all countries (except U. S. S. R.) lives under capitalism. Capitalism is the dominant form of production, and the ruling political force all over the world. It is our principal enemy, even in India, where most of the people still live under pre-capitalist agricultural conditions. Capitalism involves (1) ownership of the means of production etc. by individuals (the capitalist class) (2) the existence of a non-owning poor class (the workers) who use the means of production, (and other conditions not necessary to deal with here). This position inevitably means ill-treatment of the workers by the capitalists—underpayment etc. exploitation, in short. And party explains the poverty of the workers. (Also to be explained by the inefficiency of capitalism, due to its individual basis.)

The workers struggle to improve their conditions—sometimes with a little success. But experience shows, and theory—confirms, that decent conditions cannot be obtained for all under capitalism (because capitalism depends upon exploiting—it exists to make profits). Workers must therefore aim at getting control of the means of production. That is, they must aim at a revolution against capitalist rule—they must take away the capitalists' property, and therefore also their political power. (The Government in all capitalist countries is capitalist.)

(3) The aim then, is control of the means of production by the workers—not by individuals but by the class (eventually by society as a whole). i. e. socialism, not capitalism. (Develop the

idea of socialism—equality, internationalism, social control etc. as opposed to the practice of capitalism. Cite what has been done in U. S. S. R.)

(4) This is to be done by revolution. i. e. workers as a class will have to rise and overthrow capitalist Government as a first step before taking capitalists' means of production. Political power is the first essential. Workers' Government must be established—“Dictatorship of Proletariat”. (i. e. suppression by force of the efforts of capitalism to reinstate itself).

Revolution is necessary because capitalism and the capitalist state fight vigorously to defend themselves, using police, army, law courts, and all means of physical pressure, as well as education system religion, press etc. All used in fight for class power. Even after the seizure of power of the workers, these things may be in the hands of the capitalists to a large extent. Hence necessity of “iron dictatorship” for some time, until all possibility of counter-revolution has disappeared.

(This is briefly the distinguishing feature of Communism—the attainment of socialism by revolution, and the maintenance of the dictatorship of the proletariat. There is also a school of so-called socialists who believe in attaining socialism by non-revolutionary means. Even the experience of Indian workers up to the present—forcible suppression of strikes etc. should convince them of the foolishness of this hope in non-revolutionary methods.)

Lesson 3. GENERAL POLICY AND METHOD.

(1) With socialist revolution as the aim, which must always be kept in mind, how do we intend to proceed?

(a) by organising and supporting workers in their struggle for immediate demands (wages etc.) This is the most important part of our work, because the workers are the most important revolutionary class, and the only class which will fight resolutely for socialism (of Russian Revolution). We assist Unions, taking the lead if possible (C. P. should be the leader of the working class), in factories etc. also (factory groups, factory committees, in education work, etc. etc. (b) by organising poor peasants for revolution against landlords and for non-payment of taxes to Government. Peasants are essential as ally to workers in revolution, and this alliance will enable the working class to get the leadership of the peasants, who are naturally very reactionary and backward, and conduct them towards socialism (of Russia). (c) by assisting and taking the lead in revolutionary nationalist movement. For this purpose the W.P.P. is formed as a coalition Party of these three main groups—workers, peasants, and petty-bourgeoisie. Workers,

led by C.P. must maintain lead of W. P. P., and not allow it to degenerate into a petty-bourgeois nationalist Party, or a labour reformist or terrorist, or any other. It is through this Party mainly that we ally with, or fight against the nationalist bourgeoisie (Congress etc.) These are the main lines of work. But also (d) we have, either directly, or indirectly through W.P.P., T.U.C. etc., to take up particular questions as they arise, and wage campaigns on them. e.g. war. (necessity of fight against any imperialist war, with object of defeat of one's own imperialist Government. Especially necessary to defend U.S.S.R.) Finally, it must be remembered that the object of all this work, including preparation for the national revolution, is the attainment of the socialist revolution.

(2) By the progress of a movement of this type, there will come about a revolutionary upheaval—strikes, demonstrations, N.Co. non-payment of taxes, etc,—primarily against imperialism. Eventually national Government will be formed (of China). If this is bourgeois (this is possible, though so far as we can tell, improbable), we shall have to turn our attention immediately to overthrowing it, before it has time to consolidate. In any case we shall have to fight the bourgeoisie openly—workers' dictatorship or bourgeois dictatorship. Organised workers, backed by peasants, can be successful. Petty bourgeoisie will vacillate from side to side. (That is why the W.P.P. has dangers).

(3) The only organisation which can take us through such a course as this the C.P. It must be centralised, disciplined, of sufficient size ("mass party") to be in effective contact with the majority of the workers, and leading sections of peasants; and must be able to manoeuvre—keeping contact with masses, keeping revolution in view, but making alliances and compromises when necessary.

Lesson 4. TRADE UNION WORK.

Working class the most important class for us. Hence one (or more) whole lesson on Trade Unions.

(1) What are Trade Unions? Organisations of the mass of workers mainly for fighting individual employers or groups, for immediate demands. Not directly political organs, and not well suited for political struggle. But capable of disciplining mass of even backward workers, and at decisive moments of bringing them into political action. Hence extremely important for us to strengthen, permeate, and lead. Give us one of the best means of getting real contact with the masses.

(2) We are able to lead because we have the best policy—organisation, solidarity, fighting, *i.e.* class struggle. We must always

pursue this policy, and prove that the C.P. is the only Party which really fights for the workers.

(3) In particular we have to fight the reformists. Most dangerous enemies—all anti-revolutionary, hence pro-capitalist (Lenin's analysis: reformism as policy of capitalism within the working class). Different kinds, reformist "socialists", bourgeois nationalists, humanitarians, Government agents etc. All same in the end. And all the same now, in that they will not fight even for immediate demands. (Reformism generally—British Labour Party etc.)

(4) Organisation of T.U. movement. (see W.P.P. Conference T. U. resolution) Industrial unionism etc. Importance of Trades Councils. Regular branch meetings; workers as leaders; generally democracy in the T. U. s.

(5) Party members' work—fraction work. discipline, reporting to superior committees etc.

Lesson 5. Other work with working class.

(1) The struggle of the workers goes on in the most intense manner at the point of production—in the workshop etc. The organisation of the workers should begin there. Especially the Party organisation. C. P. should organise itself on the basis of factory (or mill, mine, workshop, station, etc.) groups. History of Russian C. P. shows their importance. They enable effective mass work to be done illegally. If *e. g.* open T. U. ism is prohibited or rendered useless by repressive laws, factory group work takes the leading place.

Duty of Party factory group to be the leader of workers in all troubles. Meet illegally to decide policy etc. Get workers to react solidly against victimisation, over-pressure, bad treatment etc. Get open Factory Committee elected by all workers (with C. P. fraction). Factory Committee looks officially to all grievances, and generally leads fight against management inside shop. Also sees that all workers are T. U. members etc. Part factory group also leads outside work *e. g.* arranges meetings (with outside speakers) etc. Even Factory Committee may do this also.

(2) Education. Workers should manage to establish groups among themselves for education in Trade Unionism, politics, etc. Party should take lead in this. It is most important to get all Party members through a course of instruction in Party policy. But this work should also be extended to non-Party Trade Union etc. All this work should be conducted from the Party point of view. Especially in this country, this means is valuable for

combatting communalism. All leading Trade Unionists etc. must be freed from communalism, which breaks up the working class, and puts it under the lead of (bourgeois) religious leaders. In particular, all Party members must see to this very strictly. They must themselves do no religious propanganda of any kind.

(3) The open leadership of the workers' struggle must not be left to the reformists, or even to the W. P. P. Regular public meetings demonstrations (on May-Day, anniversaries, etc.) should be organised by the C. P.

(4) Even social activities (sport etc.) should not be neglected. If possible, Party should take the lead, e. g. in founding workers' clubs, with hall or room, where library, entertainment, drama etc. can take place. Party influence is much increased by such means as this.

Generally, no opportunity should be missed of getting at workers and forcing them into class activity, under Party lead.

Lesson 6. Party organisation.

(1) For doing all this work, organisation is required. It is necessary, first, in order to make the best use of our small strength that is, centralisation must be observed. Policy is decided by central committee of best read and most experienced men, who instruct others, thus all get the benefit etc. Secondly, organisation is working in difficult conditions. Many enemies, many temptations (tendency to become reformist, personal ambition, idleness, bribery etc.) Therefore discipline is necessary.

(2) General structure. Comintern—National Party (C.E.C., Party organs, fractions in T.U.C. etc.)—Provincial Party Committee (organs in vernaculars, other fractions etc.)—Branch (Branch Committee, training groups, T. U. fractions etc.)—factory groups and area groups. Fractions are not part of the Party structure, but are controlled by Party committees.

The basis of the Party is the group of members for various purposes. The most important are the Factory Group, and (for those who cannot form factory groups) area group. Factory Group should so far as possible form the basis of the Party. Its tasks are (1) leadership of workers in the class struggle in the factory (2) recruiting (3) training of members (factory group should also be training group) (4) distribution of Party literature (5) keeping in contact with, and reporting to Party on, workers' mentality etc. It is also necessary to use for part of this work, members who are not actually working in the factory. Some of these things can also be done by area groups.

Next is the branch, which controls the fractions in the T. U. branches, arranges for training of factory or special training groups, etc. Branches covers a town, or part of large city, etc. Factory and area groups have their leaders in the branch committees. Provincial and central committees, etc.

(3) Meetings, necessary for Party groups, branch committees, etc. to meet weekly, at regular time and place. This is very important. Organisation throughout Indian political life fails because of slackness in this respect. Efforts should be made to make Union branches, etc. meet weekly. But if this is impossible, at any rate Party groups.

P. 527. (5)

A pamphlet entitled "Elementary Course of Communist Party Training" with a preface by T. B.—Published by the Party of Great Britain, 16 King Street, London W.C. 2.

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Manifesto of the C. P. I.

(1) Crisis in national and labour movement—strikes, demonstration etc.—(illegible) crisis approaching. Necessary for us to do something active and decisive so that the opportunity shall not go by (N. C. O. movement opportunity lost). Workers and poor generally rally up to realise their position. Intolerable poverty is the cause of the unrest. It must be put an end to. In this position, the only remedy is Communism. Previous movements have collapsed for lack of ruthless and decisive lead. This C. P. only can give. Government and bourgeoisie attack communism as the cause of disturbance. This alone should suffice to divert our attention to it.

Rightly Communism is the philosophy-politic of the workers. The C. P. is the workers' Party.

(2) Communism is based on the class struggle. Its conception is this. In industry we see nowadays two classes—owners and workers. Owners are rich, powerful, educated; they control Government, Police, Law courts etc. etc. Workers are poor, weak, ignorant, always attacked by Police etc. The capitalist owners of industry get their riches from the work done by the workers, and so they exploit as much as possible—pay as little, get from them as much work, as they can. That is the struggle—shown in the fact of victimisation. Lack of education (causes) no politics allowed any workers, T. D. Bill, P. S. Bill etc., shooting in strikes, starvation etc. etc.

Communism believes that the only way to finish the struggle is for the workers to fight and win it—to oust the capitalist, and become themselves the owner of industry, and the possessors of Government powers controlling education, health police, etc. socialism. Then and only then will the workers be properly looked after, property paid, not exploited, etc. etc.

More on socialism & dict. of proletariat. (4) But T. U. s believe this? No. C. P. says that all workers must join Union and unions essential. But Union only are fight for inc. of wages etc. They cannot fight for political power.

W. & P. Party? This also is essential. It is the party of the poors, workers, peasants, clerks etc. etc. to fight for *national freedom* i. e. against British capitalists. This is right. C. P. men join W. & P. Party, and work for it. This stage of the fight is right.

But-the C. P. the *workers' Party* is needed. The workers are the most important factor in this struggle. They also are the only

section which will fight relentlessly and determinedly and can fight (industry concn. etc.). Middle-class will vacillate—peasants will go to sleep and set in their holdings—workers will fight. Moreover workers fight for *socialism*—the most advanced form of social orgn. (necessary for other classes, but the other classes do not fight for it). The C. P. will see that the alliance with the peasants and the P. W. is maintained. But the workers must not be claimed to them by the W. P. P.

(5) Therefore workers' party must be there:—C. P. Fight inside T. U. S, everywhere for the real fighting workers' policy. For *wage inc.* for *natl. indep*; etc. etc. what is its policy? (1) Based on class struggle—no peace with enemy only turce. (2) Discipline and unity in the party—the party a managing orgn. (3) penetration and control by Party of other organisations of the working-class—party as leader of class—Complete devotion of members to Party—(4) Working class as principal instrument of historic change at present period.—class which can overthrow imperialism and capitalism and establish socialism—class which can fight. Triumph of working-class is the aim of Party; (5) Must be by *revolution*—insurgent of power and all party policy is dictated by this consideration—preparing the Party and the masses for revolution. (6) Alliance with peasantry and solution of agrarian question by revolutionary means. (7) Only those who work in organised and disciplined manner in Party—professional organisation etc. etc. (8) Complete independence of labour from bourgeois leader (9) complete exposure of reformists as bourgeoisie in labour movement.

(6) All workers must be encouraged to form and join unions—to fight for wage increments. So this way a solid and militant labour movement can be created, under lead of communists.

(7) This must take part in politics—in a (illegible) direction i. e. for overthrow of imperialism. In this work side by side with W. & P. P. and even with Congress (explain vacillating and bourgeois character). Take all opportunities to push this fight on and complete it with economic struggle—under eventually to (illegible) crisis—War danger.

(8) Then in this party must lead workers found in goal of establishment of Soviet Republic of workers and peasants—Workers Govt. and socialism—against bourgeoisie and Congress etc.

(9) 1st task—recruiting and strengthening Party from workers and training workers to know politics and lead movement. 2nd to conquer masses—win T. U. s. etc.

Appeal to all to join party.

For str. C. P. as the only guarantee of the success of the w. class, and the conquest of poverty, subjection and misery and the coming of socialism and happiness.

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Preface :

Introduction :—

Short historical sketch of rise of Communist ideas

The contribution of Marx—first working class revolutionary period.

The contribution of Lenin—Second (Imperialist).

(1) *Foundation of Marxism :—*

M. C. H. Class—struggle theory and economic—next step.

M. C. H. not a final theory but a method.

Chief ideas—developed of productive forces.

(not worked out in detail).

Application to present day :

1. development and therefore class struggle still going on,
2. can Capitalism survive and buy off or defeat working-class ?
3. Importance of working class.
4. decisive nature of struggle.
5. International nature
6. interpretation of all "politics" parties etc. in class terms.
7. theory of spontaneity, determinism etc.

"Communism : A Guide for Reading"

Preface :

This booklet is produced by the C. P. I. with the objects (1) of generally enlightening the Indian public which is systematically misled and is very much in the dark, as to the real nature of Communist theory, aims, and policy. (2) of winning the intellectual and eventually the practical, sympathy of intelligent and energetic young people for what is the only consistent and correct social theory, and the only ultimate social aim which is at once practically attainable and ideally desirable.

(3) of assisting our members in their practical work among the masses, by providing a general guide as to policy and some direction in regard to theoretical instruction.

Necessarily, owing to the conditions prevailing in India, is intended mainly for an educated reader, the arrangement is therefore made with an eye rather to logical development than to

interest, or ease of assimilation. This explains for readers with some acquaintance with the subject the emphasis on some points not usually stressed, and the comparative or complete neglect of others. The subject nevertheless presents no difficulty, although, while so many denounce and condemn it very few people take the trouble to understand it.

It is intended also to provide an intelligible, though of course to sketching account of the whole subject. While primarily a guide study it can in itself suffice to give some introductory idea. But much further reading and study is necessary before the subject can be adequately grasped. The bibliography attempts to indicate the contents of the most vital works, and mentions others of importance. It cannot of course claim to be exhaustive even of the material available in English. But several of the books etc. mentioned also give special bibliographies, through which the student can be made familiar with the ramifications of the subject.

Finally it must be emphasised that in order to get a real living idea of the theory and policy of communism, the application must be studied from day to day in practical affairs. The periodical and other (illegible) literature produced by the Communist International and the larger Communist Parties and their associated bodies contain a wealth of very illuminating discussion of theory and its application to the objective facts, and of organisational and tactical problems. Unfortunately through all these periodicals, with a good deal of the more permanent matter dealt with in the bibliography, are proscribed by the Government of India. India is in fact, with the exception of the Police States of Eastern Europe, practically the only country which systematically stifles the intellectual development of the people in this way.

Introduction :—By Communism is meant solely modern and revolutionary Communism. For present purposes we are not concerned with so-called "primitive communism" or with the various utopian socialist or Communist theories which have been put forward by isolated thinkers from time to time throughout the historical period. Even now such views are proclaimed, in India and elsewhere by religious and other sentimentalists, but their ideas, though often highly attractive and expressed with ability and conviction, are profoundly unrealistic and therefore inevitably reactionary in practical effect.

Modern Communism arose during the nineteenth century, in Europe, that is to say, when for the first time in history there developed on the one hand large scale industry, providing the economic and technical basis for a planned and ordered society designed for the welfare of all; and on the other the industrial proletariat, the means whereby that society may be sought into existence. It arose piecemeal and spontaneously from the struggles

of the young industrial working class, in England and elsewhere, towards the end of the eighteenth and early in the nineteenth centuries, but the ideas which go to make up the Communist theory were for the first time synthesised and put forward in a systematic manner by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels from the 1840's onwards. They were able to lay down the methodological basis of modern revolutionary theory, the principle of historical (or 'dialectical') materialism; to proclaim class-struggle as the essential subject matter of human history, and class struggle, with its culmination in revolution, as the principal means of social advance; to analyse capitalism, to give the broad outlines of its future development, and to predict its eventual collapse under the strain of its own inconsistencies and the growing antagonism and class-struggle of the proletariat; to pick out the industrial working-class as the revolutionary class *par excellence* whose historical function it will be to bring the society of classes and nations to an end, and to usher in through the dictatorship of the proletariat, a world-wide socialism. They were able to discuss the broader strategical and tactical problems before the working class, to assist in the establishment of the First International, and to begin the fight against the anarchists and the reformists for the triumph among the workers of the ideas of scientific socialism or Communism.

But after the period of the European bourgeois revolutions, and the first revolutionary attempts of the workers, which ended in the commune of Paris of 1871, and which profoundly influenced the thought of Marx and Engels. An interval occurred both in the revolutionary experience of the industrial workers and in the development of their revolutionary theory. After the first stormy years of the establishment of modern large-scale industry there set in a period of extremely rapid but more or less peaceful expansion and consolidation of capitalism. The First International collapsed in the 70's, and the workers of almost all countries went through a generation of submission and acquiescence in capitalist exploitation and reformist leadership. But by the end of the nineteenth century, when the period of imperialism was well advanced, and the revolutionary lessons of the breakdown of capitalism began to force themselves upon the working class, a new generation of workers' leaders came forward. Daniel De Leon in America James Connolly and his followers in Great Britain, Rosa Luxembour in Germany, other less known propagandists and theorists in Europe, and most important of all, the Bolsheviki Party led by Lenin in Russia, again raised the almost forgotten question of revolution for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism.

But it was not merely a question of reviving the revolutionary lessons which the first Marxists had taught, and which had been subsequently neglected. The new imperialist period, which, Marx, with

all his insight and knowledge, could not possibly foresee in detail, had to be analysed, and its significance for the working class and the other exploited sections of humanity, had to be set forth. This theoretical development was primarily the work of Lenin. In his articles, pamphlets and books, from the 'nineties up to the revolution of November 1917, he discussed the nature of imperialism as the final stage of capitalism; the revolution in the colonial countries; the agrarian question and the relations of the peasants and the proletariat; the state as a weapon in the class-struggle, and the tasks and tactics of the revolutionary working class in opposition to the bourgeois state machine; reformism and opportunism in the labour movement, and their role as the last time of defence of capitalism; the function of the workers' Party, instructed, organised, rigidly disciplined, in the closest contact with the masses, as an essential to the revolution; these and many other theoretical and tactical questions; left untouched or half-solved by the first generation of revolutionary Marxists, he brilliantly and finally settled.

But beyond all this, he for the first time was able to convert theory into practice. The Bolshevik Party, formed and trained largely under his leadership, was able to seize the opportunity provided by the first acute crisis of Imperialism the first great imperialist war, to overthrow the feudal-capitalist rulers of the Russian Empire and to consolidate the power of the working class over a large area of the globe.

More important perhaps even than the theoretical work—could they be separated—is the example provided by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party of the organisation, strategy and tactics of a great and successful working-class revolution.

But further, owing to this, Lenin was able before his death, to carry forward the theory and practice of the working-class struggle into a still later phase. He was able to tackle the immensely difficult, and hitherto almost untouched problems, economic, technical, social and political, of the period of the transition to socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat. And finally in accordance with the advancement and consolidation of the working-class, and the more deeply revolutionary nature of the present period, the revolutionary organisation of the international working class is correspondingly strengthened. In place of the few feeble and scattered groups of revolutionaries of Marx's time, striving first to assimilate the lessons he had taught, and distracted by the struggle with the anarchists, we have now at any rate something approaching a consolidated international revolutionary Party of the working-class, capable of adequately working out its new theoretical problems as the situation changes, and develops, and increasingly capable of taking an actual leading and decisive part in the practical struggle.

The work of this later revolutionary period thus constitutes an enormous addition to the traditional stock of Marxist theory bringing it up-to-date, redering it concrete and practical, and adds to its previous purely revolutionary content, at any rate the beginning of constructive socialism. The whole subject, associated with the two great names of Marx and Lenin, and comprehended under the term modern Communism which is here sketched in historical outline is dealt with in a more formal and theoretical manner in the following pages.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF MARXISM.

CHAPTER I.

The leading principles of Marx's thought are usually considered to be three: the Materialist Conception of History, the Theory of Class-struggle, and his economic Theories. The former two can properly be considered as one, and are dealt with in this chapter, while the economic analysis of capitalism, to which Marx devoted so much of his life, though necessarily closely connected with the remainder of his system, is best considered separately. The next chapter deals with this subject.

The "Materialists Conception of History," "Historical Materialism," or "dialectical Materialism", is to be looked upon as a method of investigating and understanding social phenomena, rather than as a final and comprehensive theory. It would indeed be opposed to Marx's own view to suppose that a final and completely correct theory can be laid down. The way in which any generation or any class regards history and social development is to be explained by its historical position and requirements, and this applies to the modern world and to the working-class in particular. It should not be supposed however, that this theory is to be looked upon merely as one of many, standing on an equal basis with any other views. It is rather a nearer approach to the truth than preceding views, because it comes later, and therefore comprehends them; and also because it comes later, and therefore comprehends them; and also because of the special position of the movement and class by which it is brought forward. The working class is international in its interests; it gets rid of national prejudices. It is a new class; it has no shady past to conceal or distort. It is an exploited class; it has no vested interests to preserve. It is a revolutionary class; it has no fear of the future. In all these respects the outlook of the working-class can claim superiority to that of its predecessor, the bourgeoisie. All students of history and economics will realise how even the studies or bourgeoisie scholars and far more the ordinary stock-in-trade of the bourgeois purveyors of knowledge have been distorted for these and other

reasons. It may be worth while to give a few instances. It is a common place that the bourgeois historians of Europe have often allowed the exclusively national nature of their class interests to prejudice their judgement. It is not so often realised that Indian nationalists are equally biased of the absurd claims made by many for India's "ancient glories" on the basis of obscure reference in old texts. The same root has been productive in sociology of many fantastic "race" theories—as to the "special genius" or general superiority of the "whites", the "Aryans" the "Anglo-Saxons" etc.

The devotion of the bourgeoisie to their individual economic interests, as expressed in "free competition" etc., has led in many cases to a serious over-estimate of the role of individual figures in human development, (cf. Carlyle's "Heroes and Hero-Worship").

As third instance, familiar to students of English history, is the way in which bourgeois class-pride leads historians to gloss over the very important process of "primitive accumulation" of capital which went on from the XVI century onwards, and made possible the industrial revolution in the XVIII and XIX centuries. The appalling brutalities of this process, which went on from generation to generation, not only in the colonies but in England also, usually escapes mention altogether.

Short historical sketch—XVIII cent. materialism & dialectical idealism (illegible) para meaning of dead materialism:—

The method then consists in considering the material basis of society first. Society is looked upon fundamentally as an organisation for the production, distribution, etc., of the material means of life. It is obvious why such a view is put forward in a fully developed form for the first time by a working-class movement. Its state of advancement will depend essentially upon the technique of production (tools; machinery etc.) at its disposal, and the organisation of production, the class-structure, the method and organisation of Government, the religious system, the educational system, the ideas current etc. etc. will be conditioned more or less directly, and more or less closely, by the fundamental basis. In particular what Marx calls the "conditions of production", the class-structure of society and the form of the state and its laws, will at any time tend to conform to the material and human productive forces" in operation.

The evolution of society is thus closely conditioned by the development of the productive forces. Production, distribution, communication, etc. improve both qualitatively, and quantitatively, irregularly, but fairly continuously, as the result of the invention of instruments, the discovery of materials and sources of energy, improved organisation of labour etc. etc. That the evolution of

the productive forces is conditioned by invention, organisation etc. may appear to be a denial of the "materialistic" theory and some critics urge this argument. The conditions of production social, legal, etc., necessarily require adaptation to alteration in the forces of production. A given social structure can usually adapt itself more or less peaceably to minor changes, but repeatedly in history, the accumulated effect of changes in the productive forces has become so great that mere adaptations or reforms have been insufficient, and the whole society is overthrown and a new one erected. Such is the real occasion of all social revolutions.

But the means whereby reforms or revolutions are achieved requires study. Society is not a conscious body. It cannot adapt itself until it is established on a class-less basis. Only communist society can undertake systematically to provide for its own future, and the Soviet Republics' early efforts to do this have already attracted the anxious attention of far-sighted bourgeois economists. For this reason Marx (Critique of Political Economic) describes capitalism as "the closing chapter of the *prehistoric* stage of human society". As changes become necessary in the social structure, the need for change finds expression in a growing antagonism between various classes in the community. Changes in production increase the Wealth or importance of some classes, and decrease those of others. The class of owners of the dominant means of production (slaves in ancient society, land under feudalism, factories, etc. under industrial capitalism, and soon) usually establish complete control of political power and the state, and also control directly, or ally themselves with the class which controls, religious ideas and the educational system.

The old classes cling to the state power and the obsolete laws and practices which they had designed in their own interest, the rising classes advance the demand for suitable changes in the social structure. The conflict of ideas (frequently, in the past, of religious ideas, more or less clearly expressing the fundamental needs of the contending parties) develops into a political, and often into a physical struggle. "The history of all existing societies," says the Communist Manifesto, "is the history of class struggles." This conception of class-struggle and the role of social classes in history, is of the greatest importance.

Social classes are considered to have arisen in primitive society with the introduction of the institution of private property in the means of production. (And all class conflicts since then have been essentially connected with property relations. With the complete abolition, under Communism, of private property in the means of production serious class conflicts will probably disappear.)

** (Some lines crossed out.) **

It is unnecessary here to follow the complicated history of the struggle which have accompanied the evolution of production from primitive tribal society, with its few simple tools and domestic animals, to the present highly complicated internationally-extended economic and political system. It is only necessary to bring out the chief deductions from this history which can be applied to the present day, the stage of the domination of the bourgeois.

In the first place the development of the productive forces is going on indeed at a greater pace than even before, and is demanding alteration of the property relations. (In which direction?) It is to be expected, from the example of all history, that in consequence class struggles will spring up, and bring about these changes. This is the case. (Hear some lines are cut off.) Even these minor conflicts are not always peaceful cf. the French "Revolutions" of 1830 and 1848, which were essentially of this type (vide. R.W. Postgate "Revolution 1789-1906.") The pressing of the British Reform Bill of 1832, a decisive stage in the transfer of power from the landowning-merchant bloc to the industrial capitalists, was accompanied by serious civil disorder. But even in the time of Marx, and it has become increasingly clear ever since then, or far more fundamental class struggle, that between the capitalist class as a whole, and the industrial workers, was rending society asunder. More and more definitely society is living up into two camps; minor differences disappear, and the stage seems set for a classical case of a decisive class struggle.

Second: Class struggles in the past e.g., in ancient Rome between the slaves and their masters, definite and fundamental though they may have been, have passed off without a decisive engagement, owing to the growth and intervention of some new property-owing class, or similar occurrence. Is such an event possible in this case? Or alternatively, as some bourgeois theorists seem to hold, is it possible that capitalism will maintain itself indefinitely, either by sheer force or by continued concession to the working-class?

To the former question the reply must be negative. Although capitalism in its short history has undergone much international development and change, there is no indication whatever of the rise of any new form of property-relation or social organisation, other than that of the working-class. But see chapter.—The rise of an extensive class of small *rentiers* or stock and bond-holders, has led some bourgeois theorists to predict its extension to cover a large part of the working-class etc. also, and these to constitute a new type of ownership of capital. This is a temporary phase, even in Britain and America, where alone it has become important, and in any case does not alter the situation fundamentally. As regards the second question,

the possibility must not be overlooked, though it is much reduced by the maintenance up to the present of the Soviet Republics, that capitalism will be able, by its enormous wealth and control of technical and military resources if not to preserve itself from collapse, at any rate to prevent the establishment of the control of the working-class. But as for the possibility of the perpetuation of capitalism, again the reply is negative. Marx's theoretical analysis, confirmed to the full by the later experience, leaves no room for doubt that capitalism is an essentially unstable system. (See next chapter) It is socialising product. Thus the T. O. occurrence at some stage of a decisive conflict, in which the working-class will be victorious, is highly probable.

Third, the class struggle which we are now witnessing, is of an unprecedented character. It is a struggle against all private property in the means of production. Its successful outcome will mean the establishment of a totally new kind of society, in which property, the chief root of social conflict, will have been abolished, in which equality of men can be established; in which the scientific control of society in its own interests will become possible. In short the utopia which idealists of all times have imagined, will at last become capable of realisation. And it is the industrial working-class which will carry through this fundamental revolution in human affairs. All other classes, however, cultured and idealistic their members may be, are dragged along by capitalism, and can hardly contemplate, let alone lead, a revolt against it. That is not to say that exceptional individuals from the middle-class etc. may not give valuable assistance to the cause of communism. But they can do so only by indentifying themselves with the working-class. The day-to-day struggle is fought mainly by the working class, and entirely on the basis of its interests, demands and slogans. The working-class is necessarily the leading section in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. And in the working-class today, deplorable as its position is, can be seen more clearly than anywhere, the embryo of mankind of the future. The working-class is on its way to becoming socialised; it has largely discarded that predatory individualism which distinguishes other sections of humanity, and renders unified and intelligent action almost impossible; in its actual economic position it foreshadows the state of things when each will give to society according to his ability, and receive from it according to his needs.

This accounts for the great importance which Marx and all Marxists attach to the working-class. They see in it the only possible force which can bring into existence an ordered and decent state of society. They see in the working-class struggle, not a selfish and sordid effort to improve its own position at the expense of others, but a training and preparation for its great struggle of the future which will benefit enormously the whole of mankind.

The only way in which idealists can assist in the attainment of a better system of Society is by assisting in the revolutionary education and organisation of the working-class.

FOURTH: because of this unprecedented character and the decisive change in society which it will bring about, the present class-struggle is of exceptional acuteness. It is not a question of the transfer of power from one section of the ruling and exploiting class to another; it is a question of the abolition of exploitation and class-rule. Moreover the bourgeoisie in its attack upon Communism, feels that it is defending not only its class interests, and those of all exploiting classes, but culture and civilisation itself. It is unable to conceive of a civilisations which embraces the whole of mankind. Almost all civilisations up to the present have been the product of a small ruling and exploiting class, and moreover have been merely national in scope. Internationalism is of course incomprehensible and not repulsive to imperialists. Thus the bourgeoisie is enabled to rally to its side important sections of the educated and middle-class, and to give to its resistance a vigour and an idealism-- mistaken though it may be--which it could not otherwise possess. The conflict will be, and actually is, extremely violent and uncompromising. Any concessions made by the bourgeoisie are granted to temporarily, superior force, or as manoeuvres to disarm its foes. If the working class, by peaceful and "constitutional" means or otherwise really threatens its interests, capitalism will go to any lengths of brutality and dishonesty to defeat it. This has been shown on many occasions, from the French Revolution of 1848 and the British "Chartist Movement" onwards. The notion widely prevalent among workers and their "leaders" that capitalism can be conquered peacefully is a means for disarming the working-class. It also follows from the necessarily stubborn and violent character of the struggle that the regime after the workers' seizure of power cannot immediately be a fully democratic one. The workers' Government must retain for some time considerable arbitrary powers of suppression of opposition movements. The "dictatorship of the proletariat" will have to be established.

FIFTH, the struggle of the working class is an international one. Capitalism, which as Marx points out, has been an extremely revolutionary force in world history, has established all the conditions for the attainment of the ideals of world peace and the international control of the general affairs of mankind. It has established adequate means of communication; it has destroyed or absorbed all earlier types of civilisation, and with its rapidly spreading railways, machinery, electricity and chemistry, has brought, or is trying the productive forces of the whole world up to the same technical level. In spite therefore of many important differences, the fundamentals of the situation in all countries are

coming more and more to conform to the theoretical pattern here sketched.

But capitalism politically has never progressed beyond the national bounds in which it grew up, and its imperialist expansion tends rather to accentuate the division between the chief capitalist powers of the world. It even makes extensive use of national prejudices to bolste up its power among other strata of the population.

But the working class has fundamentally no national interests. It can proceed without great difficulty to an international consciousness, and in fact even before Marx's time, the working class in Europe had shown evidence of its international solidarity. By this time internationalism prove an essential part not merely of the theory, but of the practice of the working-class movement.

SIXTH, the key to the understanding of past history, historical materialism and the theory of class-struggle retain their value as a guide to modern politics. All political movements are based essentially upon class interests. A little amplification of these statements is not out of place. Opponents often attempt to discredit the Materialist conception of history, by substituting for it what is called "Economic Determinism", which is stated to mean the theory that every person always acts in accordance with his individual economic interests. This theory is manifestly untrue, and if applied to historical events is often quite unsound, even as a first approximation. Historical Materialism makes no such assertion. In the first place it deals with classes only. And in any case it is a method, not a dogma. It indicates that in any given series of events, the structure and development of economic class interests is to be examined first, as it is usually found that these exercise a dominating, though of course never an exclusive, influence on affairs. But in any instance there will be determining the course of things an infinity of influences which may be traced ultimately to material foundations but which may cut across immediate economic interests. It is usually sufficient to isolate and and name only a small number, or even one, of these influences--- and almost invariably that one is the immediate economic interest of the class in question.

It is clear that at periods when "events more quickly", and especially in the modern world, when economic and political development is taking place at an unprecedented speed, this necessary simplification is nearer to the truth. While in periods of relative stagnation, when the "Superstructure" which society erects upon the economic basis becomes more elaborate and rigid, the interpretation of events is a more complicated matter. Political parties or similiar forces always represent some class or grouping of classes. It is not necessary that the leading members of the party

should be all, or even predominantly, members of the class which they represent, though that is usually the case. And it is common for ruling-class parties, which have continually to deceive the majority of their supporters, who are members of the exploited classes, to clothe their predatory policy in idealistic words. But the actions of a party are far more consistent than its composition or its propaganda, and can always be traced to the real class interests which dominate the party. In order to judge of a given political situation, and especially to conduct political action, it is essential to analyse the given situation from the point of view of objective economic developments, and the reaction to them of the class interests concerned. (for analysis of the present situation of India from their point of view, see chapter 7).

Finally, a word must be said on a subject which has proved a fruitful source of controversy among followers of Marxian ideas. Marx in his youth was a student of Hegel, and throughout his works are to be found traces of that influence. He formulated his theory of class struggle in Hegelian terms, and continuously used the Hegelian expressions "dialectical development" etc. This has led some Marxists, to read into history the same mystical predestination that Hegel ascribed to the development of the "idea", and therefore to regard the ultimate victory of the working-class and the establishment of socialism as a complete certainty. Thus an attitude of fatalism and quietude is engendered. Although some of Marx's enthusiastic propaganda may lend colour to the suggestion that he regarded the victory of the workers as certain, his actual work in no way supports this view. He was in fact extremely energetic in propaganda and organisation, and anxiously seized every opportunity to advance the workers' cause in a revolutionary direction. In any case, the idea is untenable. Marxists, with other scientific persons, may assume the truth of determinism. But to assume determinism is not to acquire omniscience. Especially in the social sciences, it is humanly impossible to take account of all the relevant data, and therefore it is impossible to predict with certainty. All we can do and all that any Marxist pretends to do is to indicate the broad possibilities of development, and to estimate the influence upon events of our actions. And, as Marxists are concerned not so much "to interpret the world" as "to change it", they will see that their actions have the maximum effect in the direction they desire.

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Manifesto of C. P. I. to all Workers.

Comrades!

The working-class is now entering upon a period of trouble and suffering, of great dangers and great opportunities, which it will have to face solidly as a class if it is to avoid many further years of slavery and degradation. We have recently passed through big strikes, and we shall soon have to fight many more. A big crisis is coming in industry—and the Govt. is showing in the T. D. Bill and P. S. Bill what sort of reception it is preparing. The political events of the last few months, constituting a series of demonstrations by the masses of the people and of answering acts of repression by the Government, show that a crisis in the struggle for national freedom is also approaching. The news from Afghanistan, from China, from America and from Europe, all go to show that a big world-war is coming in the near future. Then we shall see probably a great attack by all the imperialist powers to crush the Workers' Republics of Russia. Or one group of Imperialist robbers will fight another group, and there will be a hideous slaughter of the masses of the people by war, by disease and by famine, and awful suffering, through high prices and low wages, hunger and slave-driving for the remainder, all for the selfish purposes of the capitalist masters of the world.

In spite of all efforts lasting for many years now, to improve them, the workers are still living in terrible conditions of poverty, sickness, ignorance and oppression. They are gradually developing a consciousness of these evils and a will to abolish them. They are now slowly realising that in order to get better conditions, they have only one means to depend upon—their ability to fight solidly for them against the capitalist class. And in spite of all difficulties and defeats, they are fighting, and will continue to fight.

But the working class cannot remain satisfied with the struggle as it is. The Trade Union movement even as it exists, is weak and disorganised, and misled by the bourgeoisie. Strikes fail more often than not. The capitalist Government uses all means of violence and coercion to break the workers' fight. The future under Capitalism promises only blacker reaction, more terrible oppression, destruction of the Trade Unions, worse condition of life. The system of imperialism all over the world is declining and collapsing, and as it falls, it drags down with it the working class and the poor and helpless into the lowest depths of misery.

The working class must fight against this. The working class is the only force which can withstand the downward rush of civilisation. It is the only force which can reorganise society anew, and abolish the evils of the system as it exists. The working-class while fighting for the improvement of conditions must aim further and higher. It must aim at no less than the reorganisation of society on a better basis—it must fight for workers' rule, for socialism, for communism. The bourgeoisie and of the officials and police, in seeking a cause for the 'unrest' for the workers, all blame Communism. We thank them for showing that communism is the right policy for the workers.

Comrades! the crisis is approaching. Very soon we shall be crushed under the new Trade Disputes Act. Very soon war will again be upon us. Again the bourgeois nationalist of the Congress are putting themselves at the head of the mass movement, as they did seven years ago, simply in order to betray it. Why did the great mass movement of that time collapse, leaving Imperialism still victorious and the masses still in the depths of degradation of poverty? Because the leadership was in the hands of the bourgeoisie, who were drawn by their class interests towards imperialism, and betrayed and deceived the masses.

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475 We must not be deceived this time! We must not allow this second opportunity to go by) by differences of a personal or trivial character. It is indeed the fact that at no stage was there any difference or discussion on a question of political principle.

It may be remarked in passing that because of this circumstance this split is almost unique in history. When Mr. Srinivas Iyengar wished to obtain the leadership of the Congress Party, he did at least pretend that he had some important difference of policy with Pt. Motilal Nehru. He deceived nobody, but he maintained the decencies of bourgeois politics. It is very deplorable that the serious politics of the proletariat should be carried on with even less regard for principle.

Nevertheless, it is the purpose of this essay to show that beneath the personalities at work, there is a divergence of a political character. It is not suggested that there is any sharp cleavage, or that the split has divided the persons concerned into two ideologically well-defined groups. In particular, it is not claimed that the Party as a whole is or has been free from all the political errors alleged against the dissidents. There is as usual in human affairs a gradation, and on the whole, and roughly, those who incline in one direction have separated from those who incline the other way.

(4) What then in this conflict and the events connected with it, are the ideological and political manifestations? The principal seem to be as follows:—

(a) The predominance of personalities. The curious absence of any political element from the disputes has been remarked. *Personal motives* are throughout of the greatest importance. (Ambition, to become secretary, or what not; blind friendship and devotion to individuals or subordinate groups rather than to the Party as a whole; spite or envy, on the part of certain non-members, who, as is well known, took a prominent hand). *Personal issues* were chosen to fight on, with hardly any colouring of principle to disguise their nakedness. (Who should be Gen. Sec; who should be on the E. C.; "Just so-and-so" was in effect the slogan of the dissident group; even the "arbitrary conduct" of the President") (Illegible) *Personal attacks* were employed to conduct the fight. The whole affair depended upon a wide-spread campaign both with the Party and without of slander against individuals. (So-and-so is not a revolutionary; is pro-British; shows favour to such-and-such; and neglects some-body-else; misappropriates the Party funds; even—"is a spy". Two or three members who in the Conference voted against the dissidents were assailed with similar hints and libels).

The value of all this for our diagnosis is clear. The proletariat even at its worst and most corrupt, never treats politics with such levity. This is characteristically the behaviour of the petty-bourgeoisie, to whom politics is not a serious question of the fate of classes and peoples, but is a career or a hobby.

(b) Closely related psychologically to the last point, and equally striking is the *conspiratorial* method of organisation and attack. There is some evidence to show that planning and propaganda had been going on for several months prior to the Conference, but practically no hint of this had reached the ears of those member, against whom the attack was made. The Rec. Com., the Young Comrades' League, and to a certain extent the Party itself, were invaded by partisans of the conspirators, while to swell themselves still further, delegates were brought in from the affiliated (and some unaffiliated) Unions, who were in some cases not members of the Unions concerned, and were not members of the Party.

There is a striking historical parallel between these tactics and those employed by Bakunin and his anarchist followers in attempting to "capture" the International in 1869-72. The most important accusation made by the Marxists against Bakunin was that he caused his followers to enter the International with their

(It should be said in justice to the members thus attacked that their behaviour in this matter at least has been almost blameless. It did not take two to make a quarrel. Although attacked both in private and in the press, in some cases with scandalous libels, they have refrained from retaliation and even from replying. To accuse them of "forming a clique" against the dissidents, or of "venting personal spite" against any of them, as has been done, is absurd).

organisation, which was pledged to support him, still secretly in existence. There is of course all the difference in the world between open fraction fighting on the basis of principle, and secret fraction organisation on the basis of personalities.

The parallel is too close to be accidental. This characteristic alone would be almost enough to justify us in branding the dissidents as anarchists. It should be noticed also that anarchism is essentially an individualist philosophy.

(c) This view is borne out by the close association of the dissident group with terrorism. Almost all the persons concerned have been at one time or another imprisoned or interned for their connection with the terrorist revolutionary movement. And though they have no immediate intention of reviving this tactic, there can be little doubt that they have not shed all terrorist prejudices. The Indian movement was not by any means consistently anarchist in the theory, but was strongly tinged with it, and the psychological and historical association of terrorism and anarchism is close.

(d) Another indication pointing in the same direction is the marked opposition to discipline shown by the dissident group. The most striking instance is the policy previously mentioned of introducing as accredited delegates to the Conference persons whose claims to be present were flimsy or non-existent. It is equally objectionable from this point of view that the dissident group submitted to manipulation in Party questions by these and other non-members, some of whom are well known to be hostile to the Party. Some of the dissidents appear to observe a dual allegiance for acting as members of other groups and parties whose leaders are hostile to the Party. There have been many minor indications of the same type, such as the desire to be "in confidence" in regard to matters which are properly confined to the knowledge of one or two members; neglect to pay subscriptions; neglect to sell or circulate the Party organ; even down to the constant failure to return books borrowed from the Party's none-too-well stocked library.

(e) A political error of which Party members have been guilty in the past, is often associated with an anarchist deviation. This is the tendency to an "ultra-left" isolation from the labour movement as a whole. Several members of the Party for some time refused to attend the meetings of the Bengal T. U. Fed., although they were entitled to go as delegates. Similarly the same members for some time "boycotted" the Bauria Jute Workers' Strike, on the ground that it was led by reformists.

(It is interesting to recall that Bakunin in his attacks upon Marx employed personal abuse of a low type. He made use of the fact that Marx was a Jew, and accused him of forgery and of being an agent of Bismarck).

(f) It is possible to trace the same anarchist ideology in minor indications, such as the marked tendency to concentrate propaganda & activity upon the middle-classes, as shown in the formation by this group of the Socialist Youth League, and the Unemployed Youth League. (It is no exaggeration to say that "Youth" in the political sense in India is synonymous with with "petty bourgeois.") Their complete dominance in the Young Comrades' League is similar sign. (Traces of this tendency may be found in the Chairman's (a party member of the group) address to the Socialist Youth Conference Calcutta.

Dec. 1928:—"The Youth movement must be the nursery to train the future free citizens of free India" and "The radical minded youth is the sard of India."

On one occasion at least prominent (non-Party) members of the group have expressed objection to allowing workers to speak in a Trade Union meeting.

It is tempting to cite the view put forward half seriously by a prominent (non-Party) member of the group, that the best revolutionary material, on which the Party should concentrate its efforts, is to be found not among the industrial workers, but among the (illegible) proletariat, the roughs and criminals of the cities. This is of course a direct link with Bakunism.

(g) Finally it is permissible perhaps to point out another characteristically anarchist idea in "Some Aspects of Ind. Socl." published in connection with the Socialist Youth League. In addition to the appeal to the petty bourgeoisie there is a clear tendency towards Utopianism (one of the many strands in the complex thread of anarchist thought'. Thus (p. 5) "—it is thought desirable—to bring in the cult of socialism as an experimental measure in the course of the uphill journey towards the goal of independence....." and (p. 7) "As for socialism in the constructive aspect, it may be attempted with great advantage in carrying on certain experiments in socialism:" and (p. 8) "In small areas, by a sort of voluntary cooperation introduced among the masses, they may receive their preliminary training in holding land and capital in common...." etc. The central anarchist doctrine may also perhaps be deleted in the same. (p. 2) "Socialism means an all-round liberation of the individual man from the bandage of the Church, the State and the society...."

(It should be said that the author of "Some Aspects" has taken no part in the events here discussed, but his close association with the group in question suggests some community of ideas).

(5) The anarchist trend in the ideology of this group (and to some extent of the Party generally) may thus be taken as established. But there exists also, what is at first sight a contradictory tendency, towards capitulation to the Congress and to reformist Trade Unionism. There is however, no ultimate contradiction. It will be remembered that in the history of the revolutionary working-class movement, "left" deviations (towards syndicalism, anarchism, etc.) and "right" (towards reformism), have very frequently been associated, not only in the same groups, but in the same individuals. The social roots of the two tendencies are the same—Plechanoff remarks that the anarchists are merely the *enfants terribles* of the bourgeoisie. The psychological roots are not dissimilar. To take an obvious instance: the tendency to look for revolutionary material among the petty bourgeoisie on the one hand and the slum-proletariat on the other, is a result of lack of confidence in the revolutionary possibilities of the industrial workers. This, turned, as it were, the other way round, is but the view of the reformists.

The chief facts which go to show the influence Congress, or of bourgeois nationalist ideology among the dissidents are as follows :

(a) the inclusion in the groups and even in its leadership, of a number of active Congressmen, both ex-terrorists and others.

(b) the tendency towards cooperation with the Congress shown by the Bengal Jute Workers' Union, which is under the control of this group. At the last Annual Meeting three Congressmen were quite unnecessarily placed in prominent official positions in the Union. The very bulky Report of the Union has been published in "Abmasakti" and "Forward". It is to be noticed that for some time the work and propaganda of this Union has been notoriously and increasingly reformist. There is also a tendency to associate with other Congress reformist labour leaders, e. g. in E. I. Ry. Union.

(c) The conduct of the Party members in the Bauria Jute workers' strike. After some time the initial mistake, of abstention, was corrected. But when Party members assisted in the strike, their policy showed an opposite error. Instead of cooperating with the strike leadership and criticising its lapses or mistakes, they launched a campaign of personal recrimination and abuse against the leaders. There is no doubt that the demoralisation thus produced contributed towards the collapse of the strike. Similarly the policy pursued in the Lillooah Strike tended to degenerate into mere subservience to the reformist leadership of the Union.

(d) attempts to utilise nationalist prejudice. The dissidents' group's report of the events at the Calcutta Conference ("Forward"; 26/12/1928) contains a blatant attempt to arouse hostility towards an "English Communist" because of his nationality. Similarly members of the Party have been denounced by some of the dissidents as "pro-British", because of their association with another "English" Communist. (A similar tendency is seen in the openly expressed aim of the dissident group, to secure that the headquarters of the Party should be in Bengal. This was in part no doubt an attempt to rally the followers of the group by an appeal to provincial patriotism).

(6) The political tendency of the opposition group may thus fairly be characterised as at bottom petty-bourgeois, showing itself principally in very typical deviations both to the "left" (anarchism) and to the "right" (reformism and nationalism). This diagnosis is of interest and value as casting light upon the probable future of the "People's Party". But it is clear that the political difference which exists, important though it may be, is not by itself a sufficient explanation of the split. Especially is this so, since the existence of the political divergence is not clearly recognised on either side.

To state the real causes of the quarrel is indeed difficult. Any assignable cause seems inadequate to explain so startling an occurrence. The aim of an ambitious leader, or of a intriguing outsider, would be, it is to be supposed, to control, not to destroy, the Party. The dissident group probably did not at first intend to split. Even if every allowance is made for the development of sectarian passion it is still hard to see why a quarrel having such slight origins should extend to such lengths especially as on one side at least, a fairly successful effort was made to maintain a conciliatory attitude. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that there was in operation some influence more consistently malicious even than the ambitions and jealousies which obviously played their part, whose aim was definitely not to control the Party but to destroy it.

(It is interesting to recall signs of a definite class-consciousness such as the refusal to sell the Party organ in public. This is no doubt felt to be a menial occupation).

(There is some recognition of it, though it is possibly not clear, as is shown by a remark of a prominent member of the dissident group during the Conference. He referred to his followers as the "left wing" of the Party).

7. An interesting question which has been raised in the course of this dispute is to account for the apparently unusual predominance of personalities in Bengal politics.

Or X meets Y casually in the street, and informs him that Z has said that he (Y) is a fool (or a spy, or a bourgeois or what not) Y does not want to reflect upon the inherent improbability of the report, still less to consider the importance or inquire into the truth. He proceeds to revenge himself upon Z by the curious method of getting up an intrigue to "smash" the Party of which Z happens to be a member. The reason is for to seek. Bengal is distinguished perhaps beyond any country in the world for discontent against its Government and at the same time for the possession of a very numerous class of needy intellectuals. Under the severest economic pressure many will be found ready to do anything for money, while even if that inducement is absent, many are only too eager to sell their unemployed talents in mere mischief making. Such to the bewildered outsiders, is politics in Bengal. It is well known what havoc this business has caused in past yrs. in the T. U. movement. It seems now to have entered the Party. Is it too much to ask all the sincere persons concerned to unite to keep it out? Of course Bengal is not an exception (Illegible).

(8) As has been said, it is not maintained that the W. & P. Party is opposed to the "People's Party", is completely free from the errors and deviations which have been considered here. But there can be no doubt that its theoretical equipment is sounder, and it is more conscious of its faults and is ready to correct them. The "People's Party" on the other hand, starts its life under the most unfavourable auspices, with a dangerous theoretical and ideological bias, under the shadow of a network of dirty intrigue and wirepulling, burdened with the association of a load of shady and unscrupulous opportunists. Consider for a moment the situation which we have to face. The mass revolutionary movement is rising; internal and international development are heading rapidly for crisis of the most severe and far reaching type. The T. D. Bill and who knows what other repressive measures will soon be upon us. The repression of our movement has in fact already begun. But

A wishes to gain the favour of B, (Govt. Dept. or an important institution or merely some wealthy individual). He finds that he cannot do so unless he can show that he is influential enough to make it worth B's while to pay him. He casts about for some opportunity, and lights upon a mass of partially organised workers. So he starts a rival Union, or (preferably: it is easier) he approaches C and D, prominent members of the existing Union, and organises a "clique" with them to oust the unsuspecting E, and installs him (A) in his place. With complete disregard for truth and the interests of the Union members E is set upon with the vilest calumnies, and is rapidly hounded out. A, now an Important Personage, a Labour Leader, pockets B's subsidy.

we are yet in a state of almost pitiful unpreparedness. The bourgeoisie are still practically unchallenged as leaders of the masses, in spite of the ridiculous inadequacy of their cloth-burning programme, *simply because of our weakness*. Is this the time for the only Marxists and revolutionists of the country, few as they are, to fight among themselves over trivialities and jealousies?

It is to be hoped that it will not be vain finally to appeal to all in the Party who have not yet made their choice—even to those sincere men who have made their choice and left the Party—to consider the matter anew, in the light of the facts here given, to neglect the Wiles of the wreckers, and provocateurs, to spurn the ambitions of the egoists and careerists, and rally round the Workers' and Peasants' Party, which with all its faults is the only Marxist revolutionary organisation in the country, and with all its weakness, is the only body capable of providing that correct and energetic leadership which the movement needs.

P. 527. (9)

The Split in the W. P. Party.

(1) As is now well known, a serious split occurred among the Bengal delegates to the First All-India W. and P. Party Conference, which was held in Calcutta in Dec. last. Far from healing with time, as was expected by some, this split has now widened and has resulted in a complete and open breach.

Up to the present, that matter has received insufficient attention from members of the Party, who have been too ready to assume that it is simply a "personal" quarrel. So serious an event, having as it may very important consequences for the movement demands analysis and study. What follows is an attempt to make such an analysis, and to draw the obvious conclusions.

(2) First, a brief history, though the events are well-known will not be out of place. To many the first indication of difference within the Party was provided by the events on the third day of the Calcutta Conference. There had however, been minor, though important, differences previously. About 18 months before, the question had arisen of the admission to the Party of certain individuals. Their admission was supported by the present dissidents but rejected by the remainder of the Committee on the ground that they were not genuine supporters of the Party policy of mass action, but were still in their outlook and sentiment terrorists; (and further that they were persons of almost universal ill-repute, who could only do the Party harm in the eyes of the public). The same proposal had been brought up and again rejected a year later.

Another indication of difference had been provided in 1927 by the formation by the same dissident group with no apparent or stated reason of an independent organisation with its own office and journal, which could only be intended as a rival to the Party.

This however was soon abandoned. None the less the developments at the Calcutta Conference were completely unexpected by all except those in the dis. group.

On the third day of the Conference this group brought forward an amendment to the proposed constitution that the Gen. Sec. of the Party should be directly elected by the Annual Conference. This was evidently designed to secure the election as Gen. Sec. of the proposer of the amendment, who as Sec. of the Rec. Com. had packed the Conference with his supporters, several of whom were not members of the Party or of any organisation entitled to representation. The amendment however, aroused strong opposition and was dropped.

In the election of a National Executive Committee, the number of candidates put forward from Bengal was five, to fill four places. The dissident group supported four, and other Bengal members another four. After discussion it was agreed to take the vote province by province. The Bengal members voted by a large majority for the nominees of the dissident group, but the other three provinces were declared to have voted for the other four. The latter were then declared elected. At this, the two dissident members among those elected withdrew their names, and the whole group walked out. The dissidents subsequently gave as an explanation of their behaviour, their indignation at the arbitrary conduct of the President and their objection on principle to the presence in the National E. C. of the individual against whom they had voted. This later point is discounted by the fact that on the previous day they had asked the same man to join with them for the purpose of 'ousting' the General Secretary of the Bengal Party.

The dispute was settled within a few days by the return of the two members to the National E. C. But it soon became apparent that the division which had been created had not been repaired. The dissident group established a new headquarters. They caused to be held, without the knowledge of the Party, an Annual Meeting of the affiliated Jute Workers' Association and appointed as three of the officials Congress-men of whom the Party could not approve. After a few minor brushes in connection with payment of subscription etc., the bulk of the dissident group resigned *en bloc*, and announced the formation of a new "People's Party".

(3) Such, in brief outline, were the events which led to the breach. Other events and circumstances are relevant and important and some will be referred to later. But enough has been said to show that to all appearance the breach was caused *by* — *r*⁶

Yet still to-day bourgeois 'leaders' are controlling the movement. In spite of all their talk of "the masses", they are still burning foreign cloth— as if that will get independence! They are still giving imperialism "another chance" as if they are not certain that imperialism is their enemy! The bourgeois labour leaders are still trying to enter into co-operation with Imperialism through the Whitley Commission. They still hold back the development of the labour movement splitting and disorganising it for their own class purposes.

How can we stop this nonsense? How can we see that the masses are properly lead to the struggle? Only by taking the lead in *our own hands-into the hands of the working-class*. Only by pressing

the real policy of the working-class i. e., the policy of Communism. Only by building up the real workers' Political Party, the Communist Party.

Communism is based on the *class-struggle*. In society now we see more and more clearly two classes—owners and workers.

The owners are few, rich, powerful and educated, they control the Government, the police, the law courts, the prisons, the army and navy, the newspapers, the industries. The workers are many, poor, weak and ignorant, they are always oppressed by the forces at the disposal of the capitalists. The owners, in order to get their riches from the work done by the workers, exploit them to the utmost; they get as much work out of the workers as they can and pay them as little as they can. This is the class-struggle which the workers all know which shows itself in poverty, insanitation, ignorance, child-mortality, in victimisation, suppression of the workers political activity, the Trade Dispute Bill, starvation, beating and shooting upon workers on strike.

The policy of the Communist Party to end this struggle, which brings with it so much misery and degradation, is for the workers to *fight and win it*. The workers must defeat the capitalists decisively, must oust them, and become themselves the owners of industry, and possessors of state power, controlling education, health policy, the police-force and law courts, the army and navy, and all the apparatus of society. Then, and only then, when there have been established workers' rule, *Socialism*, will the working class be properly cared for, properly paid, not exploited, educated free.

The working class must conquer power, as the working-class of Russia has done, and establish its own dictatorship, when the efforts of the capitalists to get back what they have lost, will be suppressed with all the power of the state. Then the wealth and power wielded today by the capitalists will be used, not as now for selfish purposes, but for the advancement of civilisation, the feeding of the poor, the education of the ignorant the healing of the sick. Then under the dictatorship of the workers, will be established that socialism which all progressive thinkers for centuries have imagined when all men and women will really be equal, when "from each will taken be by society according to his ability, and to each will be given accordingly to his need".

Will the workers' Trade Unions do this? No, they cannot. The Communist Party calls upon all workers to join Trade Union, and build them up as strongly as possible, and take part in their fight for improvements. It is necessary that the Union be freed from bourgeois congressmen and imbued with the militant policy and theory of Communism. But the Unions alone cannot conduct

the fight for political power, cannot establish the dictatorship of the workers, nor bring about socialism.

Will the workers' and Peasants' Party do these things? No; again, the W. and P.P. is a necessary stage. It gathers together all forces for the first fight against Imperialism for the independence of the country. The workers and the Unions must support the W. and P.P., and help and take the lead in the policy for which it stands—the fight of the poor, the peasants, the clerks, the shop-keepers, as well as the workers, against Imperialism and for national independence.

But, the Workers' own Party, the Communist Party is also needed—is needed most of all. The working class is the most important factor in the struggle of the poor masses. The workers are the only section which will fight determinedly and consciously, and the section which can fight most effectively. The peasants will be but passive followers of the working class; the petty bourgeoisie will vacillate from side to side. Only the workers, drilled and disciplined in factory life and exploitation, in command of the vital industrial forces and lines of communism of society, can and will fight to the end. And the workers are the only section which will fight for more than their immediate aims—they with a social consciousness, a knowledge of the needs of the situation, they will fight for socialism.

This is the need of the Communist party to organise and discipline and lead the fight of the workers, and this of all the oppressed, out of the deep pit of imperialism, on to the heights of socialism. All the best and most conscious and militant of the workers must band themselves together in the ranks of the Communist Party, and educate and train and discipline themselves, to form that vanguard which alone can lead the masses. (The Com. Party is still very small and very young. It has a great and difficult task to perform. It is the special object of the repressive measures of the enemy. It has little time in which to prepare itself. Big crisis are coming in the very near future, in which the working-class must act decisively if it is to be saved. The workers must organise now their vanguard the Communist Party, if they are to emerge victorious. We call upon all workers to join the Communist Party, and help forward the great cause of the exploited and oppressed throughout the world.

“Down with Imperialism!”

Up with Communism!

Join the Communist Party to Day!

P. 528

"Imperialism—The State and Revolution" by Nikolai Lenin.

P. 529.

A Bengali pamphlet entitled "Sacco and Venzetti" by Dharani Kanta Goswami.

P. 530.

"Workers" Life No. 106, dated 1-2-29.

P. 531.

"Sunday Worker" No. 167 dated 20th May, 1928.

P. 532.

5 copies of "The Labour Monthly"—

- (1) Volume 7, No. 4, for April, 1925.
 - (2) Volume 10, No. 7, for July, 1928.
 - (3) Volume 10, No. 12, for December, 1928.
 - (4) Volume II, No. 1, for January, 1929 and
 - (5) Volume II, No. 2, for February, 1929.
-

P. 533

"Sunday Worker" No. 166, dated 13th May, 1928.

P. 534.

“Workers' Life” No. 98, dated 7-12-28.

P. 535.

“Sunday Worker” No. 195, dated 2-12-28.

P. 536.

A pamphlet entitled “India and the Next War” by Miss Agnes Smedley (Berlin, Germany)—Published by The Kirti office, Amritsar (India).

P. 537.

17 copies of Ganavani.

P. 538.

"Manifesto of the communist Party" by Karl Marx
Frederich Engels.

P. 539.

"Gandhi vs Lenin" by S. A. Dange—Publishers:—Liberty
Literature Co., Bombay No. 2.

P. 540.

"Communism" by R. Palme Dutt

P. 541.

Issues of "Sunday Worker": No. 164, dated 29-4-28 No. 166, dated 13-5-28, No. 167, dated 20-5-28, No. 168 dated 27-5-28, No. 169, dated 3-6-28, No. 170, dated 10-6-28 No. 171, dated 17-6-28, No. 177 dated 29-7-28.

P. 542.

Issues of "Spark"

- (1) Volume 1 No. 1, dated 10-2-29.
- (2) Volume 1 No. 6, dated 10-3-29.
- (3) Volume 1 No. 5, dated 3-3-29.

P. 544.

Star of India file containing the following 3 documents
others.

P. 544 (1)

For Mr. Nimbkar (1) Hartal to be positively declared even
Municipal Union though it is resolved to be partial.

Very urgent. (2) Hand-bill to be drafted for our own men in
very strong language explaining the whole
position and laying out programme of the
day.

(a) Morning meeting at 8 at Feroz Road. Speakers:—
Workers Party and 2 nationalists with Hartal views.
Procession of other workers to go from Parel and
other places to reach at Feroz Road with flags etc.

(b) (Scratched out).

(c) Resolutions:—(1) Boycott campaign.

(2) Swaraj as we want.

(3) (Scratched out).

(4) No conciliation but combination.

(3) Name to be:—Bombay Labours' Hartal Committee.
Call G. I. P.; B. B. Post Trust Postmen; Teleg.;
Govt. Peons' and all else representing.

(4) Expenses to be proportionate to all those who join.

(5) (Scratched out).

(6) Hand-bills to be sent to other centres whose Hartal may
not be resorted to.

- (7) All work to be done under the auspices of the Hartal Com. with Mirajkar and Spratt as Secretary. No violence to be preached.
- (8) Mourning drums to be sounded in procession.
- (9) Full programme to be reported to public continuously for 7 days from now.

P. 544. (2)

Memorandum on Trade Disputes Bill for B. T. U. Fed. Conference 2-9-28.

The Bill is to be divided into three parts.

The first enables the Provincial or Central Government to set up Courts of Enquiry or Conciliation Boards, and to refer any dispute or relevant matter to them. The Courts and Boards will have wide powers to compel the production of evidence etc., and their reports to Government, (in the case of the Boards of their efforts at conciliation are unsuccessful) will be of great weight, and will usually have considerable influence upon the dispute.

It is therefore an important part of the Bill, and one which needs careful consideration on the part of labour.

* In the first place, conciliation and "Impartial Inquiry" are generally to be looked upon as methods which may be of some assistance to labour in regard to obtaining improvements etc. when the state of labour organisation is poor. They cannot be regarded in any case as a substitute for the organised power of labour in its conflict with the employers. Especially in India where the empty class is all-powerful with so-called public opinion with the Government, the law-courts, etc. no alternative to the power of the working-class is ultimately of any use to it, and any restriction upon the freedom of the working class, however innocent or beneficial it may appear at first sight, must be looked upon with suspicion, as being capable of use or distortion in opposition to interests.

This Bill provides for the establishment of the Boards or Courts by the Government. The Government is in fact almost completely under the influence of the capitalist class, and will therefore appoint Courts or Boards in such cases, at such times, with such personnel, etc. as will be of the least advantage to labour. This circumstance alone renders the provision suspect, as being of very doubtful advantage.

But further, the general effect of the existence of externally appointed machinery of conciliation and inquiry upon the labour movement is undoubtedly a bad one. The tendency which it imposes upon the mentality of labour is away from dependence upon its organised strength, and towards dependence upon the abstract "justice" of its cause. For ordinary practical purposes there can be no doubt that the former is the weapon which is more to be relied upon. And for the special political purposes which the Indian Trade Union movement must have in view, it is necessary that it should develop a high degree of organised strength and militancy of spirit. The efforts of the leaders of the labour movement must be to increase this strength and spirit, which are so lacking in the movement at present and to destroy its present object dependence upon the benevolence of outsiders.

For these reasons, the first part of the Bill should be opposed and condemned by this Conference.

The second part of the Bill declares withdrawal of labour from Public Utility Services (Railways, Postal, Telegraphs, Telephones, Water or Light Supplies, Public Conservancy) illegal unless each individual withdrawing obtains permission or gives one month's notice in writing. Failing is punishable with 1 month imprisonment and Rs. 50. Abetment of withdrawal with 3 months and Rs. 500.

This section requires no detailed examination by labour. It not only inflicts a serious hardship upon the individuals of the public services but deprives them, in practice of their collective right to strike. It is probably more drastic than any of the similar provisions prevailing in other countries. From the point of view of the organised labour movement, it deprives it of its largest and hitherto best organised and most militant section, the 7½ lakhs of railwaymen. It is completely (illegible) and objectionable, and must be energetically opposed by labour.

The third section of the Bill (1) declares illegal strikes which (a) have any object other than or in addition to the furtherance of a trade dispute within the trade or industry in question or (b) are designed or calculated to coerce the Government either directly or by inflicting hardship upon the community, (2) declares it illegal to supply money to assist such a strike, (3) specifies that anybody who declares, instigates or incites others to take part in, or act in furtherance of such a strike shall be liable

to 3 months imp. and Rs. 500 fine. (4) protects those who refuse to take part in such a strike from any retaliation etc. on the part of their Union.

* Again analysis of the provisions is hardly necessary. But to take them in order: (1) (a) the labour movement cannot tolerate being prevented from declaring sympathetic strikes. The absence of definition of the terms "trade" or "industry" render this clause liable to very wide interpretation, which may prevent almost any solidarity of action, which is the basic principle of the labour movement. Further, the inability which this clause imposes upon the movement to strike for purposes of demonstration etc. etc. involves the loss of a valuable means of propaganda and organisation. (1) (b) The labour movement must insist upon its right to strike with the direct intention of affecting or coercing the Govt. Even in countries where universal suffrage gives the theoretical right to the working-class to express its views and impose its will by constituted means, the mechanism of suffrage is found so unworkable that the political strike is looked upon as a valuable weapon. All the more than in India, where there is no constitutional means whereby labour can influence the conduct of Govt. the political strikes must be retained.

Further the wording of this clause is so vague that almost any big strike could be brought under it. It therefore constitutes a very serious danger to all sections of labour, in that it may be held to deprive them of their right to declare any serious or large scale strikes.

Clause (2) is dependent upon (1), but in itself tends to destroy even that degree of solidarity which already exists in the labour movement, which is expressed in financial support of one union by another. It is therefore in itself objectionable and adds to the reacting character of the Bill.

Clause (4) by preventing the expulsion of or other redress against blacklegs in such strikes on the part of Unions, and enabling them to claim damages from the Union in the event of expulsion, virtually means the end of a Union which has declared a strike held to be "illegal under this Bill."

In the third section of the Bill, as in the first, the apparent equality of treatment of employers and workers is of course entirely deceptive. It is notorious that legislation of this type normally directed against employers or their organisations, is under a capitalist regime, practically quite ineffective. In any case employers relatively seldom desire to indulge in the kind of activity here declared illegal as they have other effective means of effecting their will. These phrases can be neglected as of no importance.

The Bill as a whole then is objectionable. None of its sections can be accepted by labour, while the second and third sections are extremely dangerous to the labour movement. Taken together—for it forms in fact a consistent whole—its effect will be so to restrict the activities of the labour movement as to make it (a) unable to take any part in the political sphere, either in regard to its immediate purpose of achieving the independence of the country from imperialist rule, or in regard to its ultimate aim of realising socialism, and (b) completely ineffective in regard to its more immediate work of improving conditions for the working class under present political conditions. The activities of the labour movement, political, educational, cultural, parliamentary, trade unionist, etc., all have their basis in the strength of the workers' organisations and the fighting spirit and devotion of their members. The Trade Disputes Bill, will completely prevent the development of a large scale militant movement, and will keep the movement in the situation in which it has existed up to the present, viz. practically without real unions, but simply as a number of committees, largely of outsiders, petty and sectarian in their aims, existing as rather ineffective means of conducting negotiations with employers. The Bill is so objectionable and dangerous to the labour movement that in resistance to it every possible means must be adopted.

