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P. 1.

WARRANT OF ARREST.

(SECTION 75, SCHEDULE V, FORM II.)

In the Court of R. Milner-White, Esqr., I. C. S.,
Magistrate of the 1st Class Meerut District.

To (U. P.)

Mr. R. A. Horton, Officer on Special Duty,
Home Department, Government of India.

Whereas Amir Haider,
by occupation General Motors, Ltd., Rehm Seth's
Chawl, Ghelbhai Street, Madanpura,
residing at Bombay.

stand charged with the offence Section 121—A, Indian Penal
Code.

You are hereby directed to arrest the said Amir Haider,
and to produce him before me. Herein fail not.

Dated this 11th day of June 1929.

R. MILNER-WHITE,
Magistrate.

Forwarded to the Commr.
of Police, Bombay, for
favor of execution.

E. A. HORTON,

11-6-29.

D. I. G. U. P.
on special duty.

Deputy Inspector Chowdhary for execution,

13-6-29.

P. A. KELLY.
Commr. of Police.

Returned to court unexecuted since the receipt of this
warrant every possible effort was made to effect the arrest of this
accused but in vain. He has absconded and there is no immediate
prospect of his being arrested.

18-7-29.

A. K. CHAUDHARI,

P. 2.

Warrant to search after information of a particular offence.
(Section 96, Criminal Procedure Code).

To

Mr. R. A. Horton,
Officer on Special Duty,
Home Department,
Government of India.

Whereas information has been laid before me of the commission of the offence of Section 121-A, Indian Penal Code, and it has been made to appear to me that the production of.....articles..... mentioned.....in.....the.....attached list.....is essential to the inquiry about to be made into the said offence:

This is to authorize and require you to search for the said things in the house, office or other place, belonging to, or under control of Amir Haider,.....General Motors, Ltd., Behmu Seth's Chawl, Ghelbhai.....Street, Madanpura, Bombay,..... and, if found, to produce the same forthwith before this Court, returning this warrant, with an endorsement certifying what you have done under it, immediately upon its execution.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 11th day of June 1929.

R. MILNER WHITE
Additional District Magistrate
Meerut (U. P.)

(Seal)

(Signature)

Forwarded to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay for favour of execution.

11. 6. 29 R. A. HORTON
D.J.L.G., (U.P.)
On Special duty.

Dr. Inspector Chowdhary for execution.

P. A. KELLY
Commissioner of Police,
15-6-29.

Returned to court unexecuted. The accused has left Bombay and has no place of residence there now.

A. K. CHAUDHARY.
18-7-29.

LIST OF ARTICLES TO BE SEARCHED FOR

1. Copies of newspapers journals emanating from Communist Sources or with Communist tendencies such as (1) "The International press Correspondence" (2) "Masses of India" (3) "Sunday Worker", (4) "Young Worker" (5) "The Communist", (6) "Ganabani", (7) "Kirti", (8) "Kranti", (9) "Krantikari" (10) "Nau Jawan" (11) "Payame Majdoor", (12) "Spark", (13) "Young Liberator" (14) "Far Eastern Monthly" (15) "Pan-Pacific Worker", etc., etc. Any book of English poems, more particularly the poems of Southey, should be taken into possession.
2. Books, pamphlets, leaflets, handbills, badges, flags, posters, etc. of Communist or revolutionary nature.
3. Group photographs of individuals.
4. Letters, telegrams etc. received and copies or drafts of letters, telegams, article etc. sent.
5. Articles, notes, etc. dealing with Communist subjects or labour matters on Communist lines. Special attention should be paid to correspondence received from overseas.
6. Money order and telegram receipts and acknowledgments, Note books and account books and any other documents dealing with financial transactions.
7. Typewriters and material for the same together with embossed or printed paper.
8. Passport or passport applications.

This list is of course, by no means exclusive and is merely given for the guidance of searching officers. It should be borne in mind that in general we are searching for documents and material disclosing the activities of Communist organisations, Workers' and Peasants' Parties, Communist Labour unions, Communist Youth Leagues and similar organisations.

R. MILNER WHITE.

Additional District Magistrate

Meerut,

United Provinces.

11. 6. 29.

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P. 3.

WARRANT OF ARREST

(SECTION 75, SCHEDULE V, FORM II)

In the Court of E. H. H. Edye, Esq., M.B.E., I.C.S. Magistrate of the 1st Class Meerut district (U.P.)

To Mr. R. A. Horton, officer on special duty Home department, Government of India.

Whereas Dharani Goswami, son of Ramani Mohan, of by occupation Jasodal, Kishoreganj, Mymensingh and No.

1/1F residing at Radha Nath
Mullick's Lane,

Calcutta,

stand charged with the offence of Section 121—A, Indian Penal Code.

You are hereby directed to arrest the said Dharani Goswami and to produce him before me. Herein fail not.
Dated this 15th day of March 1929.

E. H. H. EDYE
Magistrate.

Forwarded to the Commissioner of Police Calcutta, for favour of execution.

15-3-29

R. A. Horton
D.I.G. Police U. P.
Officer on Special Duty,
Home Department
Government of India.

To Inspector Jennings for Execution.

C. TEGART
Commr. Police.
19-3-29.

Duly executed by me accused in custody.

JENNINGS,
O/C. G.
20-3-29.

P. 4.

WARRANT TO SEARCH AFTER INFORMATION OF A PARTICULAR OFFENCE.

(SECTION 96, CRIMINAL PROCEDURE CODE.)

To

MR. R. A. HORTON,
OFFICER ON SPECIAL DUTY,
HOME DEPARTMENT,
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

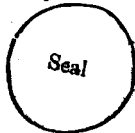
Whereas information has been laid before me of the commission of the offence of Section 121-A, Indian Penal Code, and it has been made to appear to me that the production of.....articlesmentioned.....in.....the attached.....list,..... is essential to the inquiry about to be made into the said offence.

This is to authorize and require you to search for the said things in the house, office or other place, belonging to, or under control of Dharani Goswami, son of Ramani Mohan No. 1/1-F, Radha Nath Mullick's Lane, Calcutta..... and, if found, to produce the same forthwith before this Court, returning this warrant, with an endorsement certifying what you have done under it, immediately upon its execution.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 15th day of March 1929.

E. H. H. EDYE,
District Magistrate,
Meerut (U. P.)

(Signature).



Forwarded to the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, for favour of execution.

15-3-1929. R. A. HORTON,
D. I. G. Police U. P.

Duly executed in presence of search witnesses and property seized as per search herewith attached.

20-3-1929. JENNINGS
O/C. G.

To Inspector-Jennings for execution.

D. K. GOSWAMI C. TEGART
• 20-3-1929. Commr. Police.
19-3-29.

LIST OF ARTICLES TO BE SEARCHED FOR.

I. Copies of newspapers and journals emanating from Communist sources or with Communist tendencies such as (1) "The International Press Correspondence" (2) "Masses of India" (3) "Sunday Worker," (4) "Young Worker" (5) "The Communist," (6) "Ganabani," (7) "Kirti," (8) "Kranti," (9) "Krantikari" (10) "Nau Jawan", (11) "Payame Majdoor," (12) "Spark," (13) "Young Liberator," (14) "Far Eastern Monthly", (15) "Pan-Pacific Worker," etc., etc. Any book of English poems, more particularly the poems of Southey, should be taken into possession.

II. Books, pamphlets, leaflets, handbills, badges, flags, posters, etc. of Communist or revolutionary nature.

III. Group photographs of individuals.

IV. Letters, telegrams etc. received and copies or drafts of letters, telegrams, articles etc. sent.

V. Articles, notes, etc. dealing with Communist subjects or labour matters on Communist lines. Special attention should be paid to correspondence received from overseas.

VI. Money order and telegram receipts and acknowledgments. Note books and account books and any other documents dealing with financial transactions.

VII. Typewriters and material for the same together with embossed or printed paper.

VIII. Passport or passport applications.

This list is, of course, by no means exclusive and is merely given for the guidance of searching officers. It should be borne in mind that in general we are searching for documents and material disclosing the activities of Communist organisations, Workers' and Peasants' Parties, Communist Labour Unions, Communist Youth Leagues and similar organisations.

(Sd.) E. H. H. EDYE.

*District Magistrate, Meerut,
United Provinces.*

15-3-1929.

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 5-45 a. m. on 20th March, 1929.
2. Name and residence of persons whose house is searched. A room occupied by D. Bose, P. Mukerjee, and A. Ray, 1/1F Radha Nath Mullick Lane.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search,
 - { (1) P. Bose of 1/1F Radha Nath Mullick Lane.
 - { (2) Jadeo of 44. A. Robert Road.
 - { (3) Baldeo Singh of 35 Kepabtak 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>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.
I	1. One note book. 2. One Postcard addressed to Dharani Kanta Goswami. 3. One typed extract on the immediate tasks of communists. 4. One slip of paper of Satya Charan Dass.			

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.
	5. One Bengalee letter addressed to Raj Kumar Jagdish Singha 6. One West End Watch competition make with black cord. 7. One fountain pen. 8. -/3/6 in cash. 9. Seven keys on a ring.			