(1) In regard to the Assembly. All elected members should be supplied with a memorandum drawn up by this Conference, giving the objection of the labour movement to the Bill, and information as to the other steps which the movement itself is taking.

(2) In regard to the working class, (a) A campaign of meeting, with leaflets etc. must be organised, at which the Bill is wholly condemned, and the resolutions passed are sent to the Press. (b) Mass demonstrations of workers should be held at suitable times in local industrial areas. (c) Propaganda should at the same time be carried on for a one-day general strike or the day when the Bill finally comes before the Assembly, and in favour of an advanced programme for the whole working-class, such as a standard minimum wage, etc. etc. The right should also be demanded for all Unions of Government employees to join the Trade Union Congress. (d) Finally, in order to emphasise the connection of this Bill with the general political policy of imperialism, this Conference should organise and conduct simultaneous propaganda for demonstrations of workers on the occasion of the landing of the Simon Commission.

Spoken in favour by

Mahbub-ul-Huq
& pres. of Emp. Ass.
& M. Daud
& K. L. Ghose
& M. K. Bose

given Rs. 5.

& some other amount
about Rs. 20

- (3) Express sympathy with E. I. B. strikers & leaders, etc. and requests Madras Council and Assembly members to see that repressive measures are withdrawn.

Moved S. C. Bhattacharji
Sec. D. P. Godbole.

Enter Babu Gurdit Singh and 3 other Sikhs (re: Khargpur Communal affairs.)

- (Int. M. K. Bose) B. G. S. speaks in Hindustani— K. L. G. suggests he & I are going there tomorrow & we may do something.

Mahbub-ul-Haq also
M. K. Bose.....
D. P. Godbole.....
M. Daud.....
Gurdit Singh replies.
Latafat.
Lal Mohan Gosh.

- (4) Res. for—of Seamen's Union- Res...that—be req. to go to Khargpur. Much further discussion. Godbole.
S. K. Bose.

- (5) Sympathy for Bauria workers and appeal for funds. Latafat
&

- (6) Press workers grievances.

- (7) Reg. B. P. C. C. in company of T. D. Bill and P. S. Bill and support A. M. Ch.'s Bill and support for Bauria workers.
B. T. U. F. and B. P. C. C. in coopn.

Radheraman and Abdul Huq.

"Labour Week". suggested by Godbole. Protest etc,
collecting money, anna receipt etc. public meetings.
general labour fund.

Discussion. Godbole (Illegible)...self Kishori, Mahbub, Daud
and many others Attached Congress and coopn. of
B. P. C. C.

Kishori repudiates Mahbub.

Daud supports Mahbub more or less.

Invites B. P. C. C. (for purpose of getting coop. of
Assembly Congress Party) to coop with B. T. U. F. in
(Illegible)...with 3 Bills, that meetings be held under joint
auspices also T. U. F. hold meetings for collecting money
etc. etc. and one campaign. accepted.

Many resolutions withdrawn.

- (8) Opposed to both files *in toto* and request Assembly
members to refuse their introduction.
- (9) Whole-hearted support to A. M. Chaudhury's Bill. Copy
sent to Assembly members and press also.

Serial No.	Name and Address.	Officers.	Date of Foundation.	Member-ship.	Affiliation.
1	Corporation Employees' Association Corpn. Office Bdgs. Hogg St. Calcutta.	Pres. S.N. Mukherji. (Councillor) Sec. A. B. Datta.	1924	700	T. U. C.
2	Kankinnara Labour Union Kankinnara (24 Parganas)	Pres. K. C. Ray Choudhury M. L. C. G. Sec. Latafat Hussein M. L. C.	1920-1	1100	T. U. C. (expelled).
3	Bengal Jute Workers' Union 97, Cornwallis St. Calcutta	Ag. Pres. K. D. Bhattacharya. G. Sec. R. Mitra.	1925	8778	T. U. C. W. P. P.
4	Bengal Mariners' Union 7, Ekbalpore Lane, Kidderpore, Calcutta	Pres. M. Daud. G. Sec. M. Abdul Haq.	1920	10,000	T. U. C. I. T. F.
5	Indian Seamen's Union. 7, Ekbalpore Lane, Kidderpore, Calcutta	Pres. M. Daud. Ag. G. Sec. Aftab Ali.	1918	300	T. U. C. I. T. F.
6	Indian Quartermasters' Union 5, Dent Mission Lane, Kidderpore, Calcutta	Pres. M. Daud, Sec. Muzammil Ali.	1925	1532	T. U. C. I. T. F.
7	Port Trust Mariners' and Workers' Union 7, Ekbalpore Lane, Kidderpore, Calcutta	Pres. M. Daud. G. Sec. Mahbubul Huq., M. A, B. L.	1927	3,000	T. U. C.
8	Clerks' Union 97, Clive Street, Calcutta	Pres. K. C. Ray Choudhury. Sec. M. M. Mullick.	1926	500	T. U. C.
9	Port Trust Employees' Association 96/1 Ekbalpore Road, Kidderpore, Cal.	Pres. I. B. Sen Bar-at-Law.	1920	(?)	T. U. C.
10	Employees' Association 72, Canning Street, Cal.	Pres. S. C. Bhattacharya. Sec. M. L. Sircar.	1919	700	T. U. C. (Pub. Eng. monthly "Emp. Gazette").
11	B. N. Ry. Indian Labour Union Kharapur	Pres. V. V. Giri Bar-at-Law. G. Sec. Kashi Nath Muthu.	1921?	15,000	T. U. C. A. I. R. F. (Pub. Eng. monthly "Indian Labour Journal")

Serial No.	Name and Address.	Officers.	Date of foundation.	Membership.	Affiliation.
12	E. B. Ry. Indian Employees' Association 2, Huzurimall Lane, Bowbazar St. Cal.	Pres. I. B. Sen. G. Sec. J. N. Gupta.	1920	13,000	A. I. R. F. (Pub. Eng. bi-monthly "E.B. Ry. Lal. Review").
13	E. I. Ry. Union (Lilloah) Lilloah, Howrah	G. Sec. K. C. Mitra. (Founded as brands 1927, separated.)	1929	11,000	T. U. C. A. I. R. F. (Pub. Bengali weekly "Lal Paltan").
14	Lansdowne Jute Workers' Assn. 99/1M, Cornwallis St. Cal	Pres. K. C. Ray Choudhury. Sec. C. M. Ghosh.	1926	..	T. U. C.
15	Kanchrapara Ry. Workmen's Union Ghotok Rd. Nichubasa, P. O. Kanchrapara, E. B. Ry.	Pres. K. C. Ray Choudhury. Sec. P. B. Sur.	1927	1009	T. U. C.
16	Press Employees' Assn. 34, Bowbazar St. Cal.	Pres. M. K. Bose Kishori Lal Ghose	1906	2000	T. U. C.
17	Howrah Metal Workers' Union 5, Hem Ranerji Lane, Sibpore, Howrah	Pres. Dr. K. L. Ganguli.	1928	..	
18	Tramway Workers' Union 8, Old Post Office St. Cal.	Pres. Dr. B. N. Dutt. Sec. P. K. Sanyal B. A.	1927	3-400	T. U. C.
19	Calcutta Corporation Teachers' Union 2c, Ananda Palit Road. Entally, Calcutta	Pres. Sec. Khulada Nath Maitra	1925	516	Beng. T. U. F
20	Bengal Scavengers' Union 2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta	Pres. Dr. Miss P. B. Gupta G. Sec. D. K. Goswami.	1928		W. P. P.
21	Bengal Textile Workers' Union 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Cal.	Pres. Dr. Miss P. B. Das Gupta. G. Sec. P. M. Das.	1928	1737	T. U. C. W. P. P.
22	Santipore Labour Union Santipore, 24 parganas	Pres. M. Daud.			
23	Registration Employees' Association. 34, Bowbazar Street.	Pres. K. C. Chakravarty. Sec. R. C. Dhur.	1927		
24	B. Ry. Employees' Union T/6, Indian Staff Quarters, B. N. Ry. Compound,	Pres. N. C. Sen Bar-at-law.	1927	350	

	Kidderpore, Calcutta.	G. Sec. N. K. Sircar.			
25	Garden Reach Workers' Union	Pres. P. Spratt.	1926	2-300	
	7, Garden Reach Rd. Matiabruz Calcutta	Ag. Sec. M. K. Sinha.			
26	Bengal Paper Mills Workers' Union	Pres. S. N. Tagore.	1926	286	T. U. C.
	P. O. Bhatpara, E. B. Ry.	G. Sec. G. Chakravarty.			W. P. P.
27	Jamadars' Union	Sriman Beri B. A. B. L.	1919	5-600	(Pub. Hindi weekly.
	159, Machua Bazar St. Cal.	Purushattam Ray.			"Jamadars")
28	Ishapore Ordnance Workers' Union	Pres. P. Spratt.	1928		
	Nawabganj, P. O. Ichhapur, 24 Parganas	Sec. K. D. Bhattacharya.			
29	Angus Engineering Workers' Union	Sec. G. Chakravarty.			
30	Bengal Engineering Workers' Union	Pres. Dr. Miss P. B. Das Gupta.	1929	600	
		Sec. S. N. Chatterji.			
31	Bengal Pottery Workers' Union	Pres. R. Mitra.	1929		
32	Bengal Transport Workers' Union	Pres. Abdul Satar.	1929	2-300	W. P. P.
	2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta	G. Sec. S. M. Shamsul Huda.			
33	Barabazar Labour Union	Pres. S. N. Bishi Adv. at-law.	1928	560	
	89/8, Lower Chitpore Rd. Calcutta	G. Sec. R. Joshi.			
34	Barabazar Orina Labour Union	Pres. K. C. Ray Choudhri,	1928	100	
	203, Harrison Rd. Cal.	Sec. B. C. Mondal.			
35	Calcutta Motor Employees' Union			300	
	Garden Reach Rd., Matiaburz Cal.				
36	Hari Narayanpur Rayats' Assn.	Pres. S. C. Bhattacharya.			T. U. C.
37	The Labour Assn.	Pres. Yakub Kasim Arif.			
	Bowbazar St. Cal.				
38	Postal and R. M. S. Assn.		1920	10-000	(Pub. English monthly
	(Bengal and Assam Circle) 236, Bowbazar St. Calcutta				"Labour".)
39	All India Postal and R. M. S. Assn.		1920	40-000	
	12, Chackoo Khansama Lane, Cal.	G. Sec. T. Mukherjee B. A.			
40	The Indian Telegraph Assn.		1920 ?		(Indian Mainly pub—)
	73/B Free School St., Cal.				
41	The All Indian Telegraph Union		1926 ?		(European and Anglo
	126, Bowbazar Street Cal. ?	G. Sec.—Barton.			Indian mainly pub.—)
	The Bengal Trade Union Fedn.	Press M. K. Bose.	1922		
	(Provincial Committee of T. U. C.) 34, Bowbazar St. Cal.	Sec. K. L. Ghose.			

Serial No.	Name and Address.	Officers.	Date of foundation.	Member-ship.	Affiliation.
	(And various other clerical union).				
42	Indo-Asiatic Seamen's Union		1928		
43	Indian Colliery Workers' Ass.				
	(branch Asansol)	(Branch est. 1928) (H. Q. at Jbaria (Bihar)).		1-200	perhaps.
44	(Barisal Workshop Employees' Union ?)	Pres. Nawabzada S. M. Hussian.	1928		
	Barisal	Sec. S. C. Dutt M. L. C.			

P. 545.

The Four Crown letter file containing the following 10 documents amongst others.

P. 545. (1)

Mr. Wagh :-

I prepared 15 copies, out of which 6 are taken by Mr. Spratt. Kindly do the needful with the *remaining*.

D. I. Kelkar.

Will you please prepare, if that is possible, about fifteen copies. They should be sent to

- (1) Mr. Dange and
- (2) Mr. Jhabvala, at Bombay.
- (3) Mr. Joshi and
- (4) Mr. Chaman Lal at Delhi.
- (5) Mr. Daud and
- (6) Mr. Kishorilal Ghose at Calcutta
- (7) Mr. Thengdi, at Pogna.
- (8) Mr. G. Sethi, at Jamshedpur.

I should like to take the rest to Delhi with me in case some of the members have come there too early to receive the copies sent to them. If possible, I should like them to be sent out so as to reach the members during this week, i.e. before the 26th.

P. Spratt.

(Covering letter).

Dear Comrade,

As convener of the Sub-Committee of T. U. C. for drafting a constitution, I am circulating to the Sub-Committee members the proposals I have to make. If you are at Delhi for the Executive Council meeting on the 26th, I should like to discuss it with you there. If not, will you please let me know by letter what you think of this, and make any suggestion you have to bring forward, I have written to Mr. Joshi proposing this procedure, instead of calling a special meeting of the sub-committee, at any rate for the present.

I enclose a statement of my proposal as to the function of the sub-committee. I think it is premature and useless for us to draw up a full draft of a Constitution, but we may usefully make a statement defining the political policy and programme of the Congress I enclose also a rough draft of a such a statement. The results of our work will have in any case to be submitted to the full Congress, but I think that if reasonable unanimity is not obtained in the sub-committee, two—if possible not more—drafts should be submitted.

Yours fraternally

P. Spratt.

(I) Functions of the Sub-Committee.

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

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

It is also useless to put forward a constitution from our side with a view to modify the Constitution which will now be produced

by the Nationalist Parties. The gulf between the two, which is the gulf between the working-class and the capitalist class, is in principle unbridgeable, and though working agreements on the basis of an anti-imperialist policy may be arrived at, no compromise as to ultimate aims is possible. We should not attempt to bring about minor modifications of their drafts, at the price of our political independence.

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

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

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

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

Introduction.

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

to formulate its functions and aims in general terms, so that a more consistent programme and policy may be adopted.

Aims of the Working Class.—The fundamental aim of the organised working class can only be, in the words of the Presidential Speech at the (Cawnpore) VIIIth Trade Union Congress, "Nationalisation of land and industry, a civilised existence, a government of the Workers, an economic system for the benefit of humanity—and peace". More shortly, the function of the working class in history is the realisation of socialism. With almost complete unanimity, the working-class organisations of the world have accepted this as their aim, and from the earliest times, workers' movements have, with greater or less consciousness, pursued policies in keeping with it. The experiences and sufferings of the working-class under capitalism force it inevitably to demand and strive for the abolition of the anarchic, wasteful and unstable capitalist system, and its replacement by an ordered system, democratically controlled, and run for the benefit of humanity. Socialism must be the aim of the working-class, and all its efforts and policies must be subordinated to that aim.

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

Imperialism. The Indian working-class, in common with the working-class of several other countries, is subjected to the special form of capitalism, Imperialism. Imperialism consists in the investment of surplus capital from an economically advanced country, Britain in an economically backward country, India, for the more intense exploitation of its human and other resources. In order to supplement the diminishing return from its domestic capital, Imperialism extracts a higher rate of profit from its colonial capital. This alone determines that the standard of life of the Indian working class is definitely lower than that of the working class of the Imperialism countries, such as Britain. But in addition the Indian working-class suffers from the conflict between the Indian and the British capitalist interests for supremacy in regard to exploitation. For these reasons, no appreciable improvement

in the lot of the Indian working class is possible under this system, and its first duty is the struggle against Imperialism.

Both its immediate and its ultimate aims depend for their realisation upon its success in the struggle against the economic and political domination of India by Imperialism. The first condition for the establishment of socialism in India, and the relief of economic exploitation and social degradation, is the abolition of Imperialism, both as an economic structure and as a political system.

Political Aspect. The two sides of the system cannot be separated, the economic and the political. Beginning in the economic sphere, the class struggle inevitably develops to a higher form, the direct fight for political power. The working class must openly and avowedly adopt a political programme, the essence of which must be the establishment of socialism through the destruction of Imperialism and capitalism and the assumption of the State power.

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

In this struggle the working class must ally itself with all forces and sections which will fight for the overthrow of Imperialism. In particular it must establish the closest relationship with peasantry, as was suggested in the resolution of the VIIth Congress on the subject. It will also find alliance in the National Congress, the anti-imperialist organisation of the middle classes. In so far as the National "Council of Action" Congress conducts a real struggle against Imperialism, it must be helped by the working-class.

Working-Class Party. For carrying out this policy, the Trade Union organisations of the working-class alone will not suffice. A definitely political organ must be created, with the policy and programme here outlined. The Workers' and Peasants' Party, now developing in different parts of the country, fulfils the requirements of a genuine working-class political party, and must receive

the support of the Trade Union Congress, as was decided at the VIIth Session, Delhi, March 1927, and of the individual Unions.

Political Demands. The working-class stands in complete opposition to Imperialism. It cannot therefore agree to the continuance of the British connection in any form. The Trade Union Congress must demand *Complete Independence*. It must further demand the establishment of a *Democratic State*. This involves the abolition of all despotic feudal institutions landlordism & the Native States, and the granting of the right of *universal adult suffrage, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech and press, the right to organise and to strike, and to carry arms*. The Trade Union Congress must demand further from the State, the guarantee of certain common right of humanity, such as the abolition of casts and other discrimination, the equality of the sexes in regard to legal rights, wage-rates, etc., and universal primary education. In the economic sphere, the State must guarantee for labour the standard legal eight hour day, and the legal minimum wage, support for the unemployed, adequate compensation, protection, abolition of child labour, etc. and as general measures, the nationalisation of the chief services and basic industries.

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

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

Policy (1) The strike is Labour's chief weapon, and in must be preserved and used. The right to strike must be jealously

guarded, and the strike popularised among all workers as their greatest strength. Not only the ordinary strike with which all workers are familiar, but the sympathetic strike, after a most powerful weapon, and its development into the general strike, are to be regarded as means which labour must use, for political as well as purely industrial purposes. These require systematic propaganda among workers before they can be brought into effect.

(2) The adoption of a policy of struggle against Imperialism demands politically as well as logically that the traditional cooperation with the Government should cease. It must be forbidden for a member of any affiliated union to accept nomination by Government to any legislature or committee. Similarly, the Congress should cease to appoint members for the delegation to the International Labour Office Conferences. The I. L. O. was established and is supported by the capitalist Governments of the European states, and works in accordance with their imperialist policies.

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

(I) Functions of the Sub-Committees:

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

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

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

[2] Draft of proposed statement “Labour and Swaraj”.

Introduction. It has long been felt necessary, in the Trade Union movement and outside it, that a clear attitude should be adopted by the organised Labour Movement towards Political questions generally, and particularly towards the central question of Indian Politics that of Swaraj, or the relation of the country as a whole to Imperialism and the other Countries of the World. The progress of our Labour and of the Nationalists Movement, and recent developments in the parell movements in other Countries, rendered impossible any longer to neglect this subject. In domestic politics the Trade Union Congress already takes a part. Its members are elected or nominated to the Councils and Assembly and its views consulted in regards to Legislation, while the tendency is developing for Trade Unions to participate directly in the Political Movement. The Congress has been asked to take part in the All Party's Conference for drafting a Swaraj Constitution. In the International field, representatives have been regularly sent to the ILO conferences relations with the British, Chinese and other Trade Union Movements are growing, and the Congress has been approached for affiliation by the IFTU and the R. I. L. U. these often contradictory tendencies make it desirable, in the interest of the Progress, of the Movement, to formulate its functions and aims in general terms, so that a more consistent programme and policy may be adopted.

Aim of the working Class. The fundamental aim of the organised working class can only be, in words of the presidential speech at the 8th Trade Union Congress, at Cawnpore, nationalisation of land and industry, the civilized existence, a government of the worker, an economic system for the benefit of humanity—and peace—More shortly, the function of the working class in History, is the realisation of socialism. With almost complete unanimity the working class organisation of the world have accepted this as their aim, and from the earliest times, workers movements have, with greater or less consciousness, pursued policies, in keeping with it. The experience and sufferings of the working class under capitalism force it inevitably to demand and strive for abolition of the anarchic, wasteful and unstable capitalist system and its replacement by an ordered system democratically controlled and run for the benefit of humanity. Socialism must be the aim of the working class and all its efforts and policies, must be subordinated to that aim.

The class of struggle. The essential feature of the capitalist system generally is the private ownership of the means of production.

The efforts of the working class under capitalism to improve its conditions inevitably develop into a struggle between the class of wage-earners and the class of property owners. The struggle, though at first waged only on minor and immediate issues assumes eventually the magnitude of a struggle between the classes for the control of means of production and for control of the state power. The Labour Movement is the organisation of the individually weak and helpless workers for the prosecution of this struggle. Its aim is the attainment of control of production and of political power-socialism, its method is the class struggle against the capitalist class the actual possessors of property and the state.

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

Political Aspect. The two sides of the system cannot be separated the economic and the political. Beginning in the economic sphere the class struggle inevitably develops to a higher form, the direct fight for political power. The working class must openly and avowedly adopt a political programme, the essence of which must be the establishment of socialism through the destruction of imperialism and capitalism, and the assumption of State power.

The working class is Politics. The Industrial working class is as a whole the most intensely exploited class, and its interests clash most sharply with those of Imperialism and capitalism. It is, by its organisation and discipline, and its hold upon the strategic positions in the life of society, must be able to wage the class struggle successfully. And its general political interests coincide

with those of the great majority of the nation, which suffer, though in less degree, from economic exploitation, political oppression, and social and cultural neglect, at the hands of Imperialism and capitalism. For these reasons the organised working class is destined for a leading place in the struggle of society generally for economic security, political democracy, and social emancipation.

In this struggle the working class must ally itself with all forces and sections which will unite for the overthrow of Imperialism. In particular it must establish the closest relationship with peasantry, as was suggested in the resolution of the VIII Trade Union Congress on the "Council of action". It will also find alliance in the National Congress, the anti-imperialist organisation of the middle classes. In so far as the National Congress conducts a real struggle against imperialism, it must be helped by the working class.

Working class Party. For carrying out this policy, the Trade Union organisation of the working class alone will not suffice. A definitely political organ must be created, with the policy and economic and political domination of India by imperialism. The first condition for the establishment of socialism in India, and the relief of economic exploitation and social degradation, is the abolition of imperialism, both as an economic structure, and as a political system.

Political Aspect. The two sides of the system cannot be separated the economic and the political. Beginning in the economic sphere the class struggle inevitably develops to a higher form, the direct fight for political power. The working class must openly and avowedly adopt a political programme, the essence of which must be the establishment of socialism through the destruction of imperialism and capitalism, and the assumption of State power.

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

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

Political Demands. The working class stands in complete opposition to imperialism. It cannot therefore agree to the continuance of the British connection in any form. The Trade Union Congress must demand the complete establishment of a *democratic state*. This involves the abolition of all despotic feudal institutions, landlordism and the Native States, and the granting of the rights of *Universal Adult Suffrage freedom of assembly speech and press, the right to organise and to strike, and to carry arms*. The Trade Union Congress must demand further from the State the guarantee of certain common rights of humanity, such as the abolition of caste and other discrimination, the equality of the sexes in regard to legal rights, wage-rates, etc., and universal primary education.

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

A Government which will do these things, alone can meet with the approval of the workers and the support of the Trade Union Congress *Organization*. The attainment of the programme which the working class sets before itself depends solely upon the strength of the working class as an organised force. In addition to giving support to the workers' political Party, The Trade Unions, must organise themselves for the struggle. The organisation must be as complete as possible—100 per cent Trade Unionism must be the aim, and experience shows that this is best obtained by building the Unions on the basis of factory or shop committees. And it must be as effective as possible. Industrial unionism has already been accepted in principle by the Trade Union Congress, and this policy must be put into effect. Further, coordination of the efforts

of the Unions must be attained, nationally by the establishment of a strong and authoritative Executive Council of the Trade Union Congress, locally by the establishment in every town of a Trades Council, to which are affiliated all the local branches of the Unions. The Trades Councils must be in contact with the Executive Council, and must act as its local representatives. Certain basic common demands should be adopted throughout the working class organisations, as a cement for its unity, and a fighting programme to lead it forward. Such should be the eight-hour day, the legal minimum wage, state support for the unemployed, freedom of speech and organisation, (and other general demands which have been repeatedly put forward by the Trade Union Congress).

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

(2) The adoption of a policy of struggle against imperialism demands politically as well as logically that the traditional co-operation with the Government should cease. It must be forbidden for a member of any affiliated Union to accept nomination by Government to any legislature or committees. Similarly the Congress should cease to appoint members for the delegations to the I. L. C. Conference. The I. L. O. was established and is supported by the capitalist governments of the European States, and works in accordance with their imperialist policies.

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

P. 545. (3)

2/1, European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.

6-12-1928.

Dear Comrade,

You will remember that the last Session at Cawnpore of the All-India Trade Union Congress appointed a sub-committee, of which you are a member, to draw up a Labour Constitution for the future government of India. In February, I as convenor, circulated a paper, another copy of which is enclosed, containing suggestions as to the work of the sub-committee, and the draft of a statement on the political attitude of the Trade Union Congress, which was headed "Labour and Swaraj", (also enclosed), which I proposed the Trade Union Congress should publish if it agreed.

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

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

mittee, but did not attend any meetings, or sign the Report. We are therefore free to take up any attitude.

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

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

It is by this time clear that no meeting of the sub-committee can possibly be held before the next Session of the Congress, which will be held at the end of November. It is necessary to prepare and circulate all material of importance before-hand, so that a short meeting of the sub-committee may be held immediately before or during the Jherria Session, and a report agreed upon quickly. But things have to be duplicated etc. and if the manuscripts are numerous or bulky this takes much time. I must therefore ask all members who have opinions drafts, etc. which should be circulated, to let me have them at this address as soon as possible, when I will do my best to get them round to all members. Or alternatively, they would save me much trouble by circulating themselves. To any who wish to do this, I should state that Rai Sabib Chandrika Prasad was appointed a member of the sub-committee by the Delhi Session of the Executive Council.

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

Yours fraternally,

P. SPRATT.

(1) Functions of the Sub-Committee.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(2) Draft of Proposed Statement—'Labour & Swaraj'.

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

Aim of the Working-Class:—The fundamental aim of the organised working class can only be, in the words of the Presidential Speech at the VIIIth Trade Union Congress, at Cawnpore, "Nationalisation of land and industry, a civilised existence, a government of the workers, an economic system for the benefit of humanity—and peace. More shortly, the function of the working class in history is the realisation of socialism. With almost complete unanimity the working-class organisation of the world have accepted this as their aim, and from the earliest times, workers' movements have, with greater or less consciousness, pursued policies in keeping with it. The experience and sufferings of the working class under capitalism force it inevitably to demand and strive for the abolition of the anarchic, wasteful and unstable capitalist system, and its replacement by an ordered system, democratically controlled, and run for the benefit of humanity. Socialism must be the aim of the working class, and all its efforts and policies must be subordinated to that aim.

The Class Struggle:—The essential feature of the capitalist system generally is the private ownership of the means of production. The efforts of the working class under capitalism to improve its

conditions inevitably develop into a struggle between the class of wage-earners and the class of property owners. The struggle, though at first waged only on minor and immediate issues, assumes eventually the magnitude of a struggle between the classes for the control of the means of production, and for control of the State power. The Labour movement is the organisation of the individually weak and helpless workers for the prosecution of the struggle. Its aim is the attainment of control of production and of political power—Socialism; its method is the class struggle against the capitalist class; the actual possessors of property and the State.

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

Political Aspect:—The two sides of the system cannot be separated, the economic and the political. Beginning in the economic sphere the class struggle inevitably develops to a higher form, the direct fight for political power. The working class must openly and avowedly adopt a political programme, the essence of which must be the establishment of socialism through the destruction of imperialism and capitalism, and the assumption of State power.

The Working Class In Politics:—The industrial working class is as a whole the most intensely exploited class, and its interest clash most sharply with those of imperialism and capitalism. It is, by its organisation and discipline, and its hold upon the strategic positions in the life of society, most able to wage the

class struggle successfully. And its general political interests coincide with those of the great majority of the nation, which suffer, though in less degree, from economic exploitation, political oppression, and social and cultural neglect, at the hands of Imperialism and capitalism. For these reasons the organised working class is destined for a leading place in the struggle of society generally for economic security, political democracy, and social emancipation,

In this struggle the working class must ally itself with all forces and sections which will unite for the overthrow of imperialism. In particular it must establish the closest relationship with the peasantry, as was suggested in the resolution of the VIIIth Trade Union Congress on the "Council of Action". It will also find alliance in the National Congress, the anti-imperialist organisation of the middle classes. In so far as the National Congress conducts a real struggle against imperialism it must be helped by the working class.

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

Political Demands:—The working class stands in complete opposition to imperialism. It cannot therefore agree to the continuance of the British connection in any form. The Trade Union Congress must demand *Complete Independence*. It must further demand the complete establishment of a *democratic state*. This involves the abolition of all despotic feudal institutions, landlordism and the Native States, and the granting of the rights of *Universal Adult suffrage, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech and press, the right to organise and to strike, and to carry arms*. The Trade Union Congress must demand further from the State, the guarantee of certain common rights of humanity, such as the abolition of caste and other discrimination, the equality of the sexes in regard to legal rights, wage-rates, etc. and universal primary education.

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

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

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

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

(2) The adoption of a policy of struggle against imperialism demands politically as well as logically that the traditional cooperation with the Government should cease. It must be forbidden for a member of any affiliated Union to accept nomination by Government to any legislature or committee. Similarly the Congress should cease to appoint members for the delegation to the I. L. O. Conferences. The I. L. O. was established and is supported by the capitalist government of the European States, and works in accordance with their imperialist policies.

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

Draft of Statement by the Trades Union Congress on the Nehru Committee's Report and Constitution.

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

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

(2) If however the findings of the Nehru Committee are considered simply as the basis for a temporary agreement between the Trade Union Congress and other bodies, they will be found, in view of the political principles of the Trade Union Congress, to be entirely unsuitable. The Nehru Committee's Report, and the

political outlook of the Trade Union Congress, are entirely different and provide no basis for agreement.

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

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

On this question also it is clear that there is an irreconcilable difference of interest between imperialism and the people, in particular the working class, of India, and the proposal to take over control of the army into Indian hands by peaceful or constitutional means is an absurdity. There can therefore be no question of peace or agreement in the evolution of India, and in fact British Imperialism has, consistently shown itself to be a merciless and implacable enemy, with which there can be no compromise. The Trade Union Congress looks forward to a period of increasingly acute struggle

by the masses of the population of India, in which the organised working class, because of its situation, will naturally play a leading part, against the forces of Imperialism and its allies within India. This struggle cannot possibly be confined to constitutional channels, but must involve direct mass action. It can end only in the definite victory of the masses, the overthrow of Imperialism, and the establishment of the complete independence of India.

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

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

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

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

(a) The statement of "Fundamental Rights" would be improved by extra definition on the following points, Art. 4 Par. IV. on the right of free expression of opinion, etc. should contain a definite repudiation of the proscription of publications on political grounds and of the censorship of mails. The Labour movement is necessarily international in its outlook, but it finds under the present régime that its study of and intercourse with foreign labour movements is very seriously hampered, and in some directions almost entirely prevented, by these practices. It is moreover quite opposed to any real spirit of freedom or democracy that these things should go on.

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

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

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

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

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

The Trade Union Congress has special grounds for taking up the cause of the population of the States. It is notorious that the conditions of the working class and the peasantry of the State are deplorably bad in almost all cases. "Degar" and other feudal abuses are still prevalent; the Textile Workers' Unions have had occasion to complain bitterly against the extremely bad conditions, long hours of work, etc., in the textile industry in Indore and Gwalior; the frequent occurrence of peasant

disturbances in many States testifies to the misery and oppression from which they suffer; there is almost complete absence of political and personal freedom, and in this respect conditions are becoming worse (see the publications and memoranda of the Rajasthan Seva Sangha). Even the best States, which have made so progress in regard to education and representative forms of Government, etc., shine only by comparison with the deplorable position of British India and the other States, and are in any case a hopeless minority. The Trade Union Congress feels strongly that in the twentieth century no case can be made out on any grounds for maintaining the existence of the States.

The Trade Union Congress regrets that it is unable to give support to the proposals of the Committee, especially in view of the appeals for Unity of all forces in support of them. It would of course be prepared to waive any of the detailed objections it may have to the Report, except that on the subject of the States, which it considers very important. But the objection of the Trade Union Congress, as has been made clear, is not based on details or inessentials. Not is it based on the socialist policy of the Congress. It is quite clearly recognised that the first concern of any socialist organisation in India must be the establishment of the independence of the country, and that such an organisation must support any sincere and practical attempt to attain independence.

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

freedoms of the Report, or for the sake of a sentimental unity, it were to give its consent to such reactionary proposals.

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

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

P. 545. (4)

Dear Comrade,

You will remember that the last Session at Cawnpore of the A.I.T.U.C. appointed a sub-committee of which you are a member, to draw up a labour Constitution for the future Government of India. In February, I, as convener, circulated a paper (another copy of which is enclosed) containing suggestions as to the work of the sub-committee, and the draft of a statement on the political attitude of the T. U. C., which I called "Labour and Swaraj" (also enclosed) which I proposed the T.U.C. should publish, if it agreed.

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

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

Accordingly I have drafted a statement, which is also enclosed again from my point of view, which I think should also be published. You will see that it proposes complete rejection of

the "Principles of the Constitution," but suggests political co-operation with other bodies of an agreed basis, of complete Independence, etc., etc. It is drafted also as a continuation of the previous general statement "Labour and Swaraj", but this though I think is desirable, is of course not necessary, and small verbal changes could make it independent. Again I must ask for the views of the sub-committee members on this question.

It is by this time clear that no meeting of the sub-committee can possibly be held before the next Session of the Congress (to be held at the end of November). It is necessary to prepare and circulate all material of importance beforehand, so that a short meeting of the sub-committee may be held immediately before or during the Jherria Session, and a report agreed upon quickly. Things must be duplicated etc. and if the manuscripts are numerous or bulky, this takes much time. I must therefore ask any members who have opinions, drafts etc. which should be distributed to let me have them, at this address, as soon as possible when I will do my best to get them round to all members.

Yours fraternally,

P. SPRATT.

Draft Statement by T. U. C. on Nehru Committee's Report and Constitution.

From this brief statement of the political position of the A. I. T. U. C. it will be seen that the T. U. C. cannot give its assent to the Draft Principle of the Constitution prepared by the Nehru Committee for the All-Parties Conference. The principal reasons for this are as follows:—

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

(2) If however the findings of the Nehru Committee are considered simply as the basis for a temporary agreement between the T. U. C. and other bodies, they will be found, in view of the political principle of the T. U. C., to be entirely unsuitable. The Nehru Committee's Report, and the political outlook of the T. U. C. are entirely different, and provide, no basis for agreement.

The Committee contemplates and advance solely by agreement with the British Government and without any real encroachment upon its privileges, to a constitutional status ("Dominion Status") which would apparently be entirely to its satisfaction, or at any rate would provide for further peaceful advance to a satisfactory position. The representatives of the working-class cannot agree with such a conception. The Trade Union Congress regards British Imperialism merciless and implacable enemy, with which there can be no compromise. The T. U. C. as the possessor and protector within T. D. looks forward to a future of increasingly acute struggle by the masses of the population of India, in which the organised working-class because of its situation, will naturally play a leading part, against the forces of Imperialism and its allies within India. This struggle cannot possibly be confined to constitutional channels but must involve direct mass action. It can end only in the definite victory of the

masses, the overthrow of Imperialism, and the establishment of the complete independence of India.

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

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

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

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

(a) The Statement of Fundamental Rights would be improved by extra definition on the following points. Art. 4, par IV, on the right of free expression of opinion etc, should contain a definite repudiation of the proscription of publications on political grounds, and of the censorship of mails. The labour movement is necessarily international in its outlook, but it finds under the present regime that its study of and intercourse with foreign labour movement, is very seriously hampered and in some directions almost entirely prevented by these practices. It is moreover quite opposed to any real spirit of freedom or democracy that these things should go on. India of enormous economic and political interests, which the working-class cannot possibly allow to remain in foreign hands, but which Imperialism will fight with the utmost determination to retain. It must be pointed out that the Railways and other communications, and almost all the major industries of

the country are effectively in the possession of British interests. However others may neglect this fact, the workers who are directly exploited, (and the middle-classes and peasants who are indirectly exploited) through these means, cannot overlook it. The Trade Union Congress would insist upon the expropriation without compensation of all these industries and services, by the Government of Independent India, and in fact it is evident that any Indian Government which wished seriously to be responsible to its people and to be in any sense independent or free to act on its own initiative, would have no alternative but this

There can therefore be no question of peace or agreement in the evolution of India, and in fact British imperialism has consistently shown itself to be a

The military forces in India are also in the same position. They are at present under the control of Imperialism and are used for Imperialist ends of which the working class cannot approve.

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The Trade Union Congress had occasion to protest last year when troops from the Indian Army were sent to be used against its fellow-workers in China. There is also more than a mere possibility, while the forces remain under their present control, of them being used against workers and other sections of the population within the country. It is obvious too, that a foreign controlled army would constitute an intolerable menace to a Government which attempted independent action. The T. U. C. would regard it as absolutely essential for a National Government to establish complete control of all the armed forces in India.

On this question also it is clear that there is an irreconcilable difference of interest between imperialism and the people in particular the working-class of India, and the proposal to take over control of the army into Indian hands by peaceful or constitutional means is an absurdity.

Art. 4 par. XV should contain an explicit assurance of protection of Unions against civil liability for the actions of their members, on the lines of par. XVI for criminal liability.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The opposition of the T.U.C. is due to the fact that Report of the Committee aims at attaining not independence, nor even, as the Report mistakeably claims, any statue indistinguishable from independence. As has been made clear in par 2. of this statement, the difference between real independence and the goal aimed at by the Committee is very far from negligible. It is all the difference between freedom and subjection. The Report advocates the establishment of a statue for India which is in no essential way different from the present. India under Dominion Status will still be subject to British commercial financial and industrial exploitation, to British military control, and therefore (as the Report in fact admits, by retaining the King as the nominal head) to British political control. In these circumstances, all the apparatus of Parliament and democracy, universal suffrage and fundamental rights are absolutely meaningless and valueless. The upper classes may improve their position with respect to Temp. But the masses then would be unaffected and at the same time continue to use the imperial forces as a protection against the masses. The T.U.C. would be deluding its members and the masses generally, if for the sake of the nominal concessions and freedom of the Report, or for the sake of a sentimental unity it were to give its consent to such reacting proposals.

On the other hand the T.U.C. considers that the opportunity provided by the present political situation for establishing a real popular movement for independence, based on an agreed programme, should not be wasted. Instead therefore of the unrepresentative and exclusively upper-class All-Parties Conference the T. U. C. advocates the calling together of a really representative Conference or (illegible) Assembly of the people of the whole country, for the formulation and propagation of programme of popular demands, and of mass action. The programme suggested in the statement "Labour and Swaraj" would serve as a basis for this.

Owing to its social composition, and its obsession with legal conventions and forms at the expense of realities, the A.P.C. has failed to carry out its function of leading the people of India in a

mass movement towards freedom and has merely been the occasion for the reestablishment of unity among the bourgeois parties, on the basis of a most timid and reacting programme. The bourgeoisie have failed, but the masses still need their freedom. Indian Assembly as that here proposed would, if properly prepared, meet with immense response from the people, and would mean a great and decisive step forward for India.

The All-India Trade Union Congress thanks the conveners of the 'All-Parties' Conference for inviting its representatives to take part in their deliberations, and regrets that it is unable in any way to agree with the proposals before the Conference.

The Trade Union Congress, as the representative of the industrial working class, has as its ultimate aim the establishment of the Socialist Republic of India. It cannot therefore give its final assent to a Constitution of any other type. But the Congress recognises that as the working-class lives at present under an Imperialist Government, its struggle to establish socialism must first take the form of a struggle against Imperialism for the Complete Independence of India. It would be willing, for the sake of presenting a united front to Imperialism, to agree with other political organisations for a joint campaign for Complete Independence. The minimum programme which the T. U. C. would propose, would include the demands for Complete Independence, and for a democratic state including universal suffrage, freedom of speech, of press, and of assembly, and right to organise, to strike and to carry arms. It would also demand recognition of the right of labour to the minimum programme of economic demands, the eight-hour day, the minimum living wage, state support for the unemployed, etc., which it has repeatedly put forward and as general economic measures, the nationalisation of the principal industries and services and of the land. And it would insist upon the complete elimination from the institution of the country of documents based upon community or sex and upon the rights of the whole population to elementary education.

The function of the All-Parties Conference, in the view of the Trade Union Congress, is to provide a programme upon which different organisations can agree to join in a campaign against Imperialism. But the programme proposed by the A.P.C. is one which can in no way satisfy the T. U. C. It is based on entirely different conceptions from those held by the T. U. C. It contemplates a peaceful transition to Dominion Status arrived at essentially on compromise with Imperialism. The T. U. C. on the contrary regards Imperialism as an enemy which cannot be dealt with by peaceful means and with which there can be no compromise. It is proposed by the A. P. Conference (illegible)

The economic exploitation of India by British capital is to continue. The working class cannot agree to this. And therefore it follows that a large degree (of) its political control will also continue. For some time the personnel of the military and civil forces are to remain as they are now, that is essentially in imperialist hands. Again this is an intolerable suggestion to the working classes with their little experience of the civil and military offices. It is proposed that the Indian State should remain under the present rulers. The T. U. C. regards the proposal as reacting and indefensible. The peasants and workers notoriously suffer extremely from the obsolete and tyrannical despotism which prevails in about all of the States which often deprive them of economic and political, and every personal freedom. It is essential that the States be abolished and the people fight with the national and (illegible) association and equality with the remainder of the population.

Thus the T. U. C. regards the A. P. C. Constitutions as a proposal to the British Capitalist exploiters by representatives of the privileged classes for compromise, a compromise in which the masses will have no place. The view confirmed by the clause passed at the Indian Section of the A. P. C., given a permanent guarantee of property rights.

The T. U. C. regrets that it cannot agree with the A. P. C. proposal and that it has had to criticise this somewhat sharply. It has made clear that its disagreement.

THE GENEVA SHOW.

Every one of us knows how the League of Nations is aptly called the League of Robbers. It has sanctioned the exploitation and slavery of India, China, Egypt, Mexico, and such other countries, as are under the thumb of its Imperialist constituents though these nations are asked to pay for the League.

The International Labour Organisation of Geneva is a Show maintained by the League of Nations to satisfy the Labour Movement growing every day powerful and a mimicry of the gestures of advancing workers' interests. All Imperialist Govts including that of India very joyously send with great eclat delegates to the international Labour Conventions held every year at Geneva. But, the constitution of the I. L. O. is framed by the Imperialists in such a way that its conventions are not binding on any Govt. The fate of Geneva resolutions on the floor of the Legislative Assembly and the archives of the Govt. is well-known. Hardly a law that would *materially* help Labour has been accepted by Geneva and its Imperialist supporters. This is an unnecessary diversion of the energies of the A. I. T. U. C. The Govt. is likely to utilize the *Geneva Post* as a corrupting element in dealing with our militant leaders of the working-class and make them feel grateful and shy towards the employers and the imperialists for having given them a chance for a right royal trip and (sham !) honour in international circles of like labour-imperialist feathers.

Let our A. I. T. U. C. think rather of organising itself in such a powerful manner that Geneva may of its own accord seek our participation and the Govt. may carry out the conventions passed by our delegates. The present position is our degradation.

SHALL WE SUPPORT THE SHAM SHOW

OF

The Imperialist Government of Europe ?

WHAT IS THE

Interdational Labour Office At Geneva ?

A TOOL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS,

HIDDEN IN THE MANTLE OF LABOUR.

And that League upholds the slavery of India, China, Egypt, Mexico,

Africa (Native), Phillipines, java and a host of others

in the clutches, of Imperialism.

THE A. I. T. U. C. & THE I. F. T. U.

Capitalism being international unites on a common platform inspite of rivalries in its own camp, to crush the working class. The working class of the world feels this and unites to first protect & organise itself and next to *assert* itself. The capitalist-Imperialist countries of Europe having overflowing capital are exporting it to the industrially backward countries of the east. This new form of exploitation of India, China, Java, Indonesia, Mexico, & Africa has accentuated the working-class struggle. And the growth of our Trade Union movement is the natural result.

We see that, International labour organisations are moving eastward to canvass affiliation and support.

True, Trade Unionism is international in character; but we must see with whom to associate or not to associate at all.

The International Federation of Trade Unions (I. F. T. U.) is one of such canvassers in the field. Here are a few facts about the I. F. T. U.

(1) The leaders of the I. F. T. U. are month-pieces of the second International. And pray, who is the second International? Here is what A. A. Purcell M. P. says, "The Second International is in some of its parts, an appendix to various continental capitalist Govts. I need only instance the notorious connection between the Socialist parties (of the Second International) of Bulgaria, Poland and Hungary and their respective White Terrorist Govts."

(2) Practically all the finances are paid by British and German Unions. And even, then, the British contribution sank from 52000 florins in 1924, to 36000 in 1926 and the German from 89000 to 54000. As a result The International is getting bankrupt.

(3) The I. F. T. U. is in significantly intimate relations with the League of Nations' Labour Office !!

(4) Simultaneously with the move of Imperialism towards India, China, Mexico, & Africa, and the Red International of Labour Unions radical move to help the workers in the National Movement of these countries the I. F. T. U. (in intimate relations with League ?) decided in the latest Paris Conference to get the Eastern Trade Unions in its fold.

(5) The All-China Trade Union Federation movement has refused to get itself affiliated to the I. F. T. U. as also Java & Indonesia.

(6) The I. F. T. U. refuses co-operation with R. I. L. U. because the R. I. L. U. will have nothing to do with the Geneva Show and the League. And yet the R. I. L. U. has a membership above 10 millions and has contributed many times over to the suffering workers' General Strike in England than the I. F. T. U. so much so that this Tory Govt. had to stop allowing the money to reach the movement.

**THINK SOBERLY AND WITHOUT PREJUDICE
ON THE
FACTS PRESENTED REGARDING**

THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION

OF

TRADE UNIONS,

AND

**re-affirm our last year's attitude insisting on unity
between the I. F. T. U. and the R. I. L. U.
being achieved before you think
of any International
affiliation.**

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

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

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

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

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

5. The most militant Chinese, Japanese and other Eastern and African Labour Organisations have refused to be associated with the reactionary I.F.T.U. On the contrary, the Chinese and Japanese Unions have joined the R.I.L.U. on the the other hand, we ask you remember that it was the R. I. L. U. that helped most

our General Textile Strike of 1925, and that was first to held Kharagpur men, without even waiting for our appeal.

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

Yours fraternally,

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

P. 545, (8)

Conspiracy of Imperialism

In the All-India Trade Union Congress.

(by S. A. Dange.)

The announcement of the Simon Commission and the ignoble part played by the labor-imperialist leadership of British labor exposed the character of the right wing socialist and labor movement in England. Macdonald allied himself with Birkenhead-Baldwin, not as an individual but as the personified expression of a definite tendency in the right wing socialist movement of Europe.

This movement is mainly represented by the Second International of Labor and Socialist parties of Europe, with its head-quarters in Amsterdam, and by the International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam. What is the activity of these two bodies and in what way are we affected by them?

The achievements of these two institutions speak their character. The Second International supported the white terrorist governments of Poland, Austria, Lithuania to suppress democracy and popular institutions, to shoot down workers and subject them all to the control of the Imperialists of the post-war period. The International Federation of Trade Unions is the labor-mask worn by Imperialism to hood-wink the unwary. The I. F. T. U. is practically dominated by the British and German Trade Unions, under the leadership of Macdonald. Naturally, the result is that it acts in close co-operation with Geneva, the avowedly open show of the League of Nations and is opposed to the radical movements of National Emancipation in the colonial countries.

We are immediately threatened by the spreading net-work of these bodies.

The new economic policy of world Imperialism is to industrialize and exploit their colonial possessions. This intense gravitation of capital to the colonies and the Eastern countries particularly, intensifies the national struggle, as it has done in India, China, Persia, in the small mid-American states etc. Industrialization and exploitation require normal peaceful conditions, therefore, the heavy iron hand with which nationalist outbursts are being put down all the world over. It also means that Imperialism must see that labor movements and mass activities do not assume anti-imperialist character. And Imperialism has arranged to do this partly through heavy repression and partly through the Second International, the I. F. T. U. and such other right wing elements in the leadership of world-labor, like Macdonald,

Lansbury, Bevin, Sassenbach and a host of them, scattered through-out the world.

In order to give effect to this mental conspiracy and orientation to Imperialism on the part of the right wing labour of Europe, the I. F. T. U. last year in its Paris session passed a resolution to make intense efforts to bring all the colonial trade union movements in its fold and the honour of initiating the move was taken by the General Council of the British Congress.

They started to draw into their net China, India, Africa, Java etc. China refused to be beguiled; in Africa the radical active elements, wishing to give a direct fight to white domination were expelled from the movement to secure affiliation. Java showed a cold shoulder. Dutch Imperialism shot Javanese Hindus and Muslims by thousands. The I.F.T.U. and the 2nd International sat amusingly looking on in Amsterdam under the very breach of Dutch Imperialism. And now remains India.

The plan is deep laid to draw India into the net of the 2nd International and the I. F. T. U. and the Macdonalites. The Simon Commission has centered the attention of all on the National Congress and the boycott agitation. The All-India Trade Union Congress is already neglected by the Major part of the nationalist leadership, though the T. U. C. represents an affiliated membership of over a lac.

At such an opportune time of Macdonalites, in conjunction with the I. F. T. U. have shipped here Messrs Purcell, Halsworth, Fenner Brockway, Thurtle, Mardy Jones, a whole wagon-load of 'labor leaders', to study Indian conditions. A real drama of hood-wink started. One supported the Commission, another waxed hot against Imperialism, a third grew indignant at the Indian C. I. D., a fourth wept over the bad housing conditions and quietly all are moving with the bosses of the All-India Trade Union Congress to secure Indian affiliation to the I. F. T. U. at Amsterdam.

Purcell, whom the "HERALD" (Bombay) exposed on his very coming, was the President of the Paris session of the I.F.T.U. and is probably deputed with a double game. At the Cawnpore session of the T. U. C. he tried hard to avoid condemnation of the Macdonalites re. the Simon Commission and if possible boycott also. But, the bosses of the T. U. C. though privately agreeing much with Purcell could not go so far for fear of the people. Now Purcell is playing another game. And it is to draw the Indian labour movement in the fold of the British right wingers and make it safe for Imperialism and the next labor-Imperialist govt. of England.

Very few of people in the country are alive to the implications of our affiliation with the Amsterdamites. Very few have paid any attention to the subtle game of Imperialism being played under masks.

The I. F. T. U. miserably failed to give a successful lead to the British miners. It failed to give a correct policy to the German people against American Imperialism. It has failed to help the Chinese and Javanese masses. What can we expect from a body under the thumb of Purcell & Co., the League of Nations, working through Geneva labor office ?

A host of locusts once started to study the conditions of the green trees in India. They brought fraternal greetings from the trees of their country. Our leaves embraced them with opened hearts. The locusts opened their mouths and studied them profoundly ! The locust understood the leaf completely well ! They were united. Only, the leaf did not survive to understand the locust and exchange fraternal greetings. It was being digested by the brother sitting on the **once green** stump on the tree ! Our Indian brothers must beware of the locust trees in Br. Labor-leaders.

S. A. DANGE.

P. 545 (9).

A pamphlet entitled "What the Students of other Country have done (Russia)—What our Student should do (India)—A Friend.

P. 545. (10)

A manifesto to our country men.

✓BY

AN INTERNATIONALIST.

Price ½ anna.

The Sabarmati pact of the Swarajist with the respsnivist sounded long ago the death-knell of the Swaraj party as the revolutionary vanguard of the Nationalist party. It exposed its hypocritical growth from its very birth. The veil of illusion set up by those essentially bourgeois leaders is cleared off. Class contradiction within the party split the party itself. No parliamentary sophistry could withhold it, no loud talking to the gallery could convince the country otherwise. During recent years, bourgeois nationalism has done much for Imperialism. It has done its historic mission. It has ended with a complete compromise with foreign rulers. The leopard has neither changed its spots, nor forgot the logic against the lamb even after the whole tenure of its drawing-room patriotism. History is full of such incidents of desertions and betrayals. Swarajism has not only reached its political bankruptcy but has formed into a direct counter-revolutionary force inside the country. The recent resolution against the ministers though most inoffensive in character are rejected with an overwhelming majority of Swarajist votes against the motion. Even Gandhi, the high priest of non-co-operation feels uneasy at the Independence resolution. Still last congress has moved towards the right point. Class differentiation inside the nationalist rank has brought it to a revolutionary stand. Even what was very vague in the bourgeois president's speech is unequivocally clear by the "Independence" resolution passed almost unanimously at the Madras gathering.

Henceforward National Congress rescued from the grip of the bourgeois must have complete independence as its goal. But how to win and who will lead us in the future struggle for Iddependence? Parliamentary terrorism has failed to outwit the white Imperialists as they have amply shown by throwing the challenge in the appointment of commission before the very face of bourgeois apologists. Therefore the bourgeois tricksters have failed to enlist even the support of the revolutionary lower middle class intellectuals with their soothing slogans of "Protection" and "Swaraj". Even a bourgeois leader of Dr. Ansara's type has realised the truth. In his last Presidential speech, he says "But all this (Swarajism) has not materially advanced our cause nor has it brought us nearer our goal, while the price paid for it is too dear. It has diverted the energies of some of our ablest men from problems of real national importance." A frank confession. But the bridge is burnt and class-consciousness is bound to supersede any other consideration. After the collapse of non-cooperation movement, there had been a continual disintegration and regrouping in the nationalist rank with rapid class-differentiation inside the country. The camera-sitting of Delhi gathering for a hackneyed Swaraj constitution has proved the thread-bare mentality of the upper classes towards a real revolutionary movement against Imperialism.

Their inherent treachery and timidity towards the attainment of the goal of National Congress has left no room for further suspicion. The Nationalist paper "Forward" has rightly observed in their editorial on 25th February, 1928.

"Every son and daughter of a subject nation should strain every nerve to undermine the foundations of foreign rule, to throw off the shackles of foreign domination. That way lies salvation not in piece-meal legislation for the good of this or that community, not even in carrying out of measures of constructive nationalism".

Even an optimist and sincere nationalist like Jaharlal hopelessly failed to stand the situation and we perfectly agree with our friend "Forward". "And so long as Britishers are allowed to retain this supremacy, mere tinkering with the constitution can be of no avail" Editorial 22nd Feb. 1928

Now since the goal of National congress is unequivocally declared as complete independence, revolutionary nationalists should no more mark times with terroristic secret societies or futile conspiracies. They should at once come forward and liberate the country from the grip of hypocritical upper class politicians. A party of the revolutionary petty intellectuals should at once take over the Leadership of the present movement for revolutionary mass action. They must not forget that if they identify themselves with masses and fight to their common interest they have nothing to lose but their prejudice. We lend our whole-hearted support to "Forward's" view on this point.

"Possibly when the intellectual proletariat in this country realise that they are on the same boat as the manual labourers and that they must sink or swim together, a sufficiently strong force "may" be created in this country to compel the attention of our exploiters and teach them not to dispose of the question of unemployment in the cavalier fashion they have done"—Editorial 19th Feb. 1928. But our friend Forward should also know that this was the exact combination which magically changed non-co-operation atmosphere almost to the verge of a mass-revolution. If Gandhi and his associates had not halted at Bardoli and if C. R. Dass had not drawn the intellectual proletariat from the revolutionary masses, the map of India would have changed by this time and Simons would have to sit dumb-founded at the white hall. This coalition will not only serve the purpose "the Forward" hints so hesitatingly with a "may" but it is essentially necessary even for the attainment of the goal of the Congress.

These should be declared very clearly before the provincial Conferences. Since the Reform has achieved what it aimed at i.e.

British Imperialism gained a social basis in India by its socio-political compromises with the India by upper classes, the present national movement must be determined and organised by the social forces which will ever be antagonistic to the dominating foreign Imperialism. They are the most to suffer under a foreign rule and therefore the most ready to shake off the shackles if only they can be brought to their consciousness. This can be done by organisations having class-consideration behind. This will take the form of a class struggle but class conflicts are bound to take place. With the evolution of a capitalistic society in India there have begun intensified class struggle and this will be the most predominating feature to direct the national movement in the right channel. Therefore the revolutionary proletarian element shall be the vanguard of the fight for national liberation and not the fortunate few of the propertied classes. There is nothing to fear from it. This is the only path for a national liberation. The present Swadeshi and boycott is a mere tinkering with the situation. In its social character, Swadeshi is nothing but to hail and establish a capitalistic society. It will concentrate capital into the hands of native bourgeois and necessarily tighten their grip over the poverty stricken Indian masses. Therefore the social outlook of the movement can never bring about a revolution for a national independence. There must be a better programme of action.

Let the idealists and the revolutionary intellectuals come out of the den of their conspirative secret societies and join the Congress to lead the country to a political revolution. They should at once declare the abolition of land-lordism as a part of their programme and organise the peasants to fight for their complete emancipation. They should at once start mass demonstration for nonpayment of taxes and civil disobedience by refusing feudal dues, chawkidari taxes etc. They should enter the workshop to come in direct contact with the workers to give them consciousness of the importance of forming a proletarian party for their emancipation from social and political bondage. In urban districts they should start training classes impart political education to the proletariat. They should organise the factory workers for an eight hour day and minimum living wage. They should by and by turn the Congress of Ladies and Gentlemen to the Congress of Peasants and Labourers. This should be the social character of the movement to attain the goal of the present congress. Every provincial organisation should at once rise to the occasion.

At the out set, it may look like a fresh catastrophe brought upon the country in the form of class antagonism. It cannot be avoided as the present Indian society is already developed into different distinct classes. Swaraj cannot mend or end it. The recent strike of the most backward labour in Calcutta Corporation

has clearly set **class antagonism above national antagonism**. The former is bound to predominate over the latter. In the present struggles for a complete national independence from foreign control and to establish a democratic government on the basis of universal adult suffrage, class consideration is bound to take the first place in the movement and the most **revolutionary party of the proletarians** shall have the hegemony of the congress. This class struggle surely does not mean the immediate abolition of private property. It is its ultimate aim. It is at present simply the struggle of petty peasants, petty traders and intellectual proletariat against the dominating power of British imperialism and Indian Capitalists. For the emancipation of the above classes in the present Indian society a **preparation for a democratic revolution** is essentially and immediately necessary. Whether there shall be still private property in independent India, should not be a matter of speculation. This futile consideration must not stand on the way of any sincere nationalist to jump upon a revolutionary mass action. Social character of independent India depends entirely upon the property relationships existing at the time of revolution and the political maturity of the proletariat.

**Let our slogan be.....All power to the people, All lands to the people, All means of production to the people. No work-no bread,
Long Live The workers And peasants of India !**

P. 546.

A Star of India File containing the following 11 documents amongst others :—

P. 546. (1)

"A Call to Action" being the Resolutions, Theses and Report presented to the Third Annual Conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal. Bhatpara, March 1928.

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal. 2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta 1928. Annas 8.

P. 546. (2)

A leaflet entitled "Revolution and Independence (vide p. 263.)"

P. 546. (3)

7th Wednesday at 2 P. M.

**National flag will be hoisted by
Sj Sarjoo Prosad Behani, President
District Congress Committee.**

1. Opening song
2. Welcome address
3. Report by the Secretary
4. Speeches by Mr. P. Spratt and other.
5. Formation of Subject Committee by delegates
6. Physical culture show
7. Subject Committee meeting begins at 7 P. M.

**Malda District
Youth Convention**

Dated the 7th & 8th November, 1928

8th Thursday:

MORNING 6 A. M.

Procession from Station to
Dharmasala

CONVENTION at 7-30 A. M.

PROGRAMME.

1. Opening song.
2. Address by Chairman
Reception Committee
3. Address by Dr. Dutta.
4. Resolutions.
5. Thanks giving
6. Closing song.

**Atul Chandra Kumar,
Secretary, Reception Committee**

P. 546. (4)

For the Youth-Section :—

Comrades,

This evening we are specially interested with our resolution of the youth-movement of the Party as formulated in our last Annual Conference at Bhatpara. A considerable time has passed, as yet we could not push it into any action for various technical difficulties. In the meantime there has been started one "All Bengal Youngmen Association" and other allied organisations at different districts of Bengal which we should take note.

We hope to co-ordinate all of them in a Federation. Our organisation may be called in the name of "YOUNG-WORKERS LEAGUE" and it may be federated with that A. B. Y. A., and our office also may locate near their office.

The main points for our discussions are as follows :—

1. Establishing the preliminary formalities Office, committees.
2. Training-classes-its Syllabus, Time, Staff etc. etc.
3. Practical-Works :—
 - (i) Ganavani distribution
 - (ii) Enlistment of Young-Workers
 - (iii) Fraction Work in other Youth-Organisations.
 - (iv) Study of the Movements and its Psychology in relation to the unemployed and young Industrial Workers and Peasants.
 - (v) Pamphlets on the Subject and on its different Phases.
 - (vi) Weekly contribution to Press and Party Journal.
 - (vii) Organisation of Public-Debates on the Topics and Current thoughts.
 - (viii) Statistics of Grievances, Youth Organisations, Books, Literatures on the Subject and other necessary Records.

Notes :—

1. Dealings with
 - (a) Working-class Youths
 - (b) Unemployed Youths
 - (c) Educational Youths and Children activity.

2. Branches at :—
 - (a) Dacca
 - (b) Mymensingh
 - (c) Hooghly
 - (d) Howrah
 - (e) Bhatpara
 - (f) Asansol
3. Slogans of :—
 - (a) Solidarity
 - (b) Humanity
4. Card-Badge-Seal of this propaganda.
5. Financial :—
 - (a) Subscriptions and Donations
 - (b) Publications of Reports and Literatures.
 - (c) Public meeting with Pass
 - (d) Debates and Competition entry Fees.
 - (e) Youth-Week.
 - (f) Youth-Aid Amusements allied with our aims and objects.

ASHUTISH ROY.
 Secretary-Youth-Section
 The Workers and Peasant
 Party-Bengal.

Minutes :—

Youth-Card with Radical Socio-economic Slogan Central youth Committee of the Party.

Bulletins, propaganda meetings, lectures, debate on different platforms of the Youth-movement and outside Calcutta for the formation of a local youth movement.

Working-class youth

Middle-class youth

Unemployed-youth

Children Committee

Students Committee

Employee-youths under 32 years.

Economic-Interests ? Sentiments ?

Social-status ? Political Rights ?

Living Wages ? Educational Facility ?

Parents Interest ?

PRACTICAL.

1. Registered office and Name.
2. Representative committee.
3. Co-operation with movement
4. Organisation of Debates Public.
5. Organisation of Finance.

30-7-28

- (1) *Office*—to be found. N. Sen Gupta.
- (2) *Training*—first 4 shall be papers.

($\frac{1}{2}$ hour papers) (a) Capitalism imperialism (b) Working-class movement (c) Socialism. (d) Present day India (e) Youth-movement.

(a) by Nalindra (b) by P. S. (c) Girja Mukerji (d) Gossai (e) Gossai.

Syllabus Drawn up by P. S. by Aug. 3rd.

- (3) *Recruiting* (a) among student groups college
(b) among workers from among unions where we have influence.
- (4) *Meetings* Branches to be set up etc.
- (5) *Fraction*

A. B. Y. N.	D. K. G.
A. B. Students Assn.	Girija
Young Indian. Socm.	D. K. G.
- (6) *Ganavani* selling
- (7) *Grievances* (a) Education
(b) Unemployment
(c) Working Youth.
- (8) *Public meetings* Campaign to begin after 1 month say.
- (9) *Finance*

Correspondent for Ganavani.

P. 546. (5)

"Young Comrades' League" Statement of Programme and Policy (Vide p. 9).

P. 546 (6)

**Draft Constitution and Rules and regulations of
"The Young Comrades' League".**

Name :—

(1) The name of the League will be "The Young Comrades' League". It will be styled in Bengali as "Tarun-Bandhu Dal."

Object :—

(2) The object of the League is to organize a radical and militant movement of the exploited and oppressed young men and women for

(a) The redress of their immediate grievances.

(b) The establishment of the Independent Republic of India, on the basis of the social and economic emancipation of the masses.

Membership :—

(3) All persons between the ages of 15 and 30 shall be eligible for membership provided that he or she

(A) subscribes to the object of the League,

(B) accepted by the Executive Committee,

(C) performs work under the direction of the League.

Subscription :—

(4) The subscription of the League will be one anna per month.

- (a) The Executive Committee may recommend that extra payments be made by individual members at a rate not exceeding 4 as per month.

Management:—

(5) The affairs of the League will be managed by an Executive Committee consisting of members not exceeding 7, elected at the annual meeting, which shall be empowered to add to its number elected representatives from Branches.

- (a) The Executive Committee shall meet at least once a week and half of its members will form the quorum.

(6) Any addition or alteration to the rules shall have to be decided in an annual or a special general meeting convened after clear fifteen days notice served under the direction of the Executive Committee.

(7) Branches shall be organised under the direction of the Executive Committee.

- (a) Each Branch shall have a Secretary and a Branch Committee.

ADMISSION FORM.

To

The Secretary.

**Young Comrades' League.
CALCUTTA.**

Dated _____ *192* .

Dear Comrade,

I desire to be a member of the 'Young Comrades' League.' I am willing to subscribe to the object (printed overleaf), Constitution and programme of the League and pay the prescribed subscription.

Yours truly,

1. Name _____
2. Address _____
3. Native Village, residence or place of business _____
4. Post office _____
5. Thana _____
6. District _____
7. Occupation _____
8. Age _____ Sex _____ Civil Condition _____

Placed before the Executive Committee on
Approved or refused

Secretary.

Young Comrades' League.

2. The object of the League is to organize a radical and militant movement of the exploited and oppressed young men and women for

(a) the redress of their immediate grievances

(b) the establishment of the Independent Republic of India on the basis of the social and economic emancipation of the masses.

P. 546 (7)

To all members.

Dear comrades,

I have been instructed by a general meeting of the Young Comrades league, held on the 10th to remind all members who are leaving Calcutta of the possibilities of work during the vacation. The following lines are suggested.

(1) Collection of information in regard to political, youth, peasant or labour movements in districts.

(2) study of economic situation, especially of peasantry.

(3) propaganda for, and establishment of branches of Y. C. L., and especially attempt to recruit young members of working and peasant classes.

I must urge all comrades not to neglect the opportunities for valuable work which the vacation provides.

(Sd.) ILLEGIBLE.

P. 546 (8).

Working Class Movement.

It obviously be possible in treating of the working-class movement, its history theories aims, etc. logically to include practically all the subjects which we shall have to attend to in this study circle. It is essential, indeed; to touch upon many of them. The subject dealt with last week, i. e. the growth of capitalism into the imperialist stage, and its great downfall, must be dealt with, as the background upon which the labour movement grows. It will be necessary to look at the colonial question, at the peasant question, etc. etc.

It must therefore be very brief, and, apart from an historical introduction, discuss mainly principles. The subjects I shall deal with then are :

- (1) The rise of the labour movement and the condition which brought it about.
- (2) Its development of various types of organisations—unions, federations, parties, Internationals.
- (3) The different schools of thought which it produced—and leading from this question the real historical significance of the labour movement in general.
- (4) The significance of the L. M. in the colonial countries.
- (5) Thence the attitude which, we, as an organised and conscious revolutionary group, must adopt towards, the labour movement, organisation ally into the type of movement which we must endeavour to bring about.

I shall deal mainly with British movement but refer to others where necessary.

(1) The labour movement always grows, when factory industry or a capitalist basis comes into existence. We can neglect the earlier forms analogous to the T. Unions, which existed from medieval times, as the "Gilds" etc., and in England developed during the 17th and 18th centuries gradually into some thing like modern T. U's. Practically the British labour movement, the earliest in the world, dates from the latter part of the 18th cent. when factory industry was being established rapidly. But it is not until well into the 19th cent. that the movement becomes strong and well recognised—because of the inevitable weakness of movement just beginning among an illiterate and oppressed class, but mainly of repressive measures and legislation. S. & B. Webb's History of T. Union, an invaluable book, divides the history, according to its chapter headings into the following sides.

- (1) 1799-1825 "The Struggle for Existence" (against legislation forbidding all combination passed in 1799 and repealed in 1824).
- (2) 1829-1842 "The Revolutionary Period".
- (3) 1843-1860 "The New Spirit and the New Model".
- (4) 1863-1885 "Sectional Development".
- (5) 1875-90 "The New Unionism".
- (6) 1890-1920 The Place of T. Uism in the State".

The revolutionary period was important for several reasons. It was a period in many respects similar to that present in India. Capitalism was unrestricted by factory Acts, Compensation etc. and hardly yet (illegible) all by T. U. action. (This not into call here), The workers were in large proportion fresh or 1st or 2nd genr. from the field or from handicrafts.—They lived in hastily constructed and (illegible) built towns without sanitation or any amenity. Child labour and many other horrible abuses went unchecked. But they had had experience for many years of the struggle for existence of Unionism etc. and when at last in 1824 the Court Law was repealed, at once Unions were formed all over the country like Russian Unions after March 1917 and at once went on strike. (Immediate attempt to re-enact laws).

Secondly it was a revolutionary period. Very quickly the movement, finding sectional strikes useless, and little gain achieved (period of econ. exhaustion after Napoleonic war) aimed at Combination ultimately by about 1836 at the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union. This was the fastest period of growth in T. U. history acc. to Webb. At one period over $\frac{1}{2}$ million members joined in a few weeks. The attempt at a Gen. Strike failed through lack of organisation but the endeavour to seige power in the int. of the working class was not given up, and until the 40's the move-

ment was strongly revolutionary. The (illegible) movement was then beginning. Indeed a movement for advising very mild reforms it had very revolutionary support—the so-called “Physical Force Party” (a opp. to the “Moral Force Party”).

Third. Much of theory etc. useful to the movement later on was then originated, in a confused and contradictory mass. Hogshead etc. wrote then on earlier on the nature of exploitation, anticipating Mass to some extent. The working-class as a revolutionary factor was made clear. The idea of a General Strike as a revolutionary tactic was first propounded. On the other hand, Owen was strongly under the influence of the workers' in which he took an active part. He was against revolution—but aided and agitated for the G. N. C. M. in order to establish central strike fund etc. He propounded much Utopian theory, which had much influence and originated the coop-movement-in idea. He had too some thing of the M. C. A. in him.