(Sd.) K GHOSH,
Signature with date of the person whose property, is seized is present at the
 20-3-29, each.

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.) R. S. MEHTA,
Police-officers conducting the search.
 Date 20-3-29 Place No. 1 Kanta Pookur lane.

(Sd.) JOGINDRANATH MITTRA. 20-3-29.
 (Sd.) H. N. BHATTACHARJI. 20-3-29
Signature of witness with date.

Signature by the accused (optional)

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 5-45 a. m. on 20th March 1929.
2. Name and residence of persons whose house is searched. A room occupied by D. Bose, P. Mukerjee, and A. Ray, 1/1F Radha Nath Mullick Lane.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search,
 - (1) P. Bose of 1/1F Radha Nath Mullick Lane.
 - (2) Jadeo of 44. A. Robert Road.
 - (3) Baldeo Singh of 35 Kepabtak 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>malatika</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.
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. One Soviet Union Year Book of 1928. 2. One book on Leninism. 3. One Young Comrades league programme. 4. Five post cards addressed to Dharani Kanta Goswami. 5. Two group photograph. 6. One photograph. 	<p>Found on the floor of under the cot Asutosh Ray.</p> <p>Found in the box of Ashutosh Ray in a room occupied by above mentioned persons.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1) P. Bose c/o L. M. Bose. (2) Ashutosh Ray s/o S. C. Ray. (3) D. Mukerjee 	

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.
	<p>7. Two files with papers and which were duly sealed and seal made over to Babu P. Bose a search witness</p> <p>1. One yellow coloured Star of India file with Bengal Textile Workers Union Central Office 2/1 European Asylum far Calcutta written on same.</p> <p>2. One cover addressed Secretary Bengal Textile Workers Union and containing 2 copies Circular No 2 Bouria Jute Workers Strike issued by R.R. Bakhale and a note by Jawrlal Nehru and one form of Eecutive Council of all India Trade Union Congress "Representatives of affiliated Unions.</p> <p>3. One letter addressed to the President and Secy., Bengal Textile Workers Union Calcutta bearing stamp of</p>	<p>Found on the second floor of same premises in a box claimed by Dharani Kanta Goswami</p>		<p>The seal of time item in a broken in presence of search intended also attendep the search on 20th March and the list is also prepared.</p>

- 12-1-'29 containing notice of an emergent meeting of Bengal Trade Union Federation issued by Kishori Lal Ghosh.
4. Four copies of notification of all India Workers and Peasants Party Insured by Atul Chandra Gupta, Dharani Goswami and others (Printed in Bengalee by Saraswati Press) beginning with Bartaman and Decemeber weary at 21-12-28.
 5. Four copies of leaflets titled Revolution and Independence issued by Vanguard literature Co 2/1 European Asylum Lane.
 6. Four copies of leaflets titled "you want freedom issued by Reception Committee of All-India Workers and Peasants Party Conference of 2/1 European Asylum Lane.
 7. One acknowledgment receipt No. R. 3-1861. Dated 10-12-28 to Babu Peary Mohan Dass of 2/1 European Asylum Lane.
 8. One certificate to Ccmrade Shiva Nath Banerjee from the General Secretary Bengal Jute Workers Association.

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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 is observed, such as the remains of burnt etc.
	<p>9. Receipt No. 12 from Dated 1-2-27 from All-India Trade Union Congress.</p> <p>10. One statement of accounts in Bengalee re Garden Reach Workers Union.</p> <p>11. Two lists of names of Members of Bengal Textile Workers Union, Dhakeswari Mill, Dacca.</p> <p>12. Statement of accounts (2 copies of year 1927-28 of Dhakeswari cotton mills, Dacca.</p> <p>13. Three vouchers, of which 12 are in the name of Gopal Chandra Byseek of Alber Library and one to Albert Library Nawabpur, Dacca.</p> <p>14. Manuscript of Rules of Bengal Textile Workers Union in seven page and one blank.</p> <p>15. One account book of Dhakeswari Cotton mills Workers Union. on 1927-29 in Bengalee.</p>			

16. One account book of Dhakeswari cotton mills workers Union on 1928-29 in Bengalee.
17. (a) One typewritten letter from Acting Secy, Garden Reach Workers Union to Secretary, Bengal Trade Union Federation dated 8th December 1928 with history of Union.
- (b) One typed letter d/7/12/28 to Inspector of P. O. Central Calcutta.
- (c) One typed letter D/ 6/12/28 to Inspector of P. O. Central Calcutta with acknowledgement receipt. No. 26.
- (d) One typed letter D/ 2/12/28 by General Secretary, Bengal Textile Workers Union to General Secy. all India Trade Union Congress.
- (e) One typed letter from the General Secretary, Bengal Textile workers Union to Chairman Reception Committee, all India Trade Union Congress D/ 2/12/28.
- (f) One letter (typed) from L. L. Joshi General Secy. all Indian Trade Union Congress to the General Secretary Bengal Textile Workers Union Dated 25th December, 28.

Serial No (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>maltalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
	<p>(g) Typed history of Dhakeswari Cotton Mills Workers Union Dacca.</p> <p>(h) One typed letter from Peary. Mohan Dass General Secy. Bengal Textile Worker Union dated 30-11-28 to Secy. Bengal Trade Union Federation with 2 postal receipts No. 26 and 27 dated 1-12-28 per registered articles.</p> <p>(i) One printed resolution signed by Manindra Sinha of B. T. W. Union Metiabury Branch dated 1-10-28.</p> <p>(j) One typed letter from Peary. Mohan Dass General Secy. B. T. W. Union to General Secy. all Indian Trade Union, Congress Bombay dated 21st November 1928 with postal acknowledgement receipt No. 27 dated 6-12-28.</p>			

- (k) One typed letter d/ 21-12-28 from Peary Mohan Dass Genl. Secy. B. T. W. Union to Secy- Bengal Trade Union Federation.
- (l) One typed letter No. miscellaneous 10680/R d/ 19-10-28 to Gen. Secy. B.T.W. Union.
- (m) One typed letter d/ 18-10-28 from Peary Mohan Dass Genl. Secy. B.T.W. Union to Manager Kesorow cotton Mills
- (n) One typed letter d/ 8-10-28 by Peary. Mohan Dass to Editor Free Press of India for organising a strike.
- (o) One typed letter d/ 18-10-28 from Peary. Mohan Dass to Manager Bharat Cotton Mills Ghusury.
- (18) a. Two copies of Revolution and Independence (leaflets) by Vanguard Literature Co., 2/1 European Asylum Lane.
- (b) Thirtythree copies of announcement of All Indian Peasants and Workers Conference in Bengalee.
- (c) One announcement in Bengalee of Berat Sabha, by Abdul Gaffar Mella with 7 manuscript pages in Bengalee and

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial,	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt etc.
	<p>envelope with name of Md. Izhaul Huq written on same.</p> <p>(d) One resolution in English for Expulsion of K. C. Roy Chaudary and Latafat Hussain from the A. T. U. C. proposed and seconded by M. Sinha and S. N. Banerji.</p> <p>(e) One empty cover addressed to Com. Manindra Sinha of 7 Garden Reach Road, Matiabruz.</p> <p>(f) One typed letter dated 28/11/28 from Vice President B.P.M.W. Union to General Secy., All India Trades Union Congress with acknowledgement receipt No. 982.</p> <p>(g) One typed letter date 28/11/28, from Vice President B. P. M. Union to Secy. Bengal Trades Union Federation with list of office bearers, constitution and statement of account.</p>			

IX

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.
	<p>(h) Two copies of short Report of Union of Bengal Paper Mill Workers' Union, dated 1. 10. 29.</p> <p>(i) One registered cover No. R. 8535, with letter No. R3-H61, from Supdt. Post Office, to Bengal Textile Workers' Union dated 4-1-29, with receipt No. 26.</p> <p>(j) One pink coloured sachee file.</p>			

(Sd.) K GHOSH,
Signature with date of
the person whose property,
is seized is 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.) R. S. MEHTA,
Police-officers conducting the search.
Date 20-3-29 Place No. 1 Kanta Pookur lane.

(Sd.) JOGINDRANATH MITTRA. 20-3-29.
(Sd.) H. N. BHATTACHARJI. 20-3-29
Signature of witness with date.

Signature by the accused (optional)

THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTS.

(An extract from a recent publication, for our guidance.)