Fourth, movement made mistake. It tried workers co-operation factories (tried again in similar conditions in 1921—always failure. Also tried under influence of Louis Blanc (a similar Utopian to Owen) in France. 17 demonstrated necessity of organisation on a sounder basis.....).

(To finish Section 1.—Rise in prosperity of capitalism—world monopoly. Hence ability to give way to inc. strong labour movement. Hence conservative Unionism. New model and Sectional devt. But New Unionism was to some extent a sign of change.—inc. importance of instituted labour and tendency to replace. Hence orgn. of some—and, also tendency to follow their type of orgn. and D. B. U. industrial Unionism. The severe crisis in commerce of 1880-1900 (illegible) by German and other competition etc. pushed this development on. Inc. after 1900 when British probably first began to go downhill. Big combination and strikes in 1900—1914. Growth of “left” influence—syndicalism and Marxism in S. W. and Clyde Valley etc. But otherwise going on. Some sections remain com. All old men and B. C. officials. Thus finally when Webb gave as his last chapter “Place in State” is to a large extent erroneous. Time.—from 1890 on—T. U's tended to take a

part in State. M. P's were won over and accepted official positions etc. *e.g.* Shadleton, Burns, great labour leaders of 80's. Tendency gone on to our own day, esp. during war. Webb vows all this with approval (\therefore beware of him, but read him). Actually in addition to tendencies previously spoken of, we have now active offensive of capm. against Unions—on this point *i.e.* Winning over of leaders,) and also repression. (Osborne (illegible) Tuff Vale case—T. U. illegible).

Pass on and revert to this again. Note other labour movements and all in somewhat similar conditions. Gen. Fr. U. S. A.

Section 2.—Various types of orgns. Parties, Internationals, Soviets, Unions, Fed. (Illegible.....) Sketch of function orgn. and origin.

Section 3.—Schools of thought T. U'ism of crude British type— with Parties—S. B. Fabian etc., (Germany, France, England, U. S. A.)
T. U'ism of syndicalist type—allied with anarchism.
I. L. P. etc. anarchist—comm. (Illegible)

Transition to com.
Rise only in Imp. period.

Workers Org. of Communist type Party foremost (S.d. not different from—(illegible) British.

T. U's as schools of Communism (also effected in revn?) leader of peasants full accts of relation between U. N. and Party and reasons.

Real hist. significance of labour movement. —force which can overthrow Capist. Industrialism and establish socialism the first ecom system which can afford decent living to all it produces the class and Org which can so use it—(Illegible).
But dangers. T. U'ism reactionary often.

Section 4.—Last movment in Colonies.

As ally or leader of revy. movement— but it is ultimately socialist *i.e.* communist

Section 5.—A militant form to adopt.

(1) Obvious revy rather than reformist. This is keynote.

(2) But also we are for Socialism as a working class (Illegible).

Have to form W and P P to replace Congress.'

Unity (Illegible not) with Congress.

i.e. working class need a (3) Orgn. in T. U's.

C. P. even in Colonies

(W. & P.P. not enough).

P. 546 (9)

106 Guilford Street,
W. C. I.

June 18th 1928.

Dear Comrade,

I wonder whether you would be good enough to give me some information relative to the Indian Youth movement. Some of us over here are very interested in his matter and we would like to get into contact with any of the organisations involved. It would help us very much if you could clear up the points which I raise below.

(1) What steps have been taken by the Workers and Peasants Party to operate the February resolution on the Youth.

(2) About how many young workers are included in the W. & P. P. (or its youth section).

(3) What is the attitude of the W. & P. P. towards the Order of Young India (support, opposition, or united front cum fraction work).

(4) Can you estimate what proportion of the membership of the Order of Young India, or other similar youth organisations, is made up of young workers, or of the sons of poor peasants.

(5) What relation does the number of young workers influenced by the W. & P. P. bear to the number influenced by the Order of Young India etc.

(6) Do the various sections of the bourgeois youth organisations vary in this respect.

(7) If so, can you tell us which of the bourgeois youth organisations include, or influence the greatest number of young workers supplying, if possible, the names and addresses of the Secretaries of these organisations.

(8) Can you supply any publications of the most Left sections of the Order of Young India, which would throw light on their political outlook.

(9) What part if any is being played by the local sections of the Order of Young India in the present strike movements, or has been played in other class struggles.

It will be very useful to us here, if you can lighten the present darkness on any (especially all) of the above list of points. I give my address above. The rest of it is London, England. Any letters etc. addressed to me there should reach me O. K.

Yours fraternally,
L. C. MALLONIE.

P. 546. (10)

2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.

Dear Comrade,

I am at last answering your letter, and apologise for not doing so earlier. I have been trying to get hold of some of the documents published by the bodies I know of, and am sending some from Bombay. None have materialised yet from Calcutta, though I can say with some assurance that they are of just the same type.

When I first read your letter, I was tempted to reply with a plain "No" to all your questions. Apart from consideration of grammar, that would probably be the most accurate answer. But I will try to say something to each.

(1) (W. & P. Party resolution etc.) You should realise that there are three W. & P. Parties (Bombay, Bengal, Punjab) (*plus* of course one or two other groups which may develop into Parties, as at Nagpur, Gorakhpur, Ajmer, Nagapatam and so on). These all act in practice separately, and there is not yet even formal unity. It is hoped to establish an All-India W. & P. Party, including most of these groups, in December next. The resolution in question was drafted jointly by members of the Bombay and Bengal parties the most developed politically and was adopted later by them. As to Bombay. I don't know what has happened, as I have been there since March. At that time a group of about six college students was meeting regularly and discussing with W.&P. members on theoretical subjects, and it was proposed to develop this into a genuine youth orgn. It is doubtful if this has been done. The thing was probably dropped at the time of vacation in April, and all the Party members have no doubt been too busy since then to take it up again.

In Bengal, a beginning is just being made. A group of a dozen or so, including one or two students, and the rest "bhadslog" (nondescript middle class young men, unemployed etc.) has met two or three times and decided to establish a "Young Comrades League". (The name was suggested by Saklatvala.) It will probably be announced in a few days. Its address is not yet fixed.

(2) (No. of young Workers in W. and P. Parties). It is safe to say that none of the three W. and P. Parties has any working class membership to speak of, (Bengal and probably Punjab have some active peasant members). The Bombay Party, when I knew it was almost exclusively petty bourgeoisise, though some of its members were in close touch with workers' orgns.

This has probably changed now. I personally never lost an opportunity of gibing at them for it, and their psychology was undoubtedly changing. The textile strike has probably enabled them to enrol some active workers. Naturally there would be no separation yet between "young" and "otherwise". Here there are a number of worker-members, in theory, but not more than three or four new ones are active. They happen to be all young.

This may seem odd to you. It is largely the result of the extraordinary separation, which has grown up in the last few generations between the educated classes-even the poorest of them, and the masses. Even such people as the W. & P. P. members find it extremely hard to overcome this. It is true so far as I can make out (language handicaps me) that the workers as individuals, are on the whole very backward. They have been kept out of things by the upper classes & c. for so long. I was recently asked to get hold of one genuine worker to send to a Youth Conference in England, but I could not find one who would have been of the slightest use. None the less, the W. & P. members exaggerate it, I am sure, and their natural laziness largely responsible. (I should have said that the Gorakhpur group probably, and the Nagapatam W. & P. Party certainly, contain a large proportion of workers. The latter, however, has never really existed, I think.)

(3) (Attitude of W. & P. P. to other Youth orgns). You seem to have got hold of the very name. I have never heard of the "Order of Young India", and if such a body exists, I think it cannot be important. As to youth organisations generally: there have been All India Conferences, but there is no All-India body, so far as I know, and for the same reasons as in the case of the W. & P. Parties. In general only very wealthy people can maintain All-India organisations. They are usually, I think, federated by Provinces. This is so in Bombay, where the B. P. Youth league is practically the only orgn. now in existence. It is almost confined to students. (Apart from a sort of caucus called the "Young India Society" which controls the whole thing. It consists of a dozen able young men, who unfortunately have no policy, but delight in wire-pulling and feeling important. Some are reactionary, others act.) In Bengal there is an All-Bengal Youth Assn. (a federation) but there are outside bodies mainly local which are actually more important. All members are students or "Bhadralog." In the Punjab there is only one body, called "Young India Society", which used to have several branches in the chief towns. I fancy it is now recovering after a period of inactivity.

In each case the attitude of the W. & P. P. is united front (illegible) fraction work in thing. In Bombay, the W. & P. members were active in the last conference, and brought in their point of view to some extent. One or two of the Young India Soc. are

joining the Party, I believe. Regular fraction work is probably not done, as I doubt if any business meetings are held. The Secretary, with one or two intimate friends probably does it all. This is the usual thing in India.

The All-Bengal Youth, when founded (Aug. 1927) was under the influence of Party members, who are still in (illegible) on the Committee- But the Congress captured it, and it has become entirely inactive. I am afraid the W.&P. Party does not bother itself about this or the other orgns. enough.

In Punjab the Y. I. S. is entirely controlled by the W.&P. members. In fact they are practically the same thing I think. Again there would be no formal fraction work.

(4) (Proportion of workers or sons of poor peasants). The answer is none. See (2) In the Punjab there might be a few sons of peasants in the orgn. I am not very sure.

(5) (Relative influence of W. & P. and other Youth orgns. among young workers). The question answers itself. Neither has any influence to speak of. The W. & P. Party is trying to gain some. (Stay! I did find an orgn. at Raniganj (Bengal) which had two young worker members. It was Congress in mentality.)

(6) (Variations among bourgeois youth orgns.) Answers itself. They are the same. Actually all the youth orgns. that I know are very similar in outlook—except that in the Punjab, which is definitely more radical than any other.

(7) (Which are most influential among young workers). Answers itself.

(8) . (Publication of the most left section.) As I said, there are no variations in political colour, except in the Punjab. In Bengal there is some sort of struggle with the orgns. between right and left (represented by Mr. Subha Anand Bose and Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutta resp.) The latter's Presidential Address to the All India Youth Conf. at Gauhati, Dec. 1926, I will send you next week, if I can get a copy. There are no corresponding orgns. to these. Similarly in Bombay there is a struggle between the W.&P. section and the others. The others win (as in Bengal) and the orgn. as a whole remains "classless" (Congress-like)—almost Fascist—in expression.

(9) (Party in Strikes etc.) Practically none. During the first Scavengers' Strike in Calcutta, (March 1928), some Congressmen, and youths possibly members of a Youth orgn. blacklegged. In the Bardoli affair, probably a few members of the Bomby orgn. have visited the place, and they have carried on a fairly active agitation in the city of Bombay, (where alone, except in Poona, they have any strength). It is characteristic that, so far

as I know, they have taken no action in regard to the mill-strike. They follow the Congress, which supports the Bardoli peasants, as they are against the Govt. only. The mill workers are striking against Indian capitalists. Therefore the Congress, and hence the Youth orgn. secretly disapproves. I hope this "lightens your darkness" to some extent.

I am enclosing some typical documents. The speech of the I. K. Yaguik is better than the average from our point of view. The speech (impromptu) of Mr. Narman, the President on this occasion, was not nearly as good. I think Yaguik exaggerates the extent of the organisation. They no doubt came to the meeting at Surat, Ahmedabad etc., but there would be little of any permanent membership orgn. I have put in a brown document from the Punjab. It was published by a sort of "ad hoc" committee, names given. Kidarnath Saighal (address Khabardar Steam Press, Lahore) is the President of the Youth League, and probably those here mentioned are its leading members. It is the sequel to a document called "An Appeal to Young Punjab", which I have not got. You will see that it has discarded its veneration, at any rate for some leaders, which Bombay and Bengal Youth orgns. preserve. But it shows almost no trace of a class-attitude.

I can give you a few other addresses: for Bombay Y. S. Meherally, Students' Brotherhood, Sandhurst Bridge, Bombay 4. For Bengal, one is: All-Bengal Youth Association, College St. Market, North Block, No. 19, Calcutta (Secs. N. C. Sen and J. N. Biswas.) All-Bengal Students' Organising Committee, 95/1 K. Baitakkhanna Road, Calcutta. (Sec. B. N. Das Gupta.) For Madras: Indian Youth Congress, 15, Nathu Sobraya Mudali Street, Mylapore, Madras, (Sec. K. Venkatachary).

I hope I do not seem excessively cynical about the movement here. There is a good deal of life in it, but no organisation worth the name. The ideas are better than in the past, but are still essentially bourgeois. That is to say, the ideas of the organisers. I think the fact that the efforts of these organisers come to nought, and the enthusiasm they are able to get at conferences etc. quickly vanishes, is due to the fact that most of the youths are turning away from them. The only people who can get funds and publicity nowadays are those who have the Congress behind them, (apart from Communal organisation of course). So there has been up to now practically no open opposition to the Congress school of thought among the youth. Prospects are there hopeful for radical youth organisations once they get going.

You should also bear in mind that there is no tradition of popular organisation in India. The Congress is not organised in our sense of the word: it is maintained, so far as it exists at all, by a few

(illegible) men. The Trade Unions make very little pretence at organisation. There are practically no branch meetings for example. All-Labour visitors to India, including myself, have hammered continuously at this point, but there has been very little result yet. It is in accordance with the slave-idea which (naturally) permeates all Indian thoughts that the work must be left to some big "leader" who does everything, while the others, who may be theoretically members or, not, look on and do his bidding. Even the W. and P. Parties tend to look upon themselves as groups of "leaders", who need not get any membership around them. They can posture in public, and the masses will follow when required. Again I am becoming cynical.

I shall send you some more documents next week if I possibly can. I enclose a copy of the Report of the Bengal W.&P. Party.

Yours fraternilly

P. SPRATT.

P. 546 (11).

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

The Workers & Peasants Party hails with joy the Bombay presidency Youths' Conference, the first successful endeavour to rally the youth of the presidency, and weld them into a powerful centralised organisation with a programme of work. When the Youths of a Nation congregate with a determination to devote their energies in an organised manner to the task of fighting political slavery, economic exploitation and social reaction, a new epoch dawns on the life of a subject Nation and a new phase develops in the history of its struggle for freedom. The Youths of a Nation constitute its best and most virile section. Youths alone have that idealistic power, that fighting will and self sacrificing spirit that fiery love for human liberty and unquenchable enthusiasm, which are needed to pioneer and lead movements destined to overthrow predatory social systems and liberate enslaved and exploited humanity from the rule of Imperialists and capitalists. Both in the previous and contemporary history of humanity idealistic and selfsacrificing, youths have been in the vanguard of all freedom and progress movements. The magnificent work achieved by organised youths in modern China, Turkey and Egypt as also in Soviet Russia, should inspire their Indian Comrades to unite themselves and participate in the struggle for freedom of the Indian nation against British Imperialism to bravely stand against and overthrow centuries old social and religious prejudices, to awaken the latent forces of the broad masses of the Nation and marshal them for a long drawn out struggle against the existing oppressive social system, to lead victoriously the organised Indian people to Swaraj and build up the social economic and cultural life of the future Independent India. These are the principal historical tasks of the Indian Youths and they alone (and not the supine compromising elderly leaders of the existing Congress and Nationalist movement) can have the necessary strength and idealism to realise these tasks.

The organised youths should realise that ours is essentially an epoch of struggle against political oppression economic exploitation and social tyranny from which the large majority of humanity are suffering. Owing to a fundamentally wrong social system, large sections of human population are rotting in intolerable poverty and slavery. Imperialism and capitalism have reduced a huge portion of humanity to the status of slaves and instruments of exploitation. However, the subject classes of the world have already bestirred themselves and under the leadership of intrepid and heroic political parties have started a Universal struggle against Imperialist and

Capitalist domination. In India too, millions and billions of workers and peasants who have been suffering for centuries from social and economic exploitation and who are even at present ground down by poverty and semi-slavery, have commenced their struggle for freedom. It becomes the duty and the historical task of all generous-hearted and noble youths who are animated by love for human liberty to sympathise with and participate in these rapidly growing social, political, and economic struggle of the immense millions.

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

In the social and religious spheres, the youths' movement should start a campaign, a veritable crusade against all injustices, barbarities and malpractices, such as Untouchability, Child marriage, caste system purdah, sex inequality, prohibition of widow remarriage etc. It should challenge and attack whatever is reactionary and decadent in social conceptions and institutions of contemporary India. It should declare a war on all communal movements which split the Indian People on un-historic communal lines, accentuate sectional consciousness among the people and which Prevent their organisational and psychological unity. The organised youths should realise the futility of all efforts to achieve Hindu, Muslim and in general, intercommunal Unity through fraternal, understanding among the respectable top elements of different communities. To achieve the real intercommunal unity, it is vitally necessary to rally together and unite the poverty-struck masses and middle classes of all communities on a politico-economic programme reflecting the specific interests of those classes (93% of the Indian people.) The organised youth should lead the struggle of these classes for their economic betterment and political advance from day to day. It will be only in the process of this struggle of the exploited Hindu Muslim, Parsi and Christian masses and middle classes that the real unity of the real people of the country will be built up. When the exploited elements of all social groups comprising the Indian Nation are organised in their Trade Unions, peasant associations, clerks,

teachers and other employees unions, on the basis of a united struggle against common exploitation, and as this united struggle develops and becomes country wide, the communal movements will decline and communal antagonism will vanish, being replaced by the organised movements of all exploited and suppressed elements of the Nation against their imperialist, Capitalist and feudal masters. Labour organisations and mass struggles alone can liquidate communalism. All other solutions of the problem of inter communal unity which are not based on the recognition of this social fact and which depend for the success on the mutual understanding, among the political and intellectual top elements will prove Utopian. The real Hindu Muslim Unity is being progressively built up in the process of mass struggles, in workers strikes in Bombay Kharagpur in other centres. With such a scientific conception of bringing about the Inter—communal unity of the broad sections of the Indian Nations the youth Movement should ally itself with the economic and political struggle of the lower and middle strata of the Indian Nation. Mere ethical propaganda or sermonising on the political arch-necessity of the intercommunal unity to successfully combat foreign domination will not yield any productive results.

It has been a tragedy of history that the dealism and dynamic energies of youth have been frequently exploited by predatory interests. For want of a correct understanding of the social structure, youths have often been tools in the hands of the ruling classes to suppress the struggle for liberty, of the exploited masses. In Italy the patriotic sentiment, romantic imagination and the militancy of middle class youth have been exploited and transformed into the reactionary fascist force by the Italian Capitalists not only to smash an independent working class movement but also to suppress the elementary democratic liberties of the Italian people. The youth movement should combat Fascism as an organised conspiracy to destroy the movement of all enslaved and exploited social groups. The radical elements within the youth organisation who desire that the strength of organised youths be spent for the struggle for freedom rather than be prostituted for maintaining slavery and exploitation in the social world should see that the youths' organisation is not dominated by social and political reactionaries, They should take up the ideological and political leadership of the youth organisation and movement.

D. R. THENGDI,

President, Workers & Peasants

Party, BOMBAY

P. 547.

A Four Crown letter file containing the following 3 documents
amongst others.

P. 547. (1)

Joint meeting of the G. I. P. Staff Unions, 20-1-28.

So far as I am aware, the situation is briefly as follows: The two main Staff Unions have achieved a position of some strength, with at any rate a few thousand members each, the one mainly on the Southern lines, the other on the Northern. Nevertheless the two are already overlapping, and some men are asking why there should be two unions etc. in defiance of all the accepted principles of Trade Unionism. Both unions are also convinced of the need for unity. The obstacles are merely some differences in regard to organising policy.

The main differences, so far as I am aware are these:

(1) The Employees' General Union holds that members should be organised in branches, while the Staff Union desires local Unions.

(2) The E. G. U. requires its branches to conform to a uniform constitution; the G. S. U. leaves the Constitution of each, constituent union to itself.

(3) The E. G. U. asks each branch to contribute to central funds such a percentage of its collection as it can spare, or ultimately, or uniform percentage: while the G. S. U. requires a fixed *per capita* contribution from its unions.

Nevertheless, the two are in agreement on the following general principles:

(1) The centralisation is necessary for united action, publications, a large part of the communication with the management, etc.

(2) That local initiative in regard to propaganda, recruiting, complaints in regard to minor grievances, etc., must be preserved. "The life of a union is in the branches" is a well known principle of trade unionism.

An acceptable compromise is therefore not impossible, and I suggest the following basis:

(1) The union shall be called "The G.I.P. Railway Workers' Union", and each local body "The G. I. P., R. W. U.—so-and-so Branch".

(2) The constitution of the Union should be laid down, providing for representation on the General Council (or whatever it is called) of the branches in accordance with membership.

(3) The constitutions of the branches be left for local decision, subject to the following provisions.

(a) that on the Managing Committee of the branch there shall be representation of all grades of workers.

(b) that meetings of the Managing Committee, and of the whole membership of the branch, must be held at least monthly.

(c) that contributions from members shall be uniform for the whole union. (A sliding scale or fixed rate as shall be decided).

(d) that branch contributions to the central union shall be at a fixed rate per member per annum—say A\$. 8 per quarter, or whatever shall be decided.

(4) That the remaining money shall constitute for each branch a "general purposes fund" to be used for communication, conveyance, propaganda, (meetings, handbills etc.), maintenance of meeting place, etc.

(5) That benefit funds be administered solely by the Union, benefits being paid on the recommendation of branch managing committees, subject if thought desirable, to investigation by the General Secretary or other central offices.

(6) If membership cards are used, they should be uniform for the whole union.

These appear to me the main points, and the above scheme should satisfy both points of view, and also secured good working.

If this or any other scheme is approved of, and amalgamation decided upon, a further joint committee meeting should be convened, with equal representation from the G. I. P. R. Workmen's Union, which should be asked to join in as one or more branches. The difficulty of existing funds will crop up here. I suggest that money at present in the hands of any section which will constitute a branch of the future Union should be retained as the branch general purposes fund, but that in the case of a general strike on

the line such branches should agree to contribute a proportion, say one-half, of their funds to the central funds for relief etc.

When this joint meeting has agreed on any basis for general unity, provisional officers and committees should then and there be agreed upon, and the whole submitted to meetings of the constituent Unions. At these meetings, members from each of the constituent unions should speak. If there is general agreement, as there no doubt will be, work on the new basis should be immediately begun. The two papers should be forthwith amalgamated in an equitable manner. The members of any overlapping branches should be forthwith fused. And a full General Meeting of the Union should be called, say, six months later, to ratify the scheme and formally inaugurate the joint Union, and bring about any detailed changes which are found to be desirable.

P. 547. (2)
G. I. P. RAILWAYMEN'S UNION.
(HEAD OFFICE)

SHETYE BUILDINGS, POILBAVDI, PAREL,

BOMBAY NO. 14

Centres:

BOMBAY.
KALYAN.
LONAVLA.
POONA.
KASARA.
MANMAD.
IGATPURI.
BHUSAWAL.
KHANDWA.
ITARSI.
WARDHA.
MURTIZAPUR.
NAGPUR.
AMLA.
CHALISGAON.
JUBBULPORE.
SUTNA.
MAHOBA.
KATNI.
DAMOH.
JHANSI.
AGRA.
BINA.
BHOPAL.
SHOLAPUR.
DHOND.
WADI.
SHAHABAD.

No. Sc/5. Dated 30th November, 1928.

To.

P. S—prat Esq.,

2/1 European Aslem, CALCUTTA.

Comrade,

Very soon we shall meet in Jheria. This fight of our Union over the Bhusawal demands is drifting fast towards the crisis. We send you herewith copies of this months' Railwayman which will give you a clear indication of what is contemplated in the near future. "Progress of the Union" will be a guide in this respect. I am sure you will bring from Calcutta good contingent for fraction work at Jheria. You must not fail to be watchful about the A. I. R. F. which meets two days prior to A. I. T. U. C. If possible we have to thrust the policy of United front on all Railways at the Federation meeting. Therefore dont' fail to take proper precautions about getting yourself and other fraction elements on the executive of the Federation through Calcutta Railway organisations. Similar precaution you will have to take about getting sufficient fraction men through all possible Unions in Calcutta for the T. U. C. work.

You will agree that the fight between right and left has begun. It has assumed far too bitter complexion on this side and we have practically to exert to the point of exhaustion to keep ourselves up against the all sided attack from the nationalists, moderates and trade union reformers. With fraternal greetings, to Mujafer and other comrades.

Yours Fraternaly.

Workers.

P. 547. (3)

"UNION IS STRENGTH"

G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union.

SHETYE BUILDINGS, POIBAVDI, PAREL,

BOMBAY No. 14.

No. G/S/346

Dated 12th October, 1928.

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

VICE-PRESIDENTS:
B. F. Bradley, Esq.
D. B. Kulkarni.
V. B. Purandare.

HON. GEN. SECRETARY:
S. H. Jh bvala.
Esq. B. A.

ORGANISING SECRETARY:
K. N. Joglekar,
Esq. B. A.

Head Office:
BOMBAY.

Branches:
KALYAN.
GATPURI.
MANMAD.
BHUSAWAL.
WARDHA.
MURTIZAPUR.
NAGPUR.
AMLA.
ITARSI.
KHANDWA.
BHOPAL.
BINA.
DAMOH.
MAHOBA.
JHANSI.
JUBBULPORE.
LONAVLA.
POONA.
DHOND.
SHOLAPUR.
SHAHABAD.

Dear Comrade,

Re:—Yours of the 9th.

I could not reply it earlier, owing to my engagements out of Bombay. I am sending you a copy of the resolutions. Please try to get them forwarded from different Unions to the Secretary A. I. T. U. C. We are also doing the same from Bombay.

I have put you on our Sub-list of the Railway man and copies will be sent to you regularly. The back numbers called for, by you are also sent.

Hoping to hear from you more often and expecting a rough report of your Trade Union activity for the record of the T. U. C. group.

Yours Fraternally.

K. N. JOGLEKAR,
ORGANISING SECRETARY.

LR.

P. 548.

A four Crown letter file containing the following 10 documents amongst others.

P. 548. (1)

R. No. _____

THE
BOMBAY DOCK WORKERS UNION

CENTRE _____

MEMBERSHIP CARD.

Name _____

Department _____

Ticket No _____

कामकऱ्यांचा मायबाप

युनियन

म्हणून

युनियनला आतांच

सामील व्हा ।

गोदावाल्यांचें युनियन

१६ आणे

जोरदार बनवा !

PRESIDENT.
S. H. JHABWALA.

General Secretary.

S. S. MIRAJKAR.

OFFICE.

Kirti Building, Forbes Street,
Fort, Bombay.

Month	Subs- cription		Collec- tor's Sig- nature.	Balanc due.		Remarks.	Month	Subs- cription		Collec- tor's Sig- nature.	Balance due.		Remarks
	Rs.	as		Rs.	as			Rs.	as		Rs.	as	
19 _____							19 _____						
January ...							January ...						
February ...							February ...						
March ...							March ...						
April ...							April ...						
May ...							May ...						
June ...							June ...						
July ...							July ...						
August ...							August ...						
September ...							September ...						
October ...							October ...						
November ...							November ...						
December ...							December ...						
Total ...							Total ...						

General Secretary

General Secretary,

P. 548. (2)

Bombay dock worker's Union

2/3 Khandke Buildings, Dadar,

Bombay 16th February 1928.

To,

Comrade, P. Spratt

Bombay.

Dear Comrade,

I have to invite you to address the meeting of the Bombay Dock Workers' Union on Sunday the 19th instant at 2 P. M. at Seamen's Union office (Keshavji Buildings, opposite Carnac Bridge).

I hope you will please attend the meeting.

Yours fraternally,

S. S. Mirajkar.

Secretary.

P 548. (3)

BOMBAY MUNICIPAL WORK-MEN'S UNION.

Improvement Trust Chawls,

Block No. 17, Room No. 1,

BOMBAY No. 8.

Date 6th January 1928.

To

Mr. P.-Spratt.

Dear

A Mass meeting of the Municipal Workers is going to be held on Tuesday the 10th instant, at 5-45 P. M (S. T.) in the open Maidan at the Improvement Trust Chawls, Foras Road. As you are one of the well wishers of the Union of workers, I request you to attend the meeting and speak there.

Yours sincerely.

S. H. Jhabwala.

Hon. Gen. Secretary.

P. 548. (4)

BOMBAY MUNICIPAL WORK-MEN'S UNION.

Improvement Trust Chawls,

Block No. 17, Room No. 1,

Bombay No. 8.

Date 23th January 1928.

To

Mr. P. Spratt,

Bombay

Dear Mr.

A Mass meeting of the Municipal Workers is going to be held on monday the 30th instant, at 5-45 P. M. (S. T. in the open Maidan at the Improvement Trust Chawls, Koras Road. As you are one of the well wishers of the Union of Workers I request you to attend the meeting and speak there.

Yours sincerely,

S. H. Jhabwala.

Hon. Gen. Secretary,

P. 548. (5)

Scavengers.

Madras Corporation and City Scavengers Union,

1/59 Swaminiken St. Chintadripat, Madras.
Sec N. Sreeramulu Naidu.

Formed 1918, membership then 1000

Strikes 1918 3 days Rs 2 inc.

1919 5 days Rs 2 inc.

1924 3 days. Rs 1/8/-inc. and supply of rice by corp: at 4 measures per R (bajar price 3 m. per R)

1925 ½ day Casual leave with full pay 15 days accident leave with pay. Prov. fund Death benefit.

1927 (Sept) Only to be discussed by Health officer.
2 days

Wages Original (?)	Present
Mistry Rs 17 as. 8	20-0
Chapراسي 20-	25-
Sweeper Rs 11- Rs 15 (inc.-/8-) Ann	17-8
Scavengers 11-13	-/8) 17-8
(latrine)	
Cleaners 11-14	(-/8) 17-8
(side coolies)	
Street water 11-14	(-/8) 17-8
boys	
Depot Cooly 11-14	(-/8) 17-8
Rubbish takers 11-15	(-/8) 17-8

Females:

	Present
Latrine cleaner. Rs. 9-Rs 12 (-/8)	13-8
Depot cleaners 2- 12 (-/8)	13-8
Slaughter House worker 11- 15 (-/8)	17-8

Pay 1918.

Male Rs 7- Rs 9 Female Rs- Rs6/8.

Corpn: provided quarters for 300 workers.

Room about 10 ft. square with separate kitchen water tap, and latrine. Such room has door, and ventilator. Rent as. 12. Clear understanding that quarters will be gradually built.

(1) M. K's arguments on the interest of the Municipal workers in the Commission betray a hopeless ignorance of politics. It is true that most workers are not directly connected in boycotting the Commission. They are not called upon to cooperate with it. But any politician of sense uses such occasions as this for the rallying and organising of his forces. The strike of the Municipal Workers is not so much against the Commission, as a preparation for the day when the organised workers shall by direct action win Swaraj for India, and themselves.

(3) We cannot accept his statement that "the Commission does not take a pie off their wages" etc. It may well be that this statement will prove false in the sense that one result of the policy of which the Commission is part may be an increase in the exploitation of Indian worker as a whole. On the other hand, the strike may, by consolidating this union and demonstrating its strength, assist it in future economic struggles. But the argument is in any case irrelevant.

(4) We cannot agree, as M.K. insinuates, that the resolution was forced on the men by our unscrupulous action. No doubt most of the men do not understand the situation but when some of the implications of the policy had been explained to them, they were full of enthusiasm, and in spite of the threats of the Municipal authorities, they unanimously reiterated the resolution last week.

(5) We do not agree that the strike is illegal, in spite of M.K. and Mr. Mistry. The Municipal servants Act provides that cessation of work of certain categories (only) of workers is illegal, unless two months notice is given. In that case two months notice was given. It would therefore be legal for all the Municipal workers to strike. With a view however to minimising any danger of victimisation, we have arranged that no actual worker takes a prominent part in the arrangements, and that the strike committees consist entirely of "outsiders".

(6) We fail to understand the references to our "self interest," "securing our position of leadership" etc. We have pointed out that one way, in the present stage, of becoming unpopular in the trade union movement is to pursue a correct political policy. As for our self interest, any one should know that the result of such activity as ours is inevitably victimisation by our own employers, unpopularity with our fellows in the Congress and the undesirable attentions of the C. I. D.

(7) Finally we wish to express our resentment at the reflections on the character of Mr. Jhabvala. The mention of his name identifies him with the "irresponsible individuals" "disgruntled, self seeking sensation—mongering busy bodies" with "itchy throats" and "sweet promises".

His remarks on the two types of labour leaders reveal that M.K. is one of many who object generally to politics in the Trade Union movement. But a very little examination shows that what M. K. objects to is not politics as such, but working-class politics. We confess to an equally biased view. We object to bourgeois politics. He praises those leaders who do not urge their followers to do what "they have not business to do." i. e. who restrict their followers to what current bourgeois law and custom considers proper. This we stigmatise as bourgeois politics within the union. We on the other hand think it essential that unions should do a number of things, including political strikes, which the bourgeoisie consider improper. This is working-class politics in the union.

When the time of trial comes, as it may, and, as in China, the forces of the Indian bourgeoisie massacre the Indian workers, we shall no doubt see on which side the "non-political" M. K., "a sincere sympathiser of working classes" will stand.

Sir,

As members of the Municipal workers' strike Committee, responsible for arranging the 1-day strike on the landing of the Commission, wish to reply to the article on the subject in your issue of today signed by M. K.

Hardly a sentence of this article but contains a statement or implication with which we disagree, and it is therefore difficult to reply shortly. We take the most important point. The central argument is that the Commission, and political affairs in general, are of no concern to workers., whose unions should confine their attention to 'wages and hours' leaving these things to "politically-minded Indians".

This belief, which we hold to be false, is very widespread in India, even in the Labour movement. The fact is that workers, perhaps more than any other class, are interested in the dominant political question of trade and must if swaraj is to be attained at all, take a very prominent part, as they have in China in that attainment. It is the duty of a farsighted labour leader to train and educate workers to realise the best means of such training being, as always, action. This duty is a difficult one, and a leader who undertakes it is liable at first to lose popularity and to be upset and ousted by any reactionary demagogue (always more influential than a progressive demagogue) who plays upon the natural fears which all men entertain in face of a dangerous policy, however necessary and salutary it may be. It is fatal to leave these things to politically minded, i. e. middle and upper class Indians.

Who "make loud professions of sympathy for the workers" and "assiduously exploit the situation in their own self-interest".

It is hardly necessary to remind readers of a Bombay newspaper of the enormous amount of self-sacrificing work which Mr. Jhabvala is doing and has done for many years in the organisation of labour.

We are, Sir,

Yours etc.

R. S. N.

K. N. J.

P, S.

Union formed 16.1.26. Pres. Miss P. B. Das Gupta.

V. P. Muzaffar Ahmad.

Sec. Dharani Kanta Goswami.

Calcutta Scavengers Strike Mar 4-9-1928.

- (1) Introduction ... For information of public.
- (2) History of formation of union for a month before, the E.C. collected facts etc.
- (3) Situation of scavengers.. Think vernacular press the scavengers have been redressed, and
- (4) History of strike. hinted the possibility of strike to publish criticism of public for indifference.
- (5) Criticism of E. C's. statement and actions breaking of strike provocation propaganda etc. Take 3 or 4 months ago corporation questions etc. justification of supplementary actions. Marley Janes statement.

K. S. Roy's statement re. breaking of strike.
Depute. A. C. Bannerjee's statement that scavengers earn 70-80 p. m.

Articles in Bengali Press

1st	26-1-28	AnandBagan.
2	27-2-28	
3	6-3-28.	

- (a) Statement of E.C.
- (b) Criticism
- (c) Strike successful (reasons—last strike justified).
- (d) Efforts of E.C. to break strike unsuccessful.

Grievances.—Wage 11... 12 & 2
 Sweepers and cartmen Mehtars.
 (Masons and mistries 18-30).
 Rent 2-5 Ps. Ordinary masons get 1/4 per day.
 Food 10 Rs. single man.
 (Illegible) medium babe.
 Die in drains but no death benefit (3 or 4 per annum).
 Bribery.—at least Rs. 10 to get the job, Rs. 2 per month at
 least in bribes.
 No permanence of employment. dismissed without notice at
 whim of petty officials (because of bribery).
 Debts, to Kabulis. 2 as. per month.
 Double shift—Rs. 4 for every paid out.
 No medical provisions etc.—(Number does not exceed 1000).
 Insanitary busties dirty and small.—(High rent as they are
 untouchables).

No leave at all.

	12 or 7 H.	a minimum budget.
Exp. Rice	4-8	per m. (20 seers).
Dall	1-	4 seer.
Fuel	10	
Soap (cloth)	4	lowest.
Mustered oil	4	Rs 12-14. alone.
Kerosine	4	(No clothing or other extras).
Rent (illegible)	12	60-70 do not drink at all.
Vegetable	15	
Interest	1-4	
Bribe to Babu	1-	
Chaprasay bribe	-8	
Drinking	1-9	

In view of the conflicting accounts of the position of the Calcutta Scavengers, and of their strike, and of the actions of the Mayor and the Executive officer in connection with it, the Executive Committee of the Scavengers' Union of Bengal has decided to issue the following brief statement of the facts for the information of the public:—

The Scavengers' Union of Bengal was formed after a month's preliminary work, the collection of facts etc. on the 16th January last, and a provisional committee was then set up. On the 29th, the first general meeting was held, with over 3000 scavengers present,

when the constitution was adopted, the office-bearers and committee appointed, and immediate demands, formulated. On the 2nd February a letter was sent to the Chief Executive officer Calcutta Corporation, detailing the demands, and copies were also sent to the Health officer, the Mayor, the Chief Engineer, and the District Engineers of Districts 1, 2, 3 and 4. The demands put forward at this meeting, and communicated to the officials, were as follows:—

1. Recognition of the "Scavengers' Union of Bengal."
2. Wages Rs. 30 per month.
3. _____
- ...
- ...
- ...
- ..
- ...
- ...
- 10

But no reply was received to these communications. At the same time, publicity was given to the demands and grievances of the scavengers. Articles appeared in the Ananda Bagan Patrika on 26th Jan. and 27 Feb., discussing their position, and warning the public and the Corporation of the results to be expected from neglecting the demands. Copies of these issues were sent to the Chief Executive Officer, Mayor and some other great men of the city. The formation of the Union and the immediate demands were also published on 11th Feb. in the Calcutta Municipal gazette.

The chief grievances of the scavengers will be seen from the demands. The present deplorable position of the scavengers employed under Cal. Cor. can be described briefly as follows:—

Housing. Dirty, insanitary bustees, usually without water supply etc. High rents because the occupants are "untouchable".

Leave. No leave is given whatever.

Dismissal may occur at any moment, at the whim of a superior. A bribe is taken from each employee newly engaged.

Medical provision. None whatever, though it is needed owing to the nature of the work.

Death benefit. None, although death due to suffocation or poisoning in drains is of frequent occurrence.

Bribery. Bribe (of at least Rs. 10) almost equivalent to a month's wage required to obtain work. Further

bribes have to be paid regularly to superiors—babus, Chaprasey etc.

Debts. Almost all in debt to Kabulis, to an extent which the debtor himself may not know. Interest is exacted at as. 2 per rupee per month.

Wages for sweepers and cartmen, Rs. 12 plus Rs. 2 grain allowance, for Mehtars Rs. 11 plus Re. 1 grain allowance.

For masons, mistries etc. Rs. 18-30.

For the lower grades, no increments are given, cases are known of men working for 12 years on Rs. 14 p. m. even the upper sections are relatively under paid. Ordinary masons who would not undertake the dirty work of the municipal masons, are paid at Rs. 1/4 per day of the total of over 13,000 men, less than 1000 work two shifts per day. For that, also, they pay extra bribes—for morning shift Rs. 2, for evening shift Rs. 4. per month. Many mehtars in Kidderpore were found to be unaware that their proper rate was Rs. 14. They had been drawing only Rs. 12. A budget of expenditure of a single worker, based upon an actual budget is here given. This account was submitted by a scavenger during the strike period, in course of deliberation. All the items except drink, are minimum figures, and several necessary items, clothing etc. are omitted.

Item.	Rs.	a.	
Rice (20 seers)	...	4	8
Dall (4 seers)	...	1	0
Mustard Oil	...	0	4
Vegetables	...	0	15
Drinking	1	9 (60—70% however do no drink at all.)
Soap	0	4
Kerosine	...	0	4
Fuel	0	10
Rent	0	12 (per head).
Interest	1	4
Bribes	1	8
Total	...	12	14

Immediately after the formation of the Union, lower officials of the Corporation, sarbars and overseers, began a campaign designed to prevent the men from joining. We were told that a demand for increase of wages would result in reductions, victimisation of Union members was threatened, etc.

The friction thus engendered resulted on the morning of the 4th March in the declaration of a strike by the scavengers of districts, 1 and 2. They were joined in the same afternoon by part of Districts 3 and 4. and on the following days the strike became progressively more complete, until the men of Kidderpore struck on the 7th morning. From the first day, the police interfered, and arrested 5 strikers, who were sent up for trial by the magistrate. Attempts were made by show of force to induce strikers to resume work, and to recruit black legs to replace them. These efforts were partially successful only in District 4. In other parts of the city the strike was complete and the work of scavenging was stopped.

The strike was begun without the knowledge of the Union, which, however, fully supported the action, of its members. On the first day of the strike a meeting of the union at Desh Bandhu Park was held when the demands as formulated on Jan. 29. were reiterated.

Nevertheless, a campaign has begun in the Corporation, attempting to show that the Mayor was unjustified in making terms, and aimed at depriving the scavengers of their gains. We must warn the members of the Corporation that although the men have returned to work, their spirit is unbroken and they are prepared again to strike at any moment.

Already one condition agreed upon has violated. Instead of a committee which would smared with ink hence illegible increments and other demands, a conference is to be held, whose "proceedings will be laid before the Corporation for consideration and action. We hope however that the remaining clauses of the promise given by the Mayor, although only on his own responsibility, will be honoured by the Corporation.

Throughout the course of the strike, meetings of the members in different parts of the city were held, and their views learnt and expressed.

The Union found it necessary from the first to protest against the attitude of the Corporation, which recruited blacklegs, and called in the police to intimidate the strikes. A resolution to this effect was passed on the 5th March (Second day of the strike), and published in the press. Protest was also made against the action of the police in illegally arresting and mishandling 8 men engaged in peaceful picketting, beating strikers with a view to forcing them to return to work, and instituting legal proceedings against them for alleged theft of Corporation property.

The next day (6th) it was found necessary to utter a further protest against the action of the Corporation in refusing to allow

the strikes to hold a meeting in Hagra Park. And on the 7th it was decided to wire to the All-India Congress Committee a protest against the reactionary attitude of the Corporation which is controlled by members of the Swarajya Party.

Since 5th day of the strike i. e. from 8th instant police posse were posted at every traffic junction and lorries carrying a few scavengers with armed guards were seen moving from place to place.

On the morning of the 9th March (sixth day of the strike) a great effort was made by the authorities to break the strike. Intimidation on a large scale was begun, to force the men back to work, but it collapsed on the arrival of members of the Union Executive, who persuaded the men to remain firm.

Here in this connection it ought to be mentioned specifically the statement of C. E. O. made on the 7th which itself will clear the confused impressions made on the minds of the councillors and public by the cautiously drawn long statement of C. E. O. put forth in the meeting of 13th inst:

On the same day the Union Executive met Mr, J. M. Sen Gupta, the Mayor of Calcutta, who had visited the dwellings of some of the scavengers and convinced himself of the justice of their demands. A provisional settlement was quickly arrived at with him, the terms of agreement being as follows:

- (1) Strike to be called off at 5 p. m. of that day (9th).
- (2) Mayor accepts in principle the demand for increased pay and undertakes to recommend an immediate advance of Rs. 2 and a graded system of increments.
- (3) A committee, to settle details of this and other demands to consist of representatives of the Corporation, the Bengal T. U. Federation, the Scavenger's Union, and the rate payers, to be nominated by the B. P. C. C.
- (4) Bribery, if any to be stopped.
- (5) No victimisation, nor forfeit of wages for the strike period.

The strike was accordingly called off on the afternoon of the 9th March, having lasted for six days.

In the discussion on strike by the Corporation on 13th March, the Chief Executive Officer made a long statement on the strike and the efforts of the Corporation to break it. The chief purport of the statement is to show that the strike was on the point of collapse by Friday 9th., and that the intervention of the

Mayor was un-necessary. The Mayor replied adequately during the debate: "I do not wish to controvert the long statement that the Chief Executive Officer has been pleased to make here. I only want to state that I do not accept his post facto statement today. The state of things he has disclosed in his statement was not disclosed even at the moment when the strike was being settled in his presence with the Labour representatives. At that time, on Friday afternoon, at my house, the Chief Executive Officer did not hint in the slightest way that the strike had practically ended as he has chosen to say today..... He did not in the slightest way indicate to me that he had the situation completely in hand, nor he was able to assure me that the strike had practically endedThere were not enough volunteers organisations to cope with the situation. There were no men to take the places of those men that had struck. The city was in a dangerous condition.....". Our experience completely confirms what the Mayor has said. It is doubtful if the intimidation of the officials and police was successful in forcing even 500 men to remain or to return to work.

The voluntary organisation and the conservancy department were quite inadequate to deal with the accumulation of rubbish. The men were able and willing to remain out longer, but the danger to the health of whole population occasioned by the strike, and the favourable attitude and promises of the Mayor, induced us to end it.

Numerous other mis-statements, some of which we must answer, were made during the debate. Mr. A. L. Banerjee asserted that "the great majority of them got Rs. 28 monthly by working two shifts". As we have stated, less than 1000 work two shifts and those who do so, do not receive practically the amount they ought to receive (not Rs. 28, but Rs. 22). He appears to forget also, that in order to get this sum, men have to work 12 hours to 14 hours or more per day, every day of the month. His further statement that "the wives and children work in private houses, so that the family earned on an average Rs. 70 to Rs. 80 a month", is ridiculous, and irrelevant. It does not excuse the corporation for underpayment of its employees, if these men are able in some cases to eke out their pay by exploiting their wives and children.

Mr. A. L. Banerjee and Mr. M. N. Sen both asserted that the strike had been caused by "outsiders". The only outsiders concerned are the office-bearers of the Union, who, as we have stated, were made aware of the strike only after it had begun. That the strike was a genuine one is shown by the solidarity with which it was conducted, and by the fact that even previous to the existence of the Union, strikes of Scavengers had occurred. Mr. M. A. Razzak mentioned the strike of 1924, which ended with a

promise to increase wages which was never fulfilled. On February 29 last, the Chief Executive Officer himself in reply to a question stated: "The bustees in which the sweepers live are almost all not owned by the Corporation, and I am aware that the sanitary condition of these bustees leaves much room for improvement."

The complaint is made by the C. E. O. that the strike took place without warning. But he admitted previously (7th March), that "some three or four months ago a resolution passed at some meeting was sent to the Corporation", and that "a member had tabled a resolution before the establishment committee" on the subject of scavengers' wages.

We feel that we are entitled to complain again against the attitude and actions of the Chief Executive officer and the Corporation, in trying to break the strike. He complains of "intimidation and molestation" of blacklegs by strikers, but forgets the numerous cases of intimidation and actual assault by the police upon the strikers. He frankly states, "I was asked by the members of that Committee (Budget Special Committee) to take all possible steps to break the strike".....

Mr. K. S. Roy, secretary B. P. C. C., has remarked "This method of breaking the strike displays a mentality which is uncommonly like the mentality of the Government. That our officers should have called in the Sergeants who assaulted us during the Hartal, to assault the scavengers, is to say the least, disgraceful".

Finally, we wish to state that no serious objection has been taken to the demands of the Scavengers. Only Mr. M. N. Sen and Mr. A. L. Banerji have had the audacity to describe them as unjustified. The Union has repeatedly said that in view of the state of the Corporation finances, the demand for Rs. 30 per month, as a minimum, though not abandoned, is not expected to be granted immediately. We therefore hope that the promise given by the Mayor on his own responsibility will be honoured by the Corporation, and the campaign of misrepresentation, attempting to show that the Mayor was unjustified in Making terms, will be ignored. Already one condition agreed upon has been violated. Instead of a Committee which would settle details of increments and other demands, a "Conference" is to be held, whose "proceedings will be laid before the Corporation for consideration and action".

P. 548 (6)

Bombay Municipal Workmen's Union.

Comrades,

Remember your General Meeting has prepared the following Resolution.

Accordingly, the Municipal workers in the following departments are required not to go on work on February 3rd Friday but observe the following programme:—

- (1) Join in the Workers' procession starting from Parel at 6.30 A. M.
- (2) Attend General Labour meeting at Foras Road Improvement Trust Compound, at 8 A. M.
- (3) Put on Serafiq red cloth on your left arm to be obtainable from Union office Foras Rd. Stick to Resolutions proposed.

(Signatures).

ROUTE.

Start from Damodhar Thacksey Hall Elphinstone Road.
De Lisle Road.
Arthur Road
Byculla
Kamathipura
Foras Road

Prepare similar hand-bills for all Labourers on behalf of the Strike Committee-Marathi.

(5000)

P. 548. (7)

Our Demands.

To

THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER OF THE CORPORATION OF CALCUTTA.

Sir,

We, the scavengers' of all sections employed by the Corporation of Calcutta, do hereby lay before you the following demands :—

1. Recognition of the Scavengers' Union of Bengal.
2. Wages at Rs 30/-a month.
3. Well-ventilated and well-lighted houses with separate kitchens, water taps and with arrangements of latrines. The rent must be fixed within the means of the scavengers.
4. Supply of free medical help and medicines.
5. To put a stop to all bribery.
6. (a) 15 day's casual leave with full pay.
(b) One month's privilege leave with full pay.
(c) Accident leave with full pay.
7. No dismissal without a month's previous notice.
8. Death Benefits and Maternity Benefits and the benefit of the Provident Fund.
9. Free Primary Education for the children of the scavengers.
10. Establishment of Banks to advance loans to the scavengers, in time of need with an interest which should not exceed more than twelve percent per annum.

As we have already formed our union under the name and style of the "Scavengers' Union of Bengal" at 2-1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, you will be graciously pleased to settle all terms with the said union.

**The Municipal Scavengers of
Calcutta.**

P. 548 (8)

The Glass Workers Union, Bengal.

Head-Office-

2-1, European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

31. I. 28.

Dear Muzaffar,

You will be exceedingly glad to know that our first general meeting of the scavengers' Union was an un-expectedly successful one. From 2--12 noon the Scavengers began to pour from different quarters and no later than half past two P. M. they formed into a monster body, men, women, children numbering above four thousand. We held our meeting in the groove just before the Monument. punctually at 3-30. it began and Provabati presided. After her presidential speech in broken Hindi I delivered my manuscript speech which was an audible one as remarked. Speakers like Aftab Ali & Godbole addressed the meeting. The Scavengers responded nicely and our Debiram Sardar of Hazna Road (whosen ame we mistook as Jhari.) delivered an emotional speech in which he dealt with the exploitation of the scavengers by their next higher officers and gave a very painful description of the scavengers' miseries under which they are living for years together. He appealed to all to join the union in a body. "Samed" the old man from Tongera was also dragged on the platform. He gave a few words of advice to the scavengers requesting them to hear our good words and to do according to our directions which way lies blessings. Thus saying our old comrade sat down on the ground. The meeting dissolved at 5-30 P. M. Now there is apprehension of contermovement which has already intimated. Yesterday evening a band of workers came to the office from Budge Budge Road with information that the Mayor of Calcutta and the chief Executive Officer has called them and asked me advice. I advised them to go to them and to hear their words and then to come to me and inform me of all there. I advised them not to do any work harmful to their Union. They gave their words of honour, it seemed as if they are very firm.

Please have a talk with Jhabwala this time. This much today. My love to Spratt, Ghate, Mirjkar, Dange and others.

fraternally yours

Goswami.

P. 548. (9)

Ishapore Ordnance Workers' Union.

Office address:—**NAWABGUNJ.**

P. O. Ichhapur-Nawabgunj

Dist. 24 PARGANAS.

E. B. E.

No. 1 Union.

Dated, 7th April 1928.

To

.....
.....
.....

Subject:— **ISHAPORE ORDNANCE WORKERS UNION—
FORMATION OF.**

Reference:—

Sir,

I beg to enclose herewith a copy of the proceedings of a meeting of the Workers of Ordnance Factories, Ishapore, held at 5-30 P.M. on Tuesday the 3rd April, at Nawabganj, for your information.

Encl. 2

I have the honour to be,

Sir

Your most obedient servant,

KALIDAS Bhattacharjee

Secretary,

Ishapore Ordnance Worker's Union,

Copy forwarded to:—

- (1) The Master General of Supply, Simla,
- (2) The Director of Ordnance Factories and Manufacture, Simla,
- (3) The Director of Inspection, Simla.
- (4) The Superintendent, Metal and Steel Factory, Ishapore.
- (5) The Superintendent, Rifle Factory, Ishapore.
- (6) The Inspector of Guns and Rifles, Ishapore.

- (7) The Editor, Forward, Calcutta.
- (8) The Editor, Statesman, Calcutta.
- (9) The Editor, Englishman, Calcutta.
- (10) The Editor, Amrita Bazar, Calcutta.
- (11) The All Indian Trade Union Congress Secretary.
- (12) Mr. Earnest Kirk.

Ishapore Ordnance Worker's Union Proceedings.

A general meeting of the Workers of Ordnance Factories Ishapore, was held at 5-30 P.M. on Tuesday the 3rd April, 1928 at Nawabganj.

Mr. Philip Spratt took the chair amidst applause. The gathering was a huge one and every one present looked promising to form an "Ordnance Workers Union" at Ishapore.

In a neat and clean speech Mr. Spratt explained the usefulness of a Worker's Union. Mr. Kali Dass Bhattacharjee spoke about the long-felt grievances of Ordnance workers, in general and urged one and all to shake off the accursed lethargy and come forward with fresh energy and zeal to live as a man and not to die in these hand to mouth fighting days. A few other gentlemen also spoke and made the meeting successful in every respect.

A strong executive body with the following office bearers for the Ishapore Ordnance Workers Union, was formed.

President	...	Mr. Philip Spratt.
Vice-President	...	Mr. Shib Nath Banerjee.
Secretary	...	Mr. Kali Das Bhattacharjee.

The meeting terminated late at night with thanks to the chair.

Nawabganj	Chairman of the meeting.
Dated the 3rd April, 1928.	

OBJECTS OF THE UNION.

To secure amongst others:—

1. Minimum wages of Rs. 30/- per month.
2. One month's P.L. and if necessary two months sick leave with half pay. in a year.
3. Free sanitary quarters for all workers and their families.
4. Pension.
5. Pay of the Government Holidays.
6. Allowance for the Factory Idle days.

KALIDAS Bhattacharjee,
Secretary,
Ishapore Ordnance Workers Union.

P. 548, (10)

(1) An Urdu notice regarding a public meeting of the Dock Workers to be held on 12th February under the signature of Shantaram S. Mirajkar.

(2) An Urdu and Hindi notice regarding a public meeting of the labourers to be held on 10th November at Holiday Park, Calcutta Published by Syed Mohammad Shamsul Huda on behalf of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bengal, No. 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

(3) A Hindi notice regarding the holding of a public meeting of Scavengers etc. on 20-5-28 published by Dharni Kanta Goswami, Secretary Scavengers' Union, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

(4) An Urdu and Hindi notice regarding the holding of a public meeting of the labourers on 28-10-28 published by Bengal Peasants' & Workers' Party.

P. 549.

A Star of India File containing the following 22 documents
amongst others.

P. 549. (1)
AN APPEAL
TO
Those who are Interested in the cause of the
MASSES OF INDIA

Comrades

"Ganavani" (The "Voice of the People) is the official weekly organ in Bengali of The Peasants' and Workers' Party" of Bengal. Though Marxian in outlook this paper is propagating the highest cause of the Indian nation and aims at the complete liberation of India from the yoke of the British Imperialism by the masses of India. The paper is a semi-theoretical and semi-agitational one. As the masses of India are mostly illiterate the main object of this paper is to prepare an ideological background on a strong scientific basis for the de-classed intellectuals so that they may work with the masses in order to educate and organise them, and to make them class-conscious. The language in which "Ganavani" is published is the richest of all the languages of India is spoken by more than 48 millions of peoples. Again, Bengali is the mother tongue of both the Hindus & the Muslims in Bengal, and in certain parts of two sister provinces. This not being the case in other provinces "Ganavani" has got unique advantage of making propaganda. So far as its broadest outlook and most advanced views regarding the cause of India are concerned "Ganavani" was one and the only one journal of its kind in the whole of India till the month of May last when two more weeklies were started—"Kranti" (Revolution) in Marathi from Bombay and "Mehnatkash" (The Toiler) in Urdu from Lahore.

We have just published the 31st issue of "Ganavani". As it is not being backed by big mercantile firms with their advertisements, the paper has been running at a huge loss. The "Peasants' and Workers' Party" of Bengal is lacking in resource. Henceforth we shall have absolutely to depend for the publication of "Ganavani" on the financial help of those of our comrades, in India and abroad, who are interested in the cause of the masses of India. Any amount of help, how small might it be, will thankfully be received by us. If we be fortunate to get a sufficient response from our comrades we would like to have a moderately equipped printing press of our own which will ensure and facilitate our propaganda work.

Comrades, without resource at our back we have undertaken a very hard task. It is beyond question that we shall incur the

disfavour of the British Imperialism, but we are also looked down by our bourgeois nationalist leaders who are so anxious to make a compromise with the British Imperialism to get an equal share in the exploitation of the masses. Comrades, it is your sympathy and material help which can only grant us a long lease of life in the service of the masses of India.

With greetings,

2/1, European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta (India)
The 13th October, 1927.

Franternally Yours

MUZAFFAR AHMAD

Publicity Secretary of the
"Peasants' and Workers' Party"
of Bengal

AND

Editor, "Ganavani".

P. 549. (2)

Presidential address of Sohan Singh Josh as submitted to the First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference, Calcutta, December 1928, (in Gurmukhi).

P. 549. (3)

Presidential address of Sohan Singh Josh as submitted to the First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference, Calcutta, December 1928, (in Urdu).

P. 549. (4)

Copy of "Political Resolutions" as submitted to the First All-India Workers' and Peasant' Party Conference in Urdu.

P. 549. (5)

Three Copies of " A call to Action ".

P. 549. (6)

Two copies of " Sacco and Vanzetti " one in English and the other in Urdu.

P. 549. (7)

" India and the Next War " by Miss Agnes Smedley (Berlin, Germany).

P. 549. (8)

THE
BENGAL PEASANTS' AND WORKERS' PARTY
CONSTITUTION

NAME.

1. The name of the Party is the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party.

OBJECT.

2. The object of the Party is the attainment of Swarajya in the sense of complete independence of India based on economic and social emancipation and political freedom of men and women.

DEMANDS.

3. The demands of the Party are :—

(1) Modern industries and public utilities such as mines, railways, telegraphs, inland waterways, tramways ect., shall be nationalised under the control of the workers' committees not for profit but for the use and benefit of the country.

(2) Ultimate ownership of land shall be vested in the autonomous village communities consisting of intellectual as well as physical labourers.

MEANS.

4. **NON-VIOLENT MASS ACTION** will be the principal means for the attainment and realisation of the above object and demands.

EXTENT.

5. The activities of the Party will extend to the entire province of Bengal and the Bengali speaking districts of Assam and Bihar and Orissa.

MEMBERSHIP.

6. (1) *Individual Member.* Any person above the age of 18 years who will subscribe to the object, constitution and programme of the Party may be taken in as a member of the Party subject to the approval of the Executive Committee.

(a) Membership of the Party does not preclude any body from being a member of the Indian National Congress, the Swarajya Party or any other Party or organisation so long as the object and

programme of these parties or organisations are not thought to be hostile to the object and programme of the Party.

(2) *Affiliated Societies.* The Executive Committee of the Party shall have power to affiliate any society or party which is in sympathy with the object and programme of the Party.

SUBSCRIPTION.

7. (1) Each individual member of the Party shall pay an annual subscription of Rupee One. In the case of the individual being a peasant or a worker the subscription will be one anna. The Executive Committee may exempt any body from subscription if it thinks so desirable.

(2) Affiliated societies shall have to pay annually at the rate of one anna per member with a minimum of Rs. 2/-. No society shall have to pay more than Rs. 50/-.

MANAGEMENT.

8. The work of the Party shall be conducted in the following way:—

(1) *Annual Conference.* There shall be held an annual Conference of the Party every year. This Conference shall direct and control the policy and programme of the Party.

- (a) The Annual Conference of the Party shall be held with all its individual members and affiliated societies so long as the membership of the Party does not reach a sufficient number. With the growth of members the Conference shall be held with the delegates representing individual members of districts and affiliated societies, and rules in this respect shall be framed in future.
- (b) The Annual Conference shall hold its session at such place as may have been decided upon at its previous session and at such time as will be determined by the Executive Committee.
- (c) A *Reception Committee* shall be formed of individual members and affiliated societies of the district in which the Annual Conference is to be held. The Committee shall be formed at least three months before the holding of the Conference and may include persons of the district who are not members of the Party. The Reception Committee shall bear all the expenses of the Conference.
- (d) The affiliated societies and the individual members of each district shall, at least two months before the Conference, suggest the name of a president to the Chairman of

the Reception Committee. The person receiving the largest number of votes shall be elected *president* of the Conference.

(2) *Special Conference.* In case of emergency the Enlarged Executive Committee or the Executive Committee shall have power to summon a special Conference. On third of the members of the Enlarged Executive Committee or two thirds of the members of the Executive Committee agreeing such a Special Conference may be convened.

(3) *Enlarged Executive Committee.* There shall be an Enlarged Executive Committee of the Party. This Committee shall be constituted within one month after the Annual Conference on the following basis:—

- (i) One elected representative for every 500 or its fraction, of the individual members of a district.
- (ii) One elected representative for every 500 or its fraction, of the members of affiliated societies.
- (a) If between two annual elections there is a vacancy in the Enlarged Executive Committee of representative of any affiliated society, or if any new society is, affiliated the affiliated society concerned shall elect some of its members to fill up the vacancy or to represent it thereon as the case may be, and if there is a vacancy of a district representative, the Enlarged Executive Committee shall fill up the

vacancy by nominating a member from the district.

- (b) The entire work of the Party shall be conducted under the guidance of the Enlarged Executive Committee.
- (c) Whenever required the Executive Committee on its own motion may, or if requisitioned in writing either jointly or separately by one fifth of the members of the Enlarge Executive Committee must, convene a meeting of the Enlarged Executive Committee. Twenty five members of the Enlarged Executive Committee shall form a quorum for the purposes of a meeting.

(4) *Executive Committee.* There shall be an Executive Committee of the Party. The Committee shall be elected every year from among the members of the Enlarged Executive Committee after the latter is constituted.

- (a) If between two elections there is any vacancy in the Executive Committee the Committee shall itself fill

up the vacancy from among the members of the Enlarged Executive Committee.

- (b) The Executive Committee shall be entrusted to carry out the programme of work of the Party and it shall be responsible to the Enlarged Executive Committee for its work. At the time of the Annual Conference the Executive Committee shall submit a report of its work to the Enlarged Executive Committee.
- (c) For the facilitation of works for peasants and workers there will be two Sub-Committees of the Executive Committee.
- (d) The members of the Executive Committee shall not exceed thirty. Five members of the Executive Committee shall form a quorum for the purposes of a meeting.
- (5) *Office Bearers.* The Executive Committee shall elect from its members two Vice-Presidents' two Secretaries and two Asstt. Secretaries. The President of the Annual Conference shall be the President of the Executive Committee and he will also act as the Treasurer of the Party.
- (o) One Secretary and one Asstt. Secretary will be in charge of the Peasant Sub-Committee and the other Secretary and Asstt. Secretary in charge of the Worker Sub-Committee, but either Secretary or Asstt. Secretary shall have the right to work as the Secretary or Asst. Secretary of the Party.

RULES.

9. The Enlarged Executive Committee shall have power to frame rules regarding the recruitment of members, constitution of the Reception Committee, Annual and Special Conferences and holding of such conferences and procedures of meetings of the Enlarged Executive Committee. But these rules may be annulled, changed or enlarged by the Annual Conference.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 1926.

President :

DR. NARES CHANDRA SEN GUPTA, M.A., D.L.,

Advocate, High Court, Calcutta.

Vice President:

SJ. ATUL CHANDRA GUPTA, M.A., B.L.,
Advocate, High Court. Calcutta.
MAULVI RAJIBUDDIN TARAFDAR, M.L.C.
Bogra.

Secretary :

(Workers' Sub-Committee).
MAULVI QUTBUDDIN AHMAD,
Calcutta.

Asst. Secretary :

(Workers' Sub-Committee) :
SJ. SAUMYENDBANATH TAGORE,
Calcutta.

Secretary :

(Peasants' Sub-Committee) :
SJ. HEMANTA KUMAR SARKAR, M.A., M.L.C.,
Krishnagar (Nadia).

Asst. Secretary :

(Peasants' Sub-Committee) :
MAULVI SHAMSUDDIN HUSAIN,
Kirnagar (birbhum).

Members :

1. QAZI NAZEL ISLUM (~~Calcutta~~)
2. MAULVI AFTAB HUSAIN JOARDAR, M.L.C.,
Chuadanga, (Nadia).
3. „ FAIZUDIN HUSAIN (*Mymensingh*).
4. „ SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD, B.L.,
Krishnagar (Nadia).
5. „ AFSARUDDIN AHMAD, *Kustia (Nadia).*
6. „ AZIZUR RAHMAN, (*Mymensingh*)

7. „ SHAH ABDUL HAMID „
8. „ MAHIUDDIN AHMAD „
9. „ MAKBUL HUSAIN, (*Rajshahi*).
10. „ SYED ZAHIDUL HUQ CHAUDHURI,
(*Dacca*).
11. „ FAZLUL KARIM MALLIK „
12. BABU BRAJONATH DAS, (*Bogra*)
13. „ RAMANI MOHAN BISHWAS, (*Barisal*).
14. MUZAFFAR AHMAD, (*Noakhali*).
15. BABU MANI BHUSHAN MUKERJEE,
(*24 Parganas*).

Office :
37, HARRISON ROAD
CALCUTTA.

Sri Gouranga Press, Calcutta 555/26.

P. 549. (9)

**The Workers' and Peasants' Party
of Bengal.**

CONSTITUTION

1928

Central Office :

2-1, European Asylum Lane

CALCUTTA.

The Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal

CONSTITUTION.

1. **Name:** The name of the Party is the **Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal**. It will be styled in Bengali as **Banglya Krishak-O-Shramik Dal**.

N. B. This Party shall be the integral part of the **Workers' and Peasants' Party of India** which is yet to be formed.

2. **Object:** The object of the Party is the attainment of **Complete Independence from British Imperialism** and thorough democratisation of India based on economic and social emancipation and political freedom of men and women.

3. **Means:** The rallying the People to Mass Action will be the principal means for the attainment and realisation of the above objects.

4. **Extent:** The activities of the Party will extend to the entire province of Bengal and the Bengali speaking district of Assam and Bihar and Orissa.

5. **Membership:** (a) The membership of the Party shall be of two kinds.

(1) Individual and (2) Affiliated.

(b) Any person not below the age of 18 years who will subscribe to the object, constitution and programme of the party may be taken in as an individual member of of the party subject to the approval of the Executive Committee. Every individual member, except students and ~~women~~ will have to become a member of some workers' or peasants' union within two months of his becoming a member of the Party.

(c) Executive Committee of the Party shall have power to affiliate with it any workers' or peasants' union which is in sympathy with the object and programme of the Party. The Party shall undertake the work of giving the members of affiliated unions class-conscious education in trade unionism and politics, and shall assist the work of the unions by advice and propaganda.

Subscription. (a) Each individual member of the Party shall pay in advance an annual subscription of Rupee One. In the case of the individual being a worker or a peasant the subscription will be Four Annas annually. The Executive Committee may exempt any body from subscription if it thinks so desirable.

(b) Affiliated organisations shall have to pay annually at the rate of One Pice per member with a minimum of Rs. 5/- No organisation shall be compelled to pay more than Rs. 50/-annually.

MANAGEMENT.

7. (a) The work of the Party shall be conducted in the following way :—

There shall be held an Annual Conference of the Party. This Conference or the Congress of the proposed—“Workers’ and Peasants’ Party of India”—shall direct and control the policy and programme of the Party.

(b) The Annual Conference of the Party shall be held with all individual members and affiliated societies so long as the membership of the Party does not reach a sufficient number. With the growth of members the Conference shall be held with individual members and delegates of the affiliated unions.

(c) **Special Conference :** In case of emergency the Enlarged Executive Committee or the Executive Committee shall have power to summon a special Conference, one third of the members of the Enlarged Executive Committee or two thirds of the members of the Executive Committee agreeing such a Special Conference may be convened.

(d) **Enlarged Executive Committee:** There shall be an Enlarged Executive Committee of the Party. This Committee shall be constituted within one month after the Annual Conference or meeting of the Party. The members of this Committee shall be elected from amongst the individual and affiliated members, the affiliated unions and branches of the Party electing one representative for every 1000 members, provided that every affiliated union or branch shall in any event elect one representative.

(e) If between two annual election there is vacancy in the Enlarged Executive Committee of the representative of any affiliated unions or if any new union is affiliated the affiliated union concerned shall elect some of its members to fill up the vacancy or to represent it thereon as the case may be ; and if there is a vacancy of representative of the individual members the Enlarged Executive Committee shall fill up the vacancy by nominating a member from amongst the individual members.

(f) The work of the Party shall be conducted under the guidance of the Enlarged Executive Committee which shall meet every three months.

(g) Whenever required the Executive Committee on its own motion may, or if requisitioned in writing either jointly or separately by one fifth of the members of the Enlarged Executive Committee must, convene a meeting of the Enlarged Executive Committee. Fifteen members of the Enlarged Executive Committee shall form a quorum for the purpose of a meeting.

(h) **Executive Committee:** There shall be an Executive Committee of the Party elected every year from amongst the individual and affiliated members, residing in or near Calcutta during the Party's annual conference.

(i) If between two elections there is any vacancy in the Executive Committee the Committee shall itself fill up the vacancy from among the individual or affiliated members.

(j) The Executive Committee shall be entrusted to carry out the programme of work of the Party and it shall be responsible to the Enlarged Executive Committee for its work. The Executive Committee shall submit an annual report of its work duly passed by the Enlarged Executive Committee, to the Annual Conference of the Party.

(k) For facilitation of works there shall be different groups in the Executive Committee. The members of the Executive Committee shall not exceed twenty and five members of it shall form a quorum for the purpose of a meeting. The Executive Committee shall meet at least once per month.

(l) The member of the Executive Committee shall automatically be considered as members of the Enlarged Executive Committee.

(m) **Office Bearers:** The Executive Committee shall elect from its members one Chairman, two Vice-Chairmen, one General Secretary, two or more Group or Sectional Secretaries and one Treasurer.

BRANCHES.

8. (a) A branch of the Party shall be established under the supervision of the Executive Committee in any town or village where there are twelve members.

(b) The branch shall elect a secretary, chairman, treasurer and branch committee.

(c) The branch secretary shall receive instructions from the Executive Committee and shall report on branch activities etc, to the Executive Committee, at least monthly.

(d) Branches of affiliated unions shall be affiliated to the local branch of the Party and shall be represented on its committee.

(e) The Secretary and Treasurer of the branch shall collect subscriptions from the members. Funds collected shall be allocated as decided upon between the Branch Committee and the Executive Committee.

(f) The branch committee shall subject to the direction of the Executive Committee, supervise and direct all Party work and propaganda within its area.

RULES.

9. (a) The Enlarged Executive Committee shall have power to frame general rules for carrying out the programme of the Party.

(b) Every member of the Executive Committee and the Enlarged Executive Committee shall have to raise some subscription for the Party.

(c) Any member of the Executive Committee who fails to attend four successive meetings shall automatically cease to be a member.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1928

CHAIRMAN

1. Atul Chandra Gupta, M. A. B. L.

VICE CHAIRMAN

2. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta, M. A. D. L.

GENERAL SECRETARY

3. Muzaffar Ahmad.

SECTIONAL SECRETARY (*Labour*)

4. Dharani Kanta Goswami.

MEMBERS

5. Kalidas Bhattacharya
6. Nikhil Roy
7. Gopendra Chakravarty
8. M. Abdur Razzak Khan
9. Abdul Halim
10. Aftab Ali
11. Nirod Kanta Chakravarty
12. Pyari Mohan Das
13. Sudhindra Nath Chakravarty

Printed at Zinat Fine Printery, at 38, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta

P. 549. (10)

**Rules and Regulations (in Urdu) of Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha,
Punjab.**

P. 549. (11)

**An Urdu poster regarding Workers' and Peasants' Party
Conference.**

P. 549. (12)

The programme of the Labourers and peasants conference to be held on 13/X/28, published by Moti Ram General Secy. (2 leaves in Hindi)

An appeal to the scavengers of Calcutta and its suburbs by the Peasants and Workers party of Bengal no. 2/1 European Assylum Lane Calcutta, regarding the formation of their Panchayats and *Sabhas* in order to uplift themselves. (2 leaves in Hindi).

A notice by W. and P. Party 2/1 Assylum lane Calcutta to the effect that a lagre procession of Labourers will be arranged on 23. 12. 28. (one leaf in Hindi).

A notice in Hindi for advertisement of the *Lal Nishan*, a Hindi weekly paper of the Labourers and peasants of Bengal. (one leaf) from its manager 2/1 European Assylum Lane Calcutta.

An appeal in Hindi to the Labourers and the peasants by workers and P. P. Bengal 2/1 European Lane Calcutta for the enlistment of members by 4 annas as subscription annually.

P. 546 (13)

The Labour-Swaraj Party.

OF THE

Indian National Congress.

CONSTITUTION.

1. **Name**—The name of The Party shall be the Labour-Swaraj Party of the Indian National Congress.

2. **Object**—The object of the Party is the attainment of Swarajya in the sense of complete independence of India based on economic and social emancipation and political freedom of men and women.

3. **Means**—Non-violent mass action will be the principal means for the attainment of the above object.

4. **Membership**—Any member of the Indian National Congress who subscribes to the object, constitution and programme of the party shall be eligible to be a member of the Party subject to the confirmation by the Central Executive. The membership of this Party does not preclude anybody from being a member of the Swarajya Party so long as protection and promotion of the interest of Labour and Peasantry remain a part of their programme.

5. **Subscription**—Every member of the Party shall pay an annual subscription of rupee one.

6. **Central Executive**—The Central Executive will consist of (more or less) fifteen members who will be elected for three years by the initiators of the Party at its first meeting. The members will be in charge of one or more of the following departments and shall exercise the final power in all matters connected therewith. (1) Propaganda, (2) Finance, (3) Party Organisation, (4) Labour, (5) Peasant, (6) Legislatures.

Every member of the Executive will have one vote and the person presiding may give a casting vote in case of equality of votes. Three members shall form a quorum.

7. **Provincial Executive (Panchayet)**—There will be a Provincial Executive of the Party for each of the provinces into which the Indian National Congress is divided, consisting of 5 to 9 members appointed by the Central Executive.

8. **Provincial Council (Parlsat)**—There will be also a Provincial Council for each Province consisting of one or more representatives from each district appointed at the first instance by the Provincial Executive for one year.

9. Attempts will be made by the district representatives of the Provincial Councils to organise district, sub-divisional union and village councils. With the growth of the district sub-divisional, union and village councils the system of election to the Central and Provincial Executives and the Provincial Councils will gradually come into practice.

10. Any matter not covered by the above will be decided by the Central Executive and their decision shall be final.

The Labour-Swaraj Party

OF THE

Indian National Congress.

POLICY AND PROGRAMME.

Whereas in the light of the experience gained by the failure of the Non-co-operation Movement as based on the Triple Boycott programme of the classes who are creations of an alien Bureaucracy and whose ultimate existence depends on the continuance of that alien Rule : and—

Whereas in the light of the experience gained in the Assembly and the different Councils by the Swarajya Party, it has been found that the Bureaucracy could not be made to yield to India's National Demands, even if all the Legislatures were captured by the Swarajists : and—

Whereas in view of the indiscriminate arrests and detention without trial of India's Soldiers of Freedom and the united protest of all the Political Parties of India having produced no effect on the Bureaucracy : and—

Whereas the only item involving direct action, viz., mass civil disobedience in the sense of universal national strike and non-payment, of taxes, which means all hands off from the machinery of exploitation and administration, has been practically given the go-by by the foremost Political Parties in India : and—

Whereas the cult of wresting freedom by speeches or by terrorism from the unwilling hands of the Bureaucracy has been of little avail in the past, and no amount of coaxing and cajoling with

the Bureaucracy can really improve the lot of the Indian People, nor violence can secure freedom for the masses who remain enchained in a thousand bondage and disarmed by a great military power helped by native co-operation, and the only means to establish Swaraj by non-violent methods seems to lie in the utilisation of the dynamic forces of mass movement which have really more potentialities than bombs and revolvers : and—

Whereas any scheme of Swaraj without reference to the readjustment of land-owning system is meaningless so far as India is concerned and "to an agricultural people the dearest and the best of privileges is that which gives them a sense of property in the soil they till: liberty of land is the one thing without which all other things are unenjoyable: and tenancy determinable at the will of a superior is but a legal definition of serfhood:" and—

Whereas competition has been the bane of modern civilisation and Indian Life is based on true co-operation and there can be no peace unless competition in industry and other spheres is replaced by co-operation and spirit of mutual service : and—

Whereas the salvation of India as pointed out by S. J. Aurobindo Ghose lies in the combination of young de-classified intellectuals and the workers, industrial and agricultural.

Now the Labour-Swaraj Party of the Indian National Congress declares that the only means yet left for enforcing the demands of the people of India lies through the organisation of Labour and Peasantry in the country who forms eighty per cent of the population, so that no longer denied the elementary rights of a human being, they may become further conscious of their political rights and wrest freedom from the unwilling hands of vested interest by their own might and for their own interest. And in giving effect to the said principles the Party resolves to adopt the following programme.

1. The Party will identify itself with the cause of Labour and Peasantry. (Labour includes those who earn their bread by hand or by brain).

2. The Party will where possible co-operate with the other Parties engaged in National Service.

3. The Party will help in the election of, and be represented by, members of Legislature who shall fight among other things for the following Labour and Peasant demands.

- (1) The representatives in the Legislatures will make rules for their internal management and guidance.

(2) Within the Legislatures the representatives of the Party shall whenever possible

(a) Refuse supplies and throw out budgets unless and until the system of Government is altered in recognition of our rights,

(b) Throw out all proposals for legislative enactments by which the Bureaucracy proposes to consolidate its power and

(c) Move resolutions and introduce and support measures and bills which are necessary for the healthy growth of National Life and the consequent displacement of the Bureaucracy.

(3) No member of a Legislature shall accept any office under the Government except when permitted by the representatives of the Party in the Legislatures.

ULTIMATE DEMANDS.

1. **Labour**—Modern Industries and Public Utilities such as Mines, Railways, Telegraphs, Inland Waterways, Tramways etc. shall be nationalised under the control of Workers Committees not for profits but for the use and benefit of the country.

2. **Peasant**—Ultimate ownership of the land to be vested in the autonomous and self-contained village communities consisting of intellectual and physical labourers.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

1. **Labour**—(1) Minimum wages, giving a decent living, in all the Industries to be fixed by legislation.

(2) Eight-hour-day for five days and a half in the week to be fixed by law at the maximum duration of work for male adults. Special conditions to be laid down for woman and child labour.

(3) Employers to be obliged by law to provide for a certain standard of comfort as regards housing, working conditions, medical aid etc. for all workers.

(4) Protective legislation to be passed for old age, sickness, accidents and unemployment insurance in all industries.

(5) Profit-sharing to be introduced in all big industries.

(6) Free and compulsory education at the cost of the employers.

(7) Abolition of brothels, liquor shop etc. from industrial areas.

(8) Introduction of Co-operative organisation for the economic relief of the workers.

(9) Labour organisations to be given a legal status and the workers' right to strike to enforce their demands to be recognised.

II. Peasant (1) Land tax to be reduced to a fixed maximum and fixity of interest at the rate of the Imperial Bank on arrear rents.

(2) (a) Fixity of tenure, (b) no ejection, (c) cessation of illegal and extrataxation (d) right of transference, (e) right of felling trees, sinking wells, excavating tanks and erecting pucca structures.

(3) Fixed term of fishery rights in *jolkars*.

(4) Fixity of a maximum rate of interest to be levied by money-lenders.

(5) Agricultural Co-operative banks to be established to provide credit to the peasants and to free them from the clutches of money-lenders and speculating traders.

(6) Agricultural machinery to be sold or lent to the cultivators on easy terms through the Co-operative banks.

Persons willing to join the Party are requested to communicate with the undersigned.

1st November, 1925.

Qazi Nazrul Islam

37 Harrison Road, Calcutta.

see page 15

I. T. U. C. RESOLUTIONS.

(1) Workers' Welfare League of India.

This Congress considers that the British Trade Union Congress by its complete neglect until last year of the Indian Trade Union Movement, and by the reactionary attitude adopted by its leaders towards the movement for Indian independence, has sacrificed alright to act as the official agent of the all India Trade Union Congress. It therefore resolves that the decision of the executive council at Delhi, March 28 be rescinded, and that the "Workers Welfare League of India" be again appointed as the official agency of the All India Trade Union Congress in Great Britain.

(2) International Affiliation.

This Congress declares that, in view of the growth of the Indian Trade Union movement, and since the recent expectations of unity between the two Trade Union Internationals have not been fulfilled, a decision as to International affiliation can no longer be delayed. The International Federation of Trade Union (Amsterdaum) because of its general support of European Capitalism, its refusal to allow the Unification of the World Trade Union Movement, and its reactionary attitude towards the labour movement in the oppressed countries, can not be accepted by the All India Trade Union Congress as a suitable body with which to affiliate. The Red International of Labour Unions (Moscow) has shown its intention to fight unconditionally against capitalism, to pursue in good faith the aim of unity of the Trade Union movement, and to assist the struggle of the colonial working class for freedom from imperialist domination, and the All India Trade Union Congress is in sympathy with its aims and policy.

This Congress therefore decides to apply to the Red International of Labour Union for affiliation, and instructs the General Secretary to take necessary steps.

(3) League against Imperialism.

This Congress declares that the most urgent general task of the Trade Union movement is the overthrow of Imperialism, which demands close international cooperation of all anti-imperialist forces. It therefore resolves to affiliate, as invited, to the League against Imperialism.

4. *Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat*

In view of the special problems confronting the Trade Union Movement in the Asiatic and Colonial countries, this congress considers that meetings and conferences of these Trade Unions

should be regularly held. It therefore resolves to affiliate to the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

5. International Labour Office.

This Congress declares that the conferences and other works of the International Labour Office have produced no substantial benefit to the working class, and that the attendance of workers' representatives at the I. L. O. conferences is undesirable collaboration both with the Imperialist Government and with the international organisation of Capitalism.

This Congress therefore decides that it shall in future make no nominations to the positions of delegates or advisors to the Geneva Conferences.

6. Assembly and Council Nominations.

This Congress declares that in principle co-operation between the working class and the Imperialist Government is to be condemned, and that the attitude of the Govt. towards Labour has recently become so reactionary that the degree of co-operation with it which has hitherto been maintained must cease. It further declares that in the absence of fulfilment of its minimum demand for universal adult suffrage, it can recognise no alternative special means of representation of labour in the Legislatures.

This Congress therefore resolves that in the future those persons who are nominated by Govt to the Legislative Assembly or Councils shall not be recognised by the Trade Union Congress as representing Labour.

7. The Trade Dispute Bill.

This Congress regards the Trades Disputes Bill as a most reactionary measure, which threatens the very existence of the Trade Union Movement in any useful form.

The proposed establishments of conciliation Boards and Courts of Enquiry, by Government is likely to be used by the Capitalist interests as an anti-labour weapon and the effect generally of the procedure of the so called impartial enquiry and conciliation upon the labour movement is deleterious, in as much as it tends to minimise the importance of the organised strength of the workers and to lead them to place their trust in the mere 'Justice' of their case and in the arguments of their leaders. The Congress therefore condemns this proposal as reactionary and harmful.

The Congress also condemns the proposal to deprive the workers in the Railways, Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Services, Light and Water Supplies, and public conservancy of all right to strike and even to forbid the individual workers to absent themselves

without notice under pain of heavy penalties.

The Congress also condemns the proposal to deprive the workers of their rights to declare a sympathetic strike, and strike of a political nature of such as are intended to influence the Govt. Especially in India, where there is not even a nominally democratic Govt. the T. U. C. insists upon the rights of the working class to express its political will by direct action.

This Congress therefore condemns the Trade Disputes Bill as a whole and demands that it be rejected completely. It further declares that the bill is a menace to the existence of the Trade Union Movement which must be resisted by all possible means and therefore resolves that :—

- (i) A campaign of meetings, demonstrations etc., shall be conducted by all affiliated unions under the General direction of the Congress and the provincial committees.
- (ii) Preparation shall be made for a one-day general strike of protest on the passage of the bill by the Legislative Assembly and a further general strike if the act is not rescinded, with the following demands;
 - (a) T. D. Act to be rescinded.
 - (b) Freedom for all unions including those of Govt. servants to join the T. U. C.
 - (c) Minimum wage of Rs. 30/- for all.
 - (d) 8 Hours-day.

8. Condemnation of Kirk, Shivrào, Choudhury and others.

This Congress condemns the action of Messrs. E. Kirk, B. Shiva Rao K. C. Roy Choudhury and others connected with the Trade Union movement who have publicly expressed approval of the Trade Disputes Bill, and considers that in connection with a bill of such a re-actionary kind and which threatens such grave and far reaching consequences to the T. U. movement their action is deserving of the strongest censure.

9. Condemnation of the attitude of the nominated labour members.

This Congress condemns the action of these nominated labour representatives in the Legislative Councils who spoke in favour of, or refrained from voting against, co-operation with the Simon, Commission, in direct contravention of the decision of this Congress.

10. Protest against Police Firing.

This Congress strongly protests against the action of the police and the military forces in firing upon strikers, at Bamangachhi at Bauria, in Bombay and on the South Indian Railway, and against the extremely oppressive and illegal measures such as expulsion from quarters, beating, baseless prosecution, prohibiting of meetings, etc., taken by the police and Government officials against workers in the Calcutta Scavengers strike, the E. I. RY. strike, the jute workers strikes at Bauria Chengrail and Rishra, and the S. I. Ry. strike.

11. Indian Labour Year Book.

Resolved that the E. C. be directed to prepare and publish an "Indian Labour Year Book" for the information of the affiliated Unions, members, and the public, on the organisation of the labour movement and the position of the working class in India.

12. Congress view on All Parties Conference.

The Congress hereby dissociates itself from the All Parties Conference, and declares that inasmuch as its decisions are put forward not as a programme with which to rally the people, but as a basis for agreement between a small section of the Indian people and the Imperialist Government, they are unacceptable, re-actionary and useless.

The Congress protests strongly against the acceptance by the All Parties Conference of the demand for 'Dominion Status'. It declares that 'Dominion Status' will mean only an agreement between the exploiting classes of India and British whereby no advance towards real freedom will be obtained for India, but the exploitation of the working class and the peasantry by foreign capital, under the protection of foreign armed forces, will continue unchanged.

It further protests against the omission from the principles of the Constitution "of the right to strike and against the proposal to continue the existence of the reactionary and despotic Indian States. It declares that the programme upon which the labour movement can cooperate with other organisations must include in its items Complete Independence; Nationalisation without compensation of the foreign industries and possession in India; abolition of the Indian States and of landlordism; and Universal adult suffrage.

14. *Establishment of Trade Councils.*

This Congress considers that in order to strengthen the common action of the organised workers, Trade Councils should be

established in each town where there exist branches of three or more Unions. The Trades Councils which should function by holding monthly delegate meetings of all affiliated branches, and should appoint executive committees should act as the local agents of the Trades Union Congress, and should co-ordinate the activities of all local workers Unions, and under-take the organisations of other workers into branches of suitable Unions.

16. *Protest against Government's attitude towards Soviet Republics.*

This Congress again protests against the policy of encirclement and preparation for war pursued with increased vigour by the British Government against the Union of Socialist, Soviet Republics and warns the working class against the disastrous consequences, economic and political, to India and also to the Workers' Republic and throughout the World, if the prepared war comes about. It urges all Trade Unions to conduct propaganda and protest against the war policy and to prepare for general direct action by the workers on the outbreak of war.

P. 549. (15)

CONSTITUTION

1. Name.

The name of the Party shall be "The All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party."

2. Object.

The object of the Party is the attainment of Complete Independence from Imperialism in general and British Imperialism in particular and thorough democratization of India based on economic, social and political emancipation of the Masses.

3. Means.

The means shall be the Party programme adopted from year to year at the Annual Session of the Party or at any extra-ordinary Congress called for the same purpose.

4. Extent.

The jurisdiction of the Party shall extend over the territories, including Indian States, known as India proper, adjoining territories under the influence of British Imperialism.

5. Membership.

(A) The membership of the Party shall be of two kinds:—

1. Individual.

2. Affiliated body.

(B) Any person who will subscribe to the object, constitution and programme of the Party may be taken in as an individual member of the Party subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee. Every individual member, except students and women will have to become a member of some Workers' or Peasants' Union within two months of his becoming a member of the Party. Special exception may be made by Executive Committee provincial or Central.

(C) Candidates and members shall not be members of any communal organisation or take part in communal propaganda.

(D) The National Executive Committee of the Party shall have power to affiliate with it any Workers' or Peasants' Union which is in sympathy with the object and programme of the Party. The Party shall undertake the work of giving the members of

affiliated Unions class-conscious education in trade-unionism and politics, and shall assist the work of the Unions by advice and propaganda.

(E) Members will have to pay party dues regularly and perform the organised work of the Party assigned to them.

6. Subscription.

(a) Each individual member of the Party shall pay Rs. 3 per annum to be collected by quarterly instalments. The Executive Committee may exempt or suspend anybody from subscription if it thinks so desirable.

(b) Affiliated organisations:—The affiliated organisations shall pay subscription at the rate of Rs. 3 per thousand or part thereof per annum.

(c) Donation of any amount will be received by the party from sympathisers.

7. Management.

The work of the Party shall be conducted as follows:—

(a) There shall be an Annual Congress of the Party. This Congress or any special Congress of the Workers and Peasants' Party of India shall direct and control the policy and programme of the Party.

(b) The Annual Congress of the Party shall be held with all individual members and representatives of affiliated organisations on the basis of one per thousand or part thereof.

(c) Special Congresses:—In case of emergency the National Executive Committee shall have power to summon a special Congress.

(d) National Executive Committee:—There shall be an Executive Committee of the Party elected every year at the Annual Congress from amongst the members (individual and affiliated).

(e) If between two elections there is any vacancy in the National Executive Committee, the Committee shall itself fill up the vacancy from among the individual or affiliated members.

(f) The National Executive Committee shall be entrusted to carry out the programme of work of the Party and shall be responsible to the Congress for its work.

(g) The National Executive Committee shall submit a report of its work to the Annual Congress of the Party.

7. Management. (H) The work of the Party shall be conducted under the guidance of the National Executive Committee which shall meet every three months,

(1) For facilitation of work of the Party shall be divided into departments. One member of the National Executive Committee shall be placed in charge of a department. The National Executive Committee members in charge of such departments shall be responsible to the Executive Committee for work of the departments.

8. Office (A) Bearers. The National Executive Committee shall elect from among its members, one General Secretary and Treasurer. Departmental leaders shall also be elected from among the members of the Executive Committee.

(B) *Meetings* :—At a meeting of the National Executive Committee, the Executive Committee shall elect its own Chairman. At all meetings of the Executive Committee five members shall form a quorum. At least 14 days notice must be given prior to calling National Executive Committee meetings.

(C) *Meetings of the N.E.C.* :—A National Executive member not attending two consecutive meetings without giving satisfactory excuse shall be considered to have vacated his seat and the National Executive Committee shall have power to fill such vacancy.

9. For a meeting of the Congress the National Executive Committee shall give one month's clear notice to all Provincial Committees and affiliated organisations who shall communicate same to all the members within a week of receipt.

10. Rules. The Executive Committee shall have power to frame general rules for carrying out the programme of the Party.

The National Executive Committee shall have power to decide whether or not the Party members shall participate in outside bodies such as the Indian National Congress, Legislative and Local Boards, International organisations etc.

11. Discipline. It is essential for Party work that individuals should observe the requirements of a Party discipline. Decisions once taken by the appropriate organ of the Party must be obeyed.

Any member found acting against the interests of the Party or violating its decisions can be expelled by the Provincial Executive Committees. Such members shall have the right of appeal to the Central Executive Committee.

12. Organisation. Provincial Committee should be elected under the direction of the National Executive Committee of the Party.

Branches should be set up in towns, Talukas and Villages under the direction of Provincial Committees.

Groups set up in Factories, Railways, Mines etc. should work on Factory Committees.

Fraction or groups should be set up in Trade Union Branches, Management Committees, Executive Committees etc; and also in Provincial Congress Committees. This applies to the Trade Union Congress and All India Congress Committee.

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

A Women section must be set up to work among women.

OPERATION OF ORGANISATION.

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

It is essential that all committees, branches and fractions should meet regularly, and keep up to date with current events. Therefore Provincial Executive Committees must meet at least once per month. Branches and Fractions or Groups every week.

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

Fractions or working groups must elect a group Leader, who shall be responsible to the provincial or Branch Committee. These fractions must carry out decisions of a higher body. These decisions will be conveyed to the group by the Group Leader.

After discussion and decision by the Group or Fraction on a resolution or nominations for official position etc; the decisions of the group must be binding on the whole of the group. The work of the party groups within the Trade Unions and Congress Committees shall be guided by the programme and policy of the party. The demands of the party must be pressed forward for acceptance by these bodies, adherents and new members be gained and the propaganda of the party thus advanced. This applies to groups operating in the T. U. C. and A. I. C. C.

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

Provincial Committees.—These committees when elected shall co-ordinate the Party activity in the Province. They will receive instructions and policy on current affairs from the National Executive Committee. The Provincial Committee in turn conveys this information to the

12, Organisation. Branches, groups etc; and must receive report regularly from Branches, groups etc on work done, future meetings of organisations, election of officers etc. The Provincial Committee shall have power to deal with immediate problems, issue urgent manifestoes and leads in the name of the Provincial Committee, Workers' and Peasants' Party, and shall be responsible for the same to the National Executive Committee.

Committees Elected.—The Branch Chairman, Secretary, Executive members and Treasurer shall be elected by the whole branch membership and with group Leaders shall constitute the Executive Committee of Branch.

The Provincial Committees.—This Committee shall be elected by an annual meeting of representatives, elected by Party Branches and groups and affiliated organisations throughout the Province.

P. 549. (16)

Meerut. W. & P. Conference

S. Singh

- A. Majid
- 1, Nehru Report. comprehensive (see Hindi leaflet.)
 2. Demands (economic).....(4)
 3. Social demand. (7-8) Communal, educ. sanitation, childwelfare training, women food supply.
 4. Peasants of U.P. illegible 1929 land assessment
 5. Next war
- Satya Pal
6. Condemnation & S. W. P. for office levees etc.
 7. Cong: to *peasants* of Bardoli, (not leaders)
- Second
- 8, Formation of W. & P. Party.
 9. Direct & Indirect Donation.

P. 549. (17)

We the undersigned present compliments and request the pleasure of the company of Mr. P. Spratt at the 2nd Section of the Workers and Peasants' Conference to be held on the 28th, 29th & 30th Sept. 1928 (along with the Punjab Provincial Conference) at Lyallpur under the presidentship of Mr. S. A. Dange, Bombay.

Dated 10. 9. 28.
AMRITSAR,

SOHAN SINGH 'Josh,'
General Secretary

Workers & Peasants' party Punjab.

BHAG SINGH Canadjan,
Managing Director

"KIRTI", Amritsar.

P. 549. (18)

Telegrams: "KIRTI"

Telephone: "714"

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Ref. No.....

Amritsar 27th July 1928.

(India).

Dear Comrade,

We the undersigned shall feel much obliged if you kindly condescend to attend the second session of the workers and peasants' conference of the Punjab to be held on the 28th, 29th and 30th of September, 1928 along with the Punjab Provincial Political Conference at Lyall pur.

The president of the session will be Mr. S. A. Dange, Bombay. You are requested once again with all the force at our command to kindly grace this occasion by your presence and expected to reach on 28th September, 1928.

With fraternal greetings.

Yours in liberty

SOHAN SINGH.

General Secretary

The Workers and Peasants Party

Punjab.

Telegrams: "KIRTI"

Telephone: "714"

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With fraternal greetings

Yours in liberty

SOHAN SINGH

General Secretary

The Workers and Peasant's Party

Punjab.

P. 549 (19)

Dakeswari Cotton Mill's Workers Union.

Head Office:—61, ¹/₂ Nawabpur,

Dacca.

Dated 11/3/1929.

Your Ref.....

Our Ref.....

Comrade Spratt.

Dear Comrade:

I think I can speak to you as a comrade who can understand the grave situation that will be created by a break up in our Party in Bengal.

There is something wrong in understanding among our Comrades of both the group. Please don't make fool of yourself by being led by a false idea and imagination of a grave danger of Social Decmocracy, as analysed in 6th World Congress of Comintern, to be present among us.

Both the groups are no doubt sincere to the Cause of Communism and Proletarian Revolution, with the course exceptions of very few who are real opportunists. Difficulty is that at this stage you cannot get rid of those opportunists who are working this split but in a few months the struggle that will confront the party will clear them out. It may be ambition or something else that has blinded my comrades to know the real opportunists—if they had been conscious, they would have played with them tactfully but not led away by their designs. So much of it, please take the initiative to do away with their wrong understandings. Because if it goes on the Party loses the best sacrificing element who can stand the severest sufferings and who can make a militant stand.

Besides, this group that will leave the Party when left to themselves will be an easy prey of both the bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie and the opportunists. So much today. Anxiously waiting for your action.

With greetings.

Yours.

G O P A L

THE ROY LETTER.

COMMUNISTS PARTY'S "BELIEF"

In the course of a statement on the Roy letter the Communist Party of India states:—"In view of the systematic malicious propaganda that is being carried on against the Communists in this country on the basis of a fabricated letter, ~~the Communist Party of India believes that~~ the Roy letter is only an invention of the Imperialist Press for creating an atmosphere favourable for the introduction of repressive legislation in the form of Trades Disputes Bill and Public Safety Bill in the country. The party wants to make it clear, that it is an open organisation, the aims of which have been before the public since its inception in 1925. Any suggestion, therefore, of underground methods can only be a wanton and malicious statement on the part of imperialists who want have to an era of monopolistic exploitation of the masses in this country".

NEW BILL CONDEMNED.

"STRIKING AT ROOT OF LABOUR MOVEMENT".

The labour leaders of Bombay are agitated the introduction in over the proposed introduction in the Central Legislature of the Public Safety (removal from India of non-Indian Bolsheviks) Bill. Consequently at a meeting of the Textile mill strikers, an extremist labour leader indulged in an attack on the Government of India for attempting to "strike at the root of labour movement" in the country. He claimed that the labour movement was an international movement as "all over the world it was a question of the tyranny of the capitalist". He characterised the measure as one aimed to exterminate for the present Mr. B. F. Bradley from Bombay and Mr. Phillip Spratt from Bengal.

Mr. Bradley also criticised the Bill.

A "FAKED" LETTER.

NO UNDERGROUND ORGANISATION.

WORKERS AND PEASANTS' PARTY ON ROY LETTER

Mr. S. V. Ghate, Secretary of the Workers and Peasants' Party, Bombay sends the following statement on behalf of the Party:—

Following on the notorious example of the Zinoyid letter forgery on the eve of the last General Election in England, the imperialists have started a similar stunt to create a favourable atmosphere for renewing an era of oppression, by publishing the "fake Roy-letter" said to have been addressed to the Workers and Peasants' Party.

The Imperialists Government, with the aid of the capitalists, Indian and foreign, wants to suppress the growing awakening amongst the masses of India, as evidenced in the country-wide discontent and unrest that has culminated in spontaneous strikes all over the country. The cry, therefore has gone forth that the Communists have been ruining the country, its industries and what not. But the peaceful method adopted by the Workers and Peasants' Party in the country have not given an opportunity to the Government to bring into action all its instruments of oppression on the workers' front.

THIRSTING FOR COMMUNISTS' BLOOD.

While the Bengal Chamber of Commerce has been clamouring for the ousting of the foreign agitation, others of their class have been thirsting for Communists' blood. The Government, as if in obedience to the wishes of these classes, has promised them to bring its "oppressive" bill at the next session of the Imperialist legislature. Unfortunately for the Government the Trades Disputes Bill has had an hostile reception by the Nationalists press.

STRANGLE T. U. MOVEMENT.

The workers and Peasants' Party believes that this letter is an invention of the capitalist press to make a strong case for the introduction of the Trades Disputes Bill, to once and for all put an end to the only legitimate method of strike,

Rowlatt Act in Economic Sphere

BLOW TO TRADE UNIONISM

Workers and Peasants' Party on Trade Disputes Bill.

The Workers and Peasants' Party has issued the following manifesto regarding the proposed Trade Disputes Bill:—

The Government of India not content with the innumerate instruments they are already armed with, for suppressing even the most constitutional methods of the Indian people in their fight for freedom from exploitation, are planning to forge another addition to their unlimited powers. The introduction of the Trade Disputes Bill at the next session of the Imperial Legislature aims at suppressing the growing awakening amongst the masses of Indian workers and peasants who have found in the Trade Union Movement an expression against capitalist exploitation. The Trade Union movement though only in its infancy, has during the past few years rallied round its banner, the workers and peasants of India. The abject state of surrender to capitalist tyranny is being resented, and this resentment is finding expression in the spontaneous and sporadic strikes all over the country. The number of Trade Unions in the industrial centres like Bombay and Calcutta have increased in large numbers with the result that the monopoly to exploit the Indian workers, unhampered, is receiving a severe check. The representations of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and the denunciation of the Bombay Mill-owners' against Communist agitators, have brought the Government to the rescue of the capitalists who are alarmed at the growing manifestations of mass energy.

ROWLATT ACT IN ECONOMIC SPHERE.

The Trade Disputes Bill which the Government have tabled for introduction in the Legislative Assembly is a counter part of the Rowlatt Act in the economic sphere. With the drastic powers contained in the Bill for coercion the Government will be enabled to cripple the Trade Union movement making it impossible for the workers to fight their employers to obtain better living conditions because the Government will in essence control the internal administration and the external policy of Trade Unions in India.

For instance the Bill provides that the moment the Government smells a dispute between the employer and the workers, they can appoint a semi-judicial enquiry. In a fight between the employers

and the workers the result of such an enquiry will be a foregone conclusion. Hence an impartial enquiry does not exist in a 'class dispute.' By intervening at the mere "apprehension" of any dispute, the Government will check the right of the workers to strike in order to obtain better living conditions.

PENALISING STRIKES.

The Bill provides that the strikes will become illegal if resorted to without a month's notice to the employer. The Bill, of course, does not lay any restrictions on the wage-reducing propensities of the bosses. The subtle methods employers resort to, to snatch from the workers, portions from their already miserable wages, that have been brought to light in the mill strike show, if anything, how impossible it is for the workers to combat the bosses against such trickeries, as in the textile strike it took about two years for the workers to discover that their wages were being systematically reduced and the talk of a month's notice before such hypocrisy, will be sheer tyranny.

As if this were not enough, resorting to strike in semi-Government institution, such as the Railways, post and Telegraph is made impossible as the Government is free at any time to suppress any strike.

The penalising of strikes will be a formidable weapon in the hands of an Imperialist Government, and should be fought out. The history of the Bengal Ordinance, and the ruthless manner in which the Government utilised this machinery "should be a warning to those that may fall a prey" to the Government manouvres in getting support to this bill. A month's imprisonment for going on strike while it may help to prolong the strike by a month by the strikers month's existence problem being solved, will in no way minimise the possibility of a strike, for the cause of strikes is to be found in this ruthless manner in which modern capitalism works. And since there is a chronic state of exploitation struggle against the exploitation will be a chronic feature of the age. And neither imprisonment, nor even hanging, will have any terror for the masses struggling to free themselves from capitalist tyranny.

PROTECTION TO "BLACKLEGS"

Finally, the intervention,--of the Government in the internal administration of the Trade Unions, strikes at the very root of this movement of the workers. The protection that the Bill gives to "Blacklegs", will in future reduce the Trade Unions to be mere agencies of the Government and the employers. The fundamental right of an organisation to free administration being snatched away, the T. U. movement cannot grow at all. By insisting that every person, who having failed to abide by the decision of a trade union,

if dismissed from its membership, shall be liable to be restored to membership by the force of this Bill, the Trade Union in future will be honey-combed with spies and capitalist agents who will swarm the unions and sabotage their growth.

The Bill leaves no ground, therefore, for a straight fight for the workers against their exploiters. The elementary right of a Trade Union of freedom from interference in the internal administration being snatched away, as also the right to strike, the exploiter is left free to continue in his ruthless job. For any strike can be interpreted as coercing the Government or the community,

Protests from all over the country must be against this Bill being passed, in the shape of mass demonstrations, and also an agitation should be carried on for a country-wide General strike to force the rescinding of this Bill as also to obtain an eight hour day, minimum living wage, better housing conditions etc., for the workers, and show the Government that the masses will not tolerate any such repression in future.

P. 549. (20)

The Communist Party of India.

CENTRAL OFFICE:
BOMBAY.

BOMBAY, 26th. August 1928.

In view of the systematic malicious Propaganda that is being carried on against the Communists in this country, on the basis of a fabricated letter, the Communist Party of India because that the Pey-letter is only an invention of the Imperialist Press for creating an atmosphere favourable for the introduction of repressive legislation in the form of Trades disputes Bill and Public Safety Bill in the country.

The Party wants to make it clear, that it is an open organisation, the aims of which have been before the public since its inception in 1925. Any suggestion, therefore, of underground methods can only be a wanton and malicious statement on the part of imperialists who want to have an era of monopolistic exploitation of the masses in this country.

Because of the fact that the Communists by their policy have been able to expose the frauds of capitalists on unsuspecting workers the capitalists have been making frantic efforts to get rid of the Communists by whatever methods they could; and if they invented a bogus letter to damn the Communists, it was to gain sympathy of unsuspecting Indians to their anti-Communists Propaganda.

The Communist Party of India warns all the Nationalists against being easy tools in the hands of Government for the suppression of the growing mass movement in this country. The best that they can do at this stage is to oppose the Trade-Dispute Bill and the Public safety Bill, which will arm the Govt. with unlimited powers, which have been used with unscrupulous indiscriminateness in the past upon any one that dared to oppose it.

Illigible

S. N. GHATE

General Secretary.

My dear Muzaffar,

I am enclosing the cuttings from papers the statement on Roy litter, and the Trade Disputes Bill for your information.

Discussion are going on for a settlement of strike under the mediation of Dr. Deshmukh; but we can't state at this stage what the result would be.

When are you calling the Provisional Committee, meeting at Calcutta. Let me know.

Public Safety Bill for Spratt ?

Yours

S. N. GHATE

27-8-28.

P. 549 (21.)

Comrades.

Not only our Party but also our group is labouring under misconception of scientific Socialism and are so making tactical blunders in our organisational role as vanguards of the working class movement. We are giving the question of personals, higher places in our works than the idea of work. We are so working out a social Denwirat. Persons should have no place with us, but only the work should be counted. Work done by any persons, be he of any stock, if furthers the case of the working class must be supported by us. It should be our look out that the person who is doing the work, may not undo that work, that person turning up a reactionary or if he be now a bourgeois or petty bourgeois. To do so we will appraise the work and expose the persons and his defects and the aims he may strive for. We are to make the workingclass conscious of the work and the slogans to follow, for a Proletarian revolution so we find, after the February revolution in Russia the Bolsheviks upholding the Soviet of *workers & Soldiers*', though it was then *predominated* by the Menshevict but they did expose the defects of the Soviet leaders in failing to draw out the correct line of acting to be adopted by the Soviet, they exposed the compormising mentality nature of them, in supporting the bourgeoisie, the Imperialist war, and adhering to the Provision of Government. What they did, was to ask the Soviet to be itself in power and form and support such a provisional govt. which should be revolutionary. So we see in persons of Milinkoff, Kerensky, tseidze, Tsertelli to be utilised by them in working out the bourgeois revelation and advance the movement ripe for proletarian revolution. Bourgeoisie yielded to the will of the organised proletariat without whose support they could not stand. But when they found that they could'nt stailise the bourgeois regime or cheque the move of the revolution they made their halt at the last point of their boundary, but they were overthrown and the revolution rolled on to reach the proletarian revolution and the Dictatorship of the proletariat. Fools we were to loose Stbhash and Jawaharlal to march on, at least the end of bourgeois revolution and given them the chance to be drawn away by the conscious bourgeoisie or the moderates and they clear the path of compromise between the Indian bourgeoisie and the imperialist foreign power, both of whom cannot, if they can, allow the workingclass to attain its emancipation which will mean their death. The most fool we will prove ourselves if we give the bourgeoisie chance to draw away also, in their ranks, the younger sections of the middle class intelligentsia who has not yet joined them and who are on the process of radicalisation and also to see as sightseer, the Jamshedpur Unions and other such organisations meet its pitiable death. Some of Comrades in the Workers' & P. Party who take

themselves to be leftest, are making the worst blunders. They are trying to do the works of the Party in water-tight. Compartments. They think of India today is what Russia has become but today and so they scent troskyst tragedy to appear at any movement and so as a guard against all these they try to keep the Party pure, by not allowing or driving out those persons who purely by their births are suspected by them to turn up to be reactionaries of at least the pacifist, social Democrat of advanced capitalist countries. Not to speak of Jawharlal and Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt or Oabhadas Gupta, they were thinking of comrade Kali Sen to become a reactionary and so they could'nt reconcile to the idea that they would have any place in the W. & P. P. Then next their attention has been drawn to the possibility of Comd Chakravarty fourselves to become the like, prejudices of the class we are born in, getting the upper-hand. Nay there are something else which are playing in their sub-conscious mind in taking to this last course of driving us for if not so then why should they don't mind for Com. Goswami whom somtimes back they though to be fit to become a fullpledged communist member in the C. P. of India. Comrades, I warn you that the problems that are confronting the C. P. of Soviet Russia and the advanced capitalist countries are not the same in India. You should by no means forget that India is a colonial country and the tactics you are to play in your organisations are much more difficult and complex than that of other countries and if by your tactical blunder you make India wait for centuries for proletarian revolution then the crime of betrayal the workingclass are on you. No doubt it is & should be your firm object to achieve the overthrow of the imperialist & the bourgeoisie the same time but it should be our important tactic not to allow these two, combine against us when the workingclass are not organised, for then we allow she combined forces to suppress the movement in its bud.

P. 549. (22)

The Bengal Jute Workers' Association.

Branch:—BUDGE-BUDGE, 24 PARGANAS.

Central Office:—

Bhatpara

ESTD. 1925.

Budge-Budge.....192 .

Ref. No.....

Manifesto of the Workers' & Peasants' Party of India.

- Subjection, etc. } I. Brief picture of the oppression that is round. We are slaves.
- II. Exp: of the nature of exploitation-political.
- III. Social Backwardness due to this exploitation.
- IV. This state of things ought to be changed. We ought to be free? What is Freedom?
- V. How to change this? revolutionary mass movement.
- VI. The Party is there to bring about this Revolutionary mass movement.
- VII. Programme of action of the Party.
- (a) Independence of the country, national liberation the way to social liberation.
- (b) Framing of Trade Unions.
- (c) Peasant Unions.
- (d) Federation of Peasants' Trade Unions.
- (c) The Party its relling.

The Bengal Jute Workers' Association.

Branch:—BUDGE-BUDGE, 24 PARGANAS.

Central Office:—

Bhatpara

ESTD. 1925.

Budge-Budge.....192

Ref. No.....

(1) Exploitation of the masses has been going on since anything was known. Their history has been a tale of continuous struggle for emancipation from oppression. 98% of the people go on from day to day with insufficient food, scanty clothing,

insanitary houses, lack of Proper medical facilities and all life worth living. 91% of the workers are illiterate, and even the education of those few, is unrelated to their needs. Consequently, under the Present System there is much unemployment and wastage of talents amongst the educated classes. The majority of the People have no votes, and consequently no Political Status. All Political activity on the Part of the masses is systematically suppressed, by means of Proscription of literature, Prosecution of Persons and victimisation of those engaged in Political Work.

(2) Why, we ask, should the masses be in such a state of ignorance Poverty, while there is plenty around them? Because the means of Production and distribution are held by a few, and used exclusively for their own personal gain, the real workers who Produce all the wealth-food clothing etc., go without them, while the idle rich are able to accumulate the faint of others labour hand has been snatched away from the cultivator, by the rich landlords, while the actual little has to cultivate the land, with insufficient food. Both manual and train workers have to sell their labour power to the owning class, in return for a scanty remuneration. The owning class by the use of its economic Power in order to maintain control of state Power, keeps the masses in a state of contented subjection, by controlling the educational machinery and social and religious institutions. The owning class also possesses monopoly of Political Power, which helps it perpetuate these conditions.

(3) In order to eradicate all these evils that are at Present existing in the Present day society, it is necessary to emancipate the masses from their present day thralldom. Freedom is essential for the proper growth and development of society and the individual. But the Present system entails bandage of 98% of the population, and as such, acts as a cancer and stops any development, and all life is sheltified. A classless society, will mark the emancipation of the masses and will bring about a healthy growth of all individuals.

(4) The emancipation of the masses can only come through an organisation of the Peasants and Workers' in the country. Mass energy must be directed into Revolutionary channel by building up militant workers organisations with the slogan of complete.

P. 550.

Introduction: Shuffling etc. at congress.

Past History: 2 paras or so N.C.O.—

Past two years: B. 6 going fed-up.

Finally: Simon Commission.

But on contrary: bourgeois politicians developing other way, even up to last.

e.g. May A. I. C. C. Malavya's pamphlet and Constitutions.

Congress itself scene of this conflict. (account of parties ?) Leaders unable to show their true intention, covering up with radical resolution, meaning little. (Informed left in Congress.— Independence resolution, War etc. etc. Real intention conveyed in Boycott Resn. (Councils only). Resolution on Constitution. (Assembly of all bourgeois parties) Hindu Muslim Unity.—not a sound way (mass way),

Further steps to keep Congress in their hands, inc. of fees, Calcutta as next seat—Bourgeois prevy fascist mentality.

Further possible: that radical agitation may be carried forward in spite of all Young G. Malavya's statement. We may keep the Moderates with us for a few months, until the campaign has gone so far that their withdrawal will not matter. It is clear that a great opportunity has arrived to launch a big campaign once more.

T. U. C. resolution. 1. Union for 1-day str. like the Rowlatt Bills and the Jallianwala Bag massacre.

But the essential understanding is not yet widespread. The organised elements which favour a mass programme are few. Their ideas appear to catch on well out organisation follows very slowly. (Illegible their organisattou is yet theoretical. They have as yet no real hold on the masses. Partically all existing Peasant organisation, and they are very few and weak, are in the hands of moderates, and Trade Unions are in little better position. The A.I.T.U.C. at Cawnpore in November passed res. boycotting Commission but there was no suggestion of anything other than abstention from submitting evidence, and even this it was at first proposed, should be conditional.

As for Congress leaders, now that they are away from the radical atmosphere of the Congress, they will almost certainly decline into negotiating with other bourgeois leaders' parties for a united front whose object is to extort concessions.

J. N. This Congress declares the goal of the Indian people to be independence with full control over the defence

forces of the country, the financial and economic policy, and the relation with foreign countries. The Coongress demands that this right of the Indian people should be forthwith recognised and given effect to, in particularly by the withdrawal of the of the alien army of occupation.

Satyamurti: Complete National Ind.

Introduction: Curious spectacle of inconsistency and shuffling on the part of leaders at Madras.

Past Hist: of Congress: Para or two—Since N.C.O. days—gradual collapse of Swarajist bourgeois parliamentary opposition—failure of Gandhism to reassert itself.

Disheartenment of mass of Petit bourgeoisie etc. who support. Preparation of Bourgeoisie within and without for Commission. Unity within Congress on basis of surrender to Malaviya and Kelkar.

Preparation of Constn. adv. of "R. T. L."

In past two years or so: Growing fed-up ness with quiescence of national movement.—economic pressure not decreasing—expectation of resumption of movement not fulfilled. Some way out needed. Effect of Chinese struggle growing realisation. Approach of world war—N. W. & N. A. frontier. Detenus etc. etc. that Hindu Muslim differences can only be solved when movement springs up again, and that the efforts to find artificial solutions to the question are as harmful as neglect.

Saklatvala's propaganda—Mayo's book.

DISAPPN. WITH LABOUR PARTY.

Finally Simon Commission—non-value is of Indians and the rather brutal speeches of Birkenhead etc.—forced even Liberals to opposition.—possibly the reason why he did it.

Congress leaders immediately pledged upon to this. Boycott with for united front of bourgeois unity of all parties—thought on legislatures only. Committees formed ect. Thought it fairly soon became clear that the united front could not last long. Pull from Congress on one hand and from Moderates on the other. Viceroy's intervention. Efforts of Ang—I. Press to cause Moslems to split away etc.

This attitude was carried into the Congress to a certain extent. The Presidential Address repeatedly mentioned need for unity of all parties—as the only parties other than the Congress are the Bourgeois parties.

"Unity on the Congress",

"Unity in Councils" All P. to consider Constitution. etc.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar in opposing the amendment to the Boycott Resolution, said: "Congress cannot hope to retain support of Moderates and Liberals if it talks of hartals and strikes". The attitude was effective in restraining the Congress from taking up the question which has long been in the air, of framing a programme on which to appeal to the country. It was decided merely to proceed with a constitution as a substitute for such a programme and restricting the proposed Boycott almost completely to Councils "Mass demonstrations" alone were admitted. Mr. S. Iyengar in opposing an amendment to add "strikes and hartals" etc. said:

No suggestion was made that Boycott in itself is a "gesture" of little value, and that what is necessary is to use the Boycott as a means once more of rousing a mass feeling in the country. Further the Constitution is not to be drafted by the Congress, but is to be drawn up by a National Convention of all the Parties in the Country which it is hoped to hold within three or four months. (Now all the Parties in the country is practically, are bourgeois parties).

P. Chandra Sekkhara Sharma,

KOTAPET

Guntur Dist.

As opposed to these there are to be placed the other resolution on way the League against Imperialism, etc. and, most of all, the resolution for complete national independence. These it should be noticed, were put forward as if in the name of the Working Committee, but were moved by Mr. J. M. who is not a member. And the original form of the resolution on Independence was a somewhat more compromising one. But when an amendment was moved to this by Mr. Satyamurthi, to change the wording to "Complete National Independence" it received practically unanimous support from the members of the W.C. and A.I.C.C. Malaviya and Mrs. Besant who spoke against, voted for it, so great was the enthusiasm.

Even at the time, it was clear that several W. C. members were not taking this resolution very seriously, and shortly after a considerable reaction of feeling set in. Members went about assuring each other that the passing of the Independence Resolution "meant nothing". Others claimed that it could be interpreted to mean Dominion Status. A rumour was started that Gandhi intended to oppose the resolution in the Open Session, and amendment sent in by Mr. R. Igr. to be proposed in the O.S. to the effect that all Congress members of legislatures should forthwith resign their

seats and seek reelection for the purpose of refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance was not allowed to come forward. And the retiring President Mr. S. Igr. who spoke very vehemently for the amendment, shortly afterwards remarked to a group of Congressmen, "Now we can get a settlement with Birkenhead". But the most important evidence that the resolution was not meant on the part of the Working Committee lie in the fact that no attempt was made to alter Congress policy to implement the resolution. Several speeches pointed out that nothing but mass-action would provide the strength necessary to the intention expressed in it, but, although an outline programme of this character had been sent in by certain A.I.C.C. members, the subject was not taken up.

Two members of the A.I.C.C. from Bombay who are also members of the W. & P.P. had sent in a resolution.—

That Independence was not contemplated before the Session is shown by the Draft Constitution prepared by Messrs. Rangaswami Iyengar and Srinivasa Iyengar Sec. and Pres. respectively of the Congress. Both of these propose that India shall remain within the British Empire. Similarly Madan Mohan Malaviya in his articles in the Hindustan Times, advocates ultimately non-payment of taxes, and the training (presumably illegal) of Indians in the use of arms, as a means of bringing pressure to bear on the Government, primarily to put Indian members on the Commission. He finishes, for example, by saying "Is it too much to hope that in view of the practically unanimous and unchangeable opposition of Indians to the Commission as it has been constituted. Government will yet reconsider its decision, and by acceding to the reasonable request of India establish the first condition which is essential to enable the Commission to carry out its momentous task given?"

Not as an idealist but as a practical man.
 Dominion
 Status not a half way house towards Independence.
 What the starving millions want?
 Foreign exploiters.
 Indian exploiters.
 So P. C. foreign capital.
 Dominion
 Status means interlocking of two classes.
 Unholy alliance — masses will be exploited
 Opponents.
 South Africa.
 Canada.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

43rd SESSION, CALCUTTA.

2 p. m. 30th December, 1928.

RESOLUTIONS

I. ALL PARTIES COMMITTEE REPORT

This Congress having considered the constitution recommended by the All Parties Committee Report welcomes it as a great contribution towards the solution of India's political and communal problems and congratulates the Committee on the virtual unanimity of its recommendations and whilst adhering to the resolution relating to complete Independence passed at the Madras Congress approves of the constitution drawn up by the Committee as a great step in political advance specially as it represents the largest measure of agreement attained among the important parties in the country.

Subject to the exigencies of political situation this Congress will adopt the constitution if it is accepted in its entirety by the British Parliament on or before the 31st December, 1929, but in the event of its non-acceptance by that date or its earlier rejection, the Congress will organise a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and in such other manner as may be decided upon.

Consistently with the above nothing in this resolution shall interfere with the carrying on, in the name of the Congress, of the propaganda for complete independence.

Moved by MAHATMA GANDHI (Gujarat)

D. Status and Independence not the same.

Wardanger (Last war-Tilak and Gandhi support.

Preparations--mass struggle going on.

Kristo Das Pal's sentence in 1874: 'Demand Home Rule for India'

Sen Gupta,

Cares for Unity of a. p. c.

Kemal, Rega, Changmireed, why not Tilak, Aravind and Gandhi.

no economic programme.

No Despair

International movement of class struggle.

Greetings - all for Independence.

Seconded by MR. S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR
(Tamil Nad).

Opposed by SWAMI KUMARANANDA (Ajmer)

AMENDMENTS.

This Congress having considered the Constitution, recommended by the All Parties' Committee Report is of opinion that it is totally unsatisfactory and unacceptable for the following principal reasons:

- (1) That it allows the *bourgeoisie* to compromise with British Imperialism by establishing a so called "Dominion Status which involves the safeguard of vested interest, land-owning, feudal and capitalist, and sacrifice of the interest of the masses.
- (2) That by recognising the titles of the Princes, it proposes to perpetuate the tyrannical and undemocratic system of Government, entailing unchecked exploitation of the masses, which exists in the native States.
- (3) That it safeguards and acquiesces in the exploitation of the human and material resources of India by foreign capital.
- (4) That it guarantees and allows enjoyment of all titles to private and personal property, acquired by questionable means, which perpetuates the exploitation of the masses.
- (5) That it guarantees payment of all foreign State debts.
- (6) That it proposes to place the armed forces of the country under the control of a Committee, which will at first consist partly of British officers, thus depriving the people of their inherent right of selfdefence.
- (7) That it proposes to give executive powers and power of veto to Governor-General and Governors, nominated by the King, thus depriving the Indian people of their sovereign rights.

This Congress therefore declares that its aim is the attainment of complete National Independence based on political, economic and social equality, entirely free from British Imperialism.

Moved by MR. R. S. NIMBKAR (Bombay)

Seconded by MR. K. N. JOGLEKAR (Bombay)

Add the following before para 1 of the original resolution:—

This Congress reiterates that the goal of the Indian National Congress is the attainment by stages of complete political independence as determined by the Madras Congress of 1927.

PARA 1

Substitute "would welcome" for "welcomes."

Delete "and communal."

Insert "provided that representation in the legislative bodies be secured not on communal basis but according to the numerical strength of the adult population of the workers and classes" after "problems."

Delete the words at the end of the para "specially..... country."

Substitute "appreciates" for "approves of."

PARA 2.

Insert "as amended above" after constitution."

Moved by MR. SYED MAJEED BAKSH

(Bengal).

Delete the words " Subject to the exigencies.....decided upon."

Moved by MR. SRIS CH. CHATTOPADHYAYA

(Ajmer).

Seconded by MR. JOGENDRA NATH GUHA

THAKURTA (Ajmer).

This Congress having considered the constitution recommended by the Nehru Report welcomes it as a great contribution towards the solution of India's political and communal problems, but is of opinion that the Dominion Status basis of the constitution is unacceptable and that true freedom for India cannot be achieved until and unless connection with British Imperialism is completely severed.

Moved by MR. T. VISWANATHAM (Andhra).

1. In the second paragraph of the resolution instead of the words "this Congress will adopt," the words "will be free to adopt" be substituted.

2. In the third paragraph of the resolution the words "consistently with the above" be deleted.

Moved by MR. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE (Bengal).

Delete "organise a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation....."

Insert "decide upon taking an action both direct and indirect, as it may deem necessary having regard to circumstances prevailing in the country at that juncture."

Moved by MR. LALCHAND A. JAGTANI (Sind).

Delete the words from "welcomes...problems and" and insert therein "disapproves it and declares it detrimental towards the solution of India's political and communal problems but."

And then delete the words "and whilst.....in the country" from the first para and delete the entire second paragraph and insert the words "and declares that India's goal is Federated Indian Republic on the socialistic basis".

Moved by ARJUNLAL SETHI (Ajmer).

Seconded by SRIS CH. CHATTOPADHAYA (Ajmer).

II. FUTURE PROGRAMME.

Meanwhile the Congress shall engage in the following activities :—

- (1) In the legislatures and outside every attempt will be made to bring about total prohibition of intoxicating drugs and drinks ; picketing of liquor and drug shops shall be organised wherever desirable and possible.
- (2) Inside and outside the legislatures methods suited to respective environments shall be immediately adopted to bring about boycott of foreign cloth by advocating and stimulating production and adoption of handspun and handwoven khaddar.
- (3) Specific grievances wherever discovered and where people are ready shall be sought to be redressed by non-violent action as was done recently at Bardoli.
- (4) Members of legislatures returned on the Congress ticket shall devote the bulk of their time to the constructive work settled from time to time by the Congress Committee.
- (5) The Congress organisation shall be perfected by enlisting members and enforcing stricter discipline.

- (6) Measures shall be taken to remove the disabilities of women and they will be invited and encouraged to take their due share in national up-building.
- (7) Measures shall be taken to rid the country of social abuses.
- (8) It will be the duty of all Congressmen, being Hindus, to do all they can to remove untouchability and help the so-called untouchables in every possible way in their attempt to remove their disabilities and better their condition.
- (9) Volunteers shall be enlisted to take up village reconstruction in addition to what is being done through the spinning wheel and khaddar.
- (10) Such other work as may be deemed advisable in order to advance nation buildings in all its departments and in order to enable the Congress to secure the co-operation in the national effort of the people engaged in different pursuits.

In order to finance the activities mentioned in the foregoing programme, every Congressman with a monthly income of Rs 100/- and over shall contribute five per cent of his monthly income provided that in special cases exemption may be granted at the discretion of the Working Committee.

Moved by MAHATMA GANDHI(Gujarat).

After clause 9 add the following new clauses:—

- (10) The boycott of British goods shall be organised,
- (11) The peasantry and the workers shall be organised on the basis of an economic programme which is to be drafted by the All India Congress Committee.

Re-number clause 10 as clause 12.

In the last para of the resolution, after "contribute" delete the words "five per cent" and substitute the words "a percentage" after the word "income" add "which shall be fixed by the A.I.C.C."

Moved by MR. S. SATYAMURTI

(Tamil Nad).

In the last clause substitute "one percent" for "5 per cent" and add the following explanation: "Congressman means a member of the A. I. C. C., P. C. Cs and the District and Tahsil Committees."

Moved by MR. MOHANLAL SAKSENA (U. P.)

With a view to prepare the nation for the overthrow of British Imperialism and realising that this overthrow can only be achieved by the organised forces of workers and peasants by resort to direct action or general strike and non-payment of taxes on the country-wide scale effecting the complete withdrawal of help and co-operation with the Government,

The Congress shall undertake the organisation of workers and peasants of the land through an economic programme calculated to improve their immediate everyday life conditions.

And shall in the course of this organisation pay special attention to the cultivation of organised spirit and power of resistance to the forces of exploitation in general and British Imperialistic exploitation in particular.

The Congress shall further pay particular attention to the organisation of all transport workers and peasants for the said purpose of general strike and non-payment of taxes respectively.

The details of his programme shall be fixed by the working Committee on the basis of demands of

- (a) Eight hours day
- (b) Minimum living wage
- (c) Old age, health and unemployment insurance
- (d) Land to the cultivator, etc.

so as to create attachment between the toiling masses and the Congress and ensure an effective general strike and non-payment of taxes at the call of the country.

Moved by MR. K. N. JOGLEKAR (Bombay).

Seconded by MR. R. S. NIMBKAR (Bombay).

In the last paragraph substitute "yearly" in place of "monthly," "Rs. 1,200/-" in place of "Rs. 100/-," and after "shall contribute" take out "five per cent....income" and substitute instead "1 per cent of his gross annual income, a member having an annual income of Rs. 6,000/-, a member having an annual gross income of Rs. 12,000/- 5% and a member having an annual income of more than Rs. 12,000/- 10% of his gross annual income."

Add in the end "The Working Committee of the Congress shall take necessary steps to facilitate assessment of the gross income of every Congressman."

Moved by Mr. GAURI SHANKAR MISRA
(U. P.)

Seconded by Mr. NARBADA PRASHAD
SINHA (U. P.).

Substitute for the last paragraph the following:—

That in order to finance the activities mentioned in the foregoing programme every Congressman shall henceforth pay at least Re. 1/- (one) per month, in addition to his fee for membership of the Congress.

Moved by Mr. M. N. TALPADE (Bombay).

Seconded by Mr. M. K. GHANDE (Berar).

P. 551.

**Search warrant of office of the young Comrades League
78/1. Harrsion Road, Calcutta.**

P. 552.

SEARCH LIST.

Details of Property seized by Police-officers acting under the provisions of section 103 or 105, Criminal Procedure Code.

1. Date and hour of search 20th March 1929 from 6 a. m. to 6 p. m.
2. Name and residence of persons whose house is searched:—Office room of the Young Comrades' League, 78/1 Harrison Rd., 2nd floor.
 - (1) Chandi Charan Dey of 143/1 Narkuldanga Main Rd., Calcuta.
 - (2) Etazuddin Ahmad of 4 Narkuldanga Main Rd., Calcutta.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search.
 - and so on (3) Surendar Krista Mukerji of 78/1 Harrison Rd., Calcutta.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>malatka</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
1 2 3 4 5 6	29th copies of Ganabani Dt/- 27-9-28. A bundle of admission forms to the Young Comrades' League, (printed). A bundle of statement of Programme and policy of the Young Comrades League (printed). 8 blank printed receipt form books for subscription paid to Young Comrades' League. One above form book contg. names of subscribers from No 601 to 633, the rest of the forms in the book being blank. 4 printed letter form pads of the young League.	Items Nos. 1 to 51 found on the table lying in the office room of the young Comrades League situated on the 2nd floor. Items Nos. 52 to 86 found in the steel trunk of Shudir Kumar Raha inside the office room unedr lock & key—which was Identified by Surendra Krista Mukerji.	The room is in the possession of the Young Comrade's League, and Shudhir Raha a Comrade of the League lives in this room.	All the items have been initialled by the search witnesses.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>Mallika</i> and, the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
7	One copy of "Russian Self-Tought" by C. A. Thimm and J. Marshall.			
8	One copy of pocket time table of E. B. Ry; contg, the signature of N. S. Gupta.	Item No. 87 found on the floor of the office room.		
9	One post card addressed to Shudhir Raha despatched from Mowgachi to 78/1 Harrison Rd. Calcutta, bearing post stamp of Calcutta Dt/- 5th March 1929.	Item No. 88 found on the wall at entrance of prem. No. 78/1 Harrison Rd.		
10	One copy of "Arabic Vyakaran" by Syed Rustam Ali.			
11	One copy of Bharat Exercise book cont: some names and accounts.			
12	One copy of Bharat exercise book contg. some names and accounts.			
13	One copy of Pioneer Exercise book contg some names.			
14	One bill from the Popular Printing Works of 2 Ram Hari Ghose Lane for Printing Programmes and binding books for Mr. N. Sen of 78/1 Harrison Rd.			
15	One copy of "Nikhil Bongia Yubasamity".			

16	One paper contg. a draft note re welcome to Pundit Jahur Lal Nehru by the Young Comrades' League Executive Committee.		
17	One typed copy of Young Comrades' Leagues' statement of programme and policy in 8 pages on the letter forms of the workers' protection League.		
18	A typed copy of draft constitution and rules and regulations of the Young Comrades' League together with the original draft in handwriting in 4 pages.		
19	One Khata book containing writings entitled "from Miss Adely" " (Next War) " " Murderous class " etc.		
20	One copy of New Republic D/- 7-9-27.		
21	" "	"	31-8-27.
22	" "	"	10-8-27.
23	" "	"	27-7-27.
24	" "	"	20-7-27.
25	" "	"	13-7-27.
26	" "	"	29-6-27.
27	" "	"	22-6-27.
28	" "	"	15-6-27.
29	" "	"	1-6-27.

AI

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS - Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>maltahka</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
30	" " " 25-5-27.			
31	" " " 18-5-27.			
32	" " " 11-5-27.			
33	" " " 4-5-27.			
34	" " " 27-4-27.			
35	" " " 13-4-27.			
36	" " " 6-4-27.			
37	" " " 23-3-27.			
38	" " " 16-3-27.			
39	" " " 16-3-27.			
40	" " " 9-3-27.			
41	" " " 23-2-27.			
42	" " " 16-2-27.			

- 43 One of Nabin Marwari Dt/- 13/11/28.
- 44 A file of papers (Star of India file) showing some resolutions and proceedings of the Young Comrades' League in 14 pages.
- 45 A draft constitution of the proposed All Bengal Students' Association.
- 46 A file of correspondence together with an article on Imperialism and a list of the members of the League present in the Meeting on 25/8/28 (29 pages in all).
- 47 A file of papers contg. the names of members of the Young Comrades' League present in meetings on different dates, together with draft proceedings etc. and one copy of Young India Society's "Awake, Young Bengal".
- 48 A draft letter addressed by N. Sen Secretary of the League to the Editor Forward Dt/- 16/2/29 from 78/1 Harrison Rd.
- 49 A star of India File showing 35 printed forms of Application for admission as members of the Young Comrades' League duly filled in by the members.
- 50 A Royal office file contg. a letter Dt/- 2/3/29 of Muzaffar Ahmed Secretary Workers' and peasants' party of India at 2/1 European Asylum lane, Calcutta to the Secretary Young Comrades League at 78/1 Harrison Rd. Calcutta.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>malika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
51	A file contg. the list of the members of the League present in the meeting on different dates together with the statement of programme and policy of the League explaining the utility of Youth movement etc. and budget estimate of the League for the first month, 30 sheets of paper in all (including loose sheets.)			
52	A manuscript bi-monthly magazine entitled "Nirjhor" edited by Akbar Ali and Shudhir Raha.			
53	Annual Report of the Communist Party of India for 1927.			
54	One copy of "A scheme of economic Development for Young India" by Binoy Kumar Sarcar P. H. D. Berlin			
55	A copy of the Presidential Address of the First All India Workers and Peasants party Conference, Calcutta Dt/- 21/12/28. delivered by Comrade Sohan Singh Josh.			
56	A copy of the address of J. M. Sen Gupta Chairman reception Committee of Indian National Congress Dt/- 29.12.28.			
57	A copy of "Resurrection" (a novel by Leo Tolstoy).			

- 58 A copy of "The coming of Socialism"
59 A copy of the workers and peasants' party principles and policy.
60 A copy of political resolution.
61 A copy of "Raj-Naitik Prastab."
62 A copy of "A call to Action"
63 A copy of the Report of the All India Youth Congress.
64 A copy of the Presidential address of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru in Indian National Congress Dt/- 29/12/28.
65 A copy of "India and the next war" by Miss Agnes Smedley published by the Kirti office, Amritsar.
66 A copy of "Hundred per cent Indian" by C. G. SHAH.
67 A leaflet in Bengali (printed) entitled "Sradhangali by Promode Nath Chowdhari and Ben Behari Goswami.
68 A bound book (Ganabani)
69 A copy of the news paper Spark Dt/- 27/1/29 together with the following papers contained in a Star of India file...
(a) Trade Union Movement, (b) copy of the programme of work of All Bengal Youth Association (c) a letter written by Secretaries Naresh Chandra Sen and Shailendra Nath Roy of All Bengal Youth Association to the Secretary Maldah District Association.
(d) A copy of the resolutions of the Pratham Nikhil Bharatia Krishak and Sramikdal Samilan ; (e) Draft constitution of the proposed all Bengal Students'

HIA

erial No. (Each S article to be given separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
70	Association by Birendra Nath Das Gupta, (f) A torn piece of news paper Dt/- 24/2/29. A cover addressed to Durga Das Seth Editor Swadeshi Bazar 118 Amherst St. Local.			
71	A note book contg. some figures re temprature death rate etc. and some names.			
72	A letter in Bengali written by Muzaffar Ahmed from 37 Harrison Rd. on 23-9-27 to an unknown person on the back of which the names of Bhupendra Nath Chose and Shambhunath Chatterji appear in blue pencil.			
73	A letter contained in an envelope written by Shudhir. Raha from 78/1 Harrison Rd. to Nalini Kisore Guha Editor "Banglar-Bani Dacca."			
74	A piece of paper containing the name of Radha Raman Sarcar Ekdalia, P. O. Purbashthali Burdwan. It is written on it that "Professor will not take his classes today. Assassination, assissnation"			

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where articles seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc. of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper etc.
85	Two empty cartridge casses marked "Eley 12 Nobel."			
86	An electric torch light.			
87	A magic lantern without plates.			
88	A sign Board of the Young Comrades League marked 2nd floor.			

X

Received a full copy of the search list containing items 1 to 88.

(Sd.) SURENDRA KRISHNA MUKHERJEE 20-3-29.

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

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

(Sd) ILLEGIBLE.

S. I.

*Police-Officers conducting the search.
Date 20-3-29 Place No. 78/1 Harrison Road Calcutta.*

(Sd.) (Sd) C. C. DEY 20-3-29.
(Sd) ATAZUDDIN AHAMED 20-3-29.
(Sd.) S. MUKHERJI 20-3-29.

Signature of witness with date.

Signature by the accused (optional)

- 75 | A post card written by some men to Shudhir Kumar Raha at 26 Dixon lane Calcutta, the Postmark on the letter being Jahan-nagar, Dt. 17-2-29.
- 76 | An envelop bearing the address of Radha Raman Sarcar Ekdalia village P. O: Purbasthali Burdwan
- 77 | A letter in Bengali written by one Atrada or Patrada from Bachanari Dt. 11-9-28 to Sudhir.
- 78 | A postcard in Bengali written from Mowgachi by some Raha, to Shudhir Kumar Raha St. 78/1 Harrison Rd. the post mork being Purbasthali and Jahan-Nagar Dt/- 7th March 1929.
- 67 | A piece of paper contg. three names with addresses in English.
- 80 | 8 copics of Bengal leaflet named 'Iztra' (printed) together with the manuscript draft of the same.
- 81 | Two copies of "Students of all Bengal Unit" written in English (printed).
- 82 | A receipt book of which pages 601 to 609 contain the names of some subscribers of the "First All India Workers and peasants and Party Conference.
- 83 | 19 Admission cards of Maldah "Jubak-Sangha" on one of which the name of Satyendra Nath Mitter is written.
- 84 | A note book showing some miscella-
neous notes and the names of some

P. 553.

29 copies of "Ganavani" dated 27. 9. 28.