The basic tasks of the Indian Communists consist in struggle against British Imperialism for the emancipation of the country, for destruction of all relics of feudalism, for the agrarian revolution and for establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry in the form of a soviet republic. These tasks can be successfully carried out only when there will be created a powerful Communist Party which will be able to place itself at the head of the wide masses of the working class, peasantry and all the toilers, and to lead them in the struggle against the feudal-Imperialist bloc. The strike movement of the Indian proletariat now taking place, its independence from bourgeois nationalism, the all Indian character of this movement, its distribution over almost all branches of industry, the frequent and protracted strikes, the stubbornness and great resoluteness with which the workers had carried them on, the coming forward of Leaders of the strike from the midst of the workers themselves—all these things denote a turning point in the history of the struggle of the Indian proletariat and prove that in India the pre-conditions have matured which are essential for the creation of a mass communist Party. The Union of all Communist groups and individual communists scattered throughout the country into a single, independent and centralised party represents the first task of Indian Communist. While rejecting the principle of the building of the party on a two class basis, the communist must utilise the connections of the existing workers' and Peasants' Parties with the toiling masses for strengthening **THEIR OWN PARTY, BEARING IN MIND THAT THE HEGEMONY PROLETARIAT CANNOT BE REALISED WITHOUT THE EXISTENCE OF A CONSOLIDATED, steady Communist party, armed with the theory of MARKXISM.** The agitational work of the Communist Party must be bound up with the struggle for the immediate demand of the workers, at the same time explaining to them the general aims which the communist Party sets out to achieve and the methods which it applies for their realisation. It is essential to establish nuclei in the various industrial and other enterprises, and these must take an active part in the labour movement, in the organisation and conduct of strikes and political demonstrations. The Communist organisations must from the very beginning devote special attention to the training of leading Party Cadres from the ranks of the workers.

In the **TRADE UNION**, the Indian Communists must mercilessly expose the National-reformist leaders and carry on a

decisive struggle for the conversion of the trade unions into genuine class organisations of the proletariat and for the replacement of the present reformist leadership by consistent, revolutionary representatives from the mass of the workers.

It is especially necessary to expose the methods so much favoured by Indian reformists of deciding conflicts by means of petition to the representatives of British Imperialism, as well as to "Impertial" courts for adjudication between workers and employers. In this struggle, it is necessary to push forward the demands for trade union democracy, for putting the trade union apparatus into the hands of the workers, etc. The levers for Party work in the trade unions must be the communist fractions as well as groups founded by the Communist and sympathising with them. It is necessary to utilise the present strike wave in order to organise the unorganised workers. The miners and engineering workers, the coolies working on the plantations and agricultural labourers in general, represent the least organised sections of the Indian proletariat and the Communists need to devote the necessary attention to them.

The Communist must unmask the national reformism of the Indian National Congress and oppose all the phrases of the Swarajists, Gandhists, etc., about passive resistance with the irreconcilable slogan of struggle for the emancipation of the country and the expulsion of the imperialists.

In relation to the peasantry and peasant organisations the Indian Communists are faced above all with the task of acquainting the widest strata of peasantry with the general demands of the Party in agrarian question, for which purpose the Party must work out an agrarian programme of action. Through workers connected with the village, as well as directly, the Communists must stimulate the struggle of the peasantry for partial demands, and in the process of struggle organise peasant unions. It is essential to pay particular attention to make sure that the newly created peasant organisations do not fall under the influence of exploiting strata in the village. It is necessary to give to the existing peasant organisations a concise programme of concrete demands and to support the activities of the peasants through demonstrations of workers in the towns.

It must be remembered that under no circumstances can the Communists relinquish their right to open criticism of the opportunist and reformist tactics of the leadership of those mass organisations in which they work.

P. S.

A book entitled "Joseph Stalin--'Leninism'—Translated from the Russian By Eden and Cedar Paul." Printed in Great Britain by Unwin Brothers, Ltd., Woking.

YOUNG COMRADES' LEAGUE

STATEMENT OF PROGRAMME AND POLICY.

1. **What is the Youth Movement?** Youth Movement has now been active in Bengal for some time, and has received much support and advice from its elders, but it has hitherto failed to establish itself. It has failed (a) to reach and establish contact with the masses (b) to conduct any campaign for the real needs and grievances of the youth (c) to break away from the ideas of the "elder statesmen" of the Congress, who in practice control most of the organisations, and to develop any new ideas of its own. A youth organisation is required which shall overcome these defects and shall do some real work on the basis of modern and correct social conceptions.

A Youth Movement has as its main functions (a) to combat the reactionary ideas which become crystallised in organisations run mainly by middle-aged or old men. The Indian National Movement is in its thinking many years out-of-date. It is the duty of the organised Youth to introduce to it ideas, policies and methods suitable to present conditions (b) to educate and prepare the youth for the political and social work of the future. (c) to defend the special interests and needs of the younger generation. A youth organisation which does these things is entitled to the position of a genuine representative and leader of the youth.

2. **Our Grievances.** We are called upon to defend the rising generation in this country from many evils and abuses. A civilised country takes special care of its youth. Our Government leaves them practically without protection to nature and the play of economic forces. Many matters require attention, among which the chief are :

(a) **Unemployment.** The effects of unemployment fall especially hard upon the youth, whether with school or college education, or forced to earn a living from childhood. (It is not only physically and morally harmful to the unemployed but also reacts to the detriment of the conditions of those at work.) Unemployment is a necessary concomitant of capitalism, and is especially severe in so ill-balanced an economic system as our own ; nevertheless much can be done to minimise its evils. In England and other European countries the unemployed are supported by the State, Why not here ?

(b) **Education.** The educational system of India is acknowledged to be most defective. Immense numbers of growing boys and girls receive no education at all. Even those who do, are trained by obsolete mechanical methods in useless subjects. Remember what Russia has done. A population which ten years ago was as backward

as that of India, is expected in three years more to contain no illiterate persons, old or young. Education is compulsory up to 14, and for town workers, part-time literary and vocational education up to 18. We do not want any longer to be educated in political subservience, or to be trained merely as clerks to our imperialist bosses. And our education must be universal.

(c) Working conditions. Young men and women before reaching maturity need special safeguards in their work. Yet boys and girls are made to work just as long hours as adults for far less pay. In Russia youths up to 16 work only 4 hours, and up to 18 only 6 hours per day. The rest of the time is spent in school. We need also the limitation of hours, proper pay, and other conditions improved for young workers

(d) Social customs. For the physical and mental health both of the individual and of society, it is essential that many ancient and harmful customs be abandoned. It is the function of youth to see that both in theory and in practice the customs of early marriage, purdah, untouchability, etc., are abolished.

For these and many other elementary demands the youth of this country has to fight. We do not need words but deeds. Active efforts, organisation, agitation, must be undertaken on a great scale, and we appeal to all those young men and women who know the difficulties and trials for the young of modern life, to come forward and join us.

3. What is the Remedy ? We propose to create among the youth a mass movement and agitation for the redress of many grievances. Some reforms may be won by the pressure of the organised masses. But we know that there is no ultimate solution under the present system. This is an exploiting system, which by its very nature cannot allow decent and proper conditions for all. While pressing for redress of our immediate wrongs, we shall never forget that greater than all these are our ultimate objects. We have to work for complete independence and for the emancipation of the masses from their position of economic and political subjection—complete independence of the country from the foreign exploitation which is the root of almost all our present ills ; and the complete emancipation of the masses, without which independence is both unreal and unattainable.

There are only two ways in which India can proceed, (and everybody must choose between them. Either we can join the capitalists and landlords, with their exploitation, swindling and jobbery, and help to fight against and suppress the movement of the masses, and therefore inevitably ally ourselves with imperialism ; or we may join the masses, and fight with them for the independence of the country from imperialist and capitalist exploitation. From these

two we must choose, and the young workers, peasants and oppressed and poverty-stricken of all kinds cannot but choose the path of independence and complete emancipation.)

4. **The Ideas of Today.** In addition to fighting for its own grievances and participating in the general struggle for freedom, the youth has a further important function. Youth is open-minded, it is free from the prejudices of the past, it can from and assimilate ideas suitable to the circumstances of today. It can see clearly the faults which prevented the past generations from succeeding, and it has the energy to remedy them. (Our country and our national movement are in the hands of old men, who are still in many cases living mentally in previous centuries, but whom the people still follow because of a harmful tradition of respect for the old and well-established.)

Youth, growing up in the twentieth century, in the "epoch of wars and revolutions", can discard these relics of the past. It brings with it, in opposition to the mentality of our older leadership.

(a) a true appreciation of our position in the world. It abandons the old seclusion of Indian nationalism, and its rejection of all modern thought and scientific progress. It recognises that the struggle of India is but part of a worldwide struggle for freedom, and that it cannot remain isolated from the movements of other countries. (It sees that India must learn to use theoretical and practical weapons which are found to be effective elsewhere. And it sees that the ultimate goal of the struggle of India for national freedom must be international.)

(b) a realistic revolutionism. It breaks away both from the timid nineteenth-century constitution-mongering of the dominant school in the nationalist movement, and from the romantic impossibilist revolutionary policy of the minority. Revolution is no longer the dream of a few isolated intellectuals, scorned by all political realists; it is an actuality, already taking place all over the world, and requiring scientific study and practical organisation.

(c) class-struggle as the man-spring of historical development, and the rise and organisation of the masses as the key to our problems. Denounced or ignored by the blindness of class interest of our old leaders, the class-struggle is to the realistic mind of youth an overwhelming fact. Before the rising organisation of the masses, our older leaders have hesitated between a policy of ignoring or opposing it, and one of exploiting it for the wrong ends. The youth sees in the class-conscious organisation of the masses the only force which can break through the obstacles to our national progress, and the only guarantee of a united peaceful future for the people of the whole world. The youth will throw itself into the struggle on the side of the masses.

(d) abandonment of the traditional attitude of hero-worship. Our movement has always paid exaggerated devotion to its leaders, and has often suffered heavily as a result. The youth will rid itself of this dangerous relic of bourgeois ideas, and will base its policies and actions upon principles rather than upon personalities.

(e) an active intolerance of the divisions and hostilities among ourselves, based upon ancient usages and customs having no reality or value at the present day. The traditional method of dealing with communalism has proved to be useless. It is absurd to intensify communal consciousness as a means of bringing about inter-communal unity.

Youth ignores communal divisions, and bases its policy upon the identity of the real interests of all the masses.

5. **What we shall do.** The young Comrades' League has been established to carry on the propaganda of these ideas and to form and lead a real movement of the exploited youth for the solution of its grievances and for the attainment of independence and freedom.

We appeal to all the young people of Bengal to join and help us in these great tasks. All around us we see poverty, misery, ignorance, unemployment, famine, destitution, insanitary housing, preventable disease, high infant mortality. We see the enormous wealth of our country monopolised and controlled by an unholy combination of our own and foreign zemindars and capitalists. They juggle with the nation's livelihood-with its very life. By the present system of legalised robbery they take from us the fruits of our labour, to drain it away to foreign countries or to spend it in riot and extravagance. At their whim we are evicted from our dwellings or dismissed from the possibility of obtaining our livelihood. If we resist we are met with the lock-out, the black-list, the lying capitalist press, the inequality of justice, the terrorism of the police force or the capitalists' or landlords' hired thugs. At their decree we are marched off to foreign lands to fight to the death against our comrades with whom we have no quarrel; if we resist we are condemned as traitors. Above all, dominating our whole life the embodiment and protector of capitalism and landlordism, the framework and backbone of the whole system, the instrument of foreign rule, stands the state.

The whole vast machine of exploitation and oppression, controlled by a small clique of imperialist magnates, to whom the millions of ordinary people are but instruments in their schemes of world conquest and spoilation, is a menace to the future of humanity, which must be fought and overcome by the people. Even now it is planning and preparing a new great war of conquest, against our comrades and friends of the Soviet Republics. In this war, which may now break out at any time, many thousands of young

men of India will be used as cannon-fodder. We must warn in time the nation, and specially the youth against the danger of this coming war, and appeal to all to resolve that no Indian shall disgrace himself or his country by taking part in it, directly or indirectly.

In war or in peace, Imperialism is incompatible with civilisation, with proper human relationship, with decent standards of life. we call upon all young people who feel that their lives and those of others round them are not what they should be, who are exploited or cast out to starve by an iniquitous economic system, who are denied the proper education which is the birthright of all human beings; we call upon all who want peace and not war, who want independence and not slavery, civilisation not Imperialism, freedom not exploitation:—Join the young Comrades' League and fight for them!

6. Our programme of practical work for the immediate future is as follows:

(a) to launch by means of public meetings and other propaganda a campaign for the following chief demands:

- (1) a living wage for all wage earners.
- (2) limitation of hours for young workers (6-hour day up to eighteen).
- (3) state support for the unemployed
- (4) universal primary education; compulsory physical and military training in schools; improved facilities for technical education.
- (5) abolition of the practices of early marriage, untouchability, purdah etc.

(b) to establish study-circles in economic and political subjects.

(c) to organise public meetings and debates and to publish material relating to our economic, political and social problems.

(d) to co-operate with the Trade Union movement in the organisation of young workers, and to initiate the organisation on similar lines of the youth of the villiages.

(e) To establish solidarity among the various youth organisations and to initiate united work for common objects.

(f) to publish and distribute an organ for the youth.

(g) to recruit new members.

(h) to study youth movements, the working and other conditions of young workers, and other political and economic questions, to collect data and form a Library.

P. 10.

A group photograph containing photos of 21 persons including Kishori Lal Ghosh, Muzaffar Ahmed, Dharanikanta Goswami, Shaukat Usmani, Gopal Chandra Basak, Shibnath Banerji, Bishwanath Mukerji, S. V. Ghate, S. A. Dange, S. S. Mirajkar and others.

P. 11.

Bengali notice announcing the holding of the First All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference in December 1928 and explaining the benefits of such Conference.

P. 12.

REVOLUTION & INDEPENDENCE !!!

Is what everybody speaks of, to-day, and yet after years of agitation and organisation India is still a Slave Nation—is farther from Revolution. Why is this? India during the last war witnessed her sons moving heaven and earth to fight for freedom and so their revolutionary activities in Germany and other lands; Young Bengal was in gallows and Andamans in its attempts of guerilla war-fare; you have also witnessed the National Congress in its mighty role of rallying the exploited masses of India to fight against the British Imperialist and now the same Congress is divorced from mass support, supporting All parties Conference which claims to speak for exploited masses and what do they demand you think—?

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

CALL TO ACTION !!

As. 4.

your leaders invariably say one thing and do another ?

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

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

As. 2.

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

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

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

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

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

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

For explanation of all these disturbing phenomena.

For clear conception of Marxist Theories ASK FOR SYLLABUS, LIST OF PUBLICATIONS AND THE BOOKS YOU CHOOSE from it from the VANGUARD LITERATURE CO; at 2/1 European Asylum Lane (Manager Gopal ch. Basak).

V. L. Co. is established to cater for the needs of worker-student and de-classed intelligentsia struggling for the mass-revolution in India.

VANGUARD LITERATURE CO.

—sells vanguards books produced by the great thinkers and by the vanguards of freedom and beauty.

—publishes varieties of labour books with life and its varied problems.

—supplies promptly all Literature for worker-student, whether published at home or abroad. Syllabus, Complete book list, particulars on application.

VANGUARD LITERATURE CO. 2/1 EUROPEAN

ASYLUMLANE, CALCUTTA.

Bani Press, Nawabpur, Dacca.

DO YOU WANT FREEDOM?

Do you want Independence for the many, not
Dominion Status for the few?

Do you want less say and more do?

Do you want scientific politics, not wordy sentiment?

Do you want a real People's Party to fight for
the masses?

If so, come to the

FIRST ALL-INDIA WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY CONFERENCE

At ALBERT HALL, College Square, Calcutta.
on December 21, 22, and 23, (1928)

Visitor's Tickets can be had at Rs. 5., Rs., 3., Rs. 2.
and As. 8

Students will have visitor's ticket at As. 4

For Particulars; tickets etc. apply :

RECEPTION COMMITTEE
2-1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

P. 14.
THE
BENGAL JUTE WORKERS'
ASSOCIATION

Central Office-Bhatpara,

(24-PARGANAS)

No.....

Dated the 17th Dec. 1928.

Certified that Comrade Sibnath Banerjee
~~Radharaman Mitra~~
has been selected as a member to the Executive
Council of the A. I. T. U. C. to represent The
Bengal Jute Workers' Association, and also as
a Delegate to the 9th Annual Sessions of the
A. I. T. U. C. to be held at Jharia.

(Sd.) G. CHAKRABORTY,

General Secretary.

Forwarded to

Comrade Sibnath Banerjee.

~~Radharaman Mitra~~
Member, The Bengal Jute Workers' Asso-
ciation for information and necessary action.

P. 15.

**RULES OF THE BENGAL TEXTILE WORKERS'
UNION.**

1. **Name.** The name of the Union is the Bengal Textile Workers' Union.

2. **Aims.** The aims of the Union are,

(a) to unite all the cotton factory workers of Bengal for the promotion of their common interests,

(b) to represent the cotton factory workers for the purpose of deciding with the owners or managers of factories the conditions of employment, and for the purpose of redressing workers' grievances,

(c) to take proceedings on behalf of workers to enforce the observance of the Factory Regulations and the Workmen's Compensation Act,

(d) to institute funds for the purpose of giving Death, Unemployment, Sickness and other benefits to members,

(e) to provide for the educational and social needs of the members by means of meetings lectures, library, the publication of journals, etc.,

(f) to cooperate in the establishment of an All-India Textile, Workers' Union.

(g) to further the interests of the working-class generally, both in India and in other countries, by cooperation and affiliation with organisations having these objects, as shall be decided from time to time.

3. **Membership.** All workers in cotton factories in Bengal or neighbouring provinces shall be admissible as members, and others who may be appointed office-bearers, as herein provided.

4. **Contributions** All members shall pay subscriptions to the General Fund, according to the following scale: Those whose monthly wage is Rs. 20 or under shall pay As. 2 monthly; those above Rs. 20 shall pay As. 4 monthly. Members other than workers, outsiders shall pay As. 4 monthly.

The E. C. is empowered to institute special funds for the payment of benefits to subscribers who must be members. Such funds shall be kept separate from the General Fund, and shall be used only for the purpose for which they are instituted. Branch

Committees shall also be empowered to establish such funds, subject to the observance of this rule, and to the permission of the E. C. Any one who is in arrears in payment of subscription of six months unless this is due to unemployment, shall automatically cease to be a member.

5. Victimisation Benefit. Any member who in the opinion of the E. C. has been dismissed from employment on account of Union work, shall be entitled to benefit paid from the General Fund, which shall not exceed Rs. or Rs. per month for three months. This benefit shall be granted subject to the decision of the E. C.

6. Organisation.

(a) The office-bearers of the Union shall be a President, who shall also be Treasurer, Vice-President, General Secretary, any or all of whom may be outsiders, who shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting of the Union.