P. 554.

A bundle containing blank admission forms of the young Comrades League.

P. 555.

A bundle of pamphlet entitled "Young Comrades", League-statement of Programme and policy (vide P. 9)

P. 556.

Receipt book for the subscription of the Young Comrades' League, 38 Harrison Road, Calcutta. 33 receipts have been issued and the remaining 67 are blank. The former have been signed by N. S. Gupta as Secretary *Receipt No. 614* was issued to P. Spratt on 10. 10. 28. He paid a subscription of one rupee for October, 1928 *Receipt No. 618* was issued to Dharani Kanta Goswami on 1. 2. 29 for payment of one rupee as donation.

Receipt No. 621 was issued to D. K. Goswami on 11. 2. 29 for payment of Re 1/8- as subscription for the month of February.

Receipt No. 633. was issued to D. R. Goswami on 19. 3. 28 for payment of a subscription of annas 4 for the month of March.

P. 557.

4 pads of letter papers having the following printed at the top.
Young Comrades' League,
37 Harrison Road.

No. Calcutta.....192

4. Secy. is asked to request the Comrades to pay up their promised subscriptions in the next meeting or before.

5. The name in Bengali should run thus "(In Bengali)."

6. The next meeting will be held at 4-30 p. m. at the Party Office.

7. The meeting is adjourned.

8. Realised	..	P. Spratt.	2/-
		P. Mookerji	2/-
		A. Roy	2/-
			<hr/>
			6/-

9. Promised :—	Amitave	1/-
	Ganajan	1/-
	Suniti	1/-

10. The change of the Room should not exceed Rs. 25/- p. m.

N. S. Gupta.

Secretary.

IIIrd sitting

Date, 5/8/28.

Place :—

Present :—

Agenda :—

- (1) Election of President.
- (2) Presentation of last days proceedings by the Secy.
- (3) Submission of Budget by the Secretary.
- (4) Sub-committee For Framing one copy of Constitution.
- (5) Realisation and enlistment rules.
- (6) Practical-work.
 - (i) Division of Labour.
 - (ii) Ganavani and a Call to Action selling.
 - (iii) Training Classes.
- (7). Miscellaneous.

1st Sitting of the Sub-Committee

Re: Drafting of the Constitution, and Statement of policy and Programme.

Agenda.

1. Election of President.
2. Considerations of the papers submitted as suggestions.
3. Formulation of the Drafts.
4. Miscellaneous.

N. S. Gupta,

Secretary.

Young Comrades League.

5: 8. 29.

P. 559.

Cash book having the following written within:—

RECEIPTS

3.	8.	28.	A. Roy	2.	0.	0.	
			P. Mukherji	2.	0.	0.	
			P. Spratt	2.	0.	0.	
				<hr/>			
				Rs.	6.	0.	0.
				<hr/>			
3.	8.	28.	From sale of Call to Action 11 copies	5.	8.	0.	
				<hr/>			
				Rs.	11.	8.	0.
				<hr/>			

Rent 88.

Another page :

—INCOME—

**	**	**
	Sales from Call to Action (50)	
**	**	**
	Sales from Ganavani 250 copies. 4	
**	**	**
	Sale of leaflets, Bulletins & Publications (75)	
**	**	**

Another page :

STUDENTS.

- (1) Who are students
- (2) What do they want

Grievances :—

Present system of Education unemployment

Causes—Want of solidarity and unity

Communalism

Superstition

Present condition of Student movement

- (1) Organisation of Conferences which end in smoke
- (2) Party feelings
- (3) Circulation of discredit to other parties.

Mentality :—B. mentality

Compromising altitude

Heroworship.

Capitalistic view of mind.

• Mass revolution.

Another page :—

Receipt

Rs.—

D. Goswami

1.—

**

**

**

**

P. 560.

An exercise book containing the following names and addresses amongst others :—

- *** *** ***
- 4 Abdul Halim, 2/1 European Asylum Lane.
*** *** ***
- 6 Dharani K. Goswami—2/1 European Asylum Lane
*** *** ***
- 12 Philip Sprats—2/1 European Asylum Lane.
*** *** ***
- 30 Gopendra Chakravarty
*** *** ***
-

P. 561.

A type copy of the 'Young Comrades' League-statement of Programme & Policy—(vide P. 9).

B. 562.

Draft Constitution and Rules and regulations of " The Young Comrades' League. "

Name :—

(1) The name of the League will be The young comrades' League. It will be styled in Bengali as " Tarun Bandhu Dal. "

Object :—

(2) The object of the League is to organize a radical and militant movement of the exploited and oppressed young men and women for

(a) the redress of their immediate grievances,

(b) the establishment of the Independent

Republic of India on the basis of the Social economic emancipation of the masses.

(3) All persons between the ages of 15 and 30 shall be eligible for membership provided that he or she

(a) Subscribes to the object of the League,

(b) is accepted by the Executive Committee,

(c) performs work under the direction of the League.

Subscription :—

(4) The subscription of the League will be one anna per month.

(a) The Executive Committee may recommend that extra payments be made by individual members at a rate not exceeding 4 as. per month.

Management :—

(5) The affairs of the League will be managed by an E. C. consisting of members not exceeding 7 elected at the annual meeting, which shall be empowered to add to its numbers elected representatives from..

Branches.

(a) The Executive Committee should meet at least once a week and four members will form the quorum.

(6) Any addition or alterations to the rules shall have to be decided in an annual or a special general meeting convened... after clear fifteen days notice served under the direction of the Executive Committee.

(7) Branches shall be organised under the direction of the E. C.

(a) Each Branch shall have a Secretary and a Branch Committee, in or near Calcutta for facilitating the work of the League.

(b) The Executive Committee shall elect the General Secretary, an assistant secretary and a treasurer from amongst the members of Committee.

(c) The Executive Committee shall meet atleast once a fortnight in Calcutta subject to three days' previous notice and four of its members will form a quorum.

(d) When a meeting of the Executive Committee cannot be held the General Secretary may circulate to the member of the Executive Committee for opinion of such matters as require immediate action and the opinion of the majority shall have the same force as if they were passed at a meeting of the Executive Committee.

(e) Should any vacancies occur in the Executive Committee the Committee shall fill the vacancies till the next general election.

(f) The Executive Committee will make arrangements of the annual meeting.

6. Any addition or alterations to the rules shall have to be decided in an or a special general meeting convened after clear fifteen days notice served under the direction of the Executive Committee.
Branch.

7. Branches shall be organised under the direction of the Executive Committee.

(a) Each branch shall have a secretary and a branch Committee.

(b) Each branch is to send reports of its activities to the Executive Committee every month.

(c) The branch Executive Comm.

Subscription.

(4) The subscription of the league will be as follows :—

(a) Each member of the league shall pay in advance a monthly subscription of annas four only. In case of the member being a worker or a peasant, the subscription will be one anna per month. The Executive Committee may exempt any body from subscription if it thinks so desirable.

(b) Each branch must contribute one-fourth of the sum realised as membership fees to the executive committee.

Management

(5) The affairs of the league shall be managed by an executive committee which shall be formed by taking representatives from every branch, on the basis that for every 50 member each branch can send one representative to the Committee.

(a) The executive Committee shall have power to add to its members not exceeding seven from amongst the members residing in or near Calcutta, for facilitating the work of the league.

(b) The executive Committee shall elect the General Secretary, an assistant Secretary and a treasurer from amongst the members of the Committee.

(c) The executive Committee shall meet atleast once a fortnight in Calcutta subject to three days previous notice and four of its members will form a quorum.

(d) When a meeting of the executive committee cannot be held, the General Secretary may circulate to the members of the Executive Committee for opinion such matters as require immediate action and the opinion of the majority of the members shall have the same force as if they were passed at a meeting of the Executive meeting.

(e) Should any vacancies occur in the executive committee, the committee shall fill the vacancies till the next general election.

(f) The executive Committee will make arrangements of the annual meeting.

(6) Branch Do.

(7) Branches shall be organised under the direction of the Executive Committee.

(a) Each branch shall have a Secretary and a branch Committee.

(b) Each branch is to send reports of its activities to the Executive Committee every month.

P. 563.

A Star of India File in the name of 'Young Comrade's League, Executive Committee' having the following within.

Young Comrades' League,

37, HARRISON ROAD,

Calcutta, 3. 2. 1929.

Executive Committee Meeting.

(I)

Present

N. S. Gupta.
D. K. Goswami (Chairman)
N. Bhattacharjee
R. B. Hazra

I. This meeting of the E. C. recommends under Sec. 4-A, of the Constitution that henceforward the rate of Subscriptions from the intellectual members be fixed at 4 as. per month per head.

Proposed by Com. Goswami
Seconded by Com. N. Bhattacharjee
Passed unanimously.

II. This meeting of the E. C. resolves that a special General Meeting be called on the 24th Feb. for the discussion of the question of Branch Representation and directs the Secretary to issue individual notices to the members for the purpose.

P. D. Goswami.
S. N. Bhattacharjee.

IV. Resolved that the application submitted by Comrade Sudhansu K. Adhikari be approved.

D. K. Goswami

3. 2. 29.

Young Comrades' League.

37, HARRISON ROAD.

Calcutta.....192.

I. The Sec. is directed to communicate with the branch Sec. to get 30 elected delegates up to the number 33 to the F. A. I. W. P. C. and to communicate as soon as possible the number of delegates to be actually being sent by them.

2. The Sec. is requested to produce a complete Register of members of the Calcutta Office showing the payments of subscriptions in the next meeting.

3. After the Receipt of letter from the Branch Secretary not later than 10 days, a general meeting should be held for election of delegates.

4. Congratulation to the Branch Secretary accepting his letter.

Young Comrades League.

37, HARRISON ROAD,

No.....

Calcutta, 5. 12. 1928.

EXECUTIVE MEETING.

Agenda.

1. Election of Chairman.
2. Consideration of sending delegates to the First All India Workers' and Peasants' Party.
3. Miscellaneous.

N. S. Gupt.

YOUNG COMRADES LEAGUE.

37, HARRISON ROAD,

No.....

Calcutta.....192.

1. The appeal should be printed within a week,
2. Comrade Gosswami will do fraction works in Young India Society.
3.

Student.	}	R. Hazra
		D. C. Mukherjee
		N. Sen
		Jananjan Deb.
		Benoy Kumar Ghosal.
4. In the next executive meeting the leaflet on Student movement should be submitted (8th Sep.) 3-30 p. m.
5. For fraction works in other youth Association Comrade Hazra and Goswami are selected. In the next Ex. m. Com. Goswami will submit a list.
6. Statement of financial position should be submitted by the Sec. in the next E. C. meeting.
7. D. K. Goswami will write something in the Ganabani about the League.

8. Forward, Ganavani, (Bengali words), Statesman, Modern Review, (Bengali, words), should be subscribed from today tomorrow.

YOUNG COMRADES' LEAGUE

37, HARRISON ROAD

No.....

Calcutta,.....192

Members present.

- (1) N. Sen Gupta.
- (2) D. K. Goswami.
- (3) R. Hazra.
- (4) Halim.
- (5) P. Spratt. (Chairman)
- (6) (Illegible) 3/45 minutes.
- (7) P. Mookerjee

YOUNG COMRADES' LEAGUE.

37, HARRISON ROAD,

No.....

Calcutta, 1. 9. 1928.

Executive Committee Meeting.

Agenda.

1. Election of the Chairman.
2. Minutes of last meeting.
3. Consideration of the membership forms submitted by members.
4. Arrangement for fraction works.
5. Miscellaneous.

N. S. Gupta.
Secretary,
Y. C. L.

YOUNG COMRADES' LEAGUE.

37, HARRISON ROAD.

No.....

Calcutta,.....192

Agenda.

1. Discussion about the Study Circle class.
2. Discussion about the management of the office.

3. Arrangement for the publication of our Statement of policy.
4. Miscellaneous.

N. Sen Gupta,
Secretary,
Y. C. L.
21. 8. 28.

21. 8. 28.

Executive Committee Meeting.

Members Present.

1. N. Sen Gupta.
 2. D. K. Goswami.
 3. P. Spratt.
 4. N. Bhattacharjee
 5. R. Hazra.
1. Comrade R. Hazra will read an essay on "Capitalism and Imperialism" on the 25th August at 5 p. m.
 2. The Statement of policy should be printed at once.
 3. Office hours should be 5 p. m. to 7. p. m.
 4. Comrade R. Hazra will take the charge of the office up to Saturday next.

N. S. Gupta.
Secretary Y. C. L.

Statement of Policy.

- (1) Appeal written by Comrade P. Spratt.
- (2) Programme of work
- (a) Distribution of "Ganavani" and "Lal Nishan".
- (b) Enlistment of members.
- (c) To establish relation with other Youth organisations.
- (d) To establish relation with "The Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal. To co-operate with T. U. for the organisation of the working class youths.
- (e) *Propaganda* and demonstration.
- (f) Study circle classes.

- (g) Study of Youth Movements and working and other conditions of youths, collection of materials and Library.
 - (h) Immediate grievances of the youth.
 - (1) Living wages.
 - (2) State support for unemloyed youths.
 - (3) Abolition of all Social superstitions.
 - (4) Education.
 - (5) Physical culture.
 - (i) To organize a Workers' Defence Corps.
1. Comrade Roy suggests—Tarun Bandhu Deb Comrade Roy
 2. Election of the Executive Committee.

Branch.

- (c) Branch Committee shall meet at least once a Week and three members will form the quorum.

Passed

Amrtabha Bhawnik

24. 2. 29.

Proceedings of the last Meeting.

Members present :—

1. Comrade P. Spratt. (was voted to the chair).
2. Comrade N. Bhattacharjee.
3. Comrade A. Roy.
4. Comrade D. Gosswami.
5. Comrade N. Sengupta.

Actions :—

The meeting began punctually at 10 p. m.

After a discussion of full one hour and a half the following draft Constitution and rules and regulations were formulated.

After this the meeting was adjourned for today.

Secretary,

The Young Comrades' League

6. 8. 28.

P. 564.

A Star of India File having the following within:--

Issue to Forward, Amrita bazar Patrika

The English Basumati,

"Welfare"

Ananda Bazar Patrika

Bhote Ronga.

To

The editor,

Sir,

With a view to organise a radical and militant movement of the exploited and oppressed youth of the country for the redress of their immediate grievances and for the complete national independence of Indian on the basis of the Social and economic emancipation of the masses, the Young Comrades' League has been started.

I append herewith a copy of the statement of programme and policy of the league and hope you will give due publicity of it in your esteemed paper and oblige,

Yours truly,

Nalindra Mohan Sen gupta

Secretary.

Young Comrades' League.

37, Harrison Road,

Calcutta, 22-2-1929.

No.office copy

To

The Editor,

Dear Sir,

Will you kindly publish the following news in the next issue of your esteemed journal and oblige.

Yours truly

N. Sen.

Secretary.

Special General meeting

The Special general meeting of the Young Comrades' League will be held on the 24th Feb, 1929, at 5 P. M. at its office, 78/1 Harrison Road, (2nd floor) Calcutta, for the discussion of some changes in the constitution. As the meeting is considered to be an important one all the members are earnestly requested to attend it without failure.

N. Sen

Secretary

Young Comrades' League.

78/1 HARRISON ROAD.

No. Calcutta, 4. 2.....1929.

To

The Editor,

Dear Sir,

Will you kindly publish the following news in the next issue of your esteemed journal and oblige.

Yours Truly,

N. Sen

Secretary.

Special General Meeting.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee held on the 3rd of February, 1929, it has been decided that a special general meeting of the Young Comrades' League will be held on 24th February, 1929, at 5 P. M. at its office, 78/1 Harrison Road, (2nd floor) Calcutta, for the discussion of some changes in the Constitution. As the meeting is considered to be an important one all the members are earnestly requested to attend it without failure.

S/D. N. Sen.

Secretary.

Sent to

Forward

Dainki Basumati

Ananda Bazar Patrika

Banglerkatha.

Young Comrades' League.

37. HARRISON ROAD,

No.....

Calcutta, 6. 12.....192.

The

Secretary,

Tarun Bandhu Sanmilan.

Shusung, Mymensingh.

Dear Comrade,

Received your letter of the 30th. Oct. I congratulate you on behalf of the Young Comrades League for identifying Tarun Bandh Sanmilan as the branch of our League.

On the 5 th. Dec. a meeting of the Executive Committee of our League was held and the following resolution was passed.

"The Secretary of the League is directed to communicate with the branch Secretary to get elected delegates up to the no.33to the First All India Workers' and Peasants Party Conference and to communicate as soon as possible the number of delegates to be actually sent by them."

In response to the above resolution, I request to send me names and actual number of delegates who will attend the Conference.

I wish to further let you know that following are the scale of rates fixed for thr Conference:—

Delegation Fee has been fixed at-/4/as.

Visitors Tickets.... Rs5/,Rs.3/,Rs2/,&/8/as.

For Students—/4/—as & for bonafide workers & peasants there will be special tickets of—/2/—as each.

Yours Fraternally

N. S. Gupta.

Telegraphic Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

THE FIRST ALL-INDIA
workers' & Peasants' Party Conference

2-1. European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Ref. No. ——— ——— The, 1st December 1928.

To

The Secretary,

Young Comrades League.

35/1 Sukea St. Cal.

Dear Comrade,

I beg to inform you that at a meeting of the Reception Committee held on the 28th Nov. 1928 it has been decided that Young Comrades' League including its branches can send 50 delegates to the All India Workers' & Peasants' Party Conference to be held in Calcutta (Albert Hall, 15 College Sq. Cal.) on the 21--23rd Dec. 1928.

Delegation Fee has been fixed at -/4/- each.

Visitors Tickets Rs 5/-, 3/-, 2/-, & -/8/- as.,

For Students—/4/-as & for bonafide Workers & Peasants there will be special tickets of-/2/-as each.

I further beg to inform you that the names & actual number of delegates who will attend the conference and the total number of the members of the league should reach the office on or before the 12th Decer. 1928.

Yours Fraternally,

Dharani Kanta Goswami

Secretary.

Reception Committee.

"Tarun Bandhu Sanmilan"

Shusang

Mymensingh

30/10/28

To

The Secretary

Young Comrades League

Calcutta.

Dear Comrade,

You will be glad to learn that a resolution has been passed that TARUN BANDHU "SANMILAN" WILL BE THE BRANCH OF TARUN BANDU DAL (YOUNG COMRADES LEAGUE). A short report is given below.

A crowded gathering was held on the 25th Oct. under the auspices of the T. B. Sanmilan with comrade Suresh Ch Lasker in the chair.

Among others the meeting was conspicuous by the presence of comrades Indu S. Bagchi, Akshay K. Ghose, Paramesh ch Majumder Manindra K. Sinha, Upendra N. Sanyal who spoke in the meeting. Comrade Manindra Sinha laid down the following programme before his young comrades to work along with the peasants and workers of the country, in order to create a mass consciousness for the emancipation of the country.

The following office bearers have been elected.

- (1) President.....Nihar K Aditya B. A.
- (2) Vice—".....Phanindra N Goswami
- (3) Secretary.....Upendra N sanyal

The following resolutions have been passed.

- (1) TARUN BANDHU SANMILION will be the branch of Young Comrades League of Calcutta.
- (2) Every young man of what ever qualification is entitled to membership.
- (3) Every member will try his level best to promote the condition of the Tarun Bandhu Library.

In the last meeting fifty new members were enlisted.

In total there are *110* members in the list.

Upendra N. Sanyal,

Secretary

Notes: 8/9/28 FORWARD.

1. Mahila Saniti—Samla Roy.
2. Nair Siksha Samiti—Abala Roy.
3. Hiranmoyee Bidhaba Silpasram.—Priyambuda Debi.
4. Bharat Shri Mahamandal—Sarala Debi.
5. Sorynalini Dutt Association—Hemlata Debi.
6. Bhagni Samiti—Kironmoyee Sen.

7. Mahila Rashtriya Sangha. Lalika Bose.
8. Bhagni Samaj—Borkan.
9. Nari Raksha Saitmi—Kundini Bose.
1. All Bengal Muslim Young Men's Association
11—5 Karaya Bazar Road, Md. Budruddoza.
2. S. C. Youth Association—
127 Harish Mukherjee Road.
3. All—Bengal Students Association
Gen. Secy. B. N. Das Gupta.

Young Comrades' League.

37, HARRISON ROAD.

No. _____ *Calcutta, The 24th August 129*

To

The Editor,

Calcutta.

For favour of publication.

Yours Faithfully,

Nalindra Sen Gupta

Secretary.

THE YOUNG COMRADES' LEAGUE.

A study-circle class and the first general meeting of the "Young Comrades' League" will take place at the League's office 37 Harrison Road, to-day at 5 p. m. when Mr. R. Hazra M. Sc. will read a paper on "Imperialism". All members and others concerned are requested to be present.

Hereby we also invite the attention of the general public and the young men and women of the country in particular, to this organisation, which has been formed with the object of organising a radical and militant movement of the exploited and oppressed young men and women for ;

(a) the redress of their immediate grievances

(b) the establishment of the Independent Republic of India on the basis of the social and economic emancipation of the masses.

All persons between the ages of 15 and 30 are invited to join the League.

Nalindrā Sen Gupta
Secretary.

To
The Editor,
Forward Bangler
Katha Annanda
Bazar.

IMPERIALISM.

Now-a-days we come across this word thousands of times in speeches, in the daily papers and in books. The Great War was an imperialist War. Now what is the meaning of the term imperialist War? What does imperialism imply?

A host of theories have arisen regarding this term "imperialism". All the existing theories may be roughly divided into three categories; the philosophical category, the historical and Marxian Categories.

Romain Rolland uses the word "imperialism" as Synonym for murder, theft, violence. He says in his famous novel *Le Berisson Ardent*—"Everywhere imperialism reigns supreme: Theocratic imperialism of the Catholic Church which aims at subjecting everything to its influence; military imperialism of the trading and mystic monarchies; official imperialism of the free Mason and avaricious republics, the dictatorial imperialism of the revolutionary workers' organisations. Poor liberty—you are not of this world! In reality at the present time we have to choose not between imperialism and freedom, but between imperialism and imperialism". According to Rolland, imperialism is a phenomenon which penetrates all forms of life and all social currents. He finds imperialism even in workers' Socialist organisations. From his point of view, if the workers on strike compel blackleg workers not to go to workshops and throw them by force from workshops where these blacklegs wish to take the place of their comrades on strike, then this act of the strikers is one of violence; hence it is imperialism. Romain Rolland airs the views of a whole school on the essence of imperialism. It may be called the "philosophical" school of Seyere.

Ernest Seyere, the well known French writer has produced a four-volumed work on the philosophy of imperialism "in which the inspirers of imperialism are represented as being the French writer Gobineau, then the German writer Nietzsche, then J. J. Rousseau, Proudhon and finally Karl Marx.

The first volume of the "philosophy of imperialism" is devoted to Gobineau and Historical Aryanism. Gobineau arrests that the Aryan race, a white race is destined to dominate all other race. The Chinese, the Japanese, the Negroes, the Indians etc, must submit to the white race for the white race because of its inherent racial peculiarities and abilities has the right to dominate the whole world. Now this racial theory suffered a rude shock in the Russo-Japanese War. When the War broke out, many eminent men of Europe expressed their firm belief that Russia would crush Japan into smithereens. They argued that Japan however equipped with modern weapons could not fight against the Russian race because the latter is a white race while the former is a yellow race capable of imitating only like monkeys. After the brilliant victory of the Japanese, the Europeans saw that the Japanese were not only well up in military arts, but that they had got arts, literature, Science not inferior to those of any other European nations. The Great War has finally shattered the race theory. The events which now occur in India, Egypt, China prove that these countries too in no way differ from the European countries and that given the same culture and political conditions, all races of Earth are capable of showing the same talents in the spheres of military arts, of culture of arts, and so forth. This theory has been smashed by the facts of life.

The second volume of "Philosophy of Imperialism" is dedicated to the famous German writer Friedrich Nietzsche. Nietzsche put the individual personality above all and affirmed its right to dominate the whole world. He recognised the right of the separate personality excelling in any kind of talent, in any abilities of organisation—for instance a military or political genius to dominate over the whole surrounding masses. This may be called the imperialism of the individuality which grants the right to a Napoleon, who has exceptional military talents or to a Czar or Alexander to dominate the masses surrounding them.

This theory of Individual imperialism has already been rejected, not only by proletarian, but even by bourgeois society. The bourgeois society does not recognise the right of a single individual to dominate the whole society. Hence it has introduced constitution in its state to limit the autocratic domination.

The third volume of "Philosophy of Imperialism" is devoted to Rousseau, Proudhon and Karl Marx. In J. J. Rousseau, Seyere sees an exponent of "Plebian imperialism". By this term Seyere understands that striving for domination over the nobility which manifested itself so much in the activities of the Bourgeoisie during the Great French Revolution. The Bourgeoisie attained the overthrow of the domination of the nobility and consolidated its own domination over other classes of

society. This was the plebian imperialism—the domination of the Bourgeoisie over other classes.

Finally in Karl Marx, aiming at the dictatorship of the proletariat, Seyere sees the theoretician of class imperialism in the aim of the proletariat to enslave other classes.

The socialists quite disagree with such a statement regarding the essence of Socialism. The proletariat does not aim at the consolidation of its domination over other classes. It places before itself the question of the overthrow of Bourgeoisie domination that class which oppresses and the creation of such a social order as will admit of no classes. When the Bourgeoisie exploits the proletariat & the poorest peasantry, it has some logic, because the bourgeoisie is weak in numbers and for one representative of the bourgeoisie there are ten to twelve thousand workers and peasants whom it can oppress and find therein certain profit for itself. But the proletariat and the poor peasantry is a class consisting of the 95% of the population and has therefore no interest in exploiting them.

Ernest Seyere discovers imperialism in the efforts for advancement of individual persons in racial or national struggles, in the efforts of one class to dominate another class and even in socialism.

Some followers of Seyere have gone further. They have discovered "ant imperialism" "Bee imperialism", and even "tree imperialism". When one ant makes war on another ant, there lurks an imperialist tendency of one ant tribe which is fighting with other ant tribes. When an oak in its growth crushes young shoots and does not allow young shrubs to develop, it consummates plant imperialism—the individual imperialism of the mighty oak.

At first sight, it appears that all these discussions are a mere play of words, a dispute as to terms. But in reality this play of words has a definite aim for it justifies the whole existing social structure. Affirming that imperialism existed in all human endeavours for advancement, that it also exists in lower animals and even in vegetable kingdoms, the followers of Seyere have deduced that imperialism is an eternal law of life and the hope of destroying it is a mere utopia. Thus it was, thus it will be.

Seyere's theory is an unscientific one, for it throws in one heap the most varied phenomena and makes too wide generalisation. It does not allow the separation of one order of phenomena from another and hence it is unscientific. Moreover, it is reactionary for it represents an apologia for imperialism.

Historical School:—

According to the representatives of the historical school, regarding the essence of imperialism, it exists at all stages of

human development, from the moment that human society was formed imperialist policy commenced. It goes without saying that the wars of ancient India, ancient Greece and Rome with their neighbouring countries were due to economic reasons and were defined by the interests of the dominating social groups. But this was not yet imperialism in the Marxian sense of the word.

The famous Italian author Ferrero in his classical works, "The Greatness and Decline of Rome" depicts with wonderful talent and mastery, the economic causes of the second and third Punic Wars right up to the destruction of Carthage the campaign in Macedonia Greece and Gaul. He puts forth that all this policy of conquest was a phenomenon of an economic order and he shows how the bankers, merchants, usurers, financiers all this class of exploiters—put into motion the victorious forces of the legions of ancient Rome. Ferrero shows that side by side with the decay of the agricultural commune and the creation of a military hegemony on the Mediterranean sea, side by side with the growth of wealth and the strengthening of power of the capitalists on the one hand and on the other the multiplication of the slaves, there grew up in Roman society, a spirit of brutal violence, greed, love of gain and a striving for world domination and as a result there grew the rapacious Roman policy, a policy of robbery and violence which began with the declaration of war against Carthage followed by the conquest of Greece, Macedonia and, Asia Minor. In bold and vivid colours Ferrero sketches for us the striking in age of Robber Rome, emerging out of the agricultural commune and he reveals the dark sides of this Roman conquest the historical mission of which Virgil characterised in the following arrogant words "Remember Romans, that your mission consists in dominating other nations with a firm hand. May it fall to your lot to establish peace, everywhere to be merciful to the humble to destroy the proud."

This mission, of the Roman Empire to manage the affairs of other nations to bring peace everywhere, "to be merciful to the humble" and "to punish the proud" resulted in the most frightful robbery of the conquered countries, in the deposition of freedom, in transformation into the slaves of all those who submitted to the merciless conqueror and in the massacre of those who refused to submit and in the burning of whole towns like Corinth and other Greek and Spanish towns who revolted against the cruel oppressors. In all the countries the best land, the best estates the richest mines and so on were expropriated and presented to general senators and financiers as rewards. The artists, the musicians and the beautiful women were all made into slaves and brought to Rome to work for the Roman aristocracy and for the amusement of the depraved rabble,

Thus the Roman policy of conquest was the policy of the Slave owning class and pursued exclusively in the class interests of the dominating social group in the antique world. Nevertheless the policy of Rome was not an imperialist policy in the Marxian sense.

Some writers understand by the word "imperialism" a foreign policy of a combative and conquering nature. This is not wholly correct. Not every sort of robber policy is imperialist. The policy of the forcible subjection of the surrounding countries pursued by Rome was of a robber character. Imperialism implies robbery and violence, but it is not robbery and violence alone. Imperialism is a definite economic phenomenon at a definite stage of economic development. From this point of view, the Roman policy of conquest was not an imperialist one. According to Lenin imperialism is the last stage in the development of capitalism.

The economic structure of ancient Rome was quite different from the structure of our contemporary capitalist states. Rome produced little and scarcely exported anything. It imported from the conquered countries not only products of first necessity such as bread, skins, copper, etc., but it even imported labour power of which it had none. Therefore the economic life of ancient Rome had nothing in common with the economic life of our contemporary states and once this is admitted, it is readily understood that the foreign policy of ancient Rome growing out of a different economic soil could not have anything in common with the foreign policy of the Modern Capitalist States. History shows that every phase in the development of the productive forces of society has its own lack of extension of the boundaries of the state and its own special forms of foreign policy.

Thus the first stage in the Capitalist development of Europe was signalled by "national wars", having as their aim the formation of big national states, the frame work of which would be wide and roomy enough for the further development of the productive forces for the further growth of Capitalism. Karl Marx regard the War of 1870—71 as one of the last Great National Wars in Europe, completions of the epoch of National Wars and leading at last to the National consolidation of the big European States.

The very word imperialism has lately made its appearance in the beginning of the present century. It only began to be used during the time of the Anglo-Boer War. The War of England for the conquest of two South African republics, was then for the first time characterised as an imperialist War. From that time the word imperialism got the right of citizenship in literature and the terms "imperialism" and "imperialist" began to be used for the characteristics of the foreign policy of this or that state.

Imperialism is a special stage in the development of the foreign policy appertaining to a particular economic area. The War of 1914—18 is distinct from the National Wars of 1848—1871 was an imperialist war, a war in which all the first-class powers aimed at the creation of extensive world empires, reaching far beyond national frontiers. The distinction between national and imperialist wars have been most exhaustively dealt by Zinoviev in his book, "The War and the crisis of Socialism." The distinction between the world War of 1914—1918 and the Wars 1866—1871 consists in this, that the Wars of 1866—1871 were "national" wars and their inspirer Bismarck placed before himself narrow, limited problems whereas the war of 1914—18 was a for world-hegemony and for the extension of influence over the whole earthly sphere.

Thus we see that the policy of conquest pursued by states is not "imperialist" at all stages in history.

Let us now see what the Marxists have got to say of Imperialism. In Marxian literature there are various theories regarding the essence of Imperialism of which the theories of Kantsky, Hilferding and Lenin deserve special attention.

Kantsky defines imperialism in the following words:— Imperialism is the product of highly developed industrial capitalism. It consists in the endeavour of every industrial capitalist nation to subject and to annex a greater and greater number agrarian districts no matter to what nationality the agrarian districts might belong.

An industrial country produces various commodities which it is incapable of using up within its national boundaries. Therefore it wants markets to sell its surplus goods. Agricultural countries, on the contrary, have insufficient quantities of manufactured goods, but they have an excess of raw materials. Hence imperialism manifests itself in the endeavour to conquer agrarian countries so as to sell to them the surplus manufactured goods and to seize raw materials from them. An agrarian country having no sufficient railways and up-to-date weapons and being illiterate does not constitute a serious force and easily becomes the spoil of every small capitalist state. Thus small England with a population of about forty millions souls rules such a vast country as India with its hundreds of millions of population.

An empire is made up of two parts. In the centre is the industrial state and as the planets revolve round the sun in their orbit, so the conquered agrarian districts revolve round the industrial state. The centre of the British Empire is the small island in Europe. This is the sun round which revolve like planets the

Great Indian Empire, the English colonies, a part of Indo-China and so on. Thus in the opinion of Kantsky, imperialism is the tendency to seize agrarian and economically backward countries. But this theory of Kantsky is imperfect.

It is true, however, that prior to the Great War, all the capitalists states endeavoured to seize agrarian countries and rushed at full gallop to the conquest of backward countries in Asia or Africa and by the touch of bayonets and sabres a whole series of regions of Africa and Asia were occupied by the European States. Thus an impression was created as though the foreign policy of a state consists in its endeavour to seize backward districts only. But in reality this is not so. Imperialism consists not only in conquering agrarian districts but also in conquering most industrially developed provinces belonging to the neighbouring states. Agrarian districts were seized before others, because they are easily vulnerable.

The characteristic feature of an agrarian country is its military weakness. But the chief aim of all the European States for which the Great war broke out was the endeavour to seize not the backward provinces, but before all, the neighbouring industrial districts. Thus France had her fundamental object to snatch away from Germany Alsace—Lorraine and the Saarbasin Germany on the other hand, had the chief object—the extension of her boundaries on the European continent, the tearing away from Russia the whole Baltic Borderland and Poland and all Ukraine, whilst Russia desired to take away Galicia, Silesia and all the Polish provinces of Germany. Thus Kantsky's theory is incomplete & incorrect.

Hilferding, a conspicuous Marxist comes to the question of Imperialism with his famous book "Finance Capital". The essence of his theory is this:—

The banks were institutions which took from private people or from Governments their excess money, paid them a definite interest and themselves lent this money to individual entrepreneurs at a fixed percentage. But the banks themselves had nothing to do with the course of Production. Practically speaking the banks played a very modest role economically—the role of users at the dawn of imperialism. As the well-being of the population grew and money began to accumulate in the hands not only of the rich, but also among shop-keepers, propertied peasants and even among workers, there began to develop a desire not to keep this money at home, but to put it into a bank so as to get certain profit on the money.

Thus sufficient money began to accumulate in the banks and a revolution was engendered in this sphere. The banks began to pass from the role of mere users, not interested in the course of

industry and pursuing exclusively the object of obtaining a certain percentage on their capital, to that of direct control over a given branch of industry.

Gradually the bank came forward in all branches of industry and commerce as independent entrepreneurs and began to apply the deposited money for the erection of chemical factories, sugar works, the establishments of military industries and so on. It is this capital belonging to the banks which has penetrated into industry and directs the industry—that is called finance capital. The banks now direct factories and extend production and in actual fact all the factories and workshops belong to the banks. Thus a position has arisen in which the industrial life of a country is directed not by separate manufacturers or individuals but by a conglomeration of unified financiers who hold in their hands all the industry of the country.

According to Hilferding, imperialism is the policy of this finance capital. The modern States have exported abroad to Asia Africa not goods, not machines or agricultural implements, but before all money. The export of commodities was the characteristic feature of the old capitalism, but for modern capitalism, the characteristic feature is the export of capital. The export of capital into the colonies for the most hazardous enterprises is not accompanied by any kind of risks for the bank. If the bank formulates a plan to contract a railway through any part of Africa, a subscription list for shares in the projected railway is announced and immediately thousands of people believing the news paper articles regarding the extraordinary advantages of the Lenin enterprise change their money for the shares in the projected railway. Thus, for the banks colonial undertakings are often an excellent means of extorting money from the people of their own country.

There is no limit to the export of finance capital. If finance Capital has no limit to its extension, there is no limit to its policy of conquest, because finance capital will find work for itself even in most desert regions. Every new colony forms a means of obtaining new gain, becomes a means for the sale there not of goods, but of Capital. Thus finance Capital is a fundamental cause of imperialism and of the policy of conquest of the modern era.

A considerable step forward in the development of the theory of finance capital is made by Lenin's theory. According to Lenin, the fundamental feature of the modern capitalist order of society is before all monopoly.

At first the basis of capitalism was free competition. There were factories like sugar, textile, steel foundries etc., and all of them competed with one another. In order to win a market for

himself, every manufacturer had to struggle with other manufacturers, had to make war on them by means of competition and this free competition was one of the fundamental conditions for industrial progress, the improvements of the quality of goods and the cheapness of their price. This competition extended itself not only to the home market—, but even revealed itself in the struggle with foreign firms in the international market. It is this free competition which is the characteristic feature of the preceding phase of Capitalism development and exists in present society only as a survival.

In the present epoch, there is a different tendency not for free competition, but for monopoly in which the manufacturers aim at preventing any reduction in price or any competition between big capitalists. In a monopoly all the manufacturers producing, say steel form one union amongst themselves which is called the steel trust or syndicate. When a steel trust has been formed within a country, no manufacturer has the right to produce more steel than he is permitted at the conference of the trust and he is not allowed to sell cheaper than the price fixed by the conference. When a national steel trust has been formed in order to avoid competition also on the world market the national steel trust comes to an agreement with the trusts of other countries. The Syndicates that have come to an understanding decide among themselves that each of them will throw on to the world market only a certain quantity of steel and at a certain price. This syndicate system of modern capitalism is revealed in a particularly conspicuous form in the petroleum trust of America.

This system of big syndicates which leads to the monopoly of the whole world, to the partition of the whole earthly sphere between the separate trusts. Thus Lenin formulates his comprehension of the essence of imperialism in a few words—"Imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism."

We have now become acquainted with the point of view of Kantsky according to whom "imperialism is the policy of industrial Capital". Then Hilterding holds forth—imperialism is the policy of finance Capital and lastly Lenin defines imperialism as the monopolist capitalism.

Young Comrades' League.

37. HARRISON ROAD.

No.....

Calcuttá, 25. 8. 1928

Members Present:—

1. N.S. Gupta.
2. S. N. Chakraborty.
3. S. N. Chattopjee.
4. R. Hazra.
5. S. C. Day.
6. P. Mookerjee.
7. Jnananjan Deb.
8. Jogesh Chandre kar.—guest
9. Dnesh Mukerji.
10. A. Moitra-guest.
11. N. Roy-
12. Sontosh Dey
13. J. Chakrabarty
14. A. Ranjit.
15. D. K. Goswami.
16. N. Bhattacharjee
17. P. Spratt
18. P. Ganguly
19. Benoyk Ghosal
20. Bidhu Busan Roy
21. Abdul Halim.

Young Comrades' League.

37. HARRISON ROAD.

No.

Calcutta, 25, 8, 1928.

Time: 5 P.M.

General Meeting

1. Election of President of this meeting.
2. Report of the last sitting and short introduction of the procedure upto-date--Secy.
3. Filling up of Forms of membership.
4. Reading of the Article on "Imperialism." by Comrade Hazra.
5. Discussions.
6. Miscellaneous.

25/8/28

37 Harrison Road.

INDEX OF DEFENCE EXHIBITS IN MEERUT CONSPIRACY CASE.

IN THE COURT OF ADDITIONAL SESSIONS JUDGE, MEERUT.

Serial No.	Description of Exhibits.	Date of filing	Number of Documents	Exhibits No. in the court of the Magistrate and by whom first proved.	Filed in the court of Sessions Judge and by whom proved.	Number in general index of file.	Remarks.
1	One bound file of paper 'New Reformer.	16. 8. 29	1	Exh. D 1 Jhabwala.		1631 A	
2	Letter dated 5.9.29 from the Accountant of the National City Bank of New York Bombay to S.H. Shahwala (Jhabwala)	6. 9. 29	1	Do D-2 Jhabwala		2473	
3	Letter typed dated 3.5.28 from Joint Honorary Secretaries of the Mill Strike Committee with terms of settlement		1	Do D-3		2474	
4	Letter to George from Chropaody to introduce M. Desai	11. 9. 29	1	Do D-4 Desai		2697	
5	A Book of Resolution by Reasan by Oswald Mosley	"	1	Do D-5 Do		2698	
6	A slip containing English writing dictated by Mr. Desai to the witness with its translation by Ezical official translator on reverse	12. 9. 29	1	Do D-6 Do		2710	
7	Do Do Do Do	"	1	Do D-7 Do		2711	
8	A portion of P-1731 read out by Deshpande and taken by Mr. Ezical with its English Translation by him (Ezical)	13. 9. 29	4	Do D-8		2742	

9	A Copy of 'The New Leader' dated 29.1.26	30. 10. 29	1 copy	Do D 9 Desai	3720	
10	Cutting from 'The Pioneer' dated 5. 7. 29	"	1	Do D-10 Dange	3721	
11	Subscription receipt No: 1740 of Bengal Provincial Congress Committee for Rs 5/- at 27.11.28 given to Radha Raman Mitra for his membership.	6. 3. 30	2	Exh: D 11 P. W. 10	511	
12	Letter dated 8.11.25 from M.K. Gandhi to Radha Raman	"	1	D 12 (1)	} P.W. 10 512	
13	Certificate given to Radha Raman by M.K. Gandhi dated 8.11.25 for his good work	"	1	D 12 (2)		513
14	Certificate given to Radha Raman by M.K. Gandhi dated 29.10.25 for his being an inmate of Ashram and teacher of Rajkota Kashtra	"	1	D 12 (3)		514
15	A Bengali letter written in pencil	"	1	D 13 P. W. 10	515	
16	Postcard written in Bengali addressed to Radha Raman dated 26.11.28	"	1	D 14 P. W. 10	516	
17	A Bengali printed letter and Ticket No: 146 with envelope	"	4	D 15 (1), D 15 (2) P. W. 10	517	
18	Letter dated 19.3.29 from Hemanta Kumar Bose to Radha Raman Mitra informing him to join the meeting to be held on 21.3.29	6. 3. 30	1	D 16 (1) P. W. 10	518	
19	Printed letter from Purushotam Roy Secretary Congress Committee to the members of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee requesting to give vote in his favour with envelope addressed to Radha Raman	"	2	D 16 (2) P. W. 10	519	

20	Printed circular letter No: 13 of 17.3.29 to Radha Raman Mitra from Subhas Bose, President, Bengal Provincial Congress Committee purporting the resolutions passed at Calcutta Congress with envelope	"	5	D 16 (3) D 16 (4) P. W. 10	520
21	Wire from Subhas Bose to Radha Raman dated 17.11.28 saying sorry have not done anything with envelope	"	2	D 17 P. W. 10	521
22	Typed letter from Lal Mohan Ghose to Radha Raman Mitra dated 2.8.26 saying a sub-committee will be held	"	1	D 18 (2) P. W. 10	522
23	Typed Letter from Kiban Shanker Roy to Radha Raman Mitra dated 23.8.28, saying that he has been elected member of the Labour Committee of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and the resolution passed.	"	1	D 18 (2) P. W. 10	523
24	Letter from Subhas Bose to Radha Raman dated 27.11.28 requesting to see Madan Mohan Barman with envelope	"	2	D 19 P. W. 10	524
25	A chit written in Bengali	"	1	D 20 P. W. 10	525
26	Letter dated 16.12.28 from Hemanta Kumar Bose addressed to Radha Raman Mitra that a meeting will be held on 17.12.28	"	1	D 21 P. W. 10	526
27	Cutting of Forward a daily newspaper	"	6	D 22 (1), D 22 (2), D 22 (3), D 22 (4) D 22 (5), D 22 (6) P. W. 10	527
28	A printed Bengali written page with a paper of accounts in pencil	"	2	D 23 (1), D 23 (2) P. W. 10	528

29	A Press reports of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam (Typed) damaged by white-ants	6. 3. 30	6	D 24 P. W 11	529
30	A Press reports of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam dated 22nd December (typed), with a Bengali printed page.	"	8	D. 25 P. W 11	530
31	A draft of a letter in English marked item IV/24 damaged by white-ants.	"	4	D. 26 P. W 11	531
32	A typed draft of a letter dated 8. 2. 29. from the General Secretary Bengal Int. Workers Association to the Secretary Publicity Board International Federation Trade Union Amsterdam.	"	1	D. 27 P. W 11	532
33	A book 'Socialism for to-day' by H. N. Brailsford.	"	1 volume	D 28 P. W 11	533
34	A printed immediate circular No. 2 as appeal for help from the All India Trade Union Congress, dated Bombay 26. 1. 1929.	"	1	D. 29 (1) P. W 11	534
35	The printed full text of constitution of the All India Trade Union Congress.	"	4	D. 29 (2) P. W 11	535
36	The All India Trade Union Bulletin for December 1928 (printed).	"	4	D. 29 (3) P. W 11	536
37	Printed Agendas of Jharia Session of the All India Trade Union Congress (18th to 20th December 28)	"	2	D. 29 (4), D. 29 (5) P. W 11	537
38	Annual Reports of A. I. T. U. C printed.	"	2 copies	D. 29 (6), D. 29 (7) P. W 11	538

39	A typed letter No. 1502 dated 13. 2. 29 from the Manager Calcutta claims Bureau to Secretary Bengal Jute Workers Association.	"	1	D. 30 (1) P. W. 11	539
40	A typed letter dated 11. 2. 29 from Manager of the Nudia Mill Company Limited to the Secretary Bengal Jute Workers Association Bhatpara.	"	1	D. 30 (2) P. W. 11	540
41	A letter dated 9. 2. 29 from Manager of Calcutta claims Bureau	"	1	D. 30 (3) P. W. 11	541
42	A typed letter dated 7. 2. 29 from Manager of Calcutta claims Bureau to the Secretary Bengal Jute Workers Association, Bhatpara.	"	2	D. 30 (4) P. W. 11	542
43	A typed letter dated 6. 2. 29 from Manager of Calcutta claims Bureau to Kalidas Bhattacharya President of Bengal Jute Workers Association.	"	1	D. 30 (5) P. W. 11	543
44	A typed letter dated 4.2.29 from Manager Calcutta claims Bureau to the Secretary Bengal Jute Workers Association	"	1	D. 30 (6) P. W. 11	544
45	A typed letter dated 30.1.29 from Auckland Jute Mills to the Secretary Bengal Jute Workers Association.	"	1	D. 30 (7) P. W. 11	545
46	A typed letter dated 22.1.29 from Manager Calcutta claims Bureau to the Secretary Bengal Jute Workers Association.	"	1	D. 30 (8) P. W. 11	546
47	A typed letter dated 23.1.29 from Manager Calcutta claims Bureau to the Secretary Bengal Jute Workers Association.	"	2	D. 30 (9) P. W. 11	447
48	A typed letter dated 26.1.29 from Manager Calcutta claims Bureau to the Secretary to the Bengal Jute Workers Association.	"	1	D. 30 (10) P. W. 11	548

49	A typed letter dated 31.1.29 from Manager Calcutta claims Bureau to the Secretary Bengal Jute Workers Association.	,	1	D. 30 (11) P. W 11	549
50	A letter dated 30.1.29 from Manager Anglo Indian Jute Mills to the Secretary Bengal Jute Workers Association.	"	1	D. 30 (12) P. W 11	550
51	A typed letter dated 29.1.29 from Manager American Manufacturing Company to the Secretary Bengal Jute Workers Association.	"	1	D. 30 (13) P. W 11	551
52	A typed letter dated 28.1.29 from Manager Megna Jute Mills to the Secretary Bengal Jute Workers Association.	"	1	D. 30 (14) P. W 11	552
53	A typed letter dated 9.1.29 from Manager of the Reliance Jute Mills Limited to the Secretary Bengal Jute Workers Association.	"	1	D. 30 (15) P. W 11	553
54	A typed letter dated 9.1.29 from President of Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.	"	1	D. 30 (16) P. W 11	554
55	A typed letter dated 2.1.29 from the Secretary Bengal Jute Workers Association to the manager Kankinara Jute Mills Company Limited.	"	1	D. 30 (17) P. W 11	555
56	A letter marked dated 29-2-29 from Convenor of Labour Group of the Executive Committee of the 24 Parganas to Nanda Kumar Sukul.	"	1	D. 31 P. W 11	556
57	Proceedings of meeting of the Labour Sub-Committee, 24 Parganas District Congress Committee held on 6-3-29.	"	2	D. 32 P. W. 11	557
58	A Bengali written card dated 11-3-29 addressed to Kalidas Bhattacharya.	"	1	D. 33 P. W. 11	558

59	A typed immediate Programme of the Congress Radical Party	"	6	D. 34 P. W. 11	559
60	Draft resolution of Bengal Jute Workers Association Budge Branch.	"	1	D. 35 P. W. 11	560
61	A typed letter dated 20-2-29 from Muzaffar Ahmad to Gopendra Krishan Chakravarty.	"	1	D. 36 P. W. 11	561
62	Resolution adopted at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Workers and Peasants Party of India, Bengal Provincial Branch on 17-2-29 (typed)	"	2	D. 37 P. W. 11	562
63	2 typed letters from General Secretary Bengal Jute Workers Association to the managing agents (damaged by white-ants)	"	2	D. 38 (1) D. 38 (2) P. W. 11	563
64	A Bengali written letter dated 3-2-29,	"	1	D. 39 P. W. 11	564
65	The printed election manifesto by S. Saklatwala dated 30-5-29	11.3.30	2	D. 40 A. Pershad P. W 16	957
66	File containing numbers of a meeting of Postmen Branch Post master etc. at Lacharapara dated 3-3-29 and other papers.	12.3.30	1 file of 46papers	D. 41 P. W. 18	762
67	A typed circular letter No. 9 of 17 2-29 from the Secretary Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to the member of Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.	"	1	D. 42 (1) P. W. 18	763
68	Subscription receipt dated 5-12-28 of Bengal Provincial Congress Committee for Rs 5/- given to Gopendra Chandra.	"	1	D. 42 (2) P. W. 18	764
69	A printed Bengali written card addressed to Gopendra Chandra Chakravarty.	"	1	D. 42 (3) P. W. 18	765

70	A typed letter dated 13-1-29 from Secretary Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.	12. 3. 30	I	D. 42 (4) P. W. 18	766
71	A typed letter dated 5-6-28 from G. Chakravarty to the Secretary International Federation of Trade Unions.	"	I	D. 42 (5) P. W. 18	767
72	A typed letter dated 4-7-28 from office Manager of the International Federation Trade Unions Amsterdam to the Angus Engineering Workers Union, Hughly.	"	I	D. 42 (6) P. W. 18	768
73	A file containing the Rules, objects and constitutions of the Bengal Jute Workers' Association as modified upto 3rd January 1929 with other papers.	"	26	D. 43 P. W. 18.	769
74	Letter dated 25-2-29 from Kalidas Bhattacharya to the Secretary 'Workers and Peasants Party of Indian Calcutta.'	"	I	D. 44 (i) P. W. 18	770
75	Letter dated 14-1-29 from Radha Raman and Bankim to Kalidas and Gopendra.	"	I	D. 44 (2) P. W. 18	771
76	Wire of 18-1-29 from Radha Raman to Kalidas Bhattacharya.	"	I	D. 44 (3) P. W. 18	772
77	Post card dated 11-1-29 from Shib Nath to Kalidas Bhattacharya.	"	I	D. 44 (4) P. W. 18	773
78	Letter dated 23-1-26 from D. Fren to Kalidas Bhattacharya.	"	I	D. 44 (5) P. W. 18	774
79	Letter dated 27-1-26 Do Do Do	"	I	D. 44 (6) P. W. 18	775
80	Letter dated 25-8-27 Do Do Do	"	I	D. 44 (7) P. W. 18	776
81	A Bengali written letter addressed to Kali Pado Bhattacharya.	"	I	D. 44 (8) P. W. 18	777

82	Letter dated 18-11-27 from Lalmohan Ghosh Kalidas Babu.	"	I	D. 44 (9) P. W. 18	778
83	A typed notice under section 62 A of Bengal Act IV of 1866 from the Commissioner of Police Calcutta to Kalidas Bhattacharji and all concerned.	"	I	D. 44 (10) P. W. 18	779
84	A post card written in Bengali dated 18-9 28 addressed to Kalidas Bhattacharya	"	I	D. 44 (11) P. W. 18	780
85	A typed letter dated 18-1-29 to Sibnath Banerji.	"	I	D. 44 (12) P. W. 18	781
86	A typed letter dated 18.1.29 from Kalidas Bhattacharya to the District Magistrate Howrah.	12. 3. 30	I	D. 44 (13) P. W. 18	782
87	A post card written in Bengali dated 8. 2. 29 to Kalidas Bhattacharya.	"	I	D. 44 (14) P. W. 18	783
88	A receipt written in Bengali	"	I	D. 44 (15) P. W. 18	784
89	A typed letter dated 9. 2. 29 from the Secretary Bhatpara Naihati Co-operative Credit Society Limited.	"	I	D. 44 (16) P. W. 18	785
90	A letter written in Bengali addressed to B. Subhas Chandria Bose.	"	I	D. 44 (17) P. W. 18	786
91	A post card in Bengali dated 2. 3. 29 addressed to Kalidas Bhattacharya.	"	I	D. 44 (18) P. W. 18	787
92	A sheet of Forward a newspaper of 18. 1. 29	"	I	D. 45 P. W. 18	788
93	A letter written in Bengali dated 13. 5. 28	"	I	D. 46 (1) P. W. 18	789
94	A receipt of Rs 9/14/- dated 19. 5. 28 from Tapeswar Bhor.	"	I	D. 46 (2) P. W. 18	790

95	A receipt of Rs 10/- dated 20. 5. 28 from Surja Kumar Ghosh Assistant Teacher.	12. 3. 30	I	D. 46 (3) P. W. 18	791
96	A receipt of Rs 2/- dated 20. 5. 28 from Kharpatoo.	"	I	D. 46 (4) P. W. 18	792
97	A letter in Bengali dated 22. 5. 28 from Hoordungi Lohar	"	I	D. 46 (5) P. W. 18	793
98	A receipt of Rs 3/- dated 10. 6. 28 from Surja Kumar.	"	I	D. 46 (6) P. W. 18	794
99	A letter in Bengali dated 10. 6. 28 from Bodi Bhor	"	I	D. 46 (7) P. W. 18	795
100	A typed receipt of Rs 12/- dated 19. 6. 28	"	I	D. 46 (8) P. W. 18	796
101	A receipt of Rs 2/0/9 dated 24. 6. 28 from Eakul	"	I	D. 46 (9) P. W. 18	797
102	A letter in Bengali dated 24. 6. 28 from Bodi Bhor	"	I	D. 46 (10) P. W. 18	798
103	Do Do Do From Bedeshi Chamar	"	I	D. 46 (10a) P. W. 18	799
104	A receipt of Rs 3/- dated 3. 7. 28 from Surja Kumar Ghosh	"	I	D. 46 (11) P. W. 18	800
105	Do Rs 2/ Do from Rupan Chamar	"	I	D. 46 (12) P. W. 18	801
106	A typed receipt of Rs 2/-/- dated 29. 7. 28 from Rupan Chamar	"	I	D. 46 (13) P. W. 18	802
107	Do Rs 2/8- dated- 5. 8. 28 Do Do	"	I	D. 46 (14) P. W. 18	803
108	A receipt of Rs 6/- as House Rent dated 5. 8. 28	"	I	D. 46 (15) P. W. 18	804
109	A receipt of Rs 5/- dated 7. 8. 28 from Surja Kumar Ghosh	"	I	D. 46 (16) P. W. 18	805
110	Do Rs 1/8/- dated 12. 8. 28 from Rupan Chamar	"	I	D. 46 (17) P. W. 18	806

111	Do	Rs 2/8/- dated 19.8.28 from Rupan Chamar	12.3.30	I	D. 46 (18) P. W. 18	807
112	Do	Rs 2/- dated 26.8.28 Do Do	"	I	D. 46 (19) P. W. 18	808
113	Do	Rs 12/- dated 12.9.28 as House Rent.	"	I	D. 46 (20) P. W. 18	809
114	Do	Rs 3/- dated 7.9.28 from Nathuni	"	I	D. 46 (21) P. W. 18	810
115	A typed receipt of	Rs 2/- dated 8.9.28 Do	"	I	D. 46 (22) P. W. 18	811
116	A receipt of	Rs 2/- dated 16.9.28 Do	"	I	D. 46 (23) P. W. 18	812
117	Do	Do dated 9.9.28 from Lokenath Naik	"	I	D. 46 (24) P. W. 18	813
118	Do	of Re 1/- dated 7.10.28 from Rupan Chamar	"	I	D. 46 (25) P. W. 18	814
119	Do	of Rs 2/- dated 18.10.28 from Dil Mohd.	"	I	D. 46 (26) P. W. 18	815
120	A typed receipt of	Rs 19/5/6 dated 21.10.28 from Jagoo Jana	"	I	D. 46 (27) P. W. 18	816
121	Do	Do Rs 5/- dated 4.11.28 from Rupan Chamar	"	I	D. 46 (28) P. W. 18	817
122	Do	Do Rs 6/- Do from Dil Mohd.	"	I	D. 46 (29) P. W. 18	818
123	Do	Do Rs 5/6/- dated 8.11.28 from Abdul Wahid	"	I	D. 46 (30) P. W. 18	819
124	Do	Do Rs 10/- Do from Ram Pado Mukerji.	"	I	D. 46 (31) P. W. 18	820
125	A typed letter dated	19-4-28 from Chakravarty to Parchoo Noonia (Sack Sewing Sirdar) Alliance Jute Mills (North Mill) Company Limited.	"	I	D. 46 (32) P. W. 18	821

126	A receipt of Rs 25/- dated 30-11-29 from Gopendra Chakravarty.	12.3.30.	19	D. 46 (33) P. W. 18	822
127	A typed receipt of Rs 50/- dated 30-4-28 from Kalidas Bhattacharya	"	1	D. 46 (34) P. W. 18	823
128	A receipt of Rs 5/- dated 25-11-28 from Gulab Khansama.	"	1	D. 46 (35) P. W. 18	824
129	A receipt of Rs 25/- dated 30-5-28 from Gopendra Chakravarty	"	1	D. 46 (36) P. W. 18	825
130	A typed receipt of Rs 26/- dt/ 17-10-28 Do Do	"	1	D. 46 (37) P. W. 18	826
131	A receipt of Rs 25/- dated 27-8-28 Do Do	"	1	D. 46 (38) P. W. 18	827
132	Do Rs 25/- dated 15.7.28 Do Do	"	1	D. 46 (39) P. W. 18	828
133	Do Rs 6/- dated 9.7.28 from Sonma.	"	1	D. 46 (40) P. W. 18	829
134	Do Rs 25/- dated 30.6.28 from Gopendra Chakravarty.	"	1	D. 46 (41) P. W. 18	830
135	Do Rs 12/- dated 12.4.28 as House Rent.	"	1	D. 46 (42) P. W. 18	831
136	Do Rs 2/4/- dated 14.4.28	"	1	D. 46 (43) P. W. 18	832
137	Do Rs 5/9/3 dated 8.4.28 from Tapeswar Bhor	"	1	D. 46 (44) P. W. 18	833
138	Do Rs 25/- dated 31.3.28 from Gopendra Chakravarty	"	1	D. 46 (45) P. W. 18	834
139	A typed receipt of Rs 59/- dated 31.3.28 from Kahoor Bha'tacharya	"	1	D. 46 (46) P. W. 18	835

140	A receipt of Re 1/- dated 25.3.28 from Mir Mohd.	12. 3 30	I	D. 46 (47) P. W. 18	836
141	Do Rs 2/- Do from Kokil Mia.	"	I	D. 46 (48) P. W. 18	837
142	Do Rs 5/- dated 15.3.28 from Indra Narain Mukerji.	"	I	D. 46 (49) P. W. 18	838
143	Do Rs 2/- dated 18.3.28 from Kokil Mia.	"	I	D. 46 (50) P. W. 18	839
144	Do Rs 2/- Do from Nur Mohd	"	I	D. 46 (51) P. W. 18	840
145	A receipt of Rs 4/8/- dated 1. 6. 28 from Kolap.	"	I	D. 46 (52) P. W. 18	841
146	Do Rs 5/- Do from Ali Babas	"	I	D. 46 (53) P. W. 18	842
147	Do Rs 3/- Do from Sohan	"	I	D. 46 (54) P. W. 18	843
148	Do Rs 4/- Do from Adhin	"	I	D. 46 (55) P. W. 18	844
149	Do Rs 9/6/- dated 29.1.28 from Ananta Jana	"	I	D. 46 (56) P. W. 18	845
150	A receipt in Bengali dated 19.8.27 from Bhawani	"	I	D. 46 (57) P. W. 18	846
151	A receipt of Rs 8/- dated 25.12.27 from Sukhnandan Chamar	"	I	D. 46 (58) P. W. 18	847
152	Do Rs 5/6/9 Do from Syamlal Noonla	"	I	D. 46 (59) P. W. 18	848
153	Do Rs 12/8 Do from Rupau Chamar	"	I	D. 46 (60) P. W. 18	849
154	Do Rs 13/4/- dated 26.12.27	"	I	D. 46 (61) P. W. 18	850
155	Do Rs 6/- dated 31.12.27 from Budhoo.	"	I	D. 46 (62) P. W. 18	851

156	Do Rs. 5/- dated 28.1.27 from Madhai Keot.	12.3.30	I	D. 46 (63) P. W. 18	852
157	Receipts of Rs 2/6/- and 3/6/- dated 23.6.26 and 15.2.26 from Haridhar Chatterji and Nirmal Kumar Chatterji and 2 Receipts of Rs 15/- and 12/- dated 23.6.26 from Probodh Ch. Chatterji and Nirmal Kumar Chatterji.	"	I	D. 46 (64) P. W. 18	853
158	A receipt of Rs 122/3/- dated 26.6.26 from Rash Mohan Mitra.	"	I	D. 46 (65) P. W. 18	854
159	2 receipts of Rs 10/8/- and 60/- dated 10.2.26 and 24.4.26 from Rash Mohan Mitra and Probodh Chandra Chatterji.	"	I	D. 46 (66) P. W. 18	855
160	2 receipts of Re 1/- and Rs 15/- dated 1.2.26 and 10.3.26 from Hari Har Chatterji.	"	I	D. 46 (67) P. W. 18	856
161	2 receipts of Rs 30/- and 5/- dated 23.4.26 and 22.6.26 from Hari Har Chatterji.	"	I	D. 46 (68) P. W. 18	857
162	2 receipts of Rs 15/- and 10/- dated 25.11.25 and 4.12.25 from Probodh Chandra Chatterji and Nirmal Kamur Chatterji.	"	I	D. 46 (69) P. W. 18	858
163	2 receipts of Rs 15/- and 2/7/- dated 5-12-25 and 12-1-26 from Probodh Ch. Chatterji and Hari Har Chatterji.	"	I	D. 46 (70) P. W. 18	859
164	Receipt of Rs 12/-/- dated 26-2-27.	"	I	D. 46 (71) P. W. 18	860
165	2 receipts of Rs 15/- dated 4-3-27 from Hairdayal Banerji and Amesh Chandra Sarkar.	"	I	D. 46 (72) P. W. 18	861
166	Receipts of Rs. 15/- dated 5-8-26 from Harydayal Banerji.	"	I	D. 46 (73) P. W. 18	862

167	Receipt of Rs 23/- dated 25-8-26 from Probodh Chande.	12. 3. 30	I	D. 46 (74) P. W. 18	863
168	2 receipts of Rs 15/-and 13/12/- dated 15-9-26 and 9-10-26 from Haridayal Banerji and Probodh Chandra Chatterji	"	I	D. 46 (75) P. W. 18	864
169	2 receipts of Rs 30/- dated 18-11-26 and 19-12-26 from Haridayal Banerji.	"	I	D. 46 (76) P. W. 18	865
170	Receipt of Rs 4-13 dated 11-3-28 from Surja Kunwar Ghosh.	"	I	D. 46 (77) P. W. 18	866
171	Do of 2/- Do from Hoordoongi.	"	I	D. 46 (78) P. W. 18	867
172	Do of 2/- Do from Nur Mohammad,	"	I	D. 46 (79) P. W. 18	868
173	Do of 2/- Do from Kokil Mia.	"	I	D. 46 (80) P. W. 18	869
174	A typed receipt of Rs 6/- dated 7-3-28 as House Rent	"	I	D. 46 (81) P. W. 18	870
175	A typed receipt of Rs 5/- dated 7-3-28 from Indra Narain Mukerji.	"	I	D. 46 (82) P. W. 18	871
176	A receipt of Rs 2/- dated 5-3-28 from Kokil Mia.	"	I	D. 46 (83) P. W. 18	872
177	A receipt of Rs 2/- dated 5-3-28 from Nur Mohammad	"	I	D. 46 (84) P. W. 18	873
178	Do Re 1/. dated 4-3-28, from Hoordoongi	"	I	D. 46 (85) P. W. 18	874
179	Do Rs 25/-dated 28-2-28 from Gopendra Chakarbarti	"	I	D. 46 (86) P. W. 18	875
180	A typed receipt of Rs 50/- dated 28-2-28 from Kalidas Bhattacharji.	"	I	D. 46 (87) P. W. 18	876
181	Do Do Do Do	"	I	D. 46 (88) P. W. 18	877

182	A receipt of Rs 2/- dated 26-2-28 from Nur Mohammad	12.3 30	1	D. 46 (8) P. W. 18	878
183	Do Rs 6/14/3 dated 19-2-28 from Babu Lal Singh	"	1	D. 46 (9) P. W. 18	879
184	Do Rs 3/- Do Do from Karan Kahar	"	1	D. 46 (91) P. W. 18	880
185	Do Rs 2/- Do Do from Hoordoongi	"	1	D. 46 (92) P. W. 18	881
186	Do Rs 2/- dated 18-2-28 from Nur Mohammad	"	1	D. 46 (93) P. W. 18	882
187	Do Rs 2/- do from Kokil Mia	"	1	D. 46 (94) P. W. 18	883
188	Do Rs 7/- dated 15-2-28 from Saib Mahamdin.	"	1	D. 46 (95) P. W. 18	884
189	Do Rs 1/8/- dated 12-2-28 from Hoordoongi	"	1	D. 46 (96) P. W. 18	885
190	Do -/8/- Do from Kolia.	"	1	D. 46 (97) P. W. 18	886
191	A letter no. Y 1263650 written in Bengali	"	1	D. 46 (98) P. W. 18	887
192	A typed receipt of Rs 6/- dated 8-2-28 as House Rent	"	1	D. 46 (99) P. W. 18	888
193	A receipt of Rs 2/- dated 5-2-28 from Samtally.	"	1	D. 46 (100) P. W. 18	889
194	Do Do Do from Hoordoongi	"	1	D. 46 (101) P. W. 18	890
195	Do Do Do from Ostally	"	1	D. 46 (102) P. W. 18	891
196	Do 4/- Do from Lall Mohammad	"	1	D. 46 (103) P. W. 18	892
197	A typed receipt of Rs 50/- dated 31-1-28 from Kalidas Bhattacharya.	"	1	D. 46 (104) P. W. 18	893

198	A receipt of Rs 25/- dated 30. 1. 28 from Gopendra Chakarbarty.	12. 3. 30	1	D. 46 (105) P. W. 18	894
199	A receipt of Rs 3/6/- dated 29. 1. 28. from Lall Ram Kahar	"	1	D. 46 (106) P. W. 18	895
200	A receipt of Rs 2/- in Bengali d/- 29.1.28 to Doorga Noonia.	"	1	D. 46 (107) P. W. 18	896
201	A receipt of Rs 2/8/- dated 28. 1. 28 from Hoordoongi.	"	1	D. 46 (108) P. W. 18	897
202	A receipt of Rs 2/- dated 28. 1. 28. from Jagannath Kanu.	"	1	D. 46 (109) P. W. 18	898
203	A receipt of Rs 1/8/ dated 21. 1. 28 from Hoordoongi	"	1	D. 46 (110) P. W. 18	899
204	A receipt of Rs 10/- dated 18-1-28 from Indra Narain Muerji	"	1	D. 46 (111) P. W. 18	900
205	A receipt of Rs 25/- dated 15. 1. 28 from Aroth Senapali	"	1	D. 46 (112) P. W. 18	901
206	A receipt of Rs 7/- dated 12. 1. 28. from Bhagirathi Kahar	"	1	D. 46 (113) P. W. 18	902
207	A receipt of Rs 2/- dated 9. 1. 28 from Dil Mohammad	"	1	D. 46 (114) P. W. 18	903
208	A receipt of Rs 5/- dated 7. 1. 28 from Jadoo Lohar	"	1	D. 46 (115) P. W. 18	904
209	A receipt of Rs 5/- dated 5. 1. 28 from Rupan	"	1	D. 46 (116) P. W. 18	905
210	A typed receipt of Rs 50/- dated 2. 1. 28 from Kalidas Bhatta Charya	"	1	D. 46 (117) P. W. 18	906
211	A receipt of Rs 25/- dated 21. 12. 27	"	1	D. 46 (118) P. W. 18	907
212	A receipt of Rs 37/8/- dated 21. 12. 27	"	1	D. 46 (119) P. W. 18	908