(b) The Executive Committee shall consist of the office-bearers, the branch secretaries, and additional representatives of the branches, elected annually in branch meetings on the following basis:—

Branches with membership of 100 to 500,	2 representatives.
” ” ”	501 to 2000, 4 ”
” ” ”	2001 or more, 6 ”

The E. C. shall hold Full Executive meetings quarterly, or at other times on the demand of a Full Branch meeting or by decision of an ordinary E. C. meeting, at which the quorum shall be half the E. C. members. Two weeks, notice of these meetings must be given to all E. C. members.

Between these, ordinary E. C. meetings shall be held at the Union H. Q. in Calcutta at a fixed regular day and time, and the quorum shall be six. Decisions, other than in regard to routine matters, taken at an ordinary E. C. meeting, shall not be binding upon branches which were not represented at the said meeting, until the agreement of these branch committees has been obtained by correspondence or otherwise.

The Full E. C. shall have power to replace any office-bearer to fill up vacancies among the office-bearers. Full Branch meetings may recall their representatives in the E. C. and may fill up vacancies among them at any time.

(c) Full Branch meetings shall take place at least monthly, at a regular date, time and place. One tenth of the branch membership shall be the quorum.

(d) The Full Branch meetings shall elect annually a Branch Committee, consisting of a Secretary, who may be an outsider, a Treasurer, and five to ten other members.

(e) A General Meeting of the Union shall be held annually, which shall be the deciding authority on all questions. It alone can alter the constitution and rules. Two months' notice must be given by the E. C. to branches of the Annual General Meeting, and resolutions for discussion must reach the E. C. one week before the A. G. M. Resolution on matters of emergency may be brought up without notice, with the permission of the President.

Special General Meetings may be called on the decision of the Full E. C. Two weeks notice must be given at any time to branches. Decisions taken must be confined to the questions for which the meeting is called.

The branches shall elect representatives to the A. G. M. on the basis of delegate for each 50 members or part thereof. Such elected delegates alone shall have the right of voting in the A. G. M. Office-bearers and committee members of the Union and of branches may attend the A. G. M. and may speak, but shall not vote unless they are also elected delegates.

7. Finance. The branch committees are responsible for the collection of contributions, and must keep proper registers of members and payments, which shall be open for the inspection of any member of the branch, or of any E. C. member.

The branch Treasurer shall take charge of the funds, which shall be disbursed jointly by him and the branch secretary. Of the money collected monthly by the branch, 75 per cent. shall be forwarded to the Treasurer of the Union, who, jointly with the General Secretary, shall be responsible for it. The money received by the E. C. shall be used for administrative work including an allowance to the General Secretary, as shall be decided by the Full E. C., the travelling expenses of the delegates to E. C. meetings and A. G. M., the establishment of a reserve fund, Union affiliation fees, victimisation benefit, and other objects as may be decided. The money remaining with the branches shall be used for branch administration including allowance to the branch Secretary, as shall be decided by the branch committee, propaganda, local affiliation fees.

In case of the exhaustion of the Union funds during disputes, the E. C. is empowered to call upon branches to give any funds in their possession, and may also authorise special levies upon members not involved in the dispute.

The E. C. shall conduct an annual audit of the branch accounts, and the Union accounts shall be audited annually by some competent person appointed by the E. C. A full statement of Union and branch accounts shall be made to the A. G. M.

8. **Activities of Branches.** At each Full E. C. meeting, a report shall be given from each branch of work done in relation to employers, meetings of branch and branch committee, propaganda, recruiting, collection of contributions and other work. The E. C. shall issue general directions to the branches on the basis of the reports.

Branch committees shall be empowered to enter into negotiations with the management of factories in their jurisdiction, but they shall obtain the permission of the E. C. before concluding any agreement which infringes any of the standard conditions which may be recognised or established by the Union.

The E. C. has the right to withhold support from any strike which may be declared by a branch without its approval.

P. 16.

An account book of Dhakeshwari Cotton Mills Workers' Union in Bengali.

SEARCH LIST.

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

1. Date and hour of search 20th March 1929, 5-45 a. m. to 10-55 a. m.
2. Name and residence of persons whose house is searched:— Kishori Lal Ghose of No. 1 Kantapukur Lane
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search, { (1) Harendra Nath Bhattacharjee of 74 Baghbazar St.
(2) Jogendra Nath Moitra of 1/4 Kantapukur 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>malloka</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.
I.	1 Wooden box containing miscellaneous papers and pamphlets and the following books. Indian Journalist Assn. Acct. book. " " Cash Book. " " Attendance Reg. " " Minutes " " Subscription book. " " Proceeding book. 1 " " Proceeding book 2. Press Employees Assn. Acct. book. Bengal Trade Union Federation Proceedings book. Some typed carbon papers and the following files.	Contents of boxes No. I, II and III. and item No. 1. of box IV. were found in the office room of Kishori Lal Ghose on the ground floor of No. 1 Kantapukur Lane. Item No. 2 to 11 (both including) were found in the corner veranda on the North side on first floor.	Kishori Lal Ghose S/o Late Nando Lal Ghose.	All the four boxes were sealed, labelled in presence of the search witnesses and the accused with a seal produced by the accused and kept with the accused after the seal. The labels are also signed by the search witnesses and the accused. The seal bears the following inscription. AJIN UBF 5216 One copy of this search list is made over to the accused. Received one copy of this search list. 20-3-29. K. L GHOSH.

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>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.
	<p>I. J. S. Application for membership Indian Journalist Association. 2 green files without title. File II Correspondence. Chengail Jute Workers' Trade Union Federation. Badami file without title. Govt. of India Press B.I.T. B. T. U. Federation I. J. A. file correspondence voucher file I. Letter, file I and II. File Newspaper cuttings. Press Employees Association. B.T.U. Federation No. 3. " correspondence I. Press Employees voucher file. All India Press Conf. Resolution. " " " correspondence Press Emp. Printed file. Typists copy file (blue). Federation (blue.) " A.I.T.U.C.</p>	<p>The remaining items of this box were found in the bed room of K.L. Ghose in the South East corner.</p>		

Indian Press greivances.
Entire Note book.
Diary 1923.
Above box sealed with seal A.J.I.N.
provided by owner of house Mr. K. L.
Ghose.

II

I tin box containing:—

1. Miscellaneous files containing pamphlets and manuscript.
2. Beehive Brandy file.
3. Miscellaneous Federation file.
4. Jamshedpur enquiry file.
5. E.I.R. Press file.
6. A.I.T.U.C. green file.
7. B. T U. Federation file.
8. Book-Press-Employees Proceedings.
9. Book-Federation account containing vouchers.
10. Book-Bibliography of Russia.
11. Book-Lady of the Lake.
12. Book of extract--anotations and cutting.
13. Quo Vadis 'Mother of India'.
14. Book Gray's poem.
15. Book Woodsworth poem.
16. Longer English poem.
17. All's Well Midsummer Night's Dream.
18. Pocket diary of 1924.
19. " " 1925.

III

iv.

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.
	20. Pockt diary of 1928. 21. " " 1927. 22. " " 1929. 23. " " 1921. 24. " " 1922. 25. " " 1924. 26. Himani diary 1928. 27. Sarkar's diary 1929. 28. Pocket diary, 1917. 29. " " 1927. 30. " " 1926. 31. Bauria Account book. 32. Labour International handbook. 33. Central Bank pass book. 34. Post Office passbook. 35. Counterfoils of cheque book. 36. Indian Seaman's Indian report book. 37. Peon Book. 38. Poetical selection for junior students. 39. Savitri Charitra. 40. Miscellaneous papers and pamphlets.			

Tin Box
No. 3.

Containing:—

1. Langol with addresses in front.
2. Miscellaneous papers, manuscripts, including Bauria Jute Workers' Union Account book with vouchers.

Tin Box
No. 4.

Containing:—

1. Papers and one Commercial diary, 1922.
2. Book—The Challenge of Bolshevism, by Dr D. F. Boxter.
3. Bauria Jute Workers Associations files.
4. 2 Books, Biplorpathe Russia 16 Rupantar, by Atul Chandra Sen.
5. Dvipantorer Katha, Barindra Kumar Ghosh.
6. Banglai Biplobprochesta, by Hem Chandra Kanango.
7. Gray's poem.
8. American Administration of Philippine Islands.
9. Scotts Rokeby.
10. Bartman Samasaya.
11. Leninism by Joseph Stalin.
12. Russia's Path to Communism, by Cr. Zinoviev.
13. One Katha book containing Changails Account.

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>malatika</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.
	14. Ten Days that Shook the World. 15. My Fight for Irish Freedom. 16. Indian Industrial and Economic Problems. 17. Twelve Years of Prison Life. 18. The Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies. 19. Lenin as a Marxist. 20. Note book containing miscellaneous notes.			

(Sd. K GHOSH,
*Signature with date of
 the person whose property,
 is seized is present at the
 20-3-29.*

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

(Sd.) R. S. MEHTA,
*Police-officers conducting the search.
 Date 20-3-29 Place No. 1 Kanta Pookur lane.*

(Sd.) JOGENDRA NATH MITTRA. 20-3-29.

(Sd.) H. N. BHATTACHARJI. 20-3-29.

Signature of witnesses with date.

Signature by the accused (optional).

SEARCH LIST.

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

1. Date and hour of search 20th March 1929, 5-45 a. m. to 10-55 a. m.
2. Name and residence of persons whose house is searched:— Kishori Lal Ghose of No. 1 Kantapukur Lane
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search, { (1) Harendra Nath Bhattacharjee of 74 Baghbazar St.
(2) Jogendra Nath Moitra of 1/4 Kantapukur Lane.

IIA

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>malatika</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.
I. A	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Manifesto of the Communist Party. 2. Speech by Mr. N. M. Joshi. 3. A Guide to the Study of Marx. 4. The Indian Seamen's Union report from 1925-26. 5. Imperialism by Emile Burns 6. British Trade Unionism, Problems and Policy, by G.D.H. Cole. 7. Workers of the World Unite. 8. I.C.E.A. Jharia report, 1927. 9. India and China 10. British Imperialism in East Africa. 			

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>maltika</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.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 11. Universal Exercise book, containing some accounts. * 12. Presidential address, 8th Session, A.I.T.U. of Congress. Dr. Chamanlal, M. L. A. Cawnpore. 13. B.T.L.W. Labour representation submitted to the Indian Tariff Board. 14. Indian Journalists Association rules. 15. The All India Trade Union Congress. The Congress Constitution. 16. One note book. 17. Manifesto of the Workers' and Peasants' Party to the Indian National Congress. * 18. All India Trade Union Congress Circulars. 19. Indian Journalists Association Secretary's report 1922-23. 			

20. 2 letters from Kali Das Bhattacharji of Bhatpara to Kishori Babu and Satish Babu.
21. Press reports.
22. One cover containing letter from V.V. Giri and Mukundu Lal to Kishori Lal and a letter addressed to V.V. Giri written in pencil, signed by K.L. Ghose.
23. B.N. Railway Workshopmen, Kharagpur B.N. Ry. retrenchment situation.
24. Youngman Hindu Association.
25. Bengal Trades Union Federation (letter to Mr. Joshi).
26. B.I.S.N. Co. Dock Staff Union letter from General Secretary to Mr. Kishori Lal Ghose.
27. All India Trade Union Congress Circular.
28. A post card addressed to Babu Kishori Lal Ghose from Mahabubul-Haq.
29. A post card addressed to Kishori Lal from Provash Mitra.
30. Some questions printed (on paper).
31. Indian Journalists Association reports and accounts.
32. A post card addressed to Kishori Lal Ghose by Samsul Huda.

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>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.
	33. One cover addressed to Kishori Lal Ghose, containing a letter from Bhukandas, Hony. Joint Secretary, 34. One cover with a letter addressed to Kishori Lal Ghosh from G. Chakravarty, General Secy. dated 30-10-28. 35. One cover with a letter addressed to the Secretary, Bengal Trade Union Federation, Calcutta, by Indu Bhusan Sarkar. 36. One cover with a letter addressed to Kishori Lal Ghosh from Provash Mitra. 37. One cover with a letter addressed to Kishori Lal Ghosh from Mukundo Lal, Secretary.			
	38. One cover addressed to the Secretary, 13 Press Employees' Association, containing All India Trade Union Congress Circular No. 14.			

39. One addressed to Kishori Lal Ghosh with a letter from B. Sen Gupta with a typed statement, dated Nov. 15.
40. One cover addressed to Kishori Lal Ghose, containing papers regarding weekly named "Sramjibi".
41. One cover addressed to Kishori Lal Ghose, Esq., containing a a last bill and a letter from Remington Typewriter Co.
42. The Indian Journalists' Association, Bengal. Report 15th July 1924.
43. K. R. W. U.
A letter addressed to Kishori Lal Ghose from Secretary, dated 14th Sept. 1928.
44. Some typed papers containing:-
Application and Judgment, etc. re. the case of Atibar Mandal and others.
 - (a) Kharagpur Riot Statement, by Trade Union Representatives, 8 pages.
 - (b) A letter addressed to Kishori-Lal Ghose, written by Secretary, signed illegible of London Society of compositors.
 - (c) A report in Bengali regarding Bauria Jute Mill Strike, 8 pages.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial,	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt, etc.
	<p>(d) All India Trade Union Congress Bulletin, No. 1.</p> <p>(e) Certificate of postings, 11 slips containing different names.</p> <p>(f) A typewritten letter addressed to the Secretary, Bengal Port Trust Workers' Union by the Hony. Secretary—name not signed.</p> <p>(g) 7 pamphlets in German language entitled <i>Der Journalist</i>.</p> <p>(h) One pamphlet in German language entitled <i>Bundesgefek-blatt</i>.</p> <p>(i) Statement of grievances of Subordinate employees, B.N.Ry.</p> <p>(j) One cover from G. Sethi addressed to Kishori Lal Ghose containing :—</p> <p>(1) Trade Union Congress Agenda of the 59th Annual Congress.</p> <p>(2) The General Council's report of the 59th Annual Congress.</p>			

III. 2 (a)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (3) Statement of Account-General Council. (4) Official diary 1927-B.T.U.C. (5) T. U. C. Edinburgh-Programme of business. (6) B. T. U. C. Presidential Address. (7) T. U. C.-Sectional grouping Committees (1) 51 Post cards. (2) Newspaper cuttings. (3) 28 certificates of postings 15 acknowledgement M. S. postal receipts and other receipts (4) 189 printed papers and pamphlets in different languages. (5) 141 letters and telegrams. (6) 97 typed letters and miscellaneous papers (7) 489 letters and miscellaneous papers. 	
IV. 1 (a)	<p>File No. I, containing 87 papers, (Certificates of postings) telegram receipts, letters and miscellaneous papers).</p> <p>File No. II, containing 8 papers, (Certificates of postings, letters and draft of a letter)</p> <p>File No. III, containing 103 papers, (Newspaper cuttings, letters, post cards, vouchers and miscellaneous papers).</p>	

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>mullika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
	<p>File No. IV, containing 156 papers (letters, post cards, draft of letters, certificates of postings and of miscellaneous papers).</p> <p>File No. V, containing 46 papers (letters, newspapers, cuttings, printed notices of meetings and miscellaneous papers).</p> <p>File No. VI, containing 342 papers (letters, post cards, receipts, certificates of posting and miscellaneous papers).</p>			

(Sd.) K GHOSH,
Signature with date of
the person whose property,
is seized is 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.) R. S. MEHTA,
Police-officers conducting the search.
Date 20-3-29 Place No. 1 Kanta Pookur lane.

(Sd.) JOGINDRANATH MITTRA. 20-3-29.
(Sd.) H. N. BHATTACHARJI. 20-3-29
Signature of witness with date.

Signature by the accused (optional)

P. 21.

A book Social Series No. 9. "Manifesto of the Communist Party," by Karl Marx Frederick Engels.

Price Ans. 6.

P. 22.

A book Syllabus Series No. 19. "Imperialism,"—An outline course for students classes and study circles—by Emile Burns. Price six pence. 1927.

THE LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT.

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

P. 23.
MANIFESTO OF THE
WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY
TO THE
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Madras, December, 1927

(BOYCOTT THE COMMISSION)

(NO ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES)

A NATIONAL CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY
UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE
COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE

RALLY THE PEOPLE TO MASS ACTION

GENERAL STRIKE AND NON-PAYMENT OF TAXES

LAND TO THE PEASANT

BREAD FOR THE TOILER

EDUCATION FOR ALL

Manifesto of the
Workers' and Peasants' Party
TO THE
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The appointment of the Statutory Commission, by the attention it has attracted and the passion it has aroused, is likely to dominate the attention of the Indian public for some time to come. Though in itself only a step in the development of Imperialist policy, it is probably destined to be of considerable importance in determining the future lines of political development in India.

It is therefore highly necessary that the National Congress, which claims to speak with the voice of people of India, and to express their desire for Swaraj, should consider carefully its conduct in relation to this momentous event; and should bear in mind its own representative character.

The vocal section of the nation is practically unanimous in advocating boycott of the Commission, as at present constituted, and there is no doubt that the silent masses will be found eager to support an attitude of boycott. The rally of all sections, including many representatives of the bourgeoisie, (Liberal and Moderate politicians) to the idea of boycott is to be welcomed, and their co-operation on a common platform with the National Congress, if that is possible, is desirable.

But it seems to the Workers' and Peasants' Party necessary to utter a warning as to the dangers of such co-operation. The majority of the moderate leaders enter the Boycott campaign with motives different from those which animate the mass of the people and their popular representatives. Their protest is against the personnel of the Commission, not against its functions and the imperialist policy which it is designed to carry out. Their participation in the propaganda of boycott will tend to lead India into the futile demand for representation on the Commission (in one form or another, either by actual Indian membership, or in a parallel Indian Commission, or in a "Round Table Conference") instead of along the fruitful path of mass protest against, and boycott of, any and every Commission responsible to the British Government.

It is essential that in its desire to retain the support of moderate sections, the Congress should not be led to sacrifice its principles or to modify its campaign.