213	A receipt of Rs 3/10/-dated 25. 12. 27 from Darsan	12. 3. 30	I	D. 46 (120) P. W. 18	909
214	A receipt of Rs 12/- as rent dated 10. 12. 27	"	I	D. 46 (121) P. W. 18	910
215	A receipt of Rs 30/- as rent dated 16. 11. 27	"	I	D. 46 (122) P. W. 18	914
216	A receipt of Rs 10/- as rent dated 9. 11. 27	"	I	D. 46 (123) P. W. 18	911
217	A typed receipt of Rs 100/- dated 18. 9. 27 from Kalidas Bhattacharya.	"	I	D. 46 (124) P. W. 18	912
218	A receipt of Rs 5/- dated 19. 9. 27 from Amesh Chandra	"	I	D. 46 (125) P. W. 18	913
219	A receipt of Rs. 5/- as rent dated 16. 9. 27	"	I	D. 46 (126) P. W. 18	915
220	A receipt of Rs 4/ dated 26/27. 8. 27. from Madhi Tatwa	"	I	D. 46 (127) P. W. 18	916
221	A receipt of Rs 4/2/- dated 21. 8. 27 from Profulla Kumar Roy	"	I	D. 46 (128) P. W. 18	917
222	A typed receipt of Rs 75/ dated 1. 7. 27 from Kalidas Bhattacharya.	"	I	D. 46 (129) P. W. 18	918
223	A typed receipt of Rs 75/ dated 24. 6. 27 from Do Do	"	I	D. 46 (130) P. W. 18	919
224	A typed receipt of Rs 50/ dated 1. 6. 27 from Do Do	"	I	D. 46 (131) P. W. 18	920
225	A typed receipt of Rs 37/ dated 24. 5. 27 from Do Do	"	I	D. 46 (132) P. W. 18	921
226	A printed Cheque for interest in the name of Pir Mohd. Khan and Paiz Mohammad Khan.	"	I	D. 46 (133) P. W. 18	922
227	A printed Cheque for interest in the name of Fizla Khan and Khan Mohd Khan.	"	I	D. 46 (134) P. W. 18	923

228	Press Reports of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam d/ 24. 1. 29	12.3.30	40	D. 47 P. W. 18	924
229	A file of voucher for 1929 of the Bengal Jute Workers Union.	"	1 file	D. 48 P. W. 18	925
230	A bounded copy of letters sent from Bengal Jute Workers Association.	"	1 Vol:	D. 49 P. W. 18	926
231	Diary Book No 2 of the Central office of the Bengal Jute Workers association.	"	1 Vol:	D. 50 P. W. 18	927
232	Members Rolls of the Bengal Jute Workers Association	"	1 Vol:	D. 51 P. W. 18	928
233	Diary Book No 1 of the B. J. Workers Association.	"	1 Vol:	D. 52 P. W. 18	929
234	Cash Book of 1928 do.....do.....do	"	1 Vol:	D. 53 P. W. 18	930
235	2 sheets of Forward a newspaper d/-31-12-28 & a typed state expenditure on education.	"	3 leaves	D. 54 (1) } D. 54 (2) } P. W. 18 D. 54 (3) }	931
236	Members Rolls commencing from 1926.	"	1 Vol:	D. 55 P. W. 18	932
237	Do.....for 1928-29 of the B. J. W. A.	"	1 Vol:	D. 56 P. W. 18	933
238	A book of letter copy of the Central office of the Bengal Jute Workers Association	"	1 Vol:	D. 57 P. W. 18	934
239	Do.....Do.....for 1925	"	1 Vol.	D. 58 P. W. 18	935
240	A draft written in Bengali	"	3	D. 59 (1) P. W. 18	936
241	A draft written in Bengali and typed in English	"	2	D. 59 (2) P. W. 18	937

242	A typed report in English	12. 3. 30	58	D. 59 (3) P. W. 18	938
243	A copy written in Bengali	"	15	D. 59 (4) P. W. 18	939
244	Typed press Reports of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam d/14.2.29.	"	19	D. 60 P. W. 18	940
245	Rules of Bengal Trade Union Federation	"	4 leaves	D. 61 (1) P. W. 18	941
246	A book on the Trade Union Movement in India by N. M. Joshi M. L. A.	"	1 book	D. 61 (2) P. W. 18	942
247	A book of terms of Settlement of the Jamshedpur labour dispute of 1928	"	1 book	D. 61 (3) P. W. 18	943
248	A book of Speeches by Mr. N. M. Joshi	"	1 book	D. 62 P. W. 18	944
249	The International Trade Union Review for April to June 1925.	"	1 book	D. 63 P. W. 18	945
250	Report on the activities of the International Federation of Trade Union during the year 1922-1923.	"	1 book	D. 64 P. W. 18	946
251	A book "Exploitation in India." by Thomas Jhonston M.P.	17.3. 30	1	D. 65 P. W. 19	958
252	A file of letters from 28.1.26 to 21.11 26 issued and received by the Bengal Papa Mill's Workers' Union and Bengal Jute Worker Association & Co.	"	86 leaves	D. 66 P. W. 20	971
253	Diary book of the Bengal Jute Workers Association, Hajinagar Branch.	"	1	D. 67 P. W. 20	972
254	A printed Bengali Book.	"	1	D. 68 P. W. 22	973

255	A Book of Rules of the Calcutta Tramway Workers Union.	"	1	D 69 P. W. 22	974
256	A file containing 5 applications of Jaddu and Bhuli etc, workers.	"	5	D 70 P. W. 22	975
257	A file containing letters from the Secretary of Bengal Jute Workers Association Titagarh Branch.	"	5	D 71 P. W. 22	976
258	A typed letter dated 22/23 Feby. 28 from the manager Calcutta Claims Bureau to the Secretary B. J. W. A.	"	1	D 72 P. W. 22	977
259	A typed letter d/-12-3-29 from the Registrar of Trade Union. Bengal to the Secretary Garden Reach Workers' Union	18.3.30	1	D 73 (1) P. W. 25	978
260	A typed letter d/-5-2-29 from the Manager Calcutta Claims Bureau, to the Branch Secy: B. J. W. A Garden Reach.	"	1	D 73 (2) P. W. 25	979
261	A typed letter d/2-1-29 from the Secretary B. J. W. A Bhatpara to the Secretary B. J. W. A Metiaburz Branch.	"	1	D 73 (3) P. W. 25	980
262	Copy of a typed letter, d/-17-12-28 addressed to the Manager Clive Jute Mills Co, Ltd. Garden Reac.	"	1	D 73 (4) P. W. 25	981
263	Copy of a letter d/11-1-29 addressed to the Manager Clive Jute Mills Co: Ltd Kidderpur:	"	1	D 73 (5) P. W. 25	982
264	A typed letter d/-26-9-28 from Inspector of Factories Bengal to the Branch Secretary Textile Workers Union Matia-burz, Calcutta.	"	1	D 73 (6) P. W. 25	983
265	A typed letter dated 1-11-28 from the Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation, Bengal to Kolan Mistry.	18.3.30	1	D 73 (7) P. W. 23	984

266	A typed notice to All Bengal Labour Conference from the General Secretary E. I Railway Union Lillooah.	18. 3. 30	I	D 73 (8) P. W. 25	985
267	A typed letter dated 13-8-28 from the Assistant Secretary to the Commissioner Workmen's Compensation Bengal.	"	I	D 73 (9), P. W. 25	986
268	A typed letter dated 7-3-29 from the Acting Secretary Garden Reach Worker's Union to the Secretary Trade Union Federation.	"	I	D 74 (1) P W 25	987
269	A typed letter dated 5-2-29 from the Secretary Garden Reach Worker's Union to the Manager Garden Reach Workshop.	"	I	D 74 (2) P.W. 25	988
270	A typed letter dated 28-1-29 from Bengal Jute Workers. Association BudBudge Branch to the Manager Clive Jute Mills Matiaburz.	"	I	D. 74 (3) P.W. 25	989
271	A typed letter dated 22-12-28 from Assistant Secretary Bengal Jute Worker's Association to the Secretary Bengal Jute Worker's Association Matiaburz Branch.	"	I	D. 74 (4) P.W. 25	990
272	A typed letter dated 17-12-28 from the Secretary Bengal Jute Worker's Association Bhatpara to the Manager Clive Jute Mills Co., Garden Reach.	"	I	D. 74 (5) P.W. 25	991
273	A typed letter dated 12-12-28 to the Assistant Secretary Keso Ram Cotton Mills Limited., Garden Reach, Matiaburz.	"	I	D. 74 (6) P.W. 25	992
274	A typed letter dated 16-9-28 from Bengal Textile Worker's Union Matiaburz to the manager Indian General Navigation Company Limited.	"	I	D. 74 (7) P.W. 25	993

275	A typed letter dated 13-8-28 from Secretary Bengal Textile Worker's Union to the Factory Inspector, Bengal.	"	I	D. 74 (8) P.W. 25	914
276	A typed letter dated 23-6-28 from Secretary Bengal Textile Worker's Union to the Managing Agents Keso Ram Cotton Mills.	"	I	D. 74 (9) P.W. 25	995
277	A typed letter No: 7 dated 20-6-28 to the Secretary Keso Ram Cotton Mills Limited Matiaburz.	"	I	D. 74 (10) P.W. 25	995
278	A typed letter dated 14-6-28 from the Secretary Bengal Textile Workers' Union to the Messrs.Brila Brothers Limited	"	I Vol:	D. 74 (11) P.W. 25	997
279	A counded copy of Accidents.	"	I	D. 75 P.W. 25	998
280	A Bengali Magazine.	"	I	D. 76 (1) P.W. 25	999
281	A Bengali Magazine.	"	I	D. 76 (2) P.W. 25	1000
282	A Bengali Magazine.	"	I	D. 77 P W. 25	1001
283	A Bengali printed notice.	"	I	D. 78 P W. 25	1002
284	A bounded copy of accidents	"	I	D. 79 P.W. 25	1003
285	A printed notice in Bengali	"	I	D. 80 P.W. 27	1006
286	A letter written in Bengali.	"	2	D. 81 P W. 27	1007
287	A post card written in Bengali addressed to Bankim Ch. Mukerji Secretary Changail Jute Workers' Union.	"	I	D. 82 P W. 27	1008
288	A letter dated 23-4-28 written in Bengali.	"	I	D. 83 P.W. 27	1009

289	A pencile draft of resolutions and the names of members of Executive Committee and members written in ink.	18. 3. 30	7	D. 84 (1), D. 84 (2) D. 84 (3) P. W 27	1010
290	Notes in Pencil	"	4	D. 84 (4), D. 84 (5) P. W 27	1011
291	Manuscript notes in pencil	"	8	D. 84 (6), D. 84 (7) D. 84 (8), D. 84 (9) D. 84 (10), D. 84 (11) D. 84 (12), D. 84 (13) P. W 27	1012
292	A manuscript letter in Urdu from Sheikh Abdul Hakim and Sheikh Bhura to Farriyage Butler with envelope.	20. 3. 30	1	D.85 P. W 28	1067
293	A manuscript letter in Urdu addressed to Sheikh Musa from mother-in-law with envelope.	"	1	D. 86 P. W 28	1068
294	A typed letter dated 4-6-28 from Lever Brothers Limited to Mr. Abdul Hamid Barber with envelope.	"	1	D. 87 P. W. 28	1069
295	An envelope addressed to Abdul Hamid Barber without any letter.	"	1	D. 88 P. W 28	1070
296	A note book.	"	1	D. 89, D. 89 (1), D. 98 (2), D. 89 (3), D. 89 (4), D. 89 (5), P. W 28	1071
297	Diary for 1926 published by Lett's Diaries Company Limited.	"	1	D. 90 (1), D.90 (2), D. 90 (3), D. 90 (4), D. 90 (5), D. 90 (6), D. 90 (7), D. 90 (8), P. W 28	1072

298	The Indian Seamen's Union's Card.	"	1	D. 91 P. W. 28	1073
299	A typed draft about the functions of Labour Research Institution etc.	25. 3. 30	9	D. 92 P. W. 30	1168
300	Cuttings of Forward a newspaper.	"	5	D. 93 (1), D. 93 (2), D. 93 (3), D. 93 (4) P. W. 30	1169
301	Account of Muzaffar Ahmad of collections of R. C. Fund of the 1st All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference.	"	2	D. 94 P. W. 30	1170
302	A typed manifesto urging International Unity with a letter (typed) dated March 1928 from James Maxton Chairman of Independent Labour Party.	"	2	D. 95 (1), D. 95 (2) P. W. 30	1171
303	A printed All India Trade Union Bulletin for July 1928.	"	1	D. 96 P. W. 30	1172
304	A typed statement to the All Parties Conference on the report of the Nehru Committee and the draft Principles of the constitution for India.	"	8	D. 97 P. W. 30	1173
305	A typed letter dated 15-8-28 from the Honorary Secretary Bengal Trade Union Federation to the General Secretary of Workers' and Peasants Party of Bengal etc.	25. 3. 30.	1	D. 98 P. W. 30	1174
306	A typed letter dated 20-7-26 from Independent Labour Party Westminster London to the Indian Advisory Committee of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party.	"	1	D. 99 P. W. 30	1175
307	A typed Press Service No. 3 of 15th March of the League against Imperialism International Secretariat, Berlin.	"	3	D. 100 P. W. 30	1176
308	A printed 'The Indian Information Centre'.	"	2	D. 101 P. W. 30	1177

309	A typed letter dated 24-8-1927 from J. E. Potter Wilson to the Editor 'The Ganavani; Calcutta.	25.3.30.	1	D. 102 P. W. 30	1178
310	A typed letter dated 27. 5. 27 from the Secretary of the Indian Information Centre to the Editor of 'The Ganavani, ' Calcutta.	"	2	D. 103 P. W. 30	1179
311	A typed letter dated 29-8-28 from Lal Mohan Ghosh Secretary Labour Committee of Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to the Secretary Bengal Workers' and Peasant Party.	"	1	D. 104 P. W. 30	1180
312	A typed letter dated 24-10-27 from the secretary of the Indian Information Centre, London W. C. 1 to Muzaffar Ahmad, Calcutta.	"	2	D. 105 P. W. 30	1181
313	A manuscript letter dated 25-2-29 from Kalidas Bhattacharya to the Secretary Workers' and Peasants Party Bengal Provincial Branch Calcutta with envelope.	"	2	D. 106 P. W. 30	1182
314	A bound Subscription Register 'Ganavani' for 1926-27	"	1 volume	D. 107 P. W. 30	1183
315	A bound V. P. Register 'Ganavani' for 1926-27	"	1 volume	D. 108 P. W. 30	1184
316	A bound V. P. P. Register of 'Ganavani' for 1926	"	1 volume	D. 109 P. W. 30	1185
317	A bound account book from August 1926 to March 1928.	"	1 volume	D. 110 P. W. 30	1186
318	The Bharat Exercise Book No. 6.	"	1	D. 111 P. W. 30	1187
319	A manuscript draft written in Bengali	"	5	D. 112, P.W 30	1188

320	A typed letter dated 15-1-28 from the Assistant Secretary of All India Trade Union Congress Bombay with envelope addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad.	25.3.30	2	D.113, D.113(E) P.W. 30	1189
321	A typed Muharram Manifesto dated 9-7-27 of the Workers and Peasants Party of Bombay to the Hindu and Muslim Masses issued by Shantaran etc.	"	3	D. 114 P. W. 30	1190
322	An unbound book 'The Class Struggle in Parliament by S. Saklat Wala.	"	1	D. 115 P. W. 30	1191
323	Cuttings of Forward a Newspaper of Calcutta.	27. 3. 30	19	D. 115 (1), D. 116 (2) D. 116 (3), D. 116 (4) D. 116 (5), D. 116 (6) D. 116 (7), D. 116 (8) D. 116 (9), D. 116 (10) D. 116 (11), D. 116 (12) D. 116 (13), D. 116 (14) D. 116 (14), D. 116 (15) D. 116 (16), D. 116 (17) D. 116 (18), D. 116 (19) P. W. 31	1289
324	Press Service of the League Against Imperialism and for National Independence dated 15th June 1927.	"	1	D. 117 P. W. 31	1290
325	A manuscript letter dated 22-11-25 from Thomas Jhonston with a typed letter dated 29-11-25 addressed to Mr. Jhonston.	"	2	D. 118 (1), D. 118 (2) P. W. 31	1291
326	A typed draft on 'The Sorry plight of the Municipal Scavangers, Calcutta.	"	4	D. 119 P. W. 31	1292

327	A Bengali Manuscript.	"	2	D. 120 P. W. 31	1293
328	A Complaint Register.	"	1 Vol	D. 121 P. W. 31	1294
329	A correspondence Register in English and Bengali.	"	1 Vol	D. 122 P. W. 31	1295
330	Manuscript proceedings of the First Indian Communist Conference held in Cawnpore on 26-12-25.	"	2	D. 123 P. W. 31	1296
331	Cuttings of the Forward, Bombay Chronicle, Evening News and a Bengali paper etc.	"	20	D. 124 (1) to D. 124 (20) P. W. 31	1297
332	2 Bengali Newspapers 'Lalpalton' for 29th September 1928 and 6th October 1928.	"	6 leaves	D. 125 P. W. 31	1298
333	Cuttings of Forward a newspaper of 4-9-28.	"	2	D. 126 (1) D. 126 (2) P. W. 31	1299
334	A typed letter d/- 12-3-28 from General Secretary East Indian Railway Union addressed to the Secretary 'The Scavengers Union with Envelope.	"	2	D. 127 P. W. 31 D. 127 (E) P. W. 31	1450
335	A letter written in Bengali from the office of Ganavani a weekly organ, Calcutta.	"	1	D. 128 P. W. 31	1491
336	A manuscript letter d/- 4-4-27 from Muzaffar Ahmad to A. H. Wheeler and Co. Allahabad.	"	1	D. 129 (1) P. W. 31	1492
337	A printed list of branches of Bookstalls of A. H. Wheeler and Co. Allahabad.	"	1	D. 129 (2) P. W. 31	1493
338	A typed letter d/- 5-12-27 from the Editor 'Ganavani' to the Secretary 'Reception' Committee of 2nd Session of the Indian National Congress, Madras.	"	1	D. 129 (3) P. W. 31	1494

339	A typed letter d/- 6-3-28 from Tairini P. Sinha to Muzaffar Ahmad with envelope.	27.3.30	3	D. 130, D. 130 (E) P. W. 31	1495
340	List of the Books of the day of Kamla Book Depot Ltd. 15 college Square Calcutta.	1. 4. 30	1	D. 131 P. W. 33	1503
341	A cash memo No. 22828 d/-15. 1. 29 for Rs 13/15/- in the name of M. Ahmad.	"	1	D. 132 P. W. 33	1504
342	A Bill No. 813 d/-29. 6. 27 for Rs 11/4/ in the name of Muzaffar Ahmad	"	1	D. 133 P. W. 33	1505
343	A receipt No 128 d/ 20. 6- 27 for -/6/- in the name of Muzaffar Ahmad	"	1	D. 134 P. W. 33	1506
344	A receipt of books No 1023 d/-21. 3. 27 about books from Muzaffar Ahmad by the Book Company.	"	1	D. 135 P. W. 33	1507
345	Manuscript list of Books in the handwriting of Muzaffar Ahmad and a bill No 8/1489.	"	2	D. 136 P. W. 33	1508
346	A cash memo No. 26564 d/5. 6. 28 for Rs 10/3/6 in the name of M. Ahmad.	"	1	D. 137 P. W. 33	1509
347	A typed draft of plaint of the suit of declaration Azimuddin Shikdar and 2 others Vs. The Secretary of State.	"	28	D. 138 P. W. 33	1510
348	Draft notes about meeting in the hand-writing of Philip Spratt.	"	5	D. 139 (1) D. 139 (2) D. 139 (3) D. 139 (4) P. W. 33	1511
349	Manuscript letter from P. Spratt to Kishori.	"	1	D. 139 (5) P. W. 33	1512
350	Manuscript Report on the Trade Union of Bengal by P. Spratt.	"	1	D. 139 (6) P. W. 33	1513

351	Draft notice about the Indian Seamen's Union in the handwriting of P. Spratt.	1. 4. 30	1	D. 139 (7) P. W. 33	1514
352	A post card d/ 15. 2. 28 addressed to Spratt.	"	1	D. 139 (8) P. W. 33	1515
353	A typed copy of a letter d/31-10-28 addressed to the Secretary of Kantimar a labour Union ect.	"	1	D. 139 (9) P. W. 33	1516
354	A card d/13-11-28 addressed to P. Spratt.	"	1	D. 139 (10) P. W. 33	1517
355	A typed copy of a letter d/18-10-28 addressed to the Editors of the newspapers A. B. Patrika, Forwards ect.	"	1	D. 139 (11) P. W. 33	1518
356	Draft notes about a meeting in the handwriting of P. Spratt.	"	1	D. 139 (12) P. W. 33	1519
357	A draft note in the hand writing of P. Spratt.	"	1	D. 139 (13) P. W. 33	1520
358	A manuscript letter d/ 3. 11. 28 from Phanindra Kumar Sanyal to P. Spratt.	"	2	D. 139 (14) P. W. 33	1521
359	Questionnaires about 'The Union' The Industry etc.	"	3	D. 139 (15) P. W. 33	1522
360	Questionnaire about 'The 'Union'.	"	1	D. 139 (16) P. W. 33	1523
361	Draft Notes about Dhateswari Cotton Mill Workers Union	"	3	D. 139 (17) P. W. 33	1524
362	A manuscript letter addressed to the Secretary and on its back a letter from P. Spratt.	"	1	D. 139 (18) P. W. 33	1525
363	A manuscript copy of Notice sent to Forward, Patrika etc Newspapers.	"	1	D. 139 (19) P. W. 33	1526

339	A typed letter d/- 6-3-28 from Tairini P. Sinha to Muzaffar Ahmad with envelope.	27.3.30	3	D. 130, D. 130 (E) P. W. 31	1495
340	List of the Books of the day of Kamla Book Depot Ltd. 15 college Square Calcutta.	1. 4. 30	1	D. 131 P. W. 33	1503
341	A cash memo No. 22828 d/-15. 1. 29 for Rs 13/15/- in the name of M. Ahmad.	"	1	D. 132 P. W. 33	1504
342	A Bill No. 813 d/-29. 6. 27 for Rs 11/4/ in the name of Muzaffar Ahmad	"	1	D. 133 P. W. 33	1505
343	A receipt No 128 d/ 20. 6- 27 for -/6/- in the name of Muzaffar Ahmad	"	1	D. 134 P. W. 33	1506
344	A receipt of books No 1023 d/-21. 3. 27 about books from Muzaffar Ahmad by the Book Company.	"	1	D. 135 P. W. 33	1507
345	Manuscript list of Books in the handwriting of Muzaffar Ahmad and a bill No 8/1489.	"	2	D. 136 P. W. 33	1508
346	A cash memo No. 26564 d/5. 6. 28 for Rs 10/3/6 in the name of M. Ahmad.	"	1	D. 137 P. W. 33	1509
347	A typed draft of plaint of the suit of declaration Azimuddin Shikdar and 2 others Vs. The Secretary of State.	"	28	D. 138 P. W. 33	1510
348	Draft notes about meeting in the hand-writing of Philip Spratt.	"	5	D. 139 (1) D. 139 (2) D. 139 (3) D. 139 (4) P. W. 33	1511
349	Manuscript letter from P. Spratt to Kishori.	"	1	D. 139 (5) P. W. 33	1512
350	Manuscript Report on the Trade Union of Bengal by P. Spratt.	"	1	D. 139 (6) P. W. 33	1513

351	Draft notice about the Indian Seamen's Union in the handwriting of P. Spratt.	1. 4. 30	1	D. 139 (7) P. W. 33	1514
352	A post card d/ 15. 2. 28 addressed to Spratt.	"	1	D. 139 (8) P. W. 33	1515
353	A typed copy of a letter d/-31-10-28 addressed to the Secretary of Kantimar a labour Union ect.	"	1	D. 139 (9) P. W. 33	1516
354	A card d/13-11-28 addressed to P. Spratt.	"	1	D. 139 (10) P. W. 33	1517
355	A typed copy of a letter d/-18-10-28 addressed to the Editors of the newspapers A. B. Patrika, Forwards ect.	"	1	D. 139 (11) P. W. 33	1518
356	Draft notes about a meeting in the handwriting of P. Spratt.	"	1	D. 139 (12) P. W. 33	1519
357	A draft note in the hand writing of P. Spratt.	"	1	D. 139 (13) P. W. 33	1520
358	A manuscript letter d/ 3. 11. 28 from Phanindra Kumar Sanyal to P. Spratt.	"	2	D. 139 (14) P. W. 33	1521
359	Questionnaires about 'The Union' The Industry etc.	"	3	D. 139 (15) P. W. 33	1522
360	Questionnaire about 'The 'Union'.	"	1	D. 139 (16) P. W. 33	1523
361	Draft Notes about Bhataswari Cotton Mill Workers Union	"	3	D. 139 (17) P. W. 33	1524
362	A manuscript letter addressed to the Secretary and on its back a letter from P. Spratt.	"	1	D. 139 (18) P. W. 33	1525
363	A manuscript copy of Notice sent to Forward, Patrika etc Newspapers.	"	1	D. 139 (19) P. W. 33	1526

364	A typed draft report of the Indian Quarter Mastus Union for 1925-7.	1.4.20	32	D. 139 (20) P. W. 33	1527	<i>Upward</i>
365	A typed administrative report of Bengal Nagpur Railway Indian Labour Union for the period of 20. 12. 26 to 31. 3. 28	"	5	D. 139 (21) P. W. 33	1528	
366	A printed report of Kankinarrah Labour Union	"	1 book	D. 139 (22) P. W. 33	1529	
367	A printed proceedings of 7th Annual Conference at Decca 1928 of E. B. Ry. Indian Employees' association.	"	1 book	D. 139 (23) P. W. 33	1530	
368	A printed report for the years 1925 and 1926 of the Indian Seamen's Union including an account of the International Labour Conference Geneva, 1926 etc.	"	1 book	D. 139 (24) P. W. 33	1531	
369	A printed annual report of the Executive Committee of the Calcutta Corporation Teacher's Union for 1927-28	"	1 book	D. 139 (25) P. W. 33	1532	
370	A typed letter d/-24. 1. 28 from Muzaffar Ahmad to Philip Spratt	"	2	D. 140 (1) P. W. 33	1533	
371	A typed letter d/-13. 12. 1926 from Hutchinson	"	2	D. 140 (2) P. W. 33	1534	
372	A typed notice under section 62 A (Bengal Act IV of 1866) to Kishori Lal Ghose by the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta.	"	1	D. 140 (3) P. W. 33	1535	
373	A manuscript letter d/13. 12. 28 addressed to Spratt.	"	1	D. 140 (4) P. W. 33	1536	
374	A typed letter d/28. 4. 28 from F. Washington to Phillip Spratt.	"	1	D. 140 (5) P. W. 33	1537	

375	A typed letter d/-27, 1. 28 from Rustamji and Ginwala to P. Spratt and S. S. Mirajkar	1. 4. 30	1	D. 140 (6) P. W. 33	1538
376	A typed copy of letter d/ 26, 1. 28 from the Secretary to the Government of Bombay to Messrs. Rustamji and Ginwala	"	1	D. 140 (7) P. W. 33	1539
377	Draft Notes in the handwriting of P. Spratt	"	2	D. 141 (1) P. W. 33	1540
378	A typed letter d/14. 3. 29 from Nuzaffar Ahmad to the Editor Sunday Worker London with a printed application to His Excellency the Governor in Council of Bengal and envelope.	"	3	D. 141 (2) P. W. 33	1541
379	Cuttings of the newspapers.	"	17	D. 142 (1) to D. 142 (16) P. W. 33	1542
380	A printed report of the 7th Sessions for 1927 of the Indian Colliery Employees Association, Jharia	"	1 book	D. 142 (17) P. W. 33	1543
381	A printed report for 1926 of the 6th Annual General Meeting of the Indian Colliery Employee's Association	"	1 book	D. 142 (18) P. W. 33	1544
382	A printed memorandum by H. K Sahoo.	"	1	D. 142 (19) P. W. 33	1545
383	Manuscript Notes in the handwriting of Spratt.	"	3	D. 142 (20) P. W. 33	1546
384	Cuttings of the newspapers.	"	4	D. 143 (1) to D. 143 (4) P. W. 33	1547
385	Cuttings of the newspapers.	"	8	D. 144 (1) to D. 144 (8) P. W. 33	1548
386	Cuttings of Amrita Bazar Patrika and Forward Newspapers	"	17	D. 145(I) to D. 145(17) P. W. 33	1549
387	Printed Presidential Address of V. Sessions of All India Trade Union Congress	"	3	D. 145 (18) P. W. 33	1550

388	Printed Presidential Address of 8th Sessions of All India Trade Union Congress	"	1 book	D. 145 (19) P. W. 33	1551	u
389	A printed leaflet of the Executive Committee of the Worker's and Peasants Party Bombay	"	1	D. 145 (20) P. W. 33	1552	
390	A printed Agenda.	"	1	D. 145 (21) P. W. 33	1553	
391	A typed copy of a letter d/ 25. 1. 29 from N. M. Joshi to Mr. Spratt.	"	1	D. 145 (22) P. W. 33	1554	
392	A typed letter dated 31-7-28 from N. M. Joshi to Spratt.	1. 4. 30	1	D. 145 (23) P. W. 33	1555	
393	A typed letter dated 24-12-27 from N. M. Joshi to P. Spratt.	"	1	D. 145 (24) P. W. 33	1556	
394	A typed letter dated 8-5-27 from N. M. Joshi to P. Spratt.	"	1	D. 145 (25) P. W. 33	1557	
395	A typed letter dated 28-1-28 from N. M. Joshi to P. Spratt.	"	1	D. 145 (26) P. W. 33	1558	
396	A typed letter dated 5-1-28 from N. M. Joshi to P. Spratt.	1. 4. 30	1	D. 145 (27) P. W. 33	1559	
397	A printed circular No. 1 from the Secy: International Federation of Trade Unions to the Secretaries of the Unions affiliated to the All Indian Trade Union Congress.	"	1	D. 145 (28) P. W. 33	1560	
398	A typed letter dated 20-11-27 from N. M. Joshi to P. Spratt.	"	1	D. 145 (29) P. W. 33	1561	
399	Manuscript notes in the handwriting of P. Spratt.	"	2	D. 145 (30) P. W. 33	1562	
400	A printed agenda of the Jharia Session of the All India Trade Union Congress.	1. 4. 30.	1	D. 145 (31) P. W. 33	1563	

401	Printed Presidential address of the 7th Session of the All India Trade Union Congress held at Delhi.	"	1 book	D. 145 (32) P.W. 33	1564
402	The printed 'The Labour Movement in India and the International labour Movement by N. M. Joshi.	"	3	D. 145 (33) P.W. 33	1565
403	Printed draft of annual report of All India Trade Union Congress to be submitted to the Session at Jharia.	"	1 book	D. 145 (34) P.W. 33	1566
404	A book 'India and China' with a foreword by Shahpurli Saklatwala M. P.	"	1 book	D. 145 (35) P.W. 33	1567
405	A book 'The Trade Union Movement in India' by N. M. Joshi M. L. A.	"	1	D. 145 (36) P.W. 33	1568
406	A book "Deductions from wages or payments in respect of fines.	I-4-30	1	D. 145 (37) P.W. 33	1569
407	Weekly Mazdur Organ of E. I. Ry. Union of 1-2-1928, 13-10-28, 6-10-28, 22-9-28, 28-7-28, 18-4-29, 11-4-28, 28-3-28, 21-3-28, 14-3-28, and 29-2-28.	"	17	D. 146 (1) to D. 146 (11) P. W. 33	1570
408	Cuttings of a newspaper.	"	3	D. 146 (12) to D. 146 (14) P. W. 33	1571
409	A printed leaflet of appeal by K. C. Mitra, General Secretary E. I. R. Union	"	1	D. 146 (15) P. W. 33	1572
410	A weekly Mazdur in Hindi of 7. 11. 28	"	1	D. 146 (16) P. W. 33	1573
411	A printed handbill in Hindi	"	2	D. 146(17) P. W. 33	1574
412	The Bulletin No 5 of the Bengal Mariners' Union Calcutta	"	4 leaves	D. 147 (1) P.W. 33	1575
413	The Bulletin no 6 of the Bengal Mariner Union Calcutta	"	1	D. 147 (2) P.W. 33	1576

388	Printed Presidential Address of 8th Sessions of All India Trade Union Congress	"	1 book	D. 145 (19) P. W. 33	1551
389	A printed leaflet of the Executive Committee of the Worker's and Peasants Party Bombay	"	1	D. 145 (20) P. W. 33	1552
390	A printed Agenda.	"	1	D. 145 (21) P. W. 33	1553
391	A typed copy of a letter d/ 25. 1. 28 from N. M. Joshi to Mr. Spratt.	"	1	D. 145 (22) P. W. 33	1554
392	A typed letter dated 31-7-28 from N. M. Joshi to Spratt.	1. 4. 30	1	D. 145 (23) P. W. 33	1555
393	A typed letter dated 24-12-27 from N. M. Joshi to P. Spratt.	"	1	D. 145 (24) P. W. 33	1556
394	A typed letter dated 8-5-27 from N. M. Joshi to P. Spratt.	"	1	D. 145 (25) P. W. 33	1557
395	A typed letter dated 28-1-28 from N. M. Joshi to P. Spratt.	"	1	D. 145 (26) P. W. 33	1558
396	A typed letter dated 5-1-28 from N. M. Joshi to P. Spratt.	1. 4. 30	1	D. 145 (27) P. W. 33	1559
397	A printed circular No. 1 from the Secy: International Federation of Trade Unions to the Secretaries of the Unions affiliated to the All Indian Trade Union Congress.	"	1	D. 145 (28) P. W. 33	1560
398	A typed letter dated 20-11-27 from N. M. Joshi to P. Spratt.	"	1	D. 145 (29) P. W. 33	1561
399	Manuscript notes in the handwriting of P. Spratt.	"	2	D. 145 (30) P. W. 33	1562
400	A printed agenda of the Jharia Session of the All India Trade Union Congress.	1. 4. 30.	1	D. 145 (31) P. W. 33	1563

401	Printed Presidential address of the 7th Session of the All India Trade Union Congress held at Delhi.	"	1 book	D. 145 (32) P.W. 33	1564
402	The printed 'The Labour Movement in India and the International labour Movement by N. M. Joshi.	"	3	D. 145 (33) P.W. 33	1565
403	Printed draft of annual report of All India Trade Union Congress to be submitted to the Session at Jharia.	"	1 book	D. 145 (34) P.W. 33	1566
404	A book 'India and China' with a foreword by Shahpurli Saklatwala M. P.	"	1 book	D. 145 (35) P.W. 33	1567
405	A book 'The Trade Union Movement in India' by N. M. Joshi M. L. A.	"	1	D. 145 (36) P.W. 33	1568
406	A book "Deductions from wages or payments in respect of fines.	I-4-30	1	D. 145 (37) P.W. 33	1569
407	Weekly Mazdur Organ of E. I. Ry. Union of 1-2-1928, 13-10-28, 6-10-28, 22-9-28, 28-7-28, 18-4-29, 11-4-28, 28-3-28, 21-3-28, 14-3-28, and 29-2-28.	"	17	D. 146 (1) to D. 146 (11) P. W. 33	1570
408	Cuttings of a newspaper.	"	3	D. 146 (12) to D. 146 (14) P. W. 33	1571
409	A printed leaflet of appeal by K. C. Mitra, General Secretary E. I. R. Union	"	1	D. 146 (15) P. W. 33	1572
410	A weekly Mazdur in Hindi of 7. 11. 28	"	1	D. 146 (16) P. W. 33	1573
411	A printed handbill in Hindi	"	2	D. 146 (17) P. W. 33	1574
412	The Bulletin No 5 of the Bengal Mariners' Union Calcutta	"	4 leaves	D. 147 (1) P.W. 33	1575
413	The Bulletin no 6 of the Bengal Mariner Union Calcutta	"	1	D. 147 (2) P.W. 33	1576

414	The Bulletons No. 1 to 8 of the Port Trust Marine Workers Union, Calcutta.	6.10.28	8	D 147 (3) to D 147 (10) P. W. 33	1577
415	Printed resolutions passed at the meeting of the teachers of the Corporation Free Primary School.	"	1	D 147 (11) P. W. 33	1578
416	A printed Teachers' Memorial to the Mayor Aldermen, Concillors, Chief Executive Officer etc., of Corporation of Calcutta.	"	1	D 147 (12) P. W. 33	1579
417	A printed Annual report for 1927-28 of the Executive Committee of the Calcutta Corporation Teachers' Union.	"	1	D 147 (13) P. W. 33	1580
418	Cuttings of news-papers.	1.4.30	6	D 147 (14) to D. 147 (19) P.W 33	1581
419	Cuttings of newspapers.	"	6	D 147 (1) to D. 148 (6) P. W. 33	1582
420	Cuttings of newspapers.	"	6	D 149 (1) to D. 149 (6) P. W. 33	1583
421	A printed leaflet in Hindi about Simon Commission.	"	1	D 150 P. W. 33	1584
422	Cuttings of the newspapers Forward etc.	"	6	D 151 (1) to 151 (6) P. W. 33.	1585
423	A Book of address of the Chairman reception Committee of 1st All India Socialist Youth Congress, Calcutta Session 1928.	"	1	D 151 (7) P. W. 33	1586
424	A printed address in Bengali by ^{Bu} pendra Nath Dutt.	"	1	D 151 (8). P. W. 33	1587

425	Transcription from shorthand notes written by witness No. 35.	3. 4. 30	1	D 152 P. W. 35	1627
426	Transcription given by witness No. 35 and written by Reader.	"	1	D 153 P. W. 35	1628
427	Krishaker Katha a Bengali book.	14.4.30	2	D 154 P W 38	1795
428	A manuscript Bengali letter dated 7-3-29 from Devendra to Hari Nath Guhar with envelope.	"	2	D 155 P.W. 38	1796
429	4 printed postres in Bengali.	"	4	D. 156 (1), D. 156 (2) D. 156 (3), D. 156 (4) P.W. 38	1797
430	Address of welcome by P. Dinda Bar-at-Law.	"	1	D. 157 P.W. 38	1798
431	A printed leaflet in Bengali.	"	1	D. 158 P.W 38	1799
432	A typed letter dated 27 11-28 from T. Shaw Secretary International Federation of Texile Workers' Associations	15. 4. 30	1	D. 159 P.W. 40	1800
433	Weekly Mazdoor of 4-4-28 and 15-2-28.	23.4.30	2	D. 160, (1) D 160 (2) P.W. 48	1839
434	Cuttings of Forward (a newspaper).	"	15	D. 160 (3) to D. 160 (17) P. W. 48	1840
435	A printed leaflet in Nagri about a Jalsa of Mazdurs.	21.4 30	1	D. 161 P. W. 49	1843
436	A typed letter dated 30-4-28 from the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta to B. Kishori Lal Ghosh, Secretary Bengal Trade Union Federation.	"	1	D. 162 P. W. 50	1844

437	A book 'Report of the 43rd Session of the Indian National Congress' held in Calcutta in December 1928.	25.4.30	1	D. 163 P.W. 49	1845
438	A printed poster 'We are merely Helots in our own country life is unbearable without Swaraj.'	7. 5. 30	1	D. 164 P. W. 57	2081
439	A file containing following letters:—	"	1	D. 165 P. W. 57	2082
440	A typed letter dated 2-8-27 from General Secretary 'The Trade Union Congress General Council London to the Honorary Secretary All India Press-Employees association, Calcutta.	"	1	D. 165,(1) P. W. 57	2083
441	A typed letter dated 12-8-27 from Secretary 'International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam to the Press-Employees Association, Calcutta.	"	1	D. 165 (2) P. W. 57	2084
442	A typed letter dated 4-8-27 from F. W. Pindley to the Secretary All India Press Employees Conference Calcutta	"	1	D. 165 (3) P. W. 57	2085
443	A typed letter dated 5-8-27 from Jos Compton M. P. to the Secretary All India Press Employees Conference Calcutta.	"	1	D. 165 (4) P. W. 57	2086
444	A manuscript letter dated 7-7-27 from G. S. Khaparde to Kishori Lal Ghosh.	"	2	D. 165 5) P. W. 57	2087
445	A typed letter dated 9-8-27 from R. R. Bakhale General Secretary Bombay Textile Labour Union to Mr. Kishorilal Ghosh.	7 5-30	1	D. 165 (6) P. W. 57	2088
446	A Telegram dated 12. 8. 27 from Joshi G. R. to Kishori Lal Ghose Do Secretary All India Press Employees Conference.	"	1	D. 165 (7) P. W. 57	2089

447	A typed letter dated 1-8-27 from B. Shiva Rao writing that he is unable to be present at Conference owing to the meeting of the Provincial Committee of the Trade Union Congress.	7. 5. 30.	1	D. 165 (8) P. W. 57	2090
448	A typed letter dated 1-8-27 from B. Shiva Rao President, Provincial Committee of the Trade Union Congress.	"	1	D. 165 (9) P. W. 57	2091
449	Press Employees Association Visitor Book.	"	1	D. 166 P. W. 57	2092
450	Statement of P. W. 284 Abid Ali in the committing court.	13. 5. 30.	3	D. 167 P. W. 63	2093

451	A pamphlet book in Bengali of all Bengal Youth Association.	16.5.30	1	D. 168 P.W. 70	2167
452	Report of the All India Youth Congress.	Do	1	D. 169 P. W. 70	2168
453	Manuscript letter from Kishori Lal Ghosh to Sen Gupta without any date.	20.5.30	1	D. 170 P. W. 77	2241
454	Register of the Continental Hotel, Chowringhee, Calcutta containing entry register staying of T. Mardy Jones on 14.11.27 on page 152.	Do	1	D. 171 P. W. 77	2242
455	Letter to D. P. Sinha included in P. 1872C.	25.6.30	included in P. 1872C	D. 172 P. W. 100	2546
456	Copies of 'Forward' a daily newspaper of 21st, 29th, 22nd, 23rd, 26th, 27th and 28th December 1928.	27.6.30	7 copies	D. 173 (1) to D. 173 (7) P. W. 104	2547
457	Cuttings of newspapers	Do	6	D. 174 (1) to D. 174 (6) P. W. 104	2548
458	Cuttings of 'Patrika' dated 1-1-29 and 2-1-29	Do	2	D. 175 (1), D. 175 (2) P. W. 104	2549
459	Cuttings of Forward dated 6-1-29	Do	1	D. 176 P. W. 104	2550
460	A typed letter dated 25-1-29 from Subhas Chandra Bose to Kishori Lal Ghosh with envelope.	Do	2	D. 177 P. W. 104	2551
461	Printed leaflet of Forward to appear on 1-10-23	Do	1	D. 178 P. W. 104	2552
462	Cuttings of Forward a newspaper	Do	4	D. 179 (1) to D. 179 (4) P. W. 104	2553
463	A printed leaflet dated 2-4-27 from Kishori Lal Ghosh Secretary Indian Journalists Association to the Editors and proprietors of newspapers and journals in India.	Do	1	D. 180 P. W. 104	2554

464	A printed leaflet dated 29-9-27 from Kishori Lal Ghosh Honorary Secretary Indian Journalists Association.	Do	1	D. 181 P. W. 104	2555
465	Printed report of the 42nd Indian National Congress held at Madras in 1927.	27.6.30	1	D. 182 P. W. 104	2556
466	A copy of Ganavani dated 12-5-27 a weekly Bengali organ	30.6.30	included	D. 183 P. W. 92	2557
467	Do Do 2-6-27 Do	Do	in Exh	D. 184 P. W. 92	2558
468	Do Do 22-9-27 Do	Do	P. 519	D. 185 P. W. 92	2559
469	Do Do 12-10-26 Do	Do	included in Exh P. 232.	D. 186 P. W. 92	2560
470	Do Do 27-9-28 Do	Do	included in Exh P. 537.	D. 187 (1), D. 187 (2) P. W. 92	2561
471	Do Do 6-9-28 Do	Do	included in	D. 188 P. W. 92	2562
472	Do Do 13-9-28 Do	Do	P. 593	D. 189 P. W. 92	2563
473	A typed press note dated 21-2-29 from Ram Prasad Secretary Bengal and Nagpur Western Railwaymen's Association, Gorakhpur.	1.7.30	1	D. 190 (1) P. W. 105	2564
474	Typed extract from the proceedings of a meeting of the executive committee of B. & N. W. Ry. men's association held on 12-2-29 at Gorakhpur.	Do	1	D. 190 (2) P. W. 105	2565
475	Typed letter dated 20-2-29 from Ram Prasad Secretary to the General Secretary All India Trade Union Congress, Servants of India Society's Home, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay.	Do	1	D. 190 (3) P. W. 105	2566

Note:—
D. 190 (1)
to D. 190
(109) are
included in
P. 1384 (file)

476	Typed letter dated 20-2-29 from Ram Prasad Secretary to the General Secretary All India Trade Union Congress, Servants of India Society's Home, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay.	Do	1	D. 190 (4) P. W. 105	2567
477	A printed Circular No. 2 dated 26-1-29 from R. R. Bakhale Assistant Secretary All India Trade Union Congress to the Secretaries of the Unions affiliated to the All India Trade Union Congress.	Do	1	D. 190 (5) P. W. 105	2568
478	A printed Circular No. 1. dated 28-1-29 from R. R. Bakhale Assistant Secretary All India Trade Union Congress to the Secretaries of the Unions affiliated to the All India Trade Union Congress.	Do	1	D. 190 (6) P. W. 105	2569
479	Printed form of the Executive Council of the All India Trade Union Congress.	Do	1	D. 190 (7) P. W. 105	2570
480	Cutting of Forward dated 4-1-29	1.7.30	1	D. 190 (8) P. W. 105	2571
481	Cuttings of Amrit Bazar Patrika dated 16-1-29	Do	1	D. 190 (9) P. W. 105	2572
482	A typed report of the Secretary B. & N. W. Railwaymen's Association to the Executive Committee, Bengal and North Western Railwaymen's Association Gorakhpur.	Do	3	D. 190 (10) P. W. 105	2573
483	Typed letter dated 23-1-29 from N. M. Joshi, General Secretary All India Trade Union Congress to Mr. Ram Prasad.	Do	1	D. 190 (11) P. W. 105	2574
484	Typed letter dated 21-1-29 from Ram Prasad to the General Secretary All India Trade Union Congress, Bombay.	Do	1	D. 190 (12) P. W. 105	2575
485	Typed letter dated 16-1-29 from Ram Prasad to N. M. Joshi	Do	1	D. 190 (13) P. W. 105	2576

486	Typed letter dated 7-1-29 from Ram Prasad to the Editors Forward and Amirt Bazar Patrika.	Do	1	D. 19c (14) P.W. 105	2577
487	Typed letter dated 8/10-12-28 from Ram Prasad to the General Secretary All India Trade Union Congress, Bombay.	Do	1	D. 190 (15) P.W. 105	2578
488	Typed letter dated 8/10-12-28 from Ram Prasad to the General Secretary Reception Committee All India Trade Union Congress, Jahria.	Do	1	D. 190 (16) P.W. 105	2579
489	Typed resolutions dated 7-12-28 to be moved at the All India Trade Union Congress signed by Ram Prasad Secretary B. & N. W. Railway men's Association.	Do	2	D. 190 (17) P.W. 105	2580
490	Typed letter dated 4.11.28 from Ram Prasad Secretary to the General Secretary Trades Union Congress General Council London S. W. 1	Do	1	D. 190 (18) P.W. 105	2581
491	A printed letter dated 2-11-28 from N. M. Joshi Secretary to the members of the Executive Council of All India Trade Union Congress ect.	Do	1	D. 190 (19) P.W. 105	2582
492	Post card from the General Secretary Trades Union Congress London to Mr. Ram Prasad.	Do	1	D. 190 (20) P.W. 105	2583
493	Printed circular No 11 of 15-10-28 from N. M. Joshi General Secretary All India Trade Union Congress to the members of the Executive Council of the All India Trade Union Congress.	Do	2	D. 190 (21) P.W. 105	2584
494	Typed letter dated 11-10-28 from Ram Prasad to the General Secretary All India Trade Union Congress, Bombay.	1.7.30	1	D. 190 (22) P.W. 105	2585

495	Printed circular No 9 dated 5.10.28 from N. M. Joshi to the members of Executive Council of All India Trade Union Congress etc.	Do	1	D. 190 (23) P.W. 105	2586
496	Manuscript letter dated 6-9-28 from Hari Har Nath Shastri addressed to Doctor Sahib.	Do	1	D. 190 (24) P.W. 105	2587
497	Typed letter dated 3-9-28 from Ram Prasad to Secretary Trades Union Congress General Council London.	Do	1	D. 190 (25) P.W. 105	2588
498	Typed letter dated 9-8-28 from Bishnath Mukherjee to Mr. Shastri.	Do	1	D. 190 (26) P.W. 105	2589
499	Manuscript letter dated 7-8-28 from Hari Har Nath Shastri addressed to Doctor Sahib.	Do	1	D. 190 (27) P.W. 105	2590
500	Typed letter dated 30-7-28 from Ram Prasad to the General Secretary All India Trade Union Congress, Bombay.	Do	1	D. 190 (28) P.W. 105	2591
501	Typed letter dated 27-7-28 from Bishnath Mukerjee to Pt. Hari Har Nath Shastri.	Do	1	D. 190 (29) P.W. 105	2592
502	Manuscript letter dated 15-7-28 from Hari Har Nath Shastri addressed to Doctor Sahib.	Do	1	D. 190 (30) P.W. 105	2593
503	Typed letter dated 9-7-28 from Ram Prasad to the Secretary Trade Union Congress London S. W. I.	Do	1	D. 190 (31) P.W. 105	2594
504	Typed letter dated 5-7-28 from N. M. Joshi to the Secretary B & N. W. Railwaymen's Association, Gorakhpur.	Do	1	D. 190 (32) P.W. 105	2595
505	Typed letter dated 24-6-28 from Bishnath Mukerjee to Pt. Hari Har Nath Shastri.	Do	1	D. 190 (33) P.W. 105	2596

506	Manuscript letter dated 17.6.28 from Hari Har Nath Shastri addressed to Doctor Sahib.	Do	1	D. 190 (34) P.W. 105	2597
507	Printed circular No 8 dated 9-6-28 from N. M. Joshi General Secretary to the members of the Executive Council.	Do	1	D. 190 (35) P.W. 105	2598
508	Typed letter dated 12-4-28 from Bishnath Mukerjee to Mr. Shastri.	Do	1	D. 190 (36) P.W. 105	2599
509	Cutting of Forward dated 31-5-28.	Do	1	D. 190 (37) P.W. 105	2600
510	Cutting of English newspaper (Forward).	1.7.30	1	D. 190 (38a) P.W.105	2601
511	Typed letter dated 26-5-28 from Ram Prasad Secretary to the Editor Forward.	Do	2	D. 190 (38b) P.W.105	2602
512	Printed circular No. 5 dated 11-4-28 from N. M. Joshi to the members of the Executive Council.	Do	1	D. 190 (39) P. W.105	2603
513	Typed letter dated 27-4-28 from Bishnath Mukerjee to Mr. Shastri.	Do	1	D. 190 (40) P.W.105	2604
514	Manuscript letter dated 16-4-28 from Hari Har Nath Shastri addressed to Doctor Sahib.	Do	1	D. 190 (41) P.W. 105	2605
515	Printed circular No. 4 dated 1-4-28 from N. M. Joshi to the Secretaries of the Provincial Committees.	Do	1	D. 190 (42) P.W.105	2606
516	Typed letter dated 30-3-28 from Bishnath Mukerjee to Pt. Hari Har Nath Shastri.	Do	1	D. 190 (43) P.W. 105	2607
517	Manuscript letter dated 16-3-28 from Hari Har Nath Shastri addressed to Doctor Sahib.	Do	1	D. 190 (44) P.W. 105	2608

518	Manuscript letter dated nil from Hari Har Nath Shastri addressed to Doctor Sahib.	Do	1	D. 190 (45) P.W. 105	2609
519	Manuscript letter dated 4-3-28 from Hari Har Nath Shastri addressed to Doctor Sahib.	Do	1	D. 190 (46) P.W. 105	2610
520	Carbon written letter dated 4-3-28 from Hari Har Nath Shastri addressed to dear Comrade.	Do	1	D. 190 (47) P.W. 105	2611
521	Typed letter dated 1-2-28 from N. M. Joshi to the Secretary B & N. W. Railwaymen's Association Gorakhpur.	Do	1	D. 190 (48) P.W. 105	2612
522	Typed letter 27-1-28 from N.M. Joshi General Secretary.	Do	1	D. 190 (49) P.W. 105	2613
523	Typed programme to visit places from 30-1-28 to 4-3-28	Do	1	D. 190 (50) P.W. 105	2614
524	A typed extract from the proceedings of the meeting of Executive Committee held on 8-2-28.	Do	1	D. 190 (50a) P.W. 105	2615
525	A typed letter dated 11-2-28 sending copy of resolutions passed on 8-2-28 at a meeting of the Executive Committee of B & N. W. Railwaymen's Association Gorakhpur to N. M. Joshi.	1.7.30	1	D. 190 (51) P.W. 105	2616
526	Typed letter dated 8/9-2-28 from Bishnath Mukerjee to N.M. Joshi General Secretary All India Trade Union.	Do	1	D. 190 (52) P.W. 105	2617
527	Typed letter dated 4-2-28 from N. M. Joshi to the Secretary B. & N. W. Railwaymen's Association Gorakhpur.	Do	1	D. 190 (53) P.W. 105	2618
528	Typed letter dated 6-2-28 from Ram Prasad Secretary to Walter M. Citrine Esqr., General Secretary Trade Union Congress London.	Do	1	D. 190 (54) P.W. 105	2619

506	Manuscript letter dated 17.6.28 from Hari Har Nath Shastri addressed to Doctor Sahib.	Do	1	D. 190 (34) P.W. 105	2597
507	Printed circular No 8 dated 9-6-28 from N. M. Joshi General Secretary to the members of the Executive Council.	Do	1	D. 190 (35) P.W. 105	2598
508	Typed letter dated 12-4-28 from Bishnath Mukerjee to Mr. Shastri.	Do	1	D. 190 (36) P.W. 105	2599
509	Cutting of Forward dated 31-5-28.	Do	1	D. 190 (37) P.W. 105	2600
510	Cutting of English newspaper (Forward).	1.7.30	1	D. 190 (38a) P.W.105	2601
511	Typed letter dated 26-5-28 from Ram Prasad Secretary to the Editor Forward.	Do	2	D. 190 (38b) P.W.105	2602
512	Printed circular No. 5 dated 11-4-28 from N. M. Joshi to the members of the Executive Council.	Do	1	D. 190 (39) P. W.105	2603
513	Typed letter dated 27-4-28 from Bishnath Mukerjee to Mr. Shastri.	Do	1	D. 190 (40) P.W.105	2604
514	Manuscript letter dated 16-4-28 from Hari Har Nath Shastri addressed to Doctor Sahib.	Do	1	D. 190 (41) P.W. 105	2605
515	Printed circular No. 4 dated 1-4-28 from N. M. Joshi to the Secretaries of the Provincial Committees.	Do	1	D. 190 (42) P.W.105	2606
516	Typed letter dated 30-3-28 from Bishnath Mukerjee to Pt. Hari Har Nath Shastri.	Do	1	D. 190 (43) P.W. 105	2607
517	Manuscript letter dated 16-3-28 from Hari Har Nath Shastri addressed to Doctor Sahib.	Do	1	D. 190 (44) P.W. 105	2608

518	Manuscript letter dated nil from Hari Har Nath Shastri addressed to Doctor Sahib.	Do	1	D. 190 (45) P.W. 105	2609
519	Manuscript letter dated 4-3-28 from Hari Har Nath Shastri addressed to Doctor Sahib.	Do	1	D. 190 (46) P.W. 105	2610
520	Carbon written letter dated 4-3-28 from Hari Har Nath Shastri addressed to dear Comrade.	Do	1	D. 190 (47) P.W. 105	2611
521	Typed letter dated 1-2-28 from N. M. Joshi to the Secretary B & N. W. Railwaymen's Association Gorakhpur.	Do	1	D. 190 (48) P.W. 105	2612
522	Typed letter 27-1-28 from N.M. Joshi General Secretary.	Do	1	D. 190 (49) P.W. 105	2613
523	Typed programme to visit places from 30-1-28 to 4-3-28	Do	1	D. 190 (50) P.W. 105	2614
524	A typed extract from the proceedings of the meeting of Executive Committee held on 8-2-28.	Do	1	D. 190 (50a) P.W. 105	2615
525	A typed letter dated 11-2-28 sending copy of resolutions passed on 8-2-28 at a meeting of the Executive Committee of B & N. W. Railwaymen's Association Gorakhpur to N. M. Joshi.	1.7.30	1	D. 190 (51) P.W. 105	2616
526	Typed letter dated 8/9-2-28 from Bishnath Mukerjee to N.M. Joshi General Secretary All India Trade Union.	Do	1	D. 190 (52) P.W. 105	2617
527	Typed letter dated 4-2-28 from N. M. Joshi to the Secretary B. & N. W. Railwaymen's Association Gorakhpur.	Do	1	D. 190 (53) P.W. 105	2618
528	Typed letter dated 6-2-28 from Ram Prasad Secretary to Walter M. Citrine Esqr., General Secretary Trade Union Congress London.	Do	1	D. 190 (54) P.W. 105	2619

529	Printed reminder No. 1 dated 1-2-28 from N. M. Joshi to the Secretary B.&N.W.Railwaymen's Association Gorakhpur	Do	1	D. 190 (55) P.W. 105	2620
530	Printed circular No. 3 dated 30-1-28 from N. M. Joshi to the members of the Executive Council etc.	Do	1	D. 190 (56) P.W. 105	2621
531	Printed Agenda.	Do	1	D. 190 (57) P.W. 105	2622
532	Printed copy of the letter dated 5-1-28 from Walter M. Citrine General Secretary Trades Unions Congress London S. W. I. to N. M. Joshi.	Do	1	D. 190 (58) P.W. 105	2623
533	Typed letter dated 15-1-28 from N. M. Joshi to Dr. Bishnath Mukerji, General Secretary.	Do	1	D. 190 (59) P.W. 105	2624
534	Printed programme to visit places by Messrs. A. A Purcell, M. P., and J. Hallsworth.	Do	2	D. 190 (60) P.W. 105	2625
535	Typed letter dated 1-1-28 from Ram Prasad Secretary to General Secretary All India Trade Union Congress, Bombay.	Do	1	D. 190 (61) P.W. 105	2626
536	Printed circular dated 28-12-28 from N. M. Joshi to the Secretaries of the Unions affiliated to the All India Trade Union Congress.	Do	1	D. 190 (62) P.W. 105	2627
537	Printed copy of letter dated 30-11-27 from Joh Sassenbach Secretary International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam to Mr. N.M. Joshi Secretary All India Trade Union Congress, Bombay.	Do	1	D. 190 (63) P.W. 105	2628
538	Type letter dated 28-12-27 from Bishnath Mukerji to Mr. Shastri.	1.7.30	1	D. 190 (64) P.W. 105	2629

539	Typed letter dated 10-12-27 to Mr. Shastri from Bishnath Mukerji.	Do	1	D. 190 (65) P.W. 105	2630
540	Manuscript letter dated 7-12-27 from Hari Har Nath Shastri to Doctor Sahib.	Do	1	D. 190 (66) P.W. 105	2631
541	Typed letter dated 5-12-27 from Bisnath Mukerji to Mr. Shastri.	Do	1	D. 190 (67) P.W. 105	2632
542	Printed letter dated 10-11-27 from N. M. Joshi to the Secretaries of the Union affiliated with the All India Trade Union Congress.	Do	1	D. 190 (68) P.W. 105	2633
543	Typed letter dated 16-11-27 from Ram Prasad Secretary to dear comrade.	Do	1	D. 190 (69) P.W. 105	2634
544	Typed resolutions sent to the Secretary B & N W. Railwaymen's association Gorakhpur on 10-12-27 from Secretary All India Railway men's association.	Do	1	D. 190 (70) P.W. 105	2635
545	Manuscript letter dated 10-11-27 from Hari Har Nath Shastri to Doctor Bishnath Mukerji.	Do	1	D. 190 (71) P.W. 105	2636
546	Typed letter containing resolutions dated 15-11-27 from Ram Prasad Secretary to the General Secretary Reception Committee 8th All India Trade Union Congress and General Secretary All India Trade Union Congress, Bombay to be moved at the 8th All India Trade Union Congress.	Do	3	D. 190 (72) P.W. 105	2637
547	Typed letter dated 9-11-27 from Ram Prasad Secretary to N. M. Joshi Esqr: M. L. A.	Do	1	D. 190 (73) P.W. 105	2638

548	Typed letter of resolution dated 8-11-27 from Ram Prasad Secretary to the General Secretary Reception Committee 8th All India Trade Union Congress, Cawnpur.	Do	1	D. 190 (74) P.W. 105	2639
549	Typed letter dated 8-11-27 from Bishnath Mukerji to Pt. Hari Har Nath Shastri	Do	1	D. 190 (75) P.W. 106	2640
550	Typed letter dated 26-10-27 from N. M. Joshi General Secretary to the Secretary B & N.W.Railwaymen's association.	Do	1	D. 190 (76) P.W. 105	2641
551	Manuscript letter dated 2-11-27 from Hari Har Nath Shastri to Doctor Bishnath Mukerji	1.7 30	1	D. 190 (77) P.W. 105	2642
552	Extract (typed) from the proceedings of the meeting of the Executive Committee held on 21-10-27.	Do	1	D. 190 (78) P.W. 105	2643
553	Typed letter dated 21-10-27 from Bishnath Mukerji to Pt. Hari Har Nath Shastri.	Do	1	D. 190 (79) P.W. 105	2644
554	Manuscript letter dated 18-10-27 from Hari Har Nath Shastri to Dr. Bishnath Mukerji.	Do	2	D. 190 (80) P.W. 105	2645
555	Typed letter dated 17-10-27 from Ram Prasad Secretary to Pt. Hari Har Nath Shastri.	Do	1	D. 190 (81) P.W. 105	2646
556	Manuscript letter dated 14-10-27 from Pt. Hari Har Nath Shastri.	Do	1	D. 190 (82) P.W. 105	2647
557	Typed letter dated 13-10-27 from Ram Prasad Secretary to the General Secretary All India Trade Union Congress Bombay.	Do	2	D. 190 (83) P.W. 105	2648
558	Typed letter dated 3-10-27 from N.M. Joshi Secretary to the Secretary B & N.W.Railwaymen's association Gorakhpur.	Do	3	D. 190 (84) P.W. 105	2649

559	Typed letter dated 30-9-27 from Ram Prasad Secretary to the Reception Committee 8th All India Trade Union Congress Cawnpur.	Do	1		D. 190 (85) P.W. 105	2650
560	Manuscript letter dated 26-9-27 from Hari Har Nath Shastri to Dr. Bishnath Mukerji.	Do	1		D. 190 (86) P.W. 105	2651
561	Printed circular dated 23-9-27 from N. M. Joshi Secretary to the members of the Executive Committee of All India Trade Union Congress &c.	Do	1		D. 190 (87) P.W. 105	2652
562	Typed letter 24-9-27 from Secretary of B & N. W. Railway men's association, Gorakhpur to the General Secretary All India Trade Union Congress, Simla.	Do	3		D. 190 (88) P.W. 105	2653
563	Typed letter dated 15-9-27 N. M. Joshi, Secretary to the Secretary B. N. W. Railway association, Gorakhpur.	Do	1		D. 190 (89) P.W. 105	2654
564	Typed letter dated 23-9-27 from Bishnath Mukerji to Pt. Hari Har Nath Shastri.	Do	1		D. 190 (90) P.W. 105	2655
565	Manuscript letter dated 20-9-27 from Hari Har Nath Shastri to Dr. Bishnath Mukerji.	Do	1		D. 190 (91) P.W. 105	2656
566	Typed letter dated 5-9-27 from Ram Prasad Secretary to the General Secretary All India Trade Union Congress Bombay.	1.7.30	2		D. 190 (92) P.W. 105	2657
567	Printed circular dated 26-8-27 from N. M. Joshi Secretary to the members of the Executive Council of All India Trade Union Congress etc.	Do	1		D. 190 (93) P.W. 105	2658
568	Printed letter dated 2-8-27 from B. Shiva Rao to the General Secretary All India Trade Union Congress, Bombay.	Do	1		D. 190 (94) P.W. 105	2659

569	Printed circular dated 16-7-27 from Tarpi P. Sinha to the members of the Executive Council of the All India Trade Union Congress etc.	Do	3	D. 190 (95) P. W. 105	2660
570	Printed circular dated 31-5-27 from N. M. Joshi Secretary the Members of the Executive Council of the All India Trade Union Congress.	Do	1	D. 190 (96) P. W. 105	2661
571	Printed circular dated 19.7.27 from N. M. Joshi Secretary to the members of the Executive Council of the All India Trade Union Congress etc.	Do	1	D. 190 (97) P.W. 105	2662
572	Printed draft 'Note on Labour representation in the Central and Provincial Legislatures' by R. R. Bakhle assistant Secretary All India Trade Union Congress, Bombay dated 1-5-25.	Do	3	D. 190 (98) P.W. 105	2663
573	Printed book of Report and Constitution of All India Trade Union Congress (8th session). <i>Canjore</i>	Do	1	D. 190 (99) P. W. 105	2664
574	Typed letter dated 27-4-25 from R.R. Bakhle to Dr. Mukerji	Do	2	D. 190 (100) P.W. 105	2665
575	Typed letter dated 29-4-25 from Bishnath Mukerji to R. R. Bakhle, Assistant Secretary.	Do	1	D. 190 (101) P.W. 105	2666
576	Manuscript report dated 2-5.25 by Ram Prasad.	Do	1	D.190 (102) P.W.105	2667
577	Typed letter dated 17-4-25 from R.R. Bakhle assistant Secretary.	Do	2	D. 190 (103) P.W.105	2668
578	Typed report of the meeting of the Executive Council of the All India Trade Union Congress held on 11-4-25.	Do	2	D. 190 (104) P.W.105	2669

579	Typed circular dated 5-3-25 of All India Trade Union Congress, Bombay, that a meeting of the Executive Council will be held on 11-4-25.	Do	1	D. 190 (105) P.W.105	2670
580	Typed letter dated 4-2-25 from N. M. Joshi to Dr. Mukerji.	1.7 30	1	D. 190 (106) P.W.105	2671
581	Copy of manuscript letter dated 30-1-25 from Bishnath Mukerji to N. M. Joshi.	Do	1	D. 190 (107) P.W.105	2672
582	Typed letter dated 28-1-25 from N. M. Joshi to Dr. Mukerji	Do	1	D. 190 (108) P.W.105	2673
583	Typed letter dated 2-2-25 from Bishnath Mukerji to the Secretary Reception Committee, 5th All India Trade Union Congress, Bombay.	Do	1	D. 190 (109) P.W.105	2674
584	Printed draft of General Secretary's report of All India Trade Union Congress.	Do	1	D. 191 (1) P.W.105	2675
585	Printed appeals for funds for the General strike in Great Britain by N. M. Joshi.	Do	1	D. 191 (2) P.W.105	2676
586	B & N. W. Railwaymen' Gazette of July 1925.	Do	1	D. 191 (3) P. W. 105	2677
587	Typed report of the 1st International Conference of Railway Clerical and Supervisory Staff of the International Transport Workers Federation held at the American Hotel, Amsterdam on 30 and 31 March 1926.	Do	1 volume	D. 191 (4) P. W. 105	2678
588	A printed 'Talk with the Workers' by V. V. Giri President B. N. Railway Indian Labour Union.	Do	1 leaf	D. 191 (5) P. W. 105	2679
589	Printed proceedings of the joint sessions of the sixth and seventh B. & N. W. Railwaymen's Conference or annual report for the years 1926-27.	Do	1	D. 191 (6) P. W. 105	2680

569	Printed circular dated 16-7-27 from Tampi P. Sinha to the members of the Executive Council of the All India Trade Union Congress etc.	Do	3	D. 190 (95) P.W. 105	2660
570	Printed circular dated 31-5-27 from N. M. Joshi Secretary the Members of the Executive Council of the All India Trade Union Congress.	Do	1	D. 190 (96) P.W. 105	2661
571	Printed circular dated 19.7.27 from N. M. Joshi Secretary to the members of the Executive Council of the All India Trade Union Congress etc.	Do	1	D. 190 (97) P.W. 105	2662
572	Printed draft 'Note on Labour representation in the Central and Provincial Legislatures' by R. R. Bakhle assistant Secretary All India Trade Union Congress, Bombay dated 1-5-25.	Do	3	D. 190 (98) P.W. 105	2663
573	Printed book of Report and Constitution of All India Trade Union Congress (8th session). <i>Canfore</i>	Do	1	D. 190 (99) P.W. 105	2664
574	Typed letter dated 27-4-25 from R.R. Bakhle to Dr. Mukerji	Do	2	D. 190 (100) P.W. 105	2665
575	Typed letter dated 29-4-25 from Bishnath Mukerji to R. R. Bakhle, Assistant Secretary.	Do	1	D. 190 (101) P.W. 105	2666
576	Manuscript report dated 2-5-25 by Ram Prasad.	Do	1	D. 190 (102) P.W. 105	2667
577	Typed letter dated 17-4-25 from R.R. Bakhle assistant Secretary.	Do	2	D. 190 (103) P.W. 105	2668
578	Typed report of the meeting of the Executive Council of the All India Trade Union Congress held on 11-4-25.	Do	2	D. 190 (104) P.W. 105	2669

579	Typed circular dated 5-3-25 of All India Trade Union Congress, Bombay, that a meeting of the Executive Council will be held on 11-4-25.	Do	1		D. 190 (105) P.W.105	2670
580	Typed letter dated 4-2-25 from N. M. Joshi to Dr. Mukerji.	1.7 30	1		D. 190 (106) P.W.105	2671
581	Copy of manuscript letter dated 30-1-25 from Bishnath Mukerji to N. M. Joshi.	Do	1		D. 190 (107) P.W.105	2672
582	Typed letter dated 28-1-25 from N. M. Joshi to Dr. Mukerji	Do	1		D. 190 (108), P.W.105	2673
583	Typed letter dated 2-2-25 from Bishnath Mukerji to the Secretary Reception Committee, 5th All India Trade Union Congress, Bombay.	Do	1		D. 190 (109) P.W.105	2674
584	Printed draft of General Secretary's report of All India Trade Union Congress.	Do	1		D. 191 (1) P.W.105	2675
585	Printed appeals for funds for the General strike in Great Britain by N. M. Joshi.	Do	1		D. 191 (2) P.W.105	2676
586	B & N. W. Railwaymen' Gazette of July 1925.	Do	1		D. 191 (3) P. W. 105	2677
587	Typed report of the 1st International Conference of Railway Clerical and Supervisory Staff of the International Transport Workers Federation held at the American Hotel, Amsterdam on 30 and 31 March 1926.	Do	1 volume		D. 191 (4) P. W. 105	2678
588	A printed 'Talk with the Workers' by V. V. Giri President B. N. Railway Indian Labour Union.	Do	1 leaf		D. 191 (5) P. W. 105	2679
589	Printed proceedings of the joint session of the sixth and seventh B. & N. W. Railwaymen's Conference or annual report for the years 1926-27.	Do	1		D. 191 (6) P. W. 105	2680