First, it must be made clear that the Congress boycotts the Commission, not because of its personnel, or any accidental circumstance of its appointment, but on principle. The Congress does not recognise the right of the British Government, or of any Commission appointed by it, whether containing Indian members or not, to determine the nature of the future Government of India. The Indian richer classes, because of their own sectional interests, are unwilling to break the British connection, and are forced to admit Britain's right to political dictatorship in India. The mass of the people, represented in the Congress, whose interests are opposed to those of the richer classes, cannot agree to this position. They stand for complete national independence.

Second, it is necessary that the Boycott campaign should not be confined to the futile and unrepresentative Legislatures. The Congress should bring into the campaign the widest masses of the people, the working class and the peasantry, who alone can supply the strength to make a real boycott effective. It must therefore be made clear that the Boycott is a step towards the attainment of National freedom, and that any improvement in the miserable lot of the mass of the population is dependent upon Swaraj and the cessation of Imperialist exploitation. The masses will willingly take up a campaign designed to lead towards the relief of their pressing economic and social needs, and only in this way can they act.

But such a campaign, which should aim at the eventual Non-Payment of Taxes, and the declaration of a General Strike, will not receive the support of the land-owners and commercial and industrial capitalists, whose sectional interests are directly threatened thereby. The experience of the Non-Co-operation movement clearly shows this fact. But the peasants and the working class, who form the great majority of the nation, with the "intellectual" and middle classes, whose fundamental interests are with the masses, cannot hold their hand for fear of frightening the upper strata, who have so often in the past led them astray. The Indian bourgeois class, with its political spokesmen, has again and again proved to be a broken reed. The masses must learn to stand without their support.

A "ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE"?

It must be said that the Swaraj Party itself cannot be exempted from this charge. Organised as it is solely for Assembly and Council work, in which it represents part of a thin upper crust of less than five per cent of the population, it inevitably tends to voice the views of the upper classes, and with few exceptions its members are to be looked upon as equally guilty with the bourgeois Liberals, Moderates and Responsivists.

The official demand, which the Swaraj Party, supported by other sections, has often made in the Assembly, is for a "Round

Table Conference". This idea is superficially more attractive than the demand for Indian membership of the Commission, since it permits India's representatives to be appointed nominally by India, instead of by the British Government. But it is fundamentally a demand of the same type. A Round Table Conference is essentially an instrument of compromise, and the issue is one which permits of no compromise. India requires strength, and the demand for a Round Table Conference, a demand which appeals merely to those classes which can gain from a possible compromise with Imperialism, in no way adds to India's strength.

Thus there is a serious danger that the Congress will allow itself to be led astray by the clamour of the bourgeois representatives, both within and without, who will attempt to keep the Boycott campaign within the confines of the Councils, and will try to turn it in the direction of pressing for concessions, in regard to membership of the Commission, or the appointment of a supplementary Indian Commission, or a Round Table Conference. Neither of these things must be allowed. The platform of the campaign must be laid down definitely by the Congress, and any who are willing to accept it may then co-operate.

A CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA.

It has been often suggested that the Congress should officially prepare a Draft Constitution, which should be presented to the Government as the minimum demand with which it can be satisfied. It is clearly necessary that the demands of the people must be put forward in an authoritative form by the National Congress, and such sanctions as it is within the power of the people to adopt must then be used to gain those demands. And among the demands to be presented, a constitution drafted by representatives of the Indian people will take an important place.

The detailed working out of the provisions of a Constitution is of minor importance. The broad principles on which it must be based are clear. First, it must declare complete independence for India. No compromise such as "Dominion Status", which would give the appearance of autonomy without removing the reality of exploitation, cannot be accepted by the people as a whole. Second, it must be democratic. Every adult person must be entitled to vote. Third, the paramount need at the present stage is a strong national representative body, which can voice the demands of India as a whole. Provincial or linguistic divisions are for the present comparatively unimportant. Fourth, while protection of minorities is ultimately necessary, there is no place for communal representation. The recent growth of communalism was stimulated by the electorates provided by the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme. And in any case there is no danger of the neglect of the rights of sections by a really popular assembly, since the interests of the people are one.

Communalism will be got rid of by the united action of the mass of the people, among whom there are no essential differences.

Thus India must demand an absolutely unrestricted National Constituent Assembly, elected by universal adult suffrage, which shall be the supreme organ for expressing the will of the people. Nothing short of that can be accepted. India must become a democratic country.

But, while it is necessary to put forward the demand for a constitution drafted by the representatives of the people, and establishing a Constituent Assembly, such a demand by itself does not more than touch the fringe of the real needs which the masses feel and suffer. It is a necessity, but only a preliminary. It is required to provide the means whereby the needs of the people can be expressed and remedied. And these needs are primarily social and economic.

The National Government must guarantee to the peasants:—

The land belongs to the toiler.

Reduction of land rents.

Exemption from rent for poor peasants.

Protection against the avarice of money-lenders.

Assistance by means of credits to the cultivator.

For the industrial workers there must be guaranteed:

The eight-hour day.

A minimum living wage.

Legislation in regard to working conditions and housing.

State provision for the unemployed.

Public utilities must be the property of the nation. Railways, Telegraphs, Waterways, etc. must be run for the public use.

Workers and peasants must be given full rights of combination and of strike.

There must be free primary education for all.

Freedom of religion and worship, freedom of the press and of speech.

These are the main points of a programme which will unite the overwhelming majority of the people and set them in irresistible action. 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.

A NATIONAL CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, guaranteeing complete national independence and the democratisation of national life in every respect—this must be the main plank of the Congress platform. The battle to realise this programme must be fought with the slogan "*Land, Bread, and Education*".

The appointment of the Statutory Commission gives us an opportunity to start this battle in right earnest. This insulting demonstration that Imperialism is still in the saddle and intends to remain on our backs, has stirred the nation as it has not been stirred for many years. The reaction of public opinion has been healthy and vigorous. The Congress must seize its chance, place its popular democratic programme before the people, and transform the Boycott of the Statutory Commission, in spite of doubtful friends and timid allies, from a mere parliamentary demonstration into the final nation-wide fight for Swaraj.

CALCUTTA,

The 22nd December, 1927.

Published by MUZAFFAR AHMAD at the Office of the Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal at 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta and printed by S. C. MAJUMDAR, at the Sri Gouranga Press, 71/1, Mirzapur Street, Calcutta.

P. 24.

BENGAL TRADES UNION FEDERATION.

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

President: Sj. Mrinal Kanti Basu.

Secretary: Sj. Kishori Lal Ghosh.

OFFICE: 34, BOWBAZAR STREET,

Dated, Calcutta the, 7. 12. 1928

9 P. M.

Dear Mr. Joshi,

The enclosed letter and its date which I have not purposely altered will speak for itself and indicate how busy I am—that I could not send it earlier. I wrote to you a p. c. two days back which I am sure would reach you three days earlier than this. I wonder why I have not heard from you since I despatched my report to you. Nor have I yet been informed by you as to whether you have despatched any telegrams to the foreign bodies for help. How is it that you have not yet sent any message of good wishes and encouragement to the Bauria Jute Workers? I wonder why Dange, Jhabwalla and Bradley are silent in spite of the letter I sent to them giving them a brief account of the Bauria strike.

I have always realised the difficulty of your situation. I have for this reason seldom made calls upon your time unless I have been forced to. To Jamshedpur and to Khargpur you gave your best. I could not induce you to come to Bauria from Jamshedpur, if only for one day. And yet I think that Congress has some particular obligations in regard to Bauria and Chengail where work was begun under the direct mandate from the Congress. Tomorrow I shall again wire to you for Rs. 200/- which I immediately need. I am sending you herewith a cutting from the *Patrika* of the proceedings of a meeting of the Federation held on the 5th inst.

I have now begun to realise why there is such a strong feeling of hostility created against the so-called Communists everywhere. From a study of their literature as also from association with Saklatwalla and Campbell (Alison) as also with Spratt I had altogether different ideas about the so-called Communists from what I actually found the members of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party. They have hardly any initiative and dash. They are incapable of sustained work. They always delight in hampering other people in the task of organization. They appear to have a sort of a clique of adventurers who because they are pledged to support one another, right or wrong try to dictate their own terms to other tradeunionists who in most cases have to yield to them because they have no solidarity but are rent asunder by petty personal jealousies and intrigues.

Spratt is a very weak-minded man. He agrees with me on many things privately but cannot act on those views. I never came across an Englishman so absolutely devoid of personality. Kalidas has affiliated the Bengal Jute workers' Association with the Peasants' and Workers' Party. In its last annual report the Party has, therefore, thought fit to boast it very much. I find it mentioned in the report (Bengalee) that it is the *only* union which has done some substantial work and has built up a reputation! Its membership as estimated by the Bengal P. and W. Party is 5000! In a previous letter I asked you what is the amount of affiliation fee paid by the Association. This information is particularly important because they might to increase their voting strength pay at the Congress affiliation fee for 5000. That should never be. I may tell you in this connection that the following affiliated unions have not in spite of my repeated requests paid to the Federation-affiliation fees due to it which according to rules of the Federation is half the amount they have to pay to the Congress:—

1. Bengal Jute Workers' Association.
2. Calcutta Port Trust Employees' Association.
3. Corporation Employees' Association.
4. Employees' Association.
5. Clerks' Union.