590	The Indian Labour Journal for July and August 1926.	Do	1	D. 191 (7) P. W. 105	2681
591	List of articles published from 1st January 1921 to 31-12-26 in the International Labour Review.	Do	1	D. 191 (8) P. W. 105	2682
592	A printed leaflet in Nagri of Kisan and Mazdur Sabha.	Do	2	D. 191 (9) P. W. 105	2683
593	The Indian Labour Review for February 1929.	Do	1	D. 191 (10) P.W. 105	2684
594	The G. I. P, Union Herald dated 15-1-29.	Do	1	D. 191 (11) P.W. 105	2685
595	Printed circular No. 1, 1927 dated 25. 11. 27 from Dr. Bishnath Mukerji.	Do	1	D. 191 (12) P.W. 105	2686
595A	Printed speech by Mr. N. M. Joshi delivered at the Madras Labour Conference on the 26th and 27th July 1927.	1.7.30	1	D. 191 (13) P.W. 105	2687
596	Typed Rules of the Bengal and North Western Railwaymen's association.	Do	13	D. 192 P. W. 105	2688
597	Zamindar File of Divisional Kisan and Mazdur Sabha Gorakhpur containing :—	2.7.30	1	D. 193 P. W. 106	2720
598	Manuscript letter No 950 from Dr. Bishwanath Mukerji to B. Balmukand Lal.	Do	1	D. 193 (1) P.W. 106	2721
599	Manuscript letter No 947 from Dr. Bishnath Mukerji to B. Balmukand Lal.	Do	1	D. 193 (2) P.W. 106	2722
600	Manuscript letter No 946 dated 8-2-29 from Kandhaiga Lal to Sj. Haripal Sainthwar.	Do	1	D. 195 (3) P.W. 106	2723
601	Manuscript letter No. 945 dated 8-2-29 from Kardhaiga to Ishqulla Esqr.	Do	1	D. 193 (4) P.W. 106	2724

602	Manuscript letter dated 11-2-29 from K. S. Shukla for B. Balmukand Lal to the President Kisan and Mazdoor Sabha Gorakhpur.	Do	1	D. 193 (5) P. W. 106	2725
603	Typed letter dated 10-4-28 from Dr. Bishnath Mukerji under signature of Kandhaiga Lal to B. Pershotam Dass Sahib	2.7.30	1	D. 193 (6) P. W. 106	2726
604	Conference file No 2 of 33 papers containing:—	Do	1	D. 194 P. W. 106	2727
605	Typed resolutions of the 3rd Gorakhpur Divisional Kisan and Mazdur Sabha Conference to be held at Gorakhpur.	Do	2	D. 194 (1) P. W. 106	2728
606	File No 4 of the Divisional Kisan and Mazdoor Sabha, Gorakhpur named as official file No 11 containing:—	Do	1	D. 195 P. W. 106	2729
607	Typed letter dated 8-5-28 from W. Christie MC. I. C. S. Deputy Commissioner, Delhi to Dr. Bishnath Mukerji.	2.7.30	1	D. 195 (1) P. W. 106	2730
608	Typed letter dated 3-5-28 from Dr. Bishnath Mukerjee to W. Christie Esqr. I. C. S. Dy. Commissioner, Delhi.	Do	1	D. 195 (2) P. W. 106	2731
609	Typed letter dated 20-4-28 from Dr. Bishnath Mukerji to the Private Secretary of His Excellency The Governor of U. P. Nainital.	Do	1	D. 195 (3) P. W. 106	2732
610	Manuscript letter dated 29-2-27 from the Collector Gorakhpur to Dr. Bishnath Mukerji.	Do	1	D. 195 (4) P. W. 106	2733
611	Typed letter dated 31-7-27 from the Private Secretary to H. H. The Nawab of Rampur to the president, the Gorakhpur Divisional Kisan and Mazdoor Sabha.	Do	1	D. 195 (5) P. W. 106	2734

612	Typed letter dated 23-7-27 from Bishnath Mukerji to the Private Secretary to H. H. The Nawab of Rampur with a copy of resolution.	2.7.30	2	D 195 (6) P. W. 106	2735
613	Typed letter dated 22-7-27 from W. Christie Collector of Gorakhpur to Dr. Mukerji.	Do	1	D. 195 (7) P. W. 106	2736
614	Typed letter dated 19-7-27 from Bishwanath Mukerji to W. Christie I. C. S. District Magistrate Gorakhpur.	Do	3	D. 195 (8) P. W. 106	2737
615	Typed letter dated 15-7-27 from W. Christie Esqr: Collector Gorakhpur, to Mr. Mukerji.	Do	1	D. 195 (9) P. W. 106	2738
616	Typed letter dated 11-12-27 from Bishnath Mukerji to W. Christie Esqr: Distt. Magistrate Gorakhpur.	Do	1	D. 195 (10) P. W. 106	2730
617	No. 11 Rules and Resolutions in Nagri of Kisan and Mazdoor Sabha Gorakhpur	2.7.30	2	D. 196 P. W. 106	2740
618	Typed 'plea for better relationship' by Dr. Bishnath Mukerji L. M. S. Gorakhpur.	Do	3	D. 197 P. W. 106	2741
619	File for the articles to Press containing:—	Do	1	D. 198 P. W. 107	2742
620	Typed copy of article "Hindu Sabha and Politics VI" by Dr Bishnath Mukerji L.M.S.	Do	3	D. 198 (1) P. W. 107	2744
621	Typed copy of article "Hindu Sabha as a political movement V" by Dr. Bishnath Mukerji L. M. S.	Do	3	D. 198 (2) P. W. 107	2743
622	Typed copy of article "Hindu Sabha as a political movement IV" by Dr. Bishnath Mukerji L. M. S.	Do	4	D. 198 (3) P. W. 107	2745

623	Typed copy of article "Hindu Sabha as a political movement III" by Dr Bishnath Mukerji L. M. S.	27.30	3	D. 198 (4) P.W. 107	2746
624	Typed copy of article 'Hindu Sabha as a political movement II' by Dr. Bishnath Mukerji L. M. S.	Do	4	D. 198 (5) P.W. 107	2747
625	Typed copy of article 'What Hindu Sabha movement as a political movement means' by Er. Bishnath Mukerji L. M. S.	Do	4	D. 198 (6) P.W. 107	2748
626	Typed copy of article "The need of a labour party in India," by Dr. Bishnath Mukerji L. M. S.	Do	6	D. 198 (7) P.W. 107	2749
627	Typed copy of letter dated 12-11-25 under the name of Wazir Chand Bhalla P. A. to Lala Lajpat Rai.	Do	2	D. 198 (8) P.W. 107	2750
628	Typed copy of article "False satrietism" by Dr. Bishnath Mukerji L. M. S.	Do	3	D. 198 (9) P.W. 107	2751
629	Typed copy of article 'C. R. Dass a labour Leader' by Dr. Bishnath Mukerji L. M. S.	Do	3	D. 198 (10) P.W. 107	2752
630	Typed 'The fate of a Hindu Temple at Gorakhpur' and an appeal for funds' under the signature of Bishnath Mukerji	Do	1	D. 198 (11) P.W. 107	2753
631	A typed copy of circular with the agenda for the International Conference of Railwaymen.	Do	3	D. 198 (12) P.W. 107	2754
632	Typed 'An appeal for the International Labour Federation'	Do	3	D. 198 (13) P.W. 107	2755
633	Typed copy of an open letter to Mahatma Gandhi from Dr. Bishnath Mukerji.	Do	8	D. 198 (14) P.W. 107	2756
634	A Hindi printed leaflet.	Do	1	D. 199 (1) P.W. 107	2757

635	A Hindi manuscript notice.	Do	1	D. 199 (2) P.W. 107	2758
636	Cutting of a Hindi newspaper.	Do	1	D. 199 (3) P.W. 107	2759
637	A typed letter no. 18 dated 7-1-28 from R. S. Sharma for Secretary to Dr. Bishnath Mukerji General Secretary.	Do	1	D. 199 (4) P.W. 107	2760
638	A printed Hindi leaflet 'Dunya Ke Jandar'	Do	2	D. 199 (5) P.W. 107	2761
639	Manuscript letter dated .8-10-27 from Dharamvir Singh addressed to Dr. Sahib.	Do	2	D. 199 (6) P.W. 107	2762
640	A typed letter dated 9-1-28 from General Secretary Gorakhpur to Pt. Devaratna Sharma General Secretary Hindu Maha Sabha, Delhi.	Do	1	D. 199 (7) P.W. 107	2763
641	A manuscript slip in English from Dr. Bishnath to Devaratna Sharma, Hindu Mahasabha, Delhi.	Do	1	D. 199 8) P.W. 107	2764
642	A manuscript Hindi (written) postcard from Cawnpore to Dr. Bishnath Mukerji.	Do	1	D. 200 (1) P.W. 107	2765
643	A manuscript in English postcard dated 15-11-28 from B. D. Pande to Dr. Bishnath Mukerji.	Do	1	D. 200 (2) P.W. 107	2766
644	A manuscript in English post-card from Sri Prakash to Dr. Bishnath Mukerji.	Do	1	D. 200 (3) P.W. 107	2767
645	Telegram dated 12-9-28 from Bishnath Mukerji to Raghunath Rai.	Do	1	D. 201 (1) P.W. 107	2768
646	Telegram dated 21-9-28 from Jawahar Lal Nehru to Dr. Bishnath Mukerji.	Do	1	D. 201 2) P.W. 107	2769

647	Telegram dated 18-9-28 from Jawahar Lal Nehru to Bishnath Mukerji.	Do	1		D. 201 (3) P.W. 107	2770
648	A file containing letters etc.	Do	77		D. 202 P.W. 107	2771
649	A file containing letters etc.	Do	22		D. 203 P.W. 107	2772
650	A file of postcards.	Do	9		D. 204 P.W. 107	2773
651	A file containing letters etc.	Do	43		D. 205 P.W. 107	2774
652	Cuttings of Newspapers (English)	3.7.30	6		D. 206(1) to D. 206(6) P.W.109	2853
653	Telegram dated 16-7-28 from Probhas to Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1		D. 207 (1) P. W.109	2854
654	A manuscript (Bengali) postcard addressed to B. Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1		D. 207 (2) P.W.109	2855
655	A typed letter dated 15-5-28 from Arthur Moor Acting Editor 'Statesman' to Sj. Kishori Lal Ghosh.	Do	1		D. 207 (3) P.W. 109	2856
656	A typed letter dated 27-4-28 from Secretary to Agent East Indian Railway to Hony. Secretary Bengal Trade Union Federation Calcutta.	Do	2		D. 207 (4) P.W.109	2857
657	Telegram dated 23-4-18 from Joshi to Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1		D. 207 (5) P.W. 109	2858
658	Typed letter dated 22/23-4-28 from Kashi Nath Mittra to Mr. Ghose.	Do	1		D. 207 (6) P.W. 109	2859
659	A printed Circular No. 5 dated 5-4-28 from N. M. Joshi to the members of the Executive Council of the All India Trade Union Congress.	Do	1		D. 207 (7) P.W. 109	2860

660	A typed letter dated 21-4-28 from K. B. Ray Choudhry to Mr. Ghose.	3.7.30	1	D. 207 (8) P. W. 109	2861
661	Typed letter dated 17-4-28 from K. C. Mitra to B. Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1	D. 207 (9) P. W. 109	2863
662	Typed letter dated 12-4-28 from General Secretary Executive (Central) Council of the Bengal Nagpur Railway Indian Labour Union to Sjt. Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	2	D. 207 (10) P.W. 109	2862
663	Typed letter dated 27-4-28 from Hony. Secretary Bengal Trade Union Federation to G. L. Colvin Esqr., C. B. C. M. G. D. S. O. Agent E. I. Railway.	Do	2	D. 207 (11) P.W. 109	2864
664	Typed notice of a meeting for the Scavengers' relief funds.	Do	1	D. 207 (12) P.W. 109	2865
665	Typed letter dated 7-3-29 from N. M. Joshi to Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1	D. 208 (1) P. W. 109	2866
666	Typed letter dated 22-2-29 from Hony. Treasures All-India Trade Union Congress to Kishori Lal Ghose Esqr., Secretary.	Do	1	D. 208 (2) P.W. 109	2867
667	Manuscript letter d/2.3.29 from Jawahar Lal Nehru to Mr. Ghose.	Do	1	D. 208 (3) P.W. 109.	2868
668	Typed letter d/9-2-29 from N. M. Joshi to Mr. Ghose.	Do	1	D. 208 (4) P.W. 109	2869
669	Typed letter d/31-2-29 from N. M. Joshi to Mr. Ghose.	Do	1	D. 208 (5) P.W. 109	2870
670	A printed circular No. 2 d/26-1-29 from Jawahar Lal Nehru to the Secretaries of the Unions affiliated to the All India Trade Union Congress.	Do	1	D. 208 (6) P.W. 109	2871

671	Telegram d/25-1-29 from Bakhle to Kishori Lal Ghose.	3-7-30	1	D. 208 (7) P.W. 109	2872
672	Telegram d/24-1-29 from Bakhie to Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	3	D. 208 (8) P.W. 109	2873
673	Typed copy of letter d/12-1-29 from N. M. Joshi to M. Ginwala.	Do	1	D. 208 (9) P.W. 109	2874
674	Printed Agenda for the business of the Executive Council of Jharia Session of the All India Trade Union Congress.	Do	1	D. 208 (10) P.W. 109	2875
675	Typed letter d/13-12-28 from R. R. Bakhle to Mr. Ghose.	Do	1	D. 208 (11) P.W. 109	2876
676	Typed letter d/8-5-28 from N.M. Joshi to Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1	D. 208 (12) P.W. 109	2877
677	Typed letter d/23-4-28 from N. M. Joshi to Mr. Ghose.	Do	2	D. 208 (13) P.W. 109	2878
678	Copy of a typed letter d/12-4-28 from N. M. Joshi to Dear Mr. Mitra & copy to Mr. Ghose.	Do	1	D. 208 (14) P.W. 109	2879
679	Typed letter d/8-4-28 from N. M. Joshi to Mr. Kishori Lal Ghose with a list of the names of the Unions.	Do	3	D. 208 (15) P.W. 109	2880
680	Copy of a typed letter d/8-4-28 from N.M. Joshi to Mr. Mitra and copy to Mr. Y. V. Giri for information.	Do	3	D. 208 (16) P.W. 109	2881
681	Typed letter d/25-3-28 from N. M. Joshi to Mr. Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1	D. 208 (17) P.W. 109	2882
682	Typed letter d/31-1-28 from N. M. Joshi to Mr. Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1	D. 208 (18) P.W. 109	2883
683	Typed letter d/8-3-28 from F. J. Ginwala Esqr, to Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1	D. 208 (19) P.W. 109	2884

660	A typed letter dated 21-4-28 from K. B. Ray Choudhry to Mr. Ghose.	3-7.30	1	D. 207 (8) P. W. 109	2861
661	Typed letter dated 17-4-28 from K. C. Mitra to B. Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1	D. 207 (9) P. W. 109	2863
662	Typed letter dated 12-4-28 from General Secretary Executive (Central) Council of the Bengal Nagpur Railway Indian Labour Union to Sjt. Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	2	D. 207 (10) P.W. 109	2862
663	Typed letter dated 27-4-28 from Hony. Secretary Bengal Trade Union Federation to G. L. Colvin Esqr., C. B. C. M. G. D. S. O. Agent E. I. Railway.	Do	2	D. 207 (11) P.W. 109	2864
664	Typed notice of a meeting for the Scavengers' relief funds.	Do	1	D. 207 (12) P.W. 109	2865
665	Typed letter dated 7-3-29 from N. M. Joshi to Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1	D. 208 (1) P. W. 109	2866
666	Typed letter dated 22-2-29 from Hony. Treasures All India Trade Union Congress to Kishori Lal Ghose Esqr., Secretary.	Do	1	D. 208 (2) P.W. 109	2867
667	Manuscript letter d/2.3.29 from Jawahar Lal Nehru to Mr. Ghose.	Do	1	D. 208 (3) P.W. 109	2868
668	Typed letter d/9-2-29 from N. M. Joshi to Mr. Ghose.	Do	1	D. 208 (4) P.W. 109	2869
669	Typed letter d/31-2-29 from N. M. Joshi to Mr. Ghose.	Do	1	D. 208 (5) P.W. 109	2870
670	A printed circular No. 2 d/26-1-29 from Jawahar Lal Nehru to the Secretaries of the Unions affiliated to the All India Trade Union Congress.	Do	1	D. 208 (6) P.W. 109	2871

671	Telegram d/25-1-29 from Bakhle to Kishori Lal Ghose.	3.7.30	1	D. 208 (7) P.W. 109	2872
672	Telegram d/24-1-29 from Bakhie to Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	3	D. 208 (8) P.W. 109	2873
673	Typed copy of letter d/12-1-29 from N. M. Joshi to M. Ginwala.	Do	1	D. 208 (9) P.W. 109	2874
674	Printed Agenda for the business of the Executive Council of Jharia Session of the All India Trade Union Congress.	Do	1	D. 208 (10) P.W. 109	2875
675	Typed letter d/13-12-28 from R. R. Bakhle to Mr. Ghose.	Do	1	D. 208 (11) P.W. 109	2876
676	Typed letter d/8-5-28 from N.M. Joshi to Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1	D. 208 (12) P.W. 109	2877
677	Typed letter d/23-4-28 from N. M. Joshi to Mr. Ghose.	Do	2	D. 208 (13) P.W. 109	2878
678	Copy of a typed letter d/12-4-28 from N. M. Joshi to Dear Mr. Mitra & copy to Mr. Ghose.	Do	1	D. 208 (14) P.W. 109	2879
679	Typed letter d/8-4-28 from N. M. Joshi to Mr. Kishori Lal Ghose with a list of the names of the Unions.	Do	3	D. 208 (15) P.W. 109	2880
680	Copy of a typed letter d/8-4-28 from N.M. Joshi to Mr. Mitra and copy to Mr. Y. V. Giri for information.	Do	3	D. 208 (16) P.W. 109	2881
681	Typed letter d/25-3-28 from N. M. Joshi to Mr. Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1	D. 208 (17) P.W. 109	2882
682	Typed letter d/31-1-28 from N. M. Joshi to Mr. Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1	D. 208 (18) P.W. 109	2883
683	Typed letter d/8-3-28 from F. J. Ginwala Esqr, to Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1	D. 208 (19) P.W. 109	2884

684	Typed letter d/14-2-28 from N. M. Joshi to Mr. Kishori Lal Ghose.	3.7.30	1	D. 208 (20) P.W. 109	2885
685	Printed Agenda of All India Trade Union Congress.	Do	1	D. 208 (21) P.W. 109	2886
686	Typed letter d/7-1-30 from N. M. Joshi to the Secretary Provincial Committee of the All India Trade Union Congress Bengal with a list of the Union.	Do	3	D. 208 (22) P.W. 109	2887
687	Typed letter d/24-11-27 from R. R. Bakhle to Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1	D. 208 (23) P.W. 109	2888
688	A printed 'The Labour Movement in India and the International Labour Movement' by Mr. N. M. Joshi M. L. A.	Do	2	D. 208 (24) P.W. 109	2889
689	Typed letter d/29-10-27 from N.M. Joshi to Kishori Lal Ghose	Do	1	D. 208 (25) P.W. 109	2890
690	Typed letter d/1-11-27 from N. M. Joshi to Kishori Lal Ghose	Do	1	D. 208 (26) P.W. 109	2891
691	Typed letter d/28-1-28 from N. M. Joshi to Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1	D. 208 (27) P.W. 109	2892
692	A printed letter d/30-11-27 from the Secretary International Federation of Trade Unions Amsterdam to All India Trade Union Congress, Girgaon, Bombay.	Do	2	D. 208 (28) P.W. 109	2893
693	Typed letter d/1-3-29 from N.M. Joshi to Kishori Lal Ghose Secretary.	Do	2	D. 209 (1) P.W. 109	2894
694	Typed letter d/1-3-29 from Jawahar Lal Nehru to Kishori Lal Ghose Secretary.	Do	1	D. 209 (2) P.W. 109	2895
695	A typed resolution about the Jamshedpur affairs.	Do	1	D. 209 (3) P.W. 109	2896

696	Typed letter dated 10-8-28 from P. Spratt and Kishori Lal Ghose containing a resolution.	Do	2	D. 209 (4) P.W. 109	2897
697	Typed letter dated 1-10-28 from Kishori Lal Ghose to Messrs. Kettle Well, Bullen & C., Calcutta.	Do	3	D. 210 P.W. 109	2898
698	A typed copy of a letter d 8-12-26 from the Secretary Press employee's association to the Rt. Honourable Thomas Shaw.	Do	1	D. 211 P.W.109	2899
699	Manuscript draft of a letter from the Honorary Secretary to Miss Agnes Smedley Berlin.	Do	2	D. 212 P.W.109	2900
700	Manuscript letter from officiating Secretary Press Employees Association to Mr. Spratt.	Do	1	D. 213 P.W. 109	2901
701	A book 'Workers of the World Unite' by A. A. Purcell M. P.	Do	1	D. 214 P.W. 109	2902
702	A printed annual report of the Press Employees Association Calcutta for 1926-27.	Do	1	D. 215 P.W. 109	2903
703	A printed book of resolutions moved at All India Press Employees Conference-First Session held at Calcutta on June 26 and 27 of 1926.	Do	1	D. 216 P. W. 109	2904
704	A printed book of resolutions moved at All India Press Employees Conference, 1927, second session, held on 13 and 14-8-27.	Do	1	D. 217 P. W. 109	2905
705	A manuscript letter to Mr. N. M. Joshi M. L. A. General Secretary All India Trade Union Congress.	Do	3	D. 218 P. W. 109	2906

706	Printed Presidential Address of the 59th Annual Congress of British Trades Union Congress held at Edinburg on 5-9-27.	3.7.30.	1	D. 219. P. W. 109	2907
707	A typed Press Report of the International Federation of Trade Unions Amsterdam, dated 5.5.1927 with economic supplement to the Press Reports of the International Federation of Trade Unions.	Do	8	D. 220 P. W. 109	2908
707A	A printed economic supplement to the Press Reports of the International Federation of Trade Unions with Press Reports dated 5-1-1928.	Do	8	D. 221 P. W. 109	2909
708	A printed address of 11.12.27 given to Arthur Purcell Esqr: M. P. and Joseph Halsworth Esqr: and by the members of the Calcutta Tramway Worker's Union.	Do	1	D. 222 P.W. 109	2910
709	A typed report of meeting of the Trade Union Federation held on 10-12-27.	Do	9	D. 223 P.W. 109	2911
710	A manuscript letter dated 9-12-27 from Bijoy Kishan to B. Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1	D. 224 P.W. 109	2912
711	A manuscript slip dated 7-12-27 from P. Spratt to Ananda Babu with the original copy of Mr. Halsworth's speech.	Do	5	D. 225 P.W. 109	2913
712	A printed address given to His Excellency to the Rt. Honourable Colonel Sir Francis Stanley Jackson, P.C.G.C.I.E. Governor of Bengal by the employers of 14 Jute mills and 1 Paper mill.	Do	2	D. 225 (a) P. W. 109	2914
713	A typed letter dated 4-12-27 from A. N. Bose to Mr. Kishori Lal Ghose.	1.7.30	1	D. 226 P. W. 109	2915

714	2 telegrams dated 3.12.27 from Giri to Kishori Lal Ghose	3. 7.30.	3	D. 227 P. W. 109	2916
715	A pencil draft in English.	Do	1	D. 228 P. W. 109	2917
716	A manuscript list of subscription for a party to be arranged for Mr. Mardy Jones.	Do	1	D. 229 P. W. 109	2918
717	Telegram dated 14.11.27 from Giri to Kishori Lal Ghose	Do	1	D. 230 P. W. 109	2919
718	A printed Bengali leaflet.	Do	1	D. 231 P.W. 109	2920
719	A manuscript draft of a letter containing resolution to Hari Har Nath Shastri, General Secretary Reception Committee 8th session of the All India Trade Union Congress, Cawnpore.	Do	1	D. 232 P. W. 109	2921
720	A printed circular dated 23-11-27 from N. M. Joshi to the members of the Executive Council of the All India Trade Union Congress and the Secretaries of the affiliated Unions	Do	1	D. 233P. W. 109	2922
721	Manuscript letter dated 10-9-27 from G. Sethi to Kishori Babu.	Do	1	D. 234 P. W. 109	2923
722	Typed letter dated 23-7-27 from Ganguly Secretary to Mr. Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1	D. 235 P. W. 109	2924
723	Typed letter dated 8-7-27 from Joh. Sassenbach Secretary of International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam to Bengal Trade Unions Federation, Calcutta with envelope.	Do	2	D. 236, D 236E, P. W. 109	2925
724	Telegram dated 15th October from Giri to Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1	D. 237 P. W. 109	2926

725	Printed circular dated 31-5-27 from N. M. Joshi to the members of the Executive Council of the All India Trade Union Congress.	3-7-30	1	D. 238 P. W. 109	2927
726	Printed circular dated 15-5-27 from N. M. Joshi to the members of the Executive Council of the All India Trade Union Congress.	Do	1	D. 239 P. W. 109	2928
727	Printed circular dated 15-5-27 from N. M. Joshi to the members of the Executive Council, the Secretaries of the affiliated union etc; etc.	Do	1	D. 240 P. W. 109	2929
728	Typed letter dated 26-10-27 from Arthur Moore with envelope addressed to Kishori Lal Ghose	Do	3	D. 241, D. 241 E. P. W. 109.	2930
729	A printed leaflet in Bengali,	Do	1	D. 242 P. W. 109	2931
730	A typed letter dated 17-1-29 from S. K. Banerji for editor of Modern Review to B. Kishori Lal Ghose with envelope.	Do	2	D. 243, D. 243 E. P. W. 109.	2932
731	Typed letter dated 9.11.28 from M. Daud to Kishori Lal Ghose with envelope.	Do	2	D. 244, D. 244 E. P. W. 109.	2933
732	Typed letter dated 19-7-27 from Syed Mohd Padshah to Mr, Kishori Lal Ghose with envelope.	Do	3	D. 245 P. W. 109.	2934
733	Manuscript letter dated 31-3-27 from Kishori Lal to Messrs Thos. Cook and Sons Ltd., Calcutta.	Do	1	D. 246 P. W. 109.	2935
734	Typed letter dated 2-4-27 from Thomas Cook and Sons Calcutta to the Honorary Secretary Indian Journalist's Association.	Do	2	D. 247 P. W. 109.	2936
735	3 typed copies of report.	4-7-30	9	D. 248 P. W. 109.	2937

736	Typed letter dated 15-8-28 from M. Abdul Haq to the Secretary Bengal Trades Union Federation Calcutta with a list of present members of the Bengal Mariner's Union.	4.7.30	3	D. 249 P.W. 109	2938
737	• reports one typed and one manuscript,	Do	10	D. 250 P.W. 109	2939
738	Typed copy of a letter of 8th March—9 to Mr. Joshi,	Do	4	D. 251 P.W. 109	2940
739	Typed copy of a letter of 1st March—9 to Sj. Upendra Nath Neogi, Editor, "Forward" with a copy of article on Whiteey Commission.	Do	7	D. 252 P.W. 109	2941
740	A printed Bengali leaflet with a letter dated 28.11.28 from S. K. Basu to Mr. Ghose.	Do	2	D. 253 P.W. 109	2942
741	A typed Press Report of the International Eederation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam, dated 2-2-1928 with economic supplement to the Press reports.	Do	8	D. 254 P.W. 109	2943
742	Typed letter dated 2-11-28 from F. T. Washington to Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1	D. 255 P.W. 109	2944
743	Typed letter dated 13-12-28 from Purshotam Rai to the General Secretary All India Trade Union Congress with a manuscript letter from P. Spratt to Dear Kishori.	Do	2	D. 256 P.W. 109	2945
744	Typed letter dated 18-8-28 from F. T. Washington to Mr. Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1	D. 257 P.W. 109	2946
745	A Typed resolution passed at a meeting, from S. H. Jhabwala to the Secretary Bengal Trades Union Federation.	Do	1	D. 258 P.W. 109	2947

746	Typed letter dated 24-1-28 from the President Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to the Secretary All Bengal Trade Union Federation.	4.7 30.	1	D. 259 P.W. 109	2948
747	A printed Bengali leaflet.	Do	1	D. 260 P.W. 109	2949
748	Typed letter dated 4.2.29 from R N. G. to Babu Kishori Lal Ghose	Do	1	D. 261 P.W. 109	2950
749	A printed leaflet dated 29-8-27 under the signature of Kishori Lal Ghose Honorary Secretary.	Do	1	D. 262 P.W. 109	2951
750	A manuscript letter dated 12-7-28 from Mahbulul Haq to Kishori Lal Ghose with cuttings of Daily Herald.	Do	2	D. 263 P.W. 109	2952
751	Printed Mayor's statement at the Corporation meeting held on 9th March 28 etc.	Do	2	D. 264 P.W. 109	2953
752	Typed letter dated 10-10-28 from Managing Agents of the Fort Gloster Jute manufacturing Co., Ltd., to B. Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1	D. 265 P.W. 109	2954
753	A manuscript draft of notes on 'At Home' given by Bengal Trades Unions Federation to Mr. T. Mardy Jones M. P.	Do	8	D. 266 P.W. 109	2955
754	A typed copy of a letter dated 3-5-28 from Honorary Secretary to Mr. T. E. Naylor, J. P. M. P.	Do	1	D. 267 P.W. 109	2956
755	Manuscript letter dated 1-6-28 from A. P. Dube to Mr. Ghose.	Do	2	D. 268 P. W. 109	2957
756	A certificate of posting dated 8-9-27 of Post Office.	Do	1	D. 269 P.W. 109	2958

757	A printed manifesto to Workers dated 2-12-27.	4-7.30.	1	D. 270 P.W. 109	2959
758	A typed letter dated 27.7.27 from Syed Mohammad Padshah to Mr. Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	2	D. 271 P.W. 109	2960
759	The All India Trade Union Bulletin for December 1927, January and February 1928.	Do	1	D. 272 P.W. 109	2961
760	The All India Trade Union Bulletin for August and September 1928.	Do	1	D. 273 P.W. 109	2962
761	The All India Trade Union Bulletin for March 1928.	Do	1	D. 274 P.W. 109	2963
762	A printed report of All India Trade Union Congress. <i>for the Cawnpore Session (1927)</i> ?	Do	1	D. 275 P.W. 109	2964
763	Manuscript letter dated nil from S.K. Basu to Mr. Ghose.	Do	1	D. 276 P.W. 109	2965
764	3 printed leaflets in Bengali.	Do	3	D. 277 P.W. 109	2966
765	2 printed leaflets in Bengali.	Do	2	D. 278 P.W. 109	2967
766	A manuscript and a typed copy of a letter dated 1-12-28 to P. B. Seal Esqr; c/o Orient Press Service London from Honorary Secretary Indian Journalists, Association.	Do	4	D. 279 P.W. 109	2968
767	A printed notice in Bengali.	Do	1	D. 280 P.W. 109	2969
768	A printed circular dated 1-4-28, from N. M. Joshi to the Secretaries of the Provincial Committees, the Secretaries of the affiliated Unions and the members of the Executive Council.	Do	1	D. 281 P.W. 109	2970

769	Typed letter dated 28-2-29 from the Secretary Labour Association, Jamshedpur to Mr. Kishori Lal Ghose.	4. 7. 30	1	D. 282 P.W. 109	2971
770	2 drafts of letters one typed and the other manuscript to Messrs. Kettle Well, Bullen and Co., Calcutta.	Do	5	D. 283 P.W. 109	2972
771	A copy of a typed letter dated 8-3-29 to Mr Nehru.	Do	2	D. 284 P.W. 109	2973
772	Typed letter dated 19-11-28 from Kishori Lal Ghose to Mr. Joshi.	Do	5	D. 285 (1) P. W 109	2974
773	A copy of a typed report of torganisation of Jute Workers.	Do	13	D. 285 (2)P.W. 109	2975
774	A printed leaflet in Bengali.	Do	1	D. 286 P.W. 109	2976
775	A printed leaflet in Bengali.	Do	1	D. 287 P.W 109	2977
776	The Bulletin of the Indian Information Centre for Decr. 1927.	Do	1	D. 288 P.W. 109	2978
777	Telegram dated 20-11-28 from Joshi to Kishori Lal Ghose with envelope.	Do	2	D. 289 P.W. 109	2979
778	'Cash Memo' of Kamala Book Depot Ltd., Calcutta.	Do	1	D. 290 P. W. 109	2980
779	A typed letter dated 5-3-29 from V. V Giri to Kishori Lal Ghose with envelope.	Do	2	D. 291 P. W. 109	2981
780	A typed letter dated 12-3-29 from V.V. Giri to Dear Kishori Lal Ghose with envelope.	Do	3	D. 292 P W. 109	2982
781	Telegram dated 16-2-27 from Ginwala to Kishori Lal Ghose.	Do	1	D. 293 P. W. 109	2983
782	A copy of typed letter dated 16-2-27 to F. J. Ginwala M. A. LL. B.	Do	1	D. 293 (2) P. W. 109	2984

783	A manuscript statement of account.	4 7. 30	1	D. 294 P.W. 109	2985
784	A manuscript draft of report.	Do	2	D. 295 P. W. 109	2986
785	A typed letter dated 24-1-29 from Jawahar Lal Nehru to Mr. Kishori Lal Ghose with 3 other papers in English and Nagri.	Do	4	D. 296 P.W. 109	2987
786	A copy of a typed report of the Fédération International Des Journalists.	Do	7	D. 297 P.W. 109	2988
787	'The Commercial Advertiser' for 15-12-22 with photo.	Do	5 leaves	D. 298 P. W. 109	2989
788	Typed letter dated 30-11-28 from Pyare Mohan Dass General Secretary of the Bengal Textile Workers Union to the Secretary of the Bengal Trade Union Federation with report and rules of the Bengal Textile Workers Union and envelope.	Do	10 leaves	D. 299 P. W. 109	2990
789	5 copies of 'Mazdur' in Hindi of 24-6-28, 1-7-1928, 8-7-28, 4-11-28 and 5-8-1928.	Do	10 leaves	D. 300 P. W. 112	2998
790	A manuscript letter dated 29-5-28 to the Hony. General Secretary, Bombay from Laxmi Narain.	Do	1	D. 301 P. W. 112	2999
✓ 791	A book 'Lenin and Gandhi' by Rene' Fulop Miller.	7. 7. 30	1	D. 302 P. W. 118	3107
792	Typed translation of a passage.	9. 7. 30.	1	D. 303 P. W. 118	3108
793	A copy of Kirantikari dated 8-4-29 a Hindi Paper.	Do	1	D. 304 P. W. 118	3109
✓ 794	A book 'report and Congress Constitution' all India Trade Union Congress, ninth Session, Jharia, 1928.	11. 7. 30	1	D. 305 P. W. 123	3110

795	A sheet of an Urdu paper.	14.7.30	1	D. 306 P.W. 124	3111
796	A copy of Daily Bande Matram Lahore dated 21-2-1928	Do	1	D. 307 P.W. 124	3112
797	3 Hindi Leaflets 'Mazdur Ashram Meerut'.	Do	3	D. 308 P.W. 124	3113
798	8 leaflets in Urdu 'National week and duty of inhabitants of Meerut.'	Do	8	D. 309 P.W. 124	3114
799	Manuscript leaflet in Nagri	Do	1	D. 310 P.W. 124	3115
800	Manuscript draft of resolution in English	Do	1	D. 311 P.W. 124	3116
801	A printed pamphlet in Nagri 'Gaon ki Katha'	Do	4 leaves.	D. 312 P.W. 124	3117
802	A printed pamphlet in Nagri 'Bhajan Gan Bilap'.	Do	4 leaves.	D. 313 P.W. 124	3118
803	Typed letter dated 16-3-28 from P. M. Piyari with envelope addressed to Secretary 'The Majdoor and Kishan Sangh, Meerut.	Do	2	D. 314 P.W. 124	3119
804	A bound register containing the names of the members of Mazdoor and Kisan Sangh.	Do	1	D. 315 P.W. 124	3120
805	A printed leaflet in Hindi.	Do	1	D. 316 P.W. 124	3121
806	A printed pamphlet in Urdu 'Sorag Darbar'.	Do	2	D. 317 P.W. 124	3122
807	2. typed notices of Labourers and Farmers Conference, Distt. Meerut.	Do	2	D. 318 P.W. 124	3123
808	A printed pamphlet in Hindi.	Do	6	D. 319 P.W. 124	3124
809	A Khadar Badge of 3 colours.	Do	1	D. 320 P.W. 124	3125

810	A printed Hindi pamphlet 'Sorag Darbar'	15.7.30	4 leaves		D. 321 P.W. 127	3126
811	A book in Hindi 'Kalwar Ki Kartut.'	Do	1		D. 322 P.W. 127	3127
812	A book in Hindi 'Hamare Zamane ki Ghulami'	Do	1		D. 323 P.W. 127	3128
813	A printed pamphlet in Urdu 'Khua-i-nahaq.'	Do	4		D. 324 P.W. 127	3129
814	A Manuscript letter in pencil from Gauri Shanker Sharma to the manager Khadi Calcutta.	Do	1		D. 325 P.W. 127	3130
815	A printed pamphlet in Urdu 'Sorag Darbar'	Do	4		D. 326 P.W. 127	3131
816	A printed pamphlet in Nagri 'Darid Daman'	Do	4		D. 327 P. W. 127	3132
817	A manuscript letter in Urdu dated 8-10-28 from General Secretary Mazdoor Kisan Conference, Meerut.	Do	1		D. 328 P.W. 127	3133
818	A manuscript letter in Urdu from Farmers of V Pachokra to the Secretary Mazdoor and Kisan Sangh Meerut.	Do	1		D. 329 P.W. 127	3134
819	A printed receipt book in Nagri of Mazdoor Sangh Meerut.	Do	1		D. 330 P.W. 127	3135
820	A Khaddar Belt with badge.	Do	1		D. 331 P.W. 127	3136
821	A Khaddar Flag of Mazdoor Kisan Sangh Meerut.	Do	1		D. 332 P.W. 127	3137
822	2 printed notice in English and Hindi of G. I. P. Railway men's Union that an extra ordinary General meeting of Railway Workers of G. I. P. will be held under the signature of S. H. Jhabwala.	16.7.30	1		D. 333 P.W. 128	3278
823	G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union memorandum dated 17. 3. 29 (typed)	Do	1		D. 334 P.W. 128	3279

824	Typed letter (copy) dated 14. 3. 29 from K. C. Bakhle acting Secretary to the Honourable General Secretary G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union, Bombay.	16-7-30	1	D. 335 P. W. 128	3280
824a	Blank receipts register of donation of the G. I. P. Railway Employees General Union from No. 481 to 960.	Do	1	D. 336 P. W. 128	3281
824b	A book in Nagri 'Young India' by Mahatma Gandhi.	Do	1	D. 337 P.W. 128	3282
825	A printed pamphlet in Hindi 'Attend to it or Burn yourself alive.'	Do	4 leaves	D. 338 P.W. 128	3283
826	A typed letter dated 19. 10. 28 from S. H. Jhabwala to the Secretary Jhansi centre.	Do	1	D. 339 P.W. 128	3284
826a	A pocket Collins' Indian Diary for 1928 belonging to L. N. Kadam.	Do	1	D. 340 P. W. 128	3285
827	Draft telegrams from Reception Secretary to Subhash Chandra Bose Provincial Congress Calcutta.	21-7-30	1	D. 341 (1) P. W. 134	3286
828	Draft telegram from Reception Secretary to Abdul Kalam Azad, Albag Press, Calcutta.	Do	1	D. 341 (2)P.W. 134	3287
829	Draft telegram from Reception Secretary to Dr. Ansari, Congress President, Nagpore.	Do	1	D. 341 (3)P. W. 134	3288
830	A printed leaflet in Nagri 'Khush Khabri'.	Do	1	D. 342 P. W. 134	3289
831	One red khaddar sash.	Do	1	D. 343 P. W. 134	3290
832	One printed hand-bill in Hindi.	Do	1	D. 344 (1) P W. 137	3291

833	One printed hand-bill in Bengali.	21.7.30	1	D. 344. (2) P. W. 137	3292
834	One printed hand-bill in Urdu 'A request to labour brothers and sisters.'	Do	1	D. 344 (3) P.W. 137	3293
835	A book in Hindi 'Non-co-operation in other lands (Translation)	25.7.30	1	D. 345 P. W 144	3427
836	An English paper 'Janmabhumi' for December 20, 1923.	Do	1	D. 346 P.W. 144	3428
837	A translation in Urdu 'Non-co-operation in other lands.'	Do	1	D. 347 P.W. 144	3429
838	A book in Urdu 'Mazlum Kisan' (oppressed peasant).	Do	1	D. 348 P.W. 144	3430
839	An envelope addressed to Kidarnath Sahgal containing a typed letter dated 8-9-28 from Parashu Ram Sharma, Secretary Punjab Seva Dal Board.	Do	2	D. 349 P.W. 144	3431
840	An envelope addressed to Kidar Nath Sahgal containing a typed letter dated 30. 3. 24 from V. S. Hardikar.	Do	3	D. 350 P. W. 144	3432
841	An envelope addressed to Kidar Nath Sahgal containing a manuscript letter in Urdu dated 14. 8. 28 to Deoki Nandan.	Do	2	D. 351 P. W. 144	3433
842	A printed circular letter dated 29. 5. 28 over the signatures of Arjun Lal Sethi and J. P. Bagerhatta.	Do	1	D. 352 P.W. 144	3434
843	A khadder band.	Do	1	D. 353 P.W. 144	3435
844	A group photo.	Do	1	D. 354 P.W. 144	3436
845	Copy of the 'All India Trade Union Bulletin for July and August 1927.	Do	1	D. 355 P.W. 143.	3437

846	An Urdu manuscript letter dated 7. 10. 27 from Arjun Lal Sethi with envelope addressed to Comrade Majid.	25.7.30	5	D. 356, D. 356E P.W. 143	3438
847	An Urdu manuscript writing under heading, 'Lala Ram Chandra and freedom of Country' with envelope addressed to M. A. Majid.	Do	4	D. 357, D. 357E P.W. 143	3439
848	First annual report of the Bombay Textile Labour Union from 1. 1. 26 to 31. 12. 1926.	Do	1	D. 358 P.W. 143	3440
849	2 Urdu manuscript letters dated 23. 2. from Abdul Qadir to M. A. Majid with envelope and 2 samples of cloth pieces.	Do	3	D. 359, D. 359E P.W. 143	3441
850	A photo damaged by white-ants.	Do	1	D. 360 P.W. 143	3442
851	A group photo damaged by white ants.	Do	1	D. 361 P.W. 143	3443
852	A manuscript report in English.	28.7.30	2	D. 362 P.W. 146	3444
853	A typed letter from Renolds to Janki Prasad.	Do	1	D. 363 P.W. 146	3445
854	A copy of 'Indian Daily Mill' of 19th August 1928.	Do	1	D. 364 P.W. 146	3446
855	A copy of 'Forward' of April 9, 1924.	Do	1	D. 365 P.W. 146	3447
856	A book 'Imperialism in practice and in theory by K. M. Panikkar.	Do	1	D. 366 P.W. 146	3448
857	Report of the Sixth Session of the All India Trade Union Congress and Congress constitutions. <i>Madras.</i>	Do	1	D. 367 P.W. 146	3449
858	Report of the 7th Session of the All India Trade Union Congress and Congress constitution: <i>Selw.</i>	Do	1	D. 368 P.W. 146	3450

859	A bounded volume of 'The Masses of India' for the year 1925.	287.30	1	D. 369 P. W. 146	3451
860	A typed letter dated 15. 12. 28 to my dear Janki with envelope.	Do	2	D. 370, D. 370 E. P. W. 146	3452
861	A typed copy of a letter in reply to the letter of 16th October.	Do	3	D. 371 P. W. 146	3453
862	File of miscellaneous correspondence.	Do	4	D. 372 P. W. 146	3454
863	A bill for Rs 16/12 of Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta in the name of J. P. Bagerhotta.	Do	2	D. 372 (1) P. W. 146	3455
864	A bill for Rs 30/2 Do Do Do	Do	1	D. 372 (2) P. W. 146	3456
865	A post card for a bill of Re 1/6/- Do Do	Do	2	D. 372 (3) P. W. 146	3457
866	A bill for Rs 7/11 of Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta in the name of J. P. Bagerhotta.	Do	1	D. 372 (4) P. W. 146	3458
867	A bill of 10. 5. 27 for Rs 4/6/- Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta.	Do	1	D. 372 (5) P. W. 146	3459
868	A bill of 29. 4. 27 for Rs 3/7/- Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta to J. P. Bagerhotta.	Do	4	D. 372 (6) P. W. 146	3460
869	A manuscript list of books ordered through Messrs Thacker Spink & Co.	Do	3	D. 372 (7) P. W. 146	3461
870	A typed letter dated 18. 3. 27 from Thacker Spink & Co., to J. P. Bagerhotta Esqr.	Do	1	D. 372 (8) P. W. 146	3462

871	A typed letter dated 4. 3. 27 from Thacker Spink & Co, to J. P. Bagerhotta Esqr.	28.7.30	1	D. 372 (9) P.W. 146	3463
872	A bill dated 4. 3. 27 for Rs 6/10/- from Thacker Spink & Co. to J. P. Bagerhotta Esqr.	Do	1	D. 372 (10) P.W. 146	3464
873	A typed letter dated 19. 2. 27 from Thacker Spink & Co., to J. P. Bagerhotta Esqr.	Do	1	D. 372 (11) P.W. 146	3465
874	A typed letter dated 4. 2. 27 from Thacker Spink & Co. to J. P. Bagerhotta Esqr.	Do	1	D. 372 (12) P.W. 146	3466
875	A typed list of books on Socialism.	Do	1	D. 372 (13) P.W. 146	3467
876	A file containing circulars etc. (59 pages).	Do	1	D. 373 P.W. 146	3468
877	A file of correspondence relating to the Communist Party (85 pages).	Do	1	D. 374 P.W. 146	3469
878	A file of correspondence relating to the Communist Party (55 pages).	Do	1	D. 375 P.W. 146	3470
879	26 copies of 'The Indian National Herald'.	Do	26	D. 376 P.W. 146	3471
880	One copy of Times of India dated 22. 6. 27	Do	1	D. 377 P. W. 146	3472
881	2 copies of 'The Indian National Herald' dated 15. 2. 27, 4. 3. 27.	Do	2	D. 378 P.W. 146	3473
882	6 copies of 'The Masses of India' from February 26 to July 1926.	Do	6	D. 379 P. W. 146	3474
883	2 copies of Bombay Chronicle dated 18. 12. 23 and 12. 2. 1924.	Do	2	D. 380 P. W. 146	3475

884	A typed translation in English of passage from page 12 of the pamphlet Exh P. 762 (what can be understood by Swaraj).	29 7. 30	1		D. 381 P.W. 145	3489	
885	Cash book register in Hindi of Workers & Peasants Party.	14. 8. 30	1		D. 382 P. W. 173	3726	
886	Longhand notes of prayer said by Kidarnath Sahgal.	3. 9. 30	See Exh. P. 1906 N		D. 383 P.W. 179	3983	
887	Fair copy of the longhand note of the prayer of Sahgal.	4. 9. 30	1		D. 383 (1) P.W. 179	3984	
888	Samples of handwriting in English.	5. 9. 30	23		D. 384 (1) to D. 384 (23), P. W. 133	3985	
889	Sample of handwriting in English (in pencil).	Do	1		D. 385 P. W. 133 "	3986	
890	A copy of Times of India of 18. 7. 1929. <i>Contains the evidence of Sir F. Watson before the Riots Comm. Bombay.</i>	11. 9. 30	1 copy		D. 386 P. W. 181	3987	
891	A copy of Times of India of 11. 6. 1930. <i>Bk Jashwanth's article = From Spark shall spring the flame. Marked for the word Spark.</i>	12. 9. 30	1 copy		D. 387 P. W. 181	3988	
892	A book of receipts of Joint Mill Strike Committee relief fund (50 receipts).	13. 9. 30	1		D. 388 P. W. 182	3989	
893	Report of the Proceedings of the Convention of the all India Railwaymen's Federation held at Cawnpore on 25. 11. 27.	Do	1	D. 390	D. 389 P. W. 182	3990	
894	17 copies of the All India Trade Union Bulletin (from item No. 26 to item No. 42).	Do 20		<i>Jan. Feb. 1927</i> <i>Mar. Apr 17 "</i> <i>May "</i> <i>June "</i> <i>Jul. Aug "</i> <i>Sept "</i> <i>Oct Nov "</i> <i>Dec. 1927 "</i>	<i>Jan Feb 1928 - Vide 272</i> <i>Mar. " 274</i> <i>Apr. "</i> <i>May "</i> <i>June "</i> <i>July " 96</i> <i>Aug. Sept "</i>	D. 390 P. W. 182	3991
895	Report of the Seventh Session of All India Trade Union Congress. <i>Delhi</i>	Do 20	1	355	D. 391 P. W. 182	3992	
896	A book 'Deduction from wages of payments in respect of fines'.	Do		<i>Dec. 1927 in D 272</i> <i>Dec. 1928 in D. 29(3)</i>	D. 392 P. W. 182	3993	

✓ 897	Report of the Eighth Session, <u>Cawnpore</u> , 1927 of All India Trade Union Congress.	13.9.30	1		D. 393 P.W. 182	3994
898	Mr. F. J. Ginwala's Presidential Address of the Bombay Provincial Trade Union Conference delivered on 10.3.1928.	Do	4 leaves.		D. 394 P.W. 182	3995
899	Report of the 2nd Session of the Bombay Provincial Trade Union Conference held on 2 and 3. 1. 1926.	Do	1		D. 395 P.W. 182	3996
900	Pamphlet No. 1 of the Spinners' Strike in Bombay 1928.	Do	1		D. 396 P.W. 182	3997
901	Do Do Do Do	Do	1		D. 397 P.W. 182	3998
e 902	Second annual report from 1. 1. 27 to 31. 12. 27 of the Bombay Textile Labour Union.	Do	1		D. 398 P.W. 182	3999
✓ 902a	Report of the Seventh Session of the All India Trade Union Congress. <u>Selhi</u>	Do	1		D. 399 P.W. 182	4000
903	The E. B. Railway Labour Review for November 1928.	Do	1 copy		D. 400 P.W. 182	4001
✓ 904	A book of Communiqués issued by the Mill Owners Committee and the Joint mill strike.	Do	1		D. 401 P.W. 182	4002
✓ 905	Printed book of statement by Messrs. N. M. Joshi and F. J. Ginwala and R. R. Bakhle on the deadlock in the Bombay Mill Industry.	Do	1		D. 402 P.W. 182	4003
906	Bill for Rs 12/- dated 22. 4. 28 in the name of A. A. Alve for handbills. <i>by Strike Comt. against Manager.</i>	Do	2		D. 403 P.W. 182	4004
907	Bill for Rs 18/- dated 23. 4. 28 in the name of A. A. Alve for handbills. <i>Handbill. Why the strike took place. Reasons for calling a general strike by Strike Comt.</i>	Do	2		D. 404 P.W. 182	4005

908	Bill for Rs 20/- dated 1.5.28 in the name of A. A. Alve for handbills. Attached Handbill D. 29.4.28. Demands of Milkworkers by Strike Committee demands are 11	13-9-30	2	D. 405 P. W. 182	4006
909	Printed draft book of the All India Trade Union Congress 'General Secretary's report.' for <i>Cambore session</i>	Do	1	D. 406 P. W. 182	4007
✓ 910	A book 'The Peasants War in Germany' by Fredrich Engels.	Do	<i>English</i> 1	D. 407 P.W. 182	4008
✓ 911	A book 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bona Parte by Karl Marx.	Do	- 1	D. 408 P.W. 182	4011
✓ 912	A book 'Civil War in Erance' by Karl Marx.	Do	- 1	D. 409 P.W. 182	4009
✓ 913	A book 'Materialism and Empirio-Criticism by V. L. Lenin.	Do	- 1	D. 410 P. W. 182	4010
914	A letter dated 14-10-28 from the General Manager of the century spinning and manufacturing Co., Ltd to the General Secretary 'The Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.'	17. 9. 30	1	D. 411 P. W. 183	4012
915	A typed letter dated 1-9-28 ⁵ from C. N. Waidea and Co. to the Secretary 'The Bombay Girni Kamgar Union' <i>re. spinners & serge. Agree to pay wages to two persons.</i>	Do	1	D. 412 P. W. 183	4013
916	A typed letter dated 5-11-28 from the Manager 'Bombay Dyeing and Manufacturing Co., Ltd., to the General Secretary Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.' <i>No place for men under reference.</i>	Do	1	D. 413 P. W. 183	4014
917	A Cash Book. <i>statements of a/c. for Nov. Dec Jan in English.</i>	Do	1	D. 414 P. W. 183	4015
✓ 918	Memo of accounts. <i>One sheet in the currency of 10 Pakis 1 re. February 1929. At the end a list form of hole. Totals for Wadi 643 off. 29/4-2-0</i>	Do	2	D. 414 (a) P. W. 183	4016
✓ 919	Cash book Shiwadi Centre of Bombay Girni Kamgar Union. <i>28-11-28 & 8-2-29.</i>	18-9-30	1	D. 415 P. W. 185	4017
920	A file of letters outwards file Shiwadi Bombay Girni Kamgar Union containing 8 letters.	Do	1	D. 416 P.W. 185	4018

P.R. Regal,
S.K.U. Wadi
Centre.

M.E. Deshpande
Secyri S.K.U.

921	A group photo. <i>Three dead.</i>	19-9-30	1	D. 417 P.W. 188	4253	<i>M.B. Serial 18 Hd. Office 91</i>
922	Photo of Bal Gangadhar Tilak (hand-made) -	Do	1	D. 418 P.W. 188	4254	
923	Rules and Regulations of Girni Kamgar Maha-mandal, Bombay (in Marathi).	Do	1	D. 419 P. W. 188	4255	
924	A Minute book of Girni Kamgar Maha-mandal, Bombay (in Marathi). <i>Page 18. Decision by S.K.M. 13-4-29 to call G.M. Shikha.</i>	Do	1	D. 420 P.W. 188	4256	
925	A file of Sunday paper (164 leaves) containing	Do	1	D. 421 P.W. 188	4257	
✓ 926	A manuscript letter dated 4-1-29 from B. F. Alva. (in Marathi) to Durg. <i>Says he recd. till 31-12-28 R. 34 644/15/6</i>	Do	1	D. 421 (1) P.W. 188	4258	
✓ 927	A receipt in Marathi dated 29-11-28 for Rs. 176/12/- from <i>Page found of Muzarji Goduldar. (By Navarange?)</i>	Do	1	D. 421 (2) P. W. 188	4259	
✓ 928	Statement of account for the month of February 1929 for Rs 2912/- by T.V. Satil.	Do	1	D. 422 (1) P.W. 188	4260	
✓ 929	Paper of account of 8th March 1929 for Rs 781/4/- for Shiwadi Centre. <i>{ 8-3-604-8 9 was Navarange. 10-0 ditto. 15-12-29.</i>	Do	1	D. 422 (2) P.W. 188	4261	
930	A chart of statistic of Bombay mills owners association.	Do	1	D. 423 P.W. 188	4262	
931	Printed circular letters of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, Poi Bawdi Parel.	Do	5	D. 424 P.W. 188	4263	
932	Issue of Majur Banda dated 3-2-29 contradicting Kramti. <i>Says on last Rs. ditto with some from Navarange</i>	Do	1	D. 425 (1) P.W. 188	4264	
933	The Evening News of India for 19-2-29	Do	1	D. 425 (2) P.W. 188	4265	
✓ 934	A book of vouchers. <i>Receipts handed by Navarange.</i>	Do	1	D. 426 P.W. 188	4266	

1 & 11.

935	Printed Posters in Marathi, <i>Asking help to strikers 1925</i>	19.9.30	1A		D. 427 P. W. 188.	4267
✓ 936	A letter in manuscript to the General Secretary Bombay Girmi Kamgar Union Parel from the Secretary Naigaon centre.	Do.	1.		D. 428 (1) P.W. 188	4268
✓ 937	The statement showing the account for the month of February 1929. <i>of the above.</i>	Do	1		D. 428 (2) P.W. 188	4269
✓ 938	The statement showing the account of Fund-books for the month of February 1929. <i>of the above.</i>	Do	1		D. 428 (3) P.W. 188	4270
939	Printed 'An appeal for help to the Bombay mill workers' Families'.	Do	5		D. 429 P.W. 188	4271
940	A printed handbill of Girmi Kamgar Mahamandal Bombay (in Marathi). <i>6.5.1925 G. K. Mandal.</i>	Do	1		D. 430 (1) P.W. 188	4272
941	A printed handbill in Marathi. <i>by M. V. Mayekar 1925 strike</i>	Do	1		D. 430 2) P.W. 188	4273
942	Certificate of Registration of the Bombay Girmi Kamgar Union, Bombay. <i>S. 23rd May 1928 No. 15 of Registration</i>	Do	1		D. 431 P.W. 188	4274
943	A typed agreement dated 22-12-28 from the Agents of the Atlas mills Co., Ltd., Bombay.	Do	1		D. 432 (1) P.W. 188	4275
944	A typed letter dated 27-12-28 from the Superintendent Manager, 'Messrs. Currimbhoy Ebrahim & Sons Ltd to the Bombay Girmi Kamgar Union, Kondaji, Building, Parel.	Do	1		D. 432 (2) P.W. 188	4276
945	Typed copy of a letter dated 6-12-28. from General Secretary Bombay Girmi Kamgar Union, to the Manager 'The Kohinoor mills', Dadar.	Do	13		D. 432 (3) P.W. 188	4277

946	A manuscript letter in pencil dated 25-12-28 from the Manager Kohinoor mills Dadar Bombay to the General Secretary Girni Kamgar Union Parel.	Do	2	D. 432. (4) P. W. 188	4278	Sait. HD office R.K.
947	A typed letter dated 5-11-28 from Manager Kohinoor mills, Dadar Bombay to the General Secretary, the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, Parel.	Do	2	D. 432 (5) P. W., 188	4279	
948	Typed letter dated 5-12-28 from Manager Karimbhoy Ebrahim and Sons Ltd, to the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Kondaji building Parel.	Do	2	D. 432 (6) P. W 188	4280	
949	Typed copy of agreement arrived at the Hon'ble members' conference on 4-10-28 between the mills' owners' association and the joint strike committee.	Do	2	D. 432 (7) P.W. 188	4281	
950	A manuscript memo in pencil dated 11-11-28 about settlement.	Do	1	D. 432 (8) P.W. 188	4282	
951	A typed 'workmen's complaints' under signature of A. A. Alwe President.	Do	1	D. 432 (9) P.W. 188	4283	
952	Draft of agreement arrived at between the complex mill and the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.	Do	6	D. 432 (10) P.W. 188	4284	
953	A declaration dated 21-11-28 from the General Manager for the Sir Shapurji Broacha Mills Ltd.	Do	1	D. 432 (11) P.W. 188	4285	
954	An agreement dated 26-10-28 arrived at Sir Ness Wadia' office on 26-10-28 to at 6 p.m.	Do	1	D. 432 (12) P. W. 188	4286	
955	A register of complaint about mills. (Oct. 1928)	Do	1	D. 433 P.W. 188	4287	
956	A typed draft of report about the mills strike. <i>for Fawcett Committee</i>	Do	17	D. 434 (1) P.W. 188	4288	

957	A copy of typed statement regarding the mills owners' scheme for standardisation. <i>for Fourcett Committee</i>	19-9-30	9	D. 434 (2) P.W. 188	4289
958	An issue of Major Banda dated 6-1-29.	Do	1	D. 435 (1), P.W. 183	4290
959	An issue of Bombay Mill Kamgar dated 15-11-28	Do	1	D. 435 (2) P.W. 188	4291
960	Typed copy of telegram dated 22-12-28 from Dange to his Excellency the Governor of Bombay. <i>File item 100 of search.</i>	Do	1	D. 436 P.W. 188	4292
✓ 961	Cash book of Bombay Ginni Kamgar Union commencing 6 <i>from 31-1-29. by Navaraj.</i> <i>from 12-11-28</i>	Do	1	D. 437 P.W. 188	4293
962	File containing letters except pages 12 and 13. <i>Notes on legal cases, their date pending before Court.</i>	Do	14	D. 438 P.W. 188	4294
963	A file containing handbills.	Do	1	D. 439 (1) to D. 439 (37) P. W. 188	4295
✓ 964	Bill dated 7-12-28 for Rs 32/- from Dr. S. L. Kashiker, Physician and Surgeon, Bombay. <i>A file of papers for examining item 120 of search. Man Com. meeting.</i>	Do	1	D. 440 (1) P.W. 188	4296
✓ 965	A statement of account.	Do	1	D. 440 (2) P.W. 188	4297
✓ 966	File containing 51 receipts. <i>3 to Hand Office Collections.</i>	Do	1	D. 441 P.W. 188	4298
✓ 967	A receipt book No. 6 (pages 1 to 104). <i>Narayan - 24 items.</i>	Do	1	D. 442 P.W. 188	4299
✓ 968	A receipt book No 4 (pages 1 to 114) <i>Kallabji Item 25</i>	Do	1	D. 443 P.W. 188	4300
- 969	A receipt book No 1 (pages 1 to 98) <i>Wadi - 26</i>	Do	1	D. 444 P.W. 188	4301
✓ 970	Cash book in Marathi <i>Item 98. 28/12/28 & 31/1/29.</i>	Do	1	D. 445 P.W. 188	4302
✓ 971	A receipt book No. 3 (pages 1 to 100) <i>Subhedar - 29</i>	Do	1	D. 446 P.W. 188	4303
✓ 972	A receipt book (pages 161) <i>for H.O. Office</i>	Do	1	D. 447 P.W. 188	4304

946	A manuscript letter in pencil dated 25-12-28 from the Manager Kohinoor mills Dadar Bombay to the General Secretary Girni Kamgar Union Parel.	Do	2	D. 432. (4) P. W. 188	4278	Sait. Hd Office R. & K.
947	A typed letter dated 5-11-28 from Manager Kohinoor mills, Dadar Bombay to the General Secretary, the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, Parel.	Do	2	D. 432 (5) P. W. 188	4279	
948	Typed letter dated 5-12-28 from Manager Karimbhoy Ebrahim and Sons Ltd, to the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Kondaji building Parel.	Do	2	D. 432 (6) P. W 188	4280	
949	Typed copy of agreement arrived at the Hon'ble members' conference on 4-10-28 between the mills' owners' association and the joint strike committee.	Do	2	D. 432 (7) P.W. 188	4281	
950	A manuscript memo in pencil dated 11-11-28 about settlement.	Do	1	D. 432 (8) P W. 188	4282	
951	A typed 'workmen's complaints' under signature of A. A. Alwe President.	Do	1	D. 432 (9) P.W. 188	4283	
952	Draft of agreement arrived at between the complex mill and the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.	Do	6	D. 432 (10) P.W 188	4284	
953	A declaration dated 21-11-28 from the General Manager for the Sir Shapurji Broacha Mills Ltd.	Do	1	D. 432 (11) P.W. 188	4285	
954	An agreement dated 26-10-28 arrived at Sir Ness Wadia' office on 26-10-28 to at 6 p.m.	Do	1	D. 432 (12) P. W. 188	4286	
955	A register of complaint about mills. (Oct. 1928)	Do	1	D. 433 P.W. 188	4287	
956	A typed draft of report about the mills strike, for Jawcett Committee	Do	17	D. 434 (1) P.W. 188	4288	

957	A copy of typed statement regarding the mills owners' scheme for standardisation. <i>for Howett Committee</i>	19.9.30	9	D. 434 (2) P.W. 188	4289
958	An issue of Majur Banda dated 6-1-29.	Do	1	D. 435 (1) P.W. 183	4290
959	An issue of Bombay Mill Kamgar dated 15-11-28	Do	1	D. 435 (2) P.W. 188	4291
960	Typed copy of telegram dated 22-12-28 from Dange to his Excellency the Governor of Bombay. <i>File item 100 of search.</i>	Do	1	D. 436 P.W. 188	4292
✓ 961	Cash book of Bombay Ginni Kamgar Union commencing to <i>from</i> 31-1-29. <i>roughly Navaranga</i>	Do	1	D. 437 P.W. 188	4293
962	File containing letters except pages 12 and 13. <i>Notes on legal cases & their date pending before Courts.</i>	Do	14	D. 438 P.W. 188	4294
963	A file containing handbills.	Do	1	D. 439 (1) to D. 439 (37) P. W. 188	4295
✓ 964	Bill dated 7-12-28 for Rs 32/- from Dr. S. L. Kashiker, Physician and Surgeon, Bombay. <i>A file of papers for enclosing Mem 120 of search. Man. Com. meeting.</i>	Do	1	D. 440 (1) P.W. 188	4296
✓ 965	A statement of account.	Do	1	D. 440 (2) P.W. 188	4297
✓ 966	File containing 51 receipts. <i>3 to Head Office Collections.</i>	Do	1	D. 441 P.W. 188	4298
✓ 967	A receipt book No. 6 (pages 1 to 104). <i>Navaranga - 24 items.</i>	Do	1	D. 442 P.W. 188	4299
✓ 968	A receipt book No 4 (pages 1 to 114) <i>Kalbing Mem 25</i>	Do	1	D. 443 P.W. 188	4300
- 969	A receipt book No 1 (pages 1 to 98) <i>Wadi - 26</i>	Do	1	D. 444 P.W. 188	4301
✓ 970	Cash book in Marathi <i>Mem 98. 28/12/28 to 31/1/29.</i>	Do	1	D. 445 P.W. 188	4302
✓ 971	A receipt book No. 3 (pages 1 to 100) <i>Subiters - 29</i>	Do	1	D. 446 P.W. 188	4303
✓ 972	A receipt book (pages 161) <i>for HD. Office</i>	Do	1	D. 447 P.W. 188	4304

✓ 973	A receipt book. <i>Item 31. Head Office Collection.</i>	19 9.30	1		D. 448 P. W. 188	4305	Sait Hd. Office G.K.
✓ 974	A receipt book No 2 <i>Fery. No. Item. 32</i>	Do	1		D. 449 P. W. 188	4306	
✓ 975	A receipt book No. 5 <i>Shivodi - 33</i>	Do.	1		D. 450 P. W. 188	4307	
✓ 976	A book of memo of payment (pages 101 to 200) <i>Receipts for memo's drawn from B.T. Mura by Hd. Clerk</i>	Do	1		D. 451 P. W. 188	4308	
✓ 977	Memoes of collection account. <i>Item 53 of 947.</i>	Do	1		D. 452 (1) to D. 452 (12) P. W. 188	4309	
✓ 978	Receipt book 'Imperial Bank of India current account pay in slip. For cheques in local clearing bankers only. <i>Rs. 50/- 30/10 B.41 on 1/9/12/ Rs. 50/- 6th March.</i>	Do	1		D. 453 P. W. 188	4310	
✓ 979	Receipt for Rs 5/- received from Mr. Dange on 9-1-29. <i>for return of</i>	Do	1		D. 454 (1) P. W. 188	4311	
980	Receipt dated 2-1-29 for Rs 100/- taken suspense on 1-2-29.	Do	1		D. 454 (2) P. W. 188	4312	
981	A manuscript slip dated 27-1-29 in Marhatti from B. J. Alwe.	Do	1		D. 454 (3) P. W. 188	4313	
982	A typed letter dated 15-2-29 from R. R. Bakhle to Dear Dange. <i>File Mem 113. on New chitra Mill trouble. Hindu workers refused to work with Muslims.</i>	Do	2		D. 455 (1) P. W. 188	4314	
983	A typed letter dated 7-1-29 from the Private Secretary to the Government of Bombay to S. A. Dange.	Do	1		D. 455 (2) P. W. 188	4315	
984	A typed letter dated 3-1-29 from the Private Secretary to the Government of Bombay to S. A. Dange.	Do	1		D. 455 (3) P. W. 188	4316	
985	A typed letter dated 29-12-28 from the Private Secretary to the Government of Bombay to S. A. Dange.	Do	1		D. 455 (4) P. W. 188	4317	
986	A typed letter dated 24-12-28 from the Private Secretary to the Government of Bombay to S.A. Dange.	Do	1		D. 455 (5) P. W. 188	4318	

987	Typed copy of telegram from Dange General Secretary Bombay Girni Kamgar Union to H. E. Governor of Bombay.	19.9.30	1		D. 455 (6) P.W. 188	4319	
988	A file of 36 letters containing:— <i>Item 125.</i>	Do	1		D. 456 P.W. 188	4320	
989	A typed copy of letter dated 4-3-29 from S. A. Dange to the Manager 'The New China Mills Bombay.	Do	1		D. 456 (1) P.W. 188	4321	
990	A receipt dated 2-2-29 of one letter addressed to Superintendent Spiers from the Girni Kamgar Union. <i>re removal of Patilam Published in Kranti d. 17/2/29</i>	Do	1		D. 456 (2) P.W. 188	4322	
991	A receipt dated 5-2-29 of one letter from S. A. Dange and a copy of letter addressed to Supdt: Spiers. <i>from item 125 of serial.</i>	Do	4		D. 456 (3) P.W. 188	4323	
✓ 992	A rough cash book of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union centre. 139.	Do	1		D. 457 P.W. 188	4324	
✓ 993	A copy of memo of account. <i>Blue ink book given subscription of books by centres.</i>	Do	1		D. 458 P.W. 188	4325	
✓ 994	Current account book of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union with Imperial Bank of India, Byculla Branch. <i>Passbook</i>	Do	1		D. 459 P.W. 188	4326	
✓ 995	Receipts dated 31-1-29, 26-1-29, 9-3-29, 8-3-29 and 10-3-29 in Marathi.	Do	5		D. 460 P.W. 188	4327	
✓ 996	A pocket note book in Marathi. <i>very small with original notes of names read by B. Thane in March. Receipts in all</i>	Do	1	March 1929.	D. 461 P. W. 188	4328	
✓ 997	11 Receipts of February 1929 of Naigaon centre. -	4. 10. 30	11		D. 462 (i) to D. 462 (11) P.W. 190	4329	A. B. Vichare 1
998	A copy 'Mill Committee'.	Do	1		D. 463 P. W. 190	4330	R. K. U. Nanga
999	Subscription book from November 1928.	Do	1		D. 464 P. W. 190	4331	