I intend to bring this matter formally before the meeting of the Executive Council. In the meantime I shall issue a letter to them tomorrow. I trust in the Congress our supporters would muster strong. The opposition in Bengal though not negligible we care very little. But if we could get an absolute majority we ought to make an end of the rump of Mukunda's Party which dying is only seeking to strengthen itself by making common cause with all base intriguers. Kalidas is a case in point. His presumption is that because his union is called the Bengal Jute Workers' Association, therefore all the unions that may be formed by the workers in the Industry should be as its branches. I pointed out to Kalidas that let the organisation of unions go on and then it would be time for the Jute Unions to consolidate themselves on the basis of Federation or one union with branches spreading out in the whole jute area.

In the p. c. I gave you a brief account as to how he surreptitiously placed Rs. 250/- in the hands of the Secretary whom he has been able to buy off in his own interests and how the Secretary kept that matter wholly concealed to me till Gopen—a secretary of Kalidas's union blurted out to me the fact. Now the source from which Kalidas got this sum is a mystery to me. Your wire to Dundee Jute Workers' Union for relief might elicit some facts which might throw some light on the mystery.

In the earlier letter enclosed herewith you would notice that I asked your opinion about Geneva, with reference to the letter of the Government inviting opinions as to the personnel. At the meeting of the Federation I suggested that the Federation should direct me to address a letter to the Govt. to the effect that as in the previous years it was the A.I.T.U.C. which made these recommendations, my committee did not consider fit to depart from the established practice by making nominations itself. I am going to circulate the letter to the unions concerned.

As regards the unions seeking affiliation there are three besides the two which are affiliated already to the Federation, but of these two I suspect to be bogus organisations....at any rate one—the Paper Mills Union alleged to have been started by Kalidas. I shall not be able to recommend them for affiliation unless I pay them a visit which I intend to do in the course of two or three days.

I deputed Spratt to undertake the enquiry of the unions as I was too busy with Bauria. In some cases I gave him some questions—answers to which I wanted. But Spratt is such a weak-minded man that I doubt whether he has been able to press awkward questions strongly enough to elicit an answer. I am writing to him to-day for coming to me with the materials he has collected.

I am sending again tomorrow a telegram for Rs. 200/- immediately by wire—otherwise the case which had so long been fought so strenuously would collapse.

A batch of resolutions are sent herewith.

Kindly reply to my letter at length as frankly, as truly as I am in the habit of writing to you. This strike cannot be maintained unless a further sum of between two and three thousand rupees I am able to secure. The Federation has passed two resolutions at Bauria which I send herewith.

P. 25.

Comrade Ghosh,

I shall see you on Sunday next at Baoria positively. Please note this.

Fraternally yours,
S. M. Shamsulhuda,
16-11-28.

Address on the back :

Sr. KISHORI LAL GHOSH,
1 Kantapukur Lane,
BAGHBAZAR,
LOCAL.

P. 26.

A minute book of the Bengal Trades Union Federation.

Page 34—An emergent meeting was held on 21st April 1928. One of the resolutions passed was to the following effect:—

A Committee consisting of the following persons be elected to take all measures for the success of the May Day Celebrations:—

Muzaffar Ahmed, Dharani Kanta Goswami, Aftab Ali, Radha Raman Mitra, Kishori Lal Ghosh, Bankim Mukharji and others.

This resolution was moved by Aftab Ali and seconded by Abdul Halim.

Page 44—At a meeting held on 5th December 1928 “Mr. Johnstone, the fraternal delegate of the League Against Imperialism sent from Berlin to the Jharia session of the All India Trade Union Congress.....Addressed a few words as to the aims and objects of the League and was introduced individually to the representatives of the different Trade Unions who were members of the Provincial Committee and to the visitors viz: Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt, Mr. P. Spratt, Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed, Halim and.....Kishori Lal Ghosh and Aftab Ali were also present in the meeting.”

Page 48—A meeting was held on 16th December 1928 to meet Mr. J. Ryan, the fraternal delegate of Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat of Shanghai and Secretary of the Labour Research Department of Sydney. Muza'far Ahmed, Phillip Spratt, Dharani Kanta Goswami, Aftab Ali and others attended.

“ Mr. Ryan being introduced to the members said that his object in visiting India is to induce the All India Trade Union Congress to get itself affiliated to the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat which according to the numerical strength of the Unions affiliated to it has about a million and a half members and includes practically all the countries of Asia on the Pacific Boarders. That the Secretariat has issued a pamphlet stating its aims and objects and the progress it has hitherto been able to make (a number of copies of which was sent to the office of the All India Trade Union Congress for information and distribution to the affiliated Unions). He also gave a picture of the lot of Chinese workers under the present nationalist regime which was doleful to a degree. Mr. Ryan also gave some very interesting facts and figures about the Australian Labour and about the Trade Union Movement in that country and said that radically minded Australian workers have no sympathy for the white Australian policy which is a Capitalist dodge to keep apart the white and coloured workers ”.

In this register there is a miscellaneous paper containing :—

“ Read a letter from Sjt Subhas Chandra Bose, the President of the B. P. C. C. and be it resolved that a Committee be formed of the following persons with powers to co-opt to take steps for the success of the hartal and the boycott of the Simon Commission in all its stages in co-operation with the executive of the B. P. C. C.—

1. Kalidas Bhattacharya.
2. Mazzamil Ali.
3. Aftab Ali.
4. Mahababul Huq.
5. M. Daud.
6. Indu Bhosan Sircar.
7. M. Kishin Lal Ghosh.
8. Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose.
9. Mr. D. P. Godbole.
10. Mr. Mazaffar Ahmad.

Proposed by Mr. M. Daud. Seconded by Mr. Indu Bhusan Sircar.

29-11-28.

DEAR KISHORI,

I am sorry I am engaged this afternoon and cannot come. I really think anyway that I could add little of value to the discussion, though I should be interested to hear it.

I am surprised at Bankim's statement. The telegram bore both signatures, Radharaman's and mine. As to that matter, Radharaman came to the office here last night, and the matter was settled after a prolonged discussion, I shall go to see Johnstone as Huda asked at 5 today and perhaps see you and explain.

I received your note yesterday just before 2-30, when I returned, so I could not possibly come.

Yours

P. SPRATT.

P. 28.

THE
SCAVENGERS' UNION OF BENGAL
CENTRAL OFFICE

2/1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE,
CALCUTTA.

The 7th March 1928.

Chairman.

MISS PROVA DAS GUPTA M. A., PH. D.

Secretary,

DHARANI KANTA GOSWAMI.

TO

The Secretary,

Bengal Trade Union Federation,
CALCUTTA.

Dear Comrade,

I forward herewith a copy of resolution passed in a mass meeting of the scavengers on the 5th instant. Please note that the scavengers are not going to resume work unless and until there is an honourable settlement. I earnestly request you to take up the cause and bring out an honourable settlement.

Yours Fraternally,

DHARANI KANTA GOSWAMI.

THE SCAVENGERS UNION OF BENGAL

CENTRAL OFFICE

2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Chairman.

The 5th March 1928.

Miss Prova Das Gupta,
M.A., PH. D.

Secretary.

The 2nd Day of the Strike.

Dharani Kanta Goswami.

MEETING HELD AT MAIDAN

at 4—30 P. M.

Miss Prova Das Gupta presided.

The following resolutions were passed:—

1. Whereas the Corporation authorities which is under the direct control of the Swarajya Party have taken the help of the police to stifle the peaceful strike of the scavengers, this mass meeting of the scavengers of the Calcutta Corporation and the Talligunj Municipality emphatically condemn the activities of the said Party and the Corporation.

2. Whereas the police authorities have no right to arrest any strikers picketing peacefully, this meeting strongly condemns the Calcutta Police for arresting 8 eight scavengers and beating them mercilessly.

3. Whereas the police have arrested 8 eight of our men, this meeting shows its full sympathy towards these victims and resolves to stand by them.

4. Be it resolved that the branch unions of the Scavengers' Union of Bengal and the Trade Union Federation of Bengal be requested to show their sympathy and help in all possible ways the cause of the strikers employed under the Calcutta Corporation.

5. Be it resolved that a wire be sent to the General Secretary of the All India Trades Union Congress on behalf of the Scavengers' Union of Bengal informing the highhandedness of the Authorities of the Calcutta Corporation and the Calcutta Police in peaceful strike of the Scavengers of the said union.

Moved from the Chair and carried unanimously.

P. 29.

THE SCAVENGERS' UNION OF BENGAL

Central Office

2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Chairman.

MISS PROVA DAS GUPTA,
M. A. Ph. D.

Secretary.

DHARANI KANTA GOSWAMI. The 12th February, 1928.

Copy forwarded to Mr. Kishori Lal Ghosh.

To

The Secretary, Council of Action,
All-India Trades Union Congress,
Bombay.

Dear Comrade,

We organised in January last the above named union and are working for the present amongst the scavengers employed by the Calcutta Corporation, Calcutta Port Trust, Tollygunj Municipality and Howrah Municipality. They are many thousands