1000	Typed letter dated 18-3-29 from Superintendent for E. D. Sasson and Co. to the General Secretary Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, Parel.	4 16. 30	1	D. 465 (1) P.W. 190	4332
1001	Typed letter dated 4-3-29 from Secretary Mill Owners' Mutual Insurance Association, Ltd to the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union.	Do	1	D. 465 (2) P. W. 190	4333
1002	A letter dated 11-3-29 from the Manager 'Currimbhoy Mills Co. Ltd' to General Secretary Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, Parel.	Do	1	D. 465 (3) P.W. 190	4334
1003	Typed letter dated 25-2-29 from the Secretary 'Mill owners' mutual Insurance association to the General Secretary Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Parel.	Do	1	D. 465 (4) P.W. 190	4335
1004	Typed letter dated 27-1-29 from Manager 'Gold Mohan Mills' to General Secretary Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Parel.	Do	1	D. 465 (5) P. W. 190	4336
1005	Typed letter dated 18-2-29 from Manager 'Kohnoor Mills' to the General Secretary Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, Parel.	Do	1	D. 465 (6) P. W. 190	4337
1006	A letter in Marathi from A. A. Alwe.	Do	1	D. 465 (7) P. W. 190	4338
1007	A letter in Marathi from A. K. Naurange.	Do	1	D. 465 (8) P. W. 190	4339
✓ 1008	Statement showing the account of the books of subscription and fund books for February 29.	Do	1	D. 466 (1) P. W. 190	4340
✓ 1009	Typed letter dated 10-3-29 from joint centre Secretary Naigaon Bombay to the General Secretary Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, Parel.	Do	2	D. 466 (2) P. W. 190	4341

1010	Statement showing the account in the month of January 1929.	4-10-30	1		D. 466 (3) P.W. 190	4342
1011	A file containing 71 receipts etc. <i>Printed receipts of HD office 15 copies.</i>	Do	1		D. 467 P.W. 190	4343
1012	A file of letters (46 leaves)	Do	1		D. 468 P. W. 190	4344
1013	A red colour cloth belt. <i>of St. Strike Committee Volunteers No 23.</i>	Do	1	469 T	D. 469 P.W. 190	4345
1014	A typed letter dated 7-10-28 from General Secretary Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Parel to the Manager Fazal bhai mills, Fergusson Road, Bombay:	Do	1		D. 470 P.W. 190	4346
1015	A copy of The Hand Worker for January 29.	7. 10. 30	1		D. 471 P.W. 194	4347
1016	A bundle of Press Reports of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam of various months.	Do	1 bundle		D. 472 P. W. 194	4348
1017	A printed memorial of grievances of the G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union, Bombay dated 15-8-25.	Do	3 leaves		D. 473 P.W. 194	4349
1018	A typed copy of News Service issued by the Secretariat of the I. W. M. A., Berlin.	Do	1		D. 474 P.W. 194	4350
1019	A copy of Weekly Mazdoor dated 18-8-28.	Do	1		D. 475 P.W. 194	4351
1020	A typed letter dated 24-2-27 from D. R. Thengdi to Dear Fertwanglar.	Do	1		D. 476 P.W. 194	4352
1021	A typed letter dated 25-11-28 from D. R. Thengdi to Dear Gokla.	Do	1		D. 477 P.W. 194	4353
1022	A copy of All India Railwaymen's Federation Press Report dated 5-12-28.	Do	1		D. 478 P.W. 194	4354

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1023	A typed bulletin No. 9 dated 25-9-27 of the Bengal Nagpur Railway Indian Labour Union.	7.10.30	2	D. 479 P. W. 194	4355
1024	A printed circular dated 24-11-26 of All India Trade Union Congress to the members of the Executive Council of the All India Trade Union Congress.	Do	1	D. 480 P.W. 194	4356
1025	A copy of typed address given to The Right Hon'ble Mr. Thomas Shaw on behalf of Girni Kamgar Mahamandal, Bombay.	Do	6	D. 481 P.W. 194	4357
1026	A typed letter dated 20-12-27 from N. M. Joshi General Secretary to D. R. Thengdi Esqr.	Do	1	D. 482 P.W. 194	4358
1027	A printed report of 4th Ordinary International Trade Union Congress, Paris 1927 by J. Oudgeest.	Do	6 leaves	D. 483 (1) P.W. 194	4359
1028	Do Do Do by Joh Sassenbach	Do	6 leaves	D. 483 (2) P.W. 194	4360
1029	Do Do Do by Leon Jonhaux.	Do	8 leaves	D. 483 (3) P.W. 194	4361
1030	Do Do Do by Th. Lepart.	Do	8 leaves	D. 483 (4) P.W. 194	4362
1031	A copy of typed letter dated 15-11-26 to the member of the sub committee, appointed by the Executive Council in April last from D. R. Thengdi, with copy of rules etc.	Do	10	D. 484 P.W. 194	4363
1032	A file.	Do	1	D. 485 P.W. 194	4364
1033	A typed copy of Press Report of the International Federation of Trade Union for 28-8-26.	Do	1	D. 486 P.W. 194	4365
1034	A typed copy of letter dated 9-12-25 from D. R. Thengdi to the Secretary, Miner's Federation of Great Britain, London, etc.	Do	3	D. 487 P.W. 194	4366

1035	Subscription list for British miners from Poona citizens and copy of resolution etc.	7-10-30	7		D. 488 P. W. 194	4367
1036	A typed letter dated 28-6-27 from N. M. Joshi to Mr. Thengdi (damaged by white ants)	8. 10-30	1		D. 489 (1) P. W. 196	4390
1037	A typed letter dated 24-6-27 from D. R. Thengdi to Mr. Joshi (damaged by white ants)	Do	1		D. 489 (2) P.W. 196	4391
1038	A copy of typed letter dated 19-5-27 from T. P. Sinha to Mr. Joshi (damaged by white ants).	Do	4		D. 489 (3) P.W. 196	4392
1039	A copy of typed letter dated 25-5-27 from J. E. Potter Wilson to Mr. Joshi (damaged by white-ants)	Do	1		D. 489 (4) P.W. 196	4393
1040	A copy of typed letter dated June 27 to Potter Wilson, General Secretary, Workers Welfare League of India, London (damaged by white-ants)	Do	2		D. 489 (5) P. W. 196	4394
1041	A typed letter dated 26-5-27 from N. M. Joshi to Mr. Thengdi.	Do	1		D. 489 (6) P. W. 196	4395
1042	A typed letter dated 23-5-27 from D. R. Thengdi to Mr. Joshi.	Do	1		D. 489 (7) P. W. 196	4396
1043	A typed letter dated May 27 from N. M. Joshi to Mr. Thengdi.	Do	1		D. 489 (8) P. W. 196	4397
1044	A typed letter dated 13-5-27 from N. M. Joshi to Mr. Thengdi.	Do	1		D. 489 (9) P. W. 196	4398
1045	A typed copy of telegram from N.M. Joshi General Secretary to the Secretary Home Department Government of Madras and also to the Secretary Home Department Government of India on 12-5-27. Asking for inquiry into firing on the Burma Oil workers by the European employees of the B.O. Co.	Do	1		D. 489 (10) P.W. 196	4399

1046	Copy of a typed letter dated 19-5-27 from N. M. Joshi to General Secretary B. N. Railway Indian Labour Union Kharagpur.	8. 10. 30	2	D. 489. (11) P.W. 196	4400
1047	A printed, Bulletin 111 'The Bombay Port Trust Dock Staff Union.	Do	1	D. 489 (12) P. W. 196	4401
1048	A typed lettter dated 18-4-27 from N. M. Joshi to Mr. Thengdi.	Do	4	D. 489 (13) P. W 196	4402
1049	A manuscript letter dated 18-3-27 form N. M. Joshi to Mr. Thengdi.	Do	1	D. 489 (14) P.W. 196	4403
1050	Statement showing Receipts and expenditure of the All India Trade Union Congress from 1-1-27 to 12-4-27.	Do	2	D. 489 (15) P W. 196	4404
1051	A post card dated 12-12-27 Lajpat Rai to D. R. Thengdi	Do	1	D. 489 (16) P.W. 196	4405
1052	A typed copy of letter dated 17-4-27 from D. R. Thengdi to Mr. Joshi.	Do	1	D. 489 (17) P.W. 196	4406
1053	A typed copy of letter dated 26-4-29 from N. M. Joshi to Dear Ginwala.	Do	1	D. 489 (18) P.W. 196	4407
1054	A typed letter dated 7-4-27 from N.M. Joshi to Mr. Thengdi.	Do	1	D. 489 (19) P. W. 196	4408
1055	A typed letter dated 5-4-27 from N. M. Joshi to D. R. Thengdi with a copy of resolution No. 44.	Do	2	D. 489 (20) P.W. 196	4409
1056	A typed letter dated 5-4-37 from N.. M. Joshi to D. R. Thengdi with a copy of resolution No. 38.	Do	2	D. 489 (21) P.W. 196	4410
1057	A printed circular dated 25-2-27 from N. M. Joshi to Secretaries of Affiliated Unions and members of the Executive Council.	Do	1	D. 489 (22) P.W. 196	4411

1058	A printed Appeal of the All India Trade Union Congress regarding the B. N. Railway General Strike dated 21-2-27.	8.10.30	1		D. 489 (23) P.W. 196	4412
1059	A copy of typed letter dated 22-12-26 from N. M. Joshi to the Secretary Government of India, Department of Industries and Labour, Delhi. <i>Re. Appointing him for the General Conference of the</i>	Do	1		D. 489 (24) P.W. 196	4413
1060	A typed copy of circular dated 15-11-26 from D. R. Thengdi to the members of the Sub Committee appointed by Executive Council in April last to form if possible an Indian Labour Party in India.	Do	3		D 489 (25) P. W. 196	4414
1061	Typed minutes of the meeting of the Executive Council of All India Trade Union Congress, Bombay, 6-4-26.	Do	9		D. 489 (26) P.W. 196	4415
1052	A book 'Malini, the daughter of Punjab' or a Tale of India sacrifice by S. H. Jhabwala.	9.10.30	1		D. 490 P. W. 197	4435
1063	A book 'Wanted:—A National Government by S. H. Jhabwala.	Do	1		D. 491 P. W. 197	4436
1064	A book 'Slavery in our Midst Need for Socialist revolution.'	Do	1 leave		D. 492 P. W. 197	4437
1065	A book 'Gandhi's teachings in Marathi published by Nagindas Amula Khrai.	Do	1		D. 493 P. W. 197	4438
1066	Printed 'Principles of Satyagraha' by S. H. Jhabwala written in English and Gujarati.	Do	6 leaves		D. 494 P. W. 197	4439
1067	A printed group of photo of members of G. I. P. worker's Union.	Do	1		D. 495 P. W. 197	4440

1068	A printed handbill 'Bombay til nagrik Ho. (in Marathi)	9 10. 30	1		D. 496 P.W. 199	4441
1069	Printed handbill of Girni Kamgar Mahamandal 'Jahir Suchma' (in Marathi). <i>Sahd 1-4-28 signed by Alve</i>	Do	1	497 T.	D. 497 P. W. 199	4442
1070	Printed 'handbill 'Punesh Shabar men rahiya. Binant,' (in Marathi).	Do	2		D. 498 P.W. 199	4443
1071	Printed handbills 'Nagrik Bandua Binant' (in Marathi).	Do	1		D. 499 P.W. 199	4444
1072	Typed notice with agenda of meeting of Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to be held on 26-3-28	Do	3		D. 500 P. W. 199	4445
1073	A Sayak Sai Committee relief ticket book from No. 33058 to 33117.	Do	1		D. 501 P. W. 199	4446
1074	Joint mill strike committee Relief Fund ticket book No. 85.	Do	1		D. 502 P. W. 201	4447
1075	Delegates Ticket No. 492 of 1st All India Trade Union Congress, Bombay to be held on 31-10-20 and 1-11-20 in the name of Govmd Ram Chandra.	10-10-30	1		D. 503 (1) P. W. 201	4448
1076	Certificate (in manuscript) dated 8-7-26 given by Head Time keeper of The Simplex Mills Co. Ltd Bombay to Govind Ram Chandra.	Do	1		D. 503 (2) P. W. 201	4449
1077	Minutes book of the Informal Meeting held on 18. 11. 28 of the youth league Matunga, Bombay.	13-10-30	1		D. 504 P. W. 205	4833
1078	Copy of proceedings of the public meetings of the Youth League Matunga commencing from 29. 11. 28	Do	1		D. 505 P. W. 205	4834
1079	Minutes book of the Bombay Youth League commencing from 7th May 1928.	Do	1		D. 506 P. W. 205	4835

1080	Typed letter dated 26. 7. 28 from the Registrar, University of Bombay to the Joint 28 Honorary Secretary Bombay Youth League.	13.10.30	1		D. 507 (1) P.W. 205	4836
1081	Copy of 2 resolutions passed in the meeting of the students of Bombay, held under the auspices of the Bombay Youth League regarding the increased fees in College and Schools.	Do	2		D. 507 (2) P.W. 205	4837
1082	Typed copy of the resolution passed on 17th July by the Executive Committee of the Bombay Youth League.	Do	1		D. 507 (3) P.W. 205	4838
1083	Copy of a typed letter under the signature of G. D. Koppiker Joint Honorary Secretary of the Bombay Youth League, to the Press about some misunderstandings about Bombay Youth League.	Do	2		D. 507 (4) P.W. 205	4839
1084	Printed leaflet of the Bombay Youth League for the meeting to be held in the different local colleges.	Do	1		D. 507 (5) P.W. 205	4840
1085	A printed Appeal 'Clarion Call to Students' by Mr. K. F. Nariman, to observe Sunday the 22nd July as students Protest day.	Do	3		D. 507 (6) P.W. 205	4841
1086	Printed leaflets, 'Britain Insists' and 'Ruthless and Relentless'	Do	8		D. 508 P. W. 205	4842
1087	A file containing cuttings of newspapers and copies of typed letters etc (56 pages).	Do	1		D. 509 P.W. 205	4843
1088	Printed presidential address of Pt. Jawharlal Nehru delivered in the Bombay Presidency Youth Conference held on 12th and 13th Decr. 1928.	Do	1		D. 510 P.W. 205	4844
1089	Printed books of Rules and Regulations of G. I. P Railwaysmen's Union, Parel Bombay No. 12	14.10.30	1		D. 511 P.W. 207	4845

1090	Typed letter dated 14. 12. 28 from the Honorary General Secretary of the Bombay Municipal Workmens' Union to the General Secretary of the All India Trade Union Congress, Bombay.	16.10.30	1		D. 512 P.W. 211	4846
1091	Receipt for Rs 50/- and Rs 15/- given to S. V. Gate by the treasures of the Bombay Joint Mill Strike Committee.	Do	2		D. 513 P.W. 211	4847
1092	A book 'Deductions from wages of payments in respect of fines-1927.	Do	1		D. 514 P.W. 211	4848
1093	Printed appeal of the All India Trade Union Congress regarding the Strike of B. N. Railway General Strike.	Do	1		D. 515 P.W. 211	4849
✓ 1094	A book 'Red money' or a statement of the facts relating to the money raised in Russia during the General Strike and mining lock out in Britain'	Do	1		D. 516 P.W. 211	4850
✓ 1095	File of cuttings 'The Legislative Assembly 1929'	Budget, Public S. Bill, 28.10.30	1		D. 517 P.W. 217	5186
1096	File of cuttings 'Anglo Saxon and Middle English'	Do	1		D. 518 P.W. 217	5187
1097	File of cuttings of Newspaper reports and Bulletins (Textile Strike 1928. This file contains cuttings on Text. strike of January 1928. only.	Do	1		D. 519 P.W. 217	5188
1098	Printed report of the Enquiry into the conditions of the Seamen in Bombay 1928.	Do	1		D. 520 P.W. 217	5189
1099	Communiqués issued by the mill owners 'committee and the Joint Strike Committee about the Bombay mill-workers' general strike 1928.	Do	1		D. 521 P. W. 217	5190
1100	Typed written statement of the Joint Strike Committee and the three-loom and two frame systems.	Do	12 leaves		D. 522 P. W. 217	5191

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1097

Budget, Public S. Bill, 28.10.30

Tr. Dis. Bill

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1101	Volumes of the proceedings of the Bombay Strike inquiry Committee published by the Bombay Mill-owners Association. (<i>Fawcett Committee 4/1928</i>)	4. 11. 30	43 volumes		D. 523 P. W. 234	5192
1102	Cutting of an English newspaper containing 'List of Mills to work under the new scheme.' <i>From a file marked 'Standard' in file. Item 136 of 970.</i>	Do	1		D. 524 P. W. 234	5193
1103	A copy of Bombay Chronicle dated 18. 12. 28.	Do	1		D. 525 P. W. 234	5194
1104	A typed letter dated 8. 8. 29 from J. F. Gennings Esqr Bar at Law, J. P., Director of Information, Bombay to Mr. R. S. Nimbkar, under trial prisoner Meerut Jail, with a true copy of the statement received on behalf of the deputation representing the Bombay Chamber of commerce and the Indian Merchants' Chamber waited upon his Excellency the Governor of Bombay with reply. <i>In December 1928.</i>	Do	5 leaves	<i>Communication D. 21 Dec 1928.</i>	D. 526 P. W. 234	5195
1105	A Typed letter dated 17. 11. 28 from S. H. Jhabwala Honorary General Secretary G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union to Mr. Kulkarni.	Do	1		D. 527 P. W. 235	5196
1106	A manuscript draft in pencil of a letter dated 12. 1. 29 to the Secretary G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union regarding introduction of 8 hours duty at Manmad and provision of two hands in 3rd class company office of Manmad.	Do	2		D. 528 P. W. 235	5197
1107	A printed programme under the signature of S. H. Jhabwala Honorary General Secretary of G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union.	Do	1		D. 529 P. W. 235	5198
1108	A Post card dated 29. 1. 29. under the signature of S. H. Jhabwala Honorary Secretary regarding the notice of a meeting of the members of the managing committee to be held on 2. 2. 29.	Do	1		D. 531 P. W. 235	5199

1109	A printed report of the 1st All India Railwaymen's Conference.	4-11-30	I	D. 530 P.W. 235	5200
1110	A typed circular with agenda dated 30. 8. 28 of a meeting of the managing committee of the G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union to be held on 29. 28.	Do	I	D. 532 P. W. 235	5201
1111	A book 'Behind the Scenes of the Great Strike' by Hamilton type.	7. 11. 30	I	D. 533 P.W. 240	5202
1112	A book 'The Land and the Nation' Rural report of the Liberal land Committee 1923-25.	Do	I	D. 534 P.W. 240	5203
1113	A short history of the British Workers by R. W. Postgate	Do	I	D. 535 P.W. 240	5204
1114	A book 'The Crisis in Russia' by Arthur Ransome.	Do	I	D. 536 P. W. 240	5205
1115	A book 'The Labour Party and the Empire' by L. Haden Guest.	Do	I	D. 537 P.W. 240	5206
1116	A printed report of the 26th Annual Conference of the Labour Party margate 1926.	Do	I	D. 538 P.W. 240	5207
1117	A book 'Out of Work' by G. D. H. Cole.	Do	I	D. 539 P.W. 240	5208
1118	A book 'The Socialist and labour movement in Japan' by an American Sociologist.	Do	I	D. 540 P.W. 240	5209
1119	A book 'The Problem of India' by B. Shiva Rao D. Graham Pole.	Do	I	D. 541 P.W. 240	5210
1120	A book 'The Web of Finance' by High P. Vowels.	Do	I	D. 542 P.W. 240	5211

1121	A book 'The Web of Finance' by High P. Vowels.	13.10.30	1	D. 542 P.W. 240	5211
1122	A book 'The Labour year book 1926' issued by the General Council of the Trade Union Congress and the National Executive of the Labour Party.	Do	1	D. 543 P.W. 240	5212
1123	A book 'India To-day' A report on condition in India and an out-line of policy by the I. L. P Indian Advisory Committee	Do	1	D. 544 P.W. 240	5213
1124	A booklet 'The Crime of Poverty' An address by Henry George.	Do	1	D. 545 P.W. 240	5214
1125	A booklet 'Scotland and Scotsmen' An address by Henry George.	Do	1	D. 546 P.W. 240	5215
1126	A book 'A worker's history of the Great Strike'	Do	1	D. 547 P.W. 240	5216
1127	A book 'Labour and Housing in Bombay' <i>By Burnett Hunt with introduction by Sir Stanley Reid. Publ. 1925.</i> <i>Prof. Mahabadi</i>	Do	1	D. 548 P.W. 240	5217
1128	A booklet 'Land and People.' An address by Henry George	Do	1	D. 549 P.W. 240	5218
1129	A book 'Trade Unionism.' Past and and future by Mark Starr.	Do	1	D. 550 P.W. 240	5219
1130	A book 'Indian Problems: A Retrospect.' Selections from the writings of Kristodas Pal.	Do	1	D. 551 P.W. 240	5220
1131	A book 'The G. B. S. Calendar.' A quotation from the works of George Benard Shaw.	Do	1	D. 552 P.W. 240	5221
1132	A book 'Socialism and the Empire.' Report of the I. L. P Empire Policy Committee submitted to the Annual Conference of the Party. 1926.	Do	1	D. 553 P.W. 240	5222

1109	A printed report of the 1st All India Railwaymen's Conference.	4-11-30	I	D. 530 P.W. 235	5200
1110	A typed circular with agenda dated 30. 8. 28 of a meeting of the managing committee of the G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union to be held on 29. 28.	Do	I	D. 532 P. W. 235	5201
1111	A book 'Behind the Scenes of the Great Strike' by Hamilton type.	7. 11. 30	I	D. 533 P.W. 240	5202
1112	A book 'The Land and the Nation' Rural report of the Liberal land Committee 1923-25.	Do	I	D. 534 P.W. 240	5203
1113	A short history of the British Workers by R. W. Postgate	Do	I	D. 535 P.W. 240	5204
1114	A book 'The Crisis in Russia' by Arthur Ransome.	Do	I	D. 536 P. W. 240	5205
1115	A book 'The Labour Party and the Empire' by L. Haden Guest.	Do	I	D. 537 P.W. 240	5206
1116	A printed report of the 26th Annual Conference of the Labour Party margate 1926.	Do	I	D. 538 P.W. 240	5207
1117	A book 'Out of Work' by G. D. H. Cole.	Do	I	D. 539 P.W. 240	5208
1118	A book 'The Socialist and labour movement in Japan' by an American Sociologist.	Do	I	D. 540 P.W. 240	5209
1119	A book 'The Problem of India' by B. Shiva Rao D. Graham Pole.	Do	I	D. 541 P.W. 240	5210
1120	A book 'The Web of Finance' by High P. Vowels.	Do	I	D. 542 P.W. 240	5211

1121	A book 'The Web of Finance' by High P. Vowels.	13.10.30	1	D. 542 P.W. 240	5211
1122	A book 'The Labour year book 1926' issued by the General Council of the Trade Union Congress and the National Executive of the Labour Party.	Do	1	D. 543 P.W. 240	5212
1123	A book 'India To-day' A report on condition in India and an out-line of policy by the I. L. P Indian Advisory Committee	Do	1	D. 544 P.W. 240	5213
1124	A booklet 'The Crime of Poverty' An address by Henry George.	Do	1	D. 545 P.W. 240	5214
1125	A booklet 'Scotland and Scotsmen' An address by Henry George.	Do	1	D. 546 P.W. 240	5215
1126	A book 'A worker's history of the Great Strike'	Do	1	D. 547 P.W. 240	5216
1127	A book 'Labour and Housing in Bombay' <i>By Burnett Hurst with introduction by Sir Stanley Reed. Publ. 1925.</i> <i>Prof. Mahabadi</i>	Do	1	D. 548 P.W. 240	5217
1128	A booklet 'Land and People.' An address by Henry George	Do	1	D. 549 P.W. 240	5218
1129	A book 'Trade Unionism.' Past and and future by Mark Starr.	Do	1	D. 550 P.W. 240	5219
1130	A book 'Indian Problems: A Retrospect.' Selections from the writings of Kristodas Pal.	Do	1	D. 551 P.W. 240	5220
1131	A book 'The G. B. S. Calendar.' A quotation from the works of George Benard Shaw,	Do	2	D. 552 P.W. 240	5221
1132	A book 'Socialism and the Empire.' Report of the I. L. P Empire Policy Committee submitted to the Annual Conference of the Party. 1926.	Do	2	D. 553 P.W. 240	5222

1133	A member-ship card of South West St Paneras Labour Party of M. G. Desai	Do	1	D. 554 P. W. 240	5223
1133A	A membership Card of South West St. Paneras Labour Party of M. G. Desai.	10.11.30	1	D. 554 P.W. 240	5223
1134	A copy of The Bombay Chronicle dated 2-5-27	Do	1	D. 555 P.W.	5327
1135	A manuscript-receipt dated 27-2-29 of Rs 2600/- from B. G K. Union by V. H. Joshi for depositing in court as bail.	13.11.30	1	D. 556 P.W. 244	5328
1136	Bills of Mamti rao (Taxi) for Rs 221-14-0 etc from 13-2-29 to 28-2-29.	Do	2	D. 557 (1) P.W. 244	5329
1137	Taxi bill of Mamtirao for Rs 266-14-0 from 3-2-29 to 10-2-29.	Do	1	D. 557 (2) P.W. 244	5330
1138	A printed proof of an article headed 'To the Editor the "Indian Daily Mail" and "Meeting of Mill-hands" with cuttings of English Paper.	Do	4	D. 558 P.W. 244	5331
1139	Receipt of money in Marathi dated 14-2-29, 12-2-29, 11-2-29 and 9-2-29 etc (item no. 46). By B. T. Alwe Ac. 7093. RD.	Do	5	D. 559 P.W. 244	5332
1140	A receipt dated 30-11-28 in Marathi by B. T. Alwe (item no. 48) <i>Re. Puja Fund.</i>	Do	1	D. 560 P.W. 244	5333
1141	A receipt dated 29-11-28 in Marathi under the signature of A. Naurange in English. <i>Re. Puja Fund</i>	Do	1	D. 561 P.W. 244	5334
1142	An account of money advanced to Dange and Alwe (in Marathi) (item no 52). <i>By B. T. Alwe 16/2/29.</i>	Do	1	D. 562 P.W. 244	5335
1143	A pencil written slip of account for Rs 1200/- (item no 58)	Do	1	D. 563 P.W. 244	5336

*Patwardhan's
From Dange.*

1144	A pencil written slip of account (item no. 61).	Do	2	D. 564 P.W. 244	5337	
1145	A manuscript letter in English dated 16-2-29 from Kishori Lal Ghosh to Dange.	Do	2	D. 565 P. W. 244	5338	
1146	A printed notice of Bombay Girni Kamgar Union Lal Baota.	Do	1	D. 566 P.W. 244	5339	
1147	A typed copy of statement of N. M. Joshi headed 'The Mill Workers' strike.' Dated 8 th January 1928 vide D. 519 P.W. 18 File.	Do	6	D. 567 P.W. 244	5340	
1148	A typed mass meeting resolution passed in May day celebration meeting. of 1928 on K. E. M. Hospital Maidan.	17-11-30	1	D. 568 P. W. 245	5428	Hasan Ali 245
1149	A complaints register.	18 11.30	1	D. 569 P. W. 245	5429	
1150	A printed 'G. I. P. Railway Employee's General Union First Annual Report for the year ended 31st March 1928.	Do	2 leaves	D. 570 P. W. 245	5430	
1151	A booklet of Constitution, Rules and Regulations of G. I. P. Railway Employee's General Union.	Do	1	D. 571 P. W. 245	5431	
1152	A minute book of the Managing Committee of G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union Bombay.	Do	1	D. 572 P. W. 245	5432	
1153	A printed notice of a big meeting of G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union to be held on 17-1-29 at Shahabad.	Do	1	D. 573 P. W. 245	5433	
1154	A printed notice of General Meeting of commercial staff of G I P. Railwaymen's Union, Bombay Division to be held on 20-1-29 at 5-30 p. m.	Do	1	D. 574 P. W. 245	5434	
1155	A file containing cuttings of Indian National Herald etc and typed copies of resolutions etc.	Do	91 pages	D. 575 P. W. 245	5435	

1156	A file of 35 pages containing typed copies of letters and resolutions etc.	Do	1	D. 576 P. W. 345	5436	
1157	A certificate dated 29-4-24 given to Mr. M. G. Desai by Mr. Patrik Geddes Professor of Bombay University.	22.11.30.	1	D. 577	5437	Court witness Mr. N. Brailsford
1158	A certificate dated 27-3-24 given to Mr. M. G. Desai by Mr. C.S. Deole of Servants of India Society, Bombay Branch.	Do	1	D. 578	5438	"
1159	A typed letter dated 28-10-25 from Sturat Hodgson to Dear Brailsford.	Do	1	D. 579	5439	"
1160	A torn typed letter dated 21-8-25 from H. N. Brailsford Editor.	Do	1	D. 580	5440	"
1161	A typed letter dated 19-1-26 from Margaret M. Green to M. Desai.	Do	1	D. 581 (1)	5441	"
1162	A typed letter dated 16-3-26 do do do	Do	1	D. 581 (2)	5442	"
1163	An introductory letter dated 7-3-25 for Desai to W. Gillies Esqr, with envelope.	Do	2	D. 582	5443	"
1164	A typed letter dated 15-12-25 from Foreign Editor of the Daily Derald, London E. C. 4 to Mr. M. G. Desai.	Do	1	D. 583	5444	"
1165	A copy of 'The New Leader' dated 5-2-1926	Do	1	D. 584	5445	"
1166	A book 'My Reminiscences of the Russian Revolution'	Do	1	D. 585	5446	"
1167	A book 'Socialism and the Living Wage.'	Do	1	D. 586	5447	"
1168	Speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Bombay Presidency Youth Conference 1928.	2.12.30	1 included in D. 510	D. 587 P. W. 262	5687	A.K. Chaudhari

1169	Report of the All India Youth Congress 1928.	Do	1	D. 588 P.W. 262	5688	
1170	A book 'A Survey of Indian Labour in Burma'.	8:11.30	1	D. 589 P.W. 271	5830	S. V. Kettcar
1171	'An Essay on Unemployment' by Natesan.	Do	1	D. 590 P.W. 271	5831	
1172	A file of letters in English and Marathi.	Do	9 leaves	D. 591 P.W. 271	5832	
1173	A manuscript letter dated 26-8-25 to R. S. Nimbkar from Syed Munawar with envelope.	Do	3	D. 592 P.W. 271	5833	
1174	A manuscript letter dated 11-8-24 to R. S. Nimbkar with envelope.	Do	3	D. 593 P.W. 271	5834	
1175	A typed copy of a letter dated 25-2-29 from Sarda Prakash Engineer to R. S. Nimbkar with copy of an application to the Protector of Emigrant New Custom House with envelope.	Do	4	D. 594 P.W. 271	5835	
1176	A printed leaflet in Marathi 'Ha makouha sheratcha Dasaha'.	Do	1	D. 595 P.W. 271	5836	
1177	A typed letter dated 1-12-28 from J. R. Chowdhry for Honorary General Secretary to the Director of Information and Labour Intelligence, Labour Office, Secretariat, Bombay.	Do	3	D. 596 P.W. 271	5837	
1178	A typed Proposed Rough draft Terms for Settlement of the Textile Strike etc with envelope addressed to Honorary Secretary Joint Strike Committee Bombay.	Do	3	D. 597 P.W. 271	5838	
1179	A typed letter dated 20-12-28 from Laxmi Narain Sahu.	Do	1	D. 598 P.W. 271	5839	
1180	A typed copy of resolutions adopted at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India, Bengal Provincial Branch on 17-2-29.	Do	2	D. 599 P.W. 271	5840	

1181	A typed report of speech of Nimbkar (page 4 of Exh. P. 2238 (a).	11-12-30	7	D. 600 P. W. 273	5868	<i>Jacob McWhan 2</i>
1182	An issue of Bombay Chronicle dated 18-1-28	Do	1	D. 601 P. W 273	5869	
1183	An issue of Bombay Chronicle dated 19-1-28	Do	1	D. 602 P. W 273	5870	
1184	An issue of Bombay Chronicle dated 20-1-28	Do	1	D. 603 P. W 273	5871	
1185	An issue of Bombay Chronicle dated 21-1-28	Do	1	D. 604 P. W 273	5872	
1186	An issue of Bombay Chronicle dated 25-1-28	Do	1	D. 605 P. W 273	5873	
1187	An issue of Bombay Chronicle dated 26-1-28	Do	1	D. 606 P. W 273	5874	
1188	An issue of Bombay Chronicle dated 27-1-28.	Do	1	D. 607 P. W 273	5875	
1189	An issue of Bombay Chronicle dated 28-1-28	Do	1	D. 608 P. W 273	5876	
1190	An issue of Bombay Chronicle dated 30-1-28	Do	1	D. 609 P. W 273	5877	
1191	An issue of Bombay Chronicle dated 31-1-28	Do	1	D. 610 P. W 273	5878	
1192	An issue of Bombay Chronicle dated 1-2-28	Do	1	D. 611 P. W 273	5879	
1193	An issue of Bombay Chronicle dated 2-2-28	Do	1	D. 612 P.W. 273	5880	
1194	An issue of Bombay Chronicle dated 3-2-28	Do	1	D. 613 P. W 273	5881	
1195	An issue of Bombay Chronicle dated 22-12-28	Do	1	D. 614 P. W 273	5882	
1196	An issue of Bombay Chronicle dated 21-1-27	Do	1	D. 615 P. W 273	5883	
1197	At typed extract from P 1195 "Zehu Zahre Kommunistioche Internationale 1919-1929.	12-12-30	1	D. 616 P. W 273	5884	

1198	Transcription and shorthand notes from some passage dictated by Nimbkar accused.	13. 12 30	3		D. 617 (a) P. W. 273	5885	
1199	Delegates' Ticket of the 1st All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference held on 21-22 and 23rd Dec. 1928 in the name of Laxmi Narain.	2. 1. 31	1		D. 618 P.W. 272	5929	Ganaprasad 272
1200	A manuscript notice in Marathi and Urdu of a meeting of the Working Committee of Dist Congress Committee.	Do	1		D. 619 P.W. 272	5930	
1201	Search list of the Labour Union Office (G I P. Railway Union Mazdur Sabha situated at Sipin Bazar, Jhansi.	Do	1		D. 620 P. W. 272	710	
1202	Warrant to search after information of a particular offence (sec: 96C. P. C.) the office of Labour Union or Workers' Union or Mazdur Sabha, Jhansi or passport application.	Do	3		D. 621 P. W. 272		
1203	A book 'Fabian Tract No. 5' Facts for Socialists.	Do	1		D. 622 P. W. 272	5931	
1204	A group photo of the 5th All India Trade Union Congress, Bombay.	Do	1		D. 623 P. W. 273	5932	
1205	A book 'How the League of Nations Works' by Kathleen E. Innes B. A.	Do	1		D. 624 P. W. 273	5933	
1206	A book 'The Story of the League of Nations by Kathleen E. Innes B. A.	Do	1		D. 625 P. W. 273	5934	
1207	A book 'The League of Nations and the World's Workers' by Kathleen E. Innes B. A.,	Do	1		D. 626 P. W. 273	5935	
1208	A book 'What is wrong with the League of Nations by Edgar H. Brookes, M. A., D. Litt.	Do	1		D. 627 P. W. 273	5936	
1209	A book in Nagri 'Gandhi ji kaun hai.'	Do	1		D. 628 P. W. 273	5937	

1210	2 speeches of R S. Nimbkar accused (Ref: Exh. P. 1725)	13.1.31	Contained in Exh. P. 1725	D. 629 (1) D. 629 (2) P.W. 275	6025
1211	Speech of S. H. Jhabwala accused (Ref: Exh: P. 1726)	Do	Contained in Exh. P. 1726	D. 630 P. W. 276	6026
1212	Speech of R S. Nimbkar accused (Ref: Exh: P. 1728)	Do	Contained in Exh. P. 1728	D. 631 & D 631 (a) P.W. 276	6028
1213	Speech of R.S. Nimbkar accused (Ref: Exh: P. 1731)	Do	Contained in Exh. P. 1731	D. 632 P.W. 276	6031
1214	Report of speech of R.S. Nimbkar accused (Ref: Exh: P.1733)	14.1.31	Contained in Exh. P. 1733	D.633(1),(2) P.W. 276	6033
1215	Report of speech of R.S. Nimbkar accused (Ref: Exh: P.1735)	Do	Contained in Exh. P. 1735	D. 634 P.W. 276	6035
1216	Shorthand notes and transcription dictated by R.S. Nimbkar accused to the witness No. 276, from P. 1710 M (1), and notes of differences of and Interpreter of the Court between actual passage read out to witness and witness's transcriptions notes of the same, as read out to him in Court.	15.1.31	1 volume 2 leaves	D. 635(1), D 635(2), D.635(3), P.W. 276	6116
		Do	3		
1217	Slip written in pencil in English by P. witness No. 276	19.1.31	1	D. 636 P.W. 276	6210
1218	Report of speech of K.N. Joglekar accused (Ref: Exh: P. 1700, P. 39)	31.1.31	Contained in Exh. P. 1700	D. 637 P.W. 278	6106
1219	Report of Speech of R.S. Nimbkar accused (Ref: Exh: P. 1700, P. 29)	2.2.31	Contained in Exh. P. 1700	D. 638 P.W. 278	6106
1220	Report of speech of Mirajkar accused (Ref: Exh. P. 1698, P. 1 to 6)	Do	Contained in Exh. P. 1698	D. 639 P.W. 278	6104

1221	Report of speech of A. Alwe accused (Ref: Exh: P 1696)	2.2.31.	Contained in Exh. P. 1696	D. 640 P.W. 278	6102	
1222	Report of speech of R.S. Nimbkar accused (Ref: Exh: P. 1701, Page 45 to 53)	Do	Contained in Exh. P. 1701	D. 641 P.W. 278	6107	
1223	Report of speech of R.S. Nimbkar accused (Ref: Exh: P. 1718)	Do	Contained in Exh. P. 1718	D. 642 P.W. 278	6124	
1224	Report of speech of R.S. Nimbkar accused (Ref: Exh: P. 1721)	Do	Contained in Exh. P. 1721	D. 643 P.W. 278	6127	
1225	Speech of R.S. Nimbkar accused (sentence 1st taking to 'institutions' on page 26 English printing report of P. 1696.	Do	Contained in Exh. P. 1696	D. 644 P.W. 278	6102	
1226	Speech of Mirajkar accused (Ref: old P. 1696)	3.2.31	Do	D. 645 P.W. 278	6102	
1227	Speech of K.N. Joglekar accused (Ref: Exh: P. 1703)	Do	Contained in Exh. P. 1703	D. 646 P.W. 278	6108	<u>1702 1703</u> 6108' 6109
1228	Passage from 'their Citadel' to 'mill operatives' on page 45 English version of P. 1702.	4.2.31	Contained in Exh. P. 1702	D. 647 P.W. 278	6109	
1229	Printed 'News paper extracts illustrating communist propaganda and the spread of communist Ideals in India'	10.2.31	1	D. 648 P.W. 278	6211	
1230	Shorthand notes and Transcription of passage on Pages 1 to 6 of P. 1696 M1 read to the witness and report of Interpreter of the court regarding transcription prepared by witness.	12.2.31	2	D. 649 (1) contained in D 635 (1). D. 649 D. 642 (2) P.W. 278	6212	
1231	Report of Speech of A. Alwe accused Ref: Exh: P. 1698.	Do	Contained in Exh. P. 1668	D. 650 P.W. 278	6104	

1231a	Report of speech of A. Alwe accused ref. Exh. P. 1700.	12.2.31	Contained in Exh. P. 1700	D. 651 P. W. 278 .	6106
1232	Report of speech of A. Alwe accused ref. Exh. P. 1701	Do	Contained in Exh. P. 1700	D. 652 P.W. 278	6107
1233	Report of speech of A. Alwe accused Ref. Exh. P. 1704.	Do	Contained in Exh. P. 1704	D. 653 P.W. 278	6110
1234	Report of speech of A. Alwe accused Ref. Exh. P. 1710.	Do	Contained in Exh. P. 1710	D. 654 P.W. 278	6116
1235	Notebook written in pencil of D.R. Thengdi accused.	23.2.31	1	D. 655 P.W. 272	6213
1236	Printed Statistical statement of the Trades Union Congress General Council, 32 Eccleston square, London, S.W.1.	Do	1	D. 656 P.W. 272	6214
1237	Report on the question of craft and Industrial Union organisation and the allied questions of Demarcation disputes, Cartel Agreements, and Trades Councils.	Do	16 Leaves	D. 657 P.W. 272	6215
1238	Press Reports of the International Federation of Trade Union, Amsterdam for 13th Oct. 1927.	Do	1	D. 658 P.W. 272	6216
1239	Printed Manifesto of the Joint Committee of Socialist Bodies.	Do	1	D. 659 P.W. 272	6217
1240	Fabian Tracts Nos. 5, 110, 148, 149, 156, 165, 166, 169, 147, 183, 200 and 216.	Do	12	D. 660 P.W. 272	6218
1241	'Fabian Society'. The member's Bookshelf.	Do	1	D. 661 P.W. 272	6219
1242	Clarian pamphlet No. 22, Altruism, by Robert Blatchford.	Do	1	D. 662 P.W. 272	6220
1243	A booklet 'Useful Work versus Useless Toil'.	Do	1	D. 663 P.W. 272	6221

1221	Report of speech of A. Alwe accused (Ref: Exh: P 1696)	2.2.31.	Contained in Exh. P. 1696	D. 640 P.W. 278	6102	
1222	Report of speech of R.S. Nimbkar accused (Ref: Exh: P. 1701, Page 45 to 53)	Do	Contained in Exh. P. 1701	D. 641 P.W. 278	6107	
1223	Report of speech of R.S. Nimbkar accused (Ref: Exh: P. 1718)	Do	Contained in Exh. P. 1718	D. 642 P.W. 278	6124	
1224	Report of speech of R.S. Nimbkar accused (Ref: Exh: P. 1721)	Do	Contained in Exh. P. 1721	D. 643 P.W. 278	6127	
1225	Speech of R.S. Nimbkar accused (sentence 1st taking to 'institutions' on page 26 English printing report of P. 1696.	Do	Contained in Exh. P. 1696	D. 644 P.W. 278	6102	
1226	Speech of Mirajkar accused (Ref: old P. 1696)	3.2.31	Do	D. 645 P.W. 278	6102	
1227	Speech of K.N. Joglekar accused (Ref: Exh: P. 1703)	Do	Contained in Exh. P. 1703	D. 646 P.W. 278	6108	1702 1703 6108 6109
1228	Passage from 'their Citadel' to 'mill operatives' on page 45 English version of P. 1702.	4.2.31	Contained in Exh. P. 1702	D. 647 P.W. 278	6109	
✓ 1229	Printed 'News paper extracts illustrating communist propaganda and the spread of communist ideals in India'	10.2.31	1	D. 648 P.W. 278	6211	
1230	Shorthand notes and Transcription of passage on Pages 1 to 6 of P. 1696 M1 read to the witness and report of Interpreter of the court regarding transcription prepared by witness.	12.2.31	2	D. 649 (1) contained in D 635 (1). D. 649 D. 642 (2) P.W. 278	6212	
1231	Report of Speech of A. Alwe accused Ref: Exh: P. 1698.	Do	Contained in Exh. P. 1668	D. 650 P.W. 278	6104	

1231a	Report of speech of A. Alwe accused ref. Exh. P. 1700.	12.2.31	Contained in Exh. P. 1700	D. 651 P. W. 278 .	6106
1232	Report of speech of A. Alwe accused ref. Exh. P. 1701	Do	Contained in Exh. P. 1700	D. 652 P.W. 278	6107
1233	Report of speech of A. Alwe accused Ref. Exh. P. 1704.	Do	Contained in Exh. P. 1704	D. 653 P.W. 278	6110
1234	Report of speech of A. Alwe accused Ref. Exh. P. 1710.	Do	Contained in Exh. P. 1710	D. 654 P.W. 278	6116
1235	Notebook written in pencil of D.R. Thengdi accused.	23.2.31	1	D. 655 P.W. 272	6213
1236	Printed Statistical statement of the 'Trader Union Congress General Council, 32 Eccleston square, London, S.W.I.	Do	1	D. 656 P.W. 272	6214
1237	Report on the question of craft and Industrial Union organisation and the allied questions of Demarcation disputes, Cartel Agreements, and Trades Councils.	Do	16 Leaves	D. 657 P.W. 272	6215
1238	Press Reports of the International Federation of Trade Union, Amsterdam for 13th Oct. 1927.	Do	1	D. 658 P.W. 272	6216
1239	Printed Manifesto of the Joint Committee of Socialist Bodies.	Do	1	D. 659 P.W. 272	6217
1240	Fabian Tracts Nos. 5, 110, 148, 149, 156, 165, 166, 169, 147, 183, 200 and 216.	Do	12	D. 660 P.W. 272	6218
1241	'Fabian Society'. The member's Bookshelf.	Do	1	D. 661 P.W. 272	6219
1242	Clarian pamphlet No. 22, Altruism, by Robert Blatchford.	Do	1	D. 662 P.W. 272	6220
1243	A booklet 'Useful Work versus Useless Toil'.	Do	1	D. 663 P.W. 272	6221

1244	A note book 'where is it'.	23.2.31	1	D. 664 P.W. 272	6222
1245	A note book.	Do	1	D. 665 P. W. 272	6223
1246	Typed and manuscript papers selected from item 73 of D.R. Thengdi searchlist.	Do	43	D. 666 P.W. 272	6267
1247	Manuscript letter dt. 27. 9. 29 from Sardesai to Joshi.	25.2.31	1	D. 667 P.W. 272	6268
1248	A manuscript letter dt. 1. 7. 1927 from Kali Das to Shib Nath Banerji.	1.4.31	2	D. 668	6323
1249	A typed letter dt. 9. 12. 27 from Tarini P. Sinha secretary to Sj. S.N. Benerji, Secy: Bengal Jute Workers' Association.	Do	2	D. 669	6324
1250	Rules book of the "E.I.Ry: Union".	Do	1	D. 670	6325
1251	Printed Notice dt. 18. 4. 28 under section 62 A (Bengal Act IV of 1866) from Commissioner of Police Calcutta to K. C. Mitra, Secy: East Indian Ry: Labour Union.	2.4.31	1	D. 671 (1)	6326
1252	Typed notice dt. 20. 4. 28 under section 62 A (Bengal Act IV of 1866) from Commissioner of Police Calcutta to K. C. Mitra Secy: East Indian Ry: Labour Union and Shib Nath Banerji etc.	Do	1	D. 671 (2)	6327
1253	Typed notice dt. 21. 4. 28 under section 62 A (Bengal Act IV of 1866) from Commissioner of Police Calcutta to K. C. Mitra Secy: East Indian Ry: Labour Union and Shib Nath Banerji etc.	Do	1	D.671 (3)	6328
1254	Typed notice dt. 26. 4. 28 under section 62 A (Bengal Act IV of 1866) from Commissioner of Police Calcutta to K. C.	Do	1	D. 671 (4)	6329

	Mittra Secy: E. I. Ry: Labour Union and Shib Nath Banerji and others.					
1255	Typed notice dt. 27. 4. 28 under section 62 A (Bengal Act IV of 1866) from Commissioner of Police Calcutta to K. C. Mitra Secy: E. I. Ry: Labour Union and Shib Nath Banerji and others.	2.4.31	1		D. 671 (5)	6330
1256	Typed notice dt. 12.10.28 under section 62 A (Bengal Act IV of 1866) from the Commissioner of Police Calcutta to K.C. Mitra, Secy: E. I. Ry: Labour Union and etc.	Do	1		D. 671 (6)	6331
1257	A typed Appeal to the E. I. Ry: Employees to help the Lilloah strikers.	Do	1		D. 672	6332
1258	A typed extract from Ganawani dt. 21. 6. 28 official organ of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal (Page 2)	Do	2		D. 673	6333
1259	A typed report dt. 4. 5. 28 from the Addl. Distt. Magistrate Howrah about the députation of the E. I. Ry. Workers Lilloah who met him on 4. 5. 28	Do	2		D. 674	6334
1260	A Post card dt. 30. 6. 28 from K. C. Mitra to Shib Nath Banerji.	Do	1		D. 675	6335
1261	A Post Card dt. 8.12. 27 from Deoki Pd. Sinha to Shib Nath Banerji	Do	1		D. 676	6336
1262	Post Card dt 27.9.28, 20.9.28, 28.9.28, 20.10.28, 22.11.28 and 26. 11. 28 from K. C. Mitra to Shib Nath Banerji.	Do	6		D. 677 (1) D. 677 (6)	6337
1263	Manuscript letter dated 28.10.28 from Devki Pd. Sinha to Shibnath Banerji	7.4.31	1		D. 678	6338
1264	A typed letter dt. 3. 10. 28 from J.N. (illegible) Ji accountant E. I. Ry: Union to Shibnath Babu.	Do	1		D. 679	6339

1265	A Manuscript letter dt. 11.10.28 from (illegible) to Shibnath Banerji.	7.4.31	1	D. 680	6340
1266	A Post card dt. 29.11.28 from (illegible) to ShibNath Banerji	Do	1	D. 681	6341
1267	A manuscript letter dt. 14.11.28 from (illegible) to Shib Nath Babu.	Do	2	D. 682	6342
1268	Post Cards dt. 25. 10. 28, 5. 11. 28, 3. 11. 28, 31. 10. 28 from (illegible) to Shib Nath Banerji	Do	4	D. 683(1) to 683(4)	6343
1269	A manuscript letter dt. nil from (illegible) to Shib Nath Babu.	Do	1	D. 683(5)	6344
1270	A typed letter dt. 25. 9. 28 from K. C. Mitra to Banerji.	Do	1	D. 683(6)	6345
1271	Typed letters dt. 1. 10. 28 and 3. 10. 28 from K. C. Mitra to Shib Nath Banerji.	Do	2	D. 683(7) D. 683(8)	6346
1272	Procession License No. 511 granted under sections 30 and 31 of Act V of 1861 to Kiran Chandra Mitra, General Secy: E. I. Ry. Union Lilloah.	8.4.31	1	D. 684	6347
1273	Typed notice dated 30. 12. 28 under section 62 A (Bengal Act 12 of 1866) from the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta to K. C. Mitra, Secretary E. I Ry. Labour Union	Do	1	D. 685	6348
1274	Post card dated 7. 2. 28 from C. F. Andrews to Shib Nath Banerji.	Do	1	D. 686	6349
1275	Typed letter dated 22. 12. 27 from A. Rodricks, President Cordite Factory to S. N. Banerji with Cordite Factory Labour unions constitution and Rule.	9.4.31	5	D. 687	6350
1276	Typed letter dated 14. 11. 24 from Rose Rosenberg to Shib Nath Banerji.	10.4.31	1	D. 688	6351

1277	Typed letter dated 5. 12. 24 from Oliver to H. N. Brailsford.	10.4.31	1	D. 689	6352
1278	Manuscript letter dated 17. 12. 24 from H. A Lindsay to Mr. Banerji	Do	1	D. 690	6353
1279	Typed letter dated 23. 3. 25 from H. A. Lindsay to Mr. Banerji	Do	1	D. 691	6354
1280	Typed letter dated 10. 2. 26 from H. A. Lindsay to Mr. Banerji	Do	1	D. 692	6355
1281	Typed letter dated 20. 11. 24 from (illegible) to Mr. Banerji	Do	1	D. 693	6356
1282	Typed letter dated 12. 12. 24 from H. N. Brailsford to Victor Schiff Esqr., Berlin S. W. 68	Do	1	D. 694	6357
1283	Typed and manuscript introductory etc. letter dated 12. 4. 24 from H. N. Brailsford to Mr. Banerji.	Do	1	D. 695	6358
1284	Introductory card in German language.	Do	1	D. 696	6359
1285	Typed letter dated 4. 11. 24 from Dr. Fritz Brugel to Mr. Banerji	Do	1	D. 697	6360
1286	Typed letter dated 22. 12. 24 to C. V. Andrews.	Do	1	D. 698	6361
1287	Typed letter dated 17. 11. 25 from the Private Secretary to the Government Bengal.	Do	1	D. 699	6362
1288	A manuscript letter dated 2. 11. 25 from E. J. Beck to Mr. Banerji.	Do	1	D. 700	6363

1289	A typed extract headed 'The Golden Age in Russia'	21.4.31	4	D. 701	6520
1290	A typed resolution in English	11.5.31	1	D. 702	6521
1291	A typed report on Housing and Sanitation	Do	4	D. 703	6522
1292	A typed Table showing the daily wages paid to Labourers in Coal Mines.	12.5.31	1	D. 704	6523
1293	A book 'History of the Labour Research Department' by R. Page Arnot.	26.5.31	1	D. 705	6524
1294	Printed Annual Report 1921-1922 of the Labour Research Department.	Do	1	D. 706	6525
1295	Printed 15th Annual Report 1926-1927 on the Labour Research Department.	Do	1	D. 707	6526
1296	Printed 16th Annual Report 1927-28 on the Labour Research Department.	Do	1	D. 708	6527
1297	Card of the Workers' Welfare League of India	30.6.31	1	D. 709	6595
1298	Rules and Constitution of the Workers' Welfare League of India.	Do	1	D. 710	6596
1299	The Tenth Annual report for the year 1927 of the Workers' Welfare League of India	Do	2	D. 711	6597
1300	The 11th Annual report for the year 1928 of the Workers' Welfare League of India	Do	3	D. 712	6598
1301	Postal receipt for Foreign Telegram dated 19-9-1928	24.7.31	1	D. 713 (1)	6668

1302	Receipt No. 261 dated 7-9-1928 for Rs 4080/- given by Treasurer, 'Joint Mill Strike Committee' of the Bombay Textile Workers' Strike 1928.	24.7.31	1	D. 713 (2)	6669
1303	Receipt No. 245 dated 13-9-1928 for Rs 6000/- given by Treasurer 'Joint Strike Committee of the Bombay Textile Workers' Strike 1928	Do	1	D. 713 (3)	6670
1304	Receipt No. 230 dated 11-9-1928 for Rs 4000/- given by Treasurer 'Joint Mill Strike Committee of the Bombay Textile Workers' Strike 1928	Do	1	D. 713 (4)	6671
1305	A typed 'Literal translation of a communication by Mr. Zabwala to Jame Jamshed and published therein on 19-12-28	30.7.31	7	D. 714	6716
1306	Printed Handbills in Marathi filed by Alwe accused.	24.8.31	13	D. 715(1) to D.715(13)	6737
1307	A typed letter dated 28-4-28 from the Private Secretary to the Governor, Bombay to A. A. Alwe.	25.8.31	1	D. 716	6743
1308	A printed Handbill in Marathi dated 6-4-28	31.8.31	1	D. 717	6744
1309	A printed handbill in Marathi	Do	1	D. 718	6745
1310	do do	1.9.31	1	D. 719	6754
1311	do do	Do	1	D. 720	6755
1312	do do	2.9.31	1	D. 721	6756
1313	Kranti Sheet dated 10-3-29 included in P. 1263	19.9.31		D. 722	included in P1263
1314	A copy of Nawa Kal, a Marathi newspaper dated 4-8-1929	Do	1	D. 723	7218

1315	A cover page of S. V. Sovani Science apparatus	19.9.31	1		D. 724	7219
1316	A Taraporewala's Book-Bulletin for January—February 1930.	25.9.31	1		D. 725	7220
1317	A typed letter dated 15-10-1924 to Dear Hugh Jones	18.11.31	1		D. 726	7221
1318	A manuscript letter dated 16-12-1924 from Deoki Pd. Sinha to Dear Price with envelope	Do	1		D. 727	7222
1319	A typed letter dated 22-1-1926 from Lilian Dawson to Mr. M. G. Desai.	Do	1		D. 728	7223
1320	A typed letter dated 4-3-1925 from Pro. C. H. S. D. M. to M. G. Desai.	Do	1		D. 729 (1)	7224
1321	A printed handbill on behalf of League of Nations Union, Totteridge Branch intimating that a meeting will be held on 27th February	Do	1		D. 729 (2)	7225
1322	A typed letter dated 8-3-1930 from M. B. Gokhle to R. S. Nimbkar with envelope	20.1.32	2		D. 730, D. 730 E.	7226
1323	Typed statement of Receipts and Expenditure from 7th May 1928 to 31st January 1929 of the Joint Strike Committee.	Do	1		D. 730 (1)	7227
1324	The Joint Mill Strike Committee Minute Books for 1928	Do	2		D. 731a, D731b	7228
1325	Admission Form in Nagri	26.1.32	1		D. 732 D. W. (4)	7228
1326	Letter with resolution from Saklatwala	27.1.32	9		D. 733 (1) D.W. (9)	Ref.
1327	Answer of above by the Secretary B. and N. W. Ry: mens association Gorakhpur	Do	2		D. 733 (2) D.W. (9)	P. 1384 Do

1328	A manuscript letter dated 7-12-1928 from Chandrika Pd. to Kishori Lal Ghosh	30.1.32	1	D. 734 D.W. (12)	7415
1329	A manuscript letter dated 14-8-28 from Hari Har Nath Shastri to dear Kadamji	Do	1	D. 735 D.W. 13	7416
1330	A manuscript letter dated 20-10-28 from Hari Har Nath Shastri to L. R. Kadam	Do	1	D. 736 D.W. 13	7417
1331	A manuscript letter dated 19-1-29 from G. Sethi to Dear Kishori Babu.	1. 2. 32	1	D. 737 D.W. 14	7418
1332	A manuscript letter in Bengali dated 23-12-25 from Kalidas Bhattacharya to Shib Nath Banerji	2. 2. 32	2	D. 738 D.W. 16	7419
1333	A manuscript letter in Bengali dated 8-3-26 to Shib Nath Banerji	3. 2. 32	1	D. 739 D.W. 16	7420
1334	A manuscript letter in Bengali dated 31-3-26 from Kalidas Bhattacharya to Shib Nath Banerji	Do	1	D. 740 D.W. 16	7421
1335	A manuscript letter in Bengali dated 19-9-25 from Kalidas to Shib Nath Banerji	Do	1	D. 741 D.W. 16	7422
1336	A post card dated 11-9-28 from P. Sanyal Secretary 'The Calcutta Tramway Workers' Union' to Shib Nath Banerji	10.2.32	1	D. 742 D.W. 17	7423
1337	A post card dated 4-11-28 from Phani to Shib Nath Banerji	Do	1	D. 743 D.W. 17	7424
1338	A post card dated 27-3-28 from Mahbulul Haq to Shib Nath Banerji	Do	1	D. 744 D.W. 17	7425
1339	A printed leaflet in Bengali for a meeting announced by B. Mrinal Kanti Bose and others	Do	1	D. 745 D.W. 17	7426

1340	A typed "The Scavengers' Relief Fund" and a resolution	10.2.32	1	D. 746 D.W. 17	7427
1341	A printed handbill dated 29-8-1928 on behalf of Kishori Lal Ghosh Honorary Secretary Bengal Trade Union Federation for a meeting to be held on 2-9-28 at 4 p.m.	Do	1	D. 747 D.W. 17	7428
1342	A manuscript letter dated 11-11-27 from K. L. Ghosh to Mahbulul Haq.	Do	1	D. 748 D.W. 17	7429
1343	A printed leaflet dated 28-7-27 on behalf of Bepin Chandra Pal and Kishori Lal Ghosh for a meeting of All India Press Employees' Conference to be held on 13th and 14th August 1927.	Do	1	D. 749 D.W. 17	7430
1344	A printed Memorial to welcome J. M. Sen Gupta, Mayor, Corporation of Calcutta on Behalf of Bengal Provincial Committee of the All India Trade Union Congress.	Do	1	D. 750 D.W. 17	7431
1345	A printed leaflet in Bengali for a meeting announced by Abdul Haq Secretary.	Do	1	D. 751 D.W. 17	7432
1346	A printed notice on behalf of Kishori Lal Ghosh Secretary Bengal Trade Union Federation for a meeting to be held on Saturday next.	Do	1	D. 752 D.W. 17	7433
1347	A printed appeal dated 14-11-26 on behalf of Minal Kanti Bose, President Bengal Trade Union Federation to the members of the Executive Council of the All India Trade Union Congress and the affiliated Unions	Do	1	D. 753 D.W. 17	7434
1348	A typed letter dated 6-7-26 from Convenor to the President, "The India Seamen's Union," Kidderpore, Calcutta.	Do	1	D. 754 D.W. 17	7435
1349	A manuscript letter dated 29-3-28 from K. L. Ghosh to Mr. Haq.	Do	1	D. 755 D.W. 17	7436

1350	A post card dated 3-1-28 from K. L. Ghosh to dear Mr. Haq.	10-2-32	1	D. 756 D. W. 17	7437
1351	A post card dated 12-11-26 from K.L.Ghosh to dear Mr.Haq.	Do	1	D. 757 D.W. 17	7438
1352	A typed letter dated 17-8-28 from Kishori Lal Ghosh Honorary Secretary that a meeting of Jute workers of Chengail will be held on 19th August.	Do	1	D. 758 D.W. 17	7439
1353	A printed post card dated 23-4-28 to Mr. Mahbubul Haq from Kishori Lal Ghosh Hon: Secretary.	Do	1	D. 759	7440
1354	A typed letter dated 26th Nov. 1928 from S. A. Brelvi to Mr. Desai.	15.2.32	1	D. 750	7581
1355	A typed letter dated 25th March 1927 from S. A. Brelvi to M. Desai.	Do	1	D 761	7582
1356	A typed letter dated 9th Oct. 1923 from S. A. Brelvi to Mr. Desai.	Do	1	D. 762	7583
1357	A typed letter dated 1st May 1927 from M. R. Jayakar to Mr. Desai.	Do	1	D. 763	7584
1358	A file of Bombay Chronicle dated 6th Dec. 1931; 7. 2. 32, 10. 1. 32, 3. 1. 32, 27. 12. 31, 13. 12. 31, 29. 11. 31, 22. 11. 31, 15. 11. 31, 8. 11. 31, 1. 11. 31, 20. 12. 31 and 18th Oct. 1931.	Do	1 file	D. 764	7585
1359	A Printed handbill in marathi dated 21- 2- 28 announcing a public meeting to consider the strike situation.	16.2.32	1	D. 765 (1)	7586
1360	A printed handbill in marathi without date appealing to the workers to become members of the Mahamandal in order to foil the monstrous desire, of E. D. Sassoon Company.	Do	1	D. 765 (2)	7587

1361	A printed handbill in marathi without date explaining to the workers the evils of a general strike as adocated by Mr. Jhabwala at a public meeting. This was issued during the continuance of the Sassoon strike.	16.2.32	1		D. 765 (3) D.W. 23	7588
1362	A printed handbill in marathi without date explaining to other workers should help the Sassoon strikers.	Do	1		D. 765 (4) D.W. 23	7589
1363	A printed handbill in marathi without date announcing a public meeting on 16th Feby. 1928 to consider the three looms and two sides system as introduced in the Sassoon mills.	Do	1		D. 765 (5) D.W. 23	7590
1364	A printed handbill dated 1-4-28 advising the workers of the Textile mill to go back to work as the two sides system had been withdrawn.	Do	1		D. 765 (6) D.W. 23	7591
1365	A cloth banner (flag).	Do	1		D. 766	7592
1366	A cover of file 'Chukir'/ chnell-Drdnet containing.	17.2.32	1		D. 767	7593
1367	A printed notice for a public meeting to be held on 19-10-28 at 6 P.M.	Do	1		D. 767 (1)	7594
1368	A printed notice in marathi for a meeting dated 18-10-28.	Do	1		D. 767 (2)	7595
1369	A printed notice in marathi dated 11-9-28 for a meeting.	Do	1		D. 767 (3)	7596
1370	A printed notice in marathi dated 25-4-28 for a meeting.	Do	1		D. 767 (4)	7597
1371	A printed invitation on behalf of General Secretary of the Kirkee Arsenal workmen's union.	Do	2		D. 767 (5)	7598
1371(a)	A printed notice in marathi dated 5-1-27 for a meeting.	Do	1		D. 767 (6)	7599

1372	A bill No. 1061 of printing charges payable to the manager of the Arya Bhushana Press Bombay for Rs. 4/-only.	17.2.32	1	D. 767 (7)	7600
1373	A manuscript letter No. AB/1219 dated 18-10-26 from V.H. Barve manager.	Do	1	D. 767 (8)	7601
1374	A printed notice in marathi for a meeting to be held on 26-6-26.	Do	1	D. 767 (9)	7602
1375	A printed notice in marathi dated 9-12-27 for a meeting.	Do	1	D. 767 (10)	7603
1376	A printed appeal to Ordnance workmen under the signature of Dattatraya Govind Pandit, President Kirkee Arsenal workmen Union.	Do	1	D. 767 (11)	7604
1377	A statistics of the Kirkee Arsenal Union.	Do	5	D. 768	7605
1378	A manuscript report of the annual meeting in Marathi.	Do	14	D. 769	7606
1379	A post card dated 30-12-30 to R.S. Nimbkar.	18.2.32	1	D. 770 (1)	7607
1380	A post card dated 23-2-30 to R.S. Nimbkar.	Do	1	D. 770 (2)	7608
1381	A post card dated 11-2-30. to R.S. Nimbkar.	Do	1	D. 770 (3)	7609
1382	A post card dated 24-11-30 to R.S. Nimbkar.	Do	1	D. 770 (4)	7610
1383	A post card dated 14-11-30 to R.S. Nimbkar.	Do	1	D. 770 (5)	7611
1384	A telegram No. 116 dated 11-2-30 to Nimbkar.	Do	1	D. 770 (6)	7612
1385	Report and constitution of the 6th Session of All-India Trade Union Congress.	20.2.32	1	D. 771	7613

1386	A typed letter dated 12-1-29 from F.G. Ginwala to Kishori Lal Ghosh with envelope	Do	2	D. 772	7614
1387	A printed leaflet in Hindi 'Gorakhpur ke Zamindar Bhayon se meri vaktar'	23.2.32	1	D. 773 (1)	7615
1388	A printed leaflet in Hindi 'Gohati Conference ka Sandesh'.	Do	1	D. 773 (2)	7616
1389	A printed leaflet in Hindi "Korman ryasat men bhyankar atyachar".	Do	1	D. 773 (3)	7617
1390	A printed leaflet in Hindi 'Kisanon ke liye apurv ausar'	Do	1	D. 773 (4)	7618
1391	A printed leaflet in Hindi 'Gorakhpur zila ke Kisanon ko. Dr. Vishvanath Mukerji ka Sandesh'	Do	1	D. 773 (5)	7619
1392	A printed leaflet in Hindi 'Kasia men virat kisan Sabha.'	Do	1	D. 773 (6)	7620
1393	A printed leaflet in Hindi 'Dr. Bishvanath Mukerji ko Badhai.'	Do	1	D. 773 (7)	7621
1394	Cutting of a newspaper 'Kaisri' dated 11-1-27	26.2.32	2	D. 774	7622
1395	A copy of "Forward" dated 7-3-29	27.2.32	2	D. 775	7717
1396	A book of Reports and Proceedings of Third Congress of the Labour and Socialist International for 1928 Vol.I.	29.2.32	1	D. 776	7718
1397	A book of Reports and Proceedings of 3rd Congress of the Labour and Socialist International for 1928 Vol.II.	Do	1	D. 777	7719
1398	A typed letter dated 24-2-29 from S.Sadanand, managing editor to the Editor 'Spark' Bombay:	Do	1	D. 778	7720
1399	A copy of Amrita Bazar Patrika dated 30-12-28.	Do	1	D. 779	7721

1400	A typed authorising letter dated 10-12-28 from B.G. Horiman Editor-in-chief 'Indian National Herald'.	9.3.32	1	D. 770	7722
1401	A typed letter dated 9th July 1925 from R.R. Bakhle, Assistant Secretary 'All India Trade Union Congress' with the printed minutes of the Nagpur meeting.	21.3.32	4	D. 781 (1) D.W. 35	7798
1402	A typed circular dated 30th May 1925 from R.R. Bakhle, Assistant Secretary 'All India Trade Union Congress' to the members of the Executive Council etc.	Do	1	D. 781 (2) D.W. 35	7799
1403	A typed circular dated 18th May 1925 under the signature of R.R. Bakhle, Assistant Secretary 'All India Trade Union Congress' with agenda of a meeting to be held on 6th June 1925 at Nagpur.	Do	3	D. 781 (3) D.W. 35	7800
1404	A typed letter dated 6th May 1925 from R.R. Bakhle, Assistant Secretary 'All India Trade Union Congress' with a short summary of the history and activities.	Do	5	D. 781 (4) D.W. 35	7801
1405	A printed circular dated 6th May 1925 to the Chairman and members of the Executive Council of the All India Trade Union Congress, the Secretaries of the affiliated unions of all India Trade Union Congress and the Secretaries of the Unions unaffiliated to the All India Trade Union Congress.	Do	1	D. 781 (5) D.W. 35	7802
1406	A typed letter dated 30th January 1925 from N.M. Joshi to the Secretary 'The B.N.W. Railwaymen's Association,' Gorakhpur.	Do	1	D. 781 (6) D.W. 36	7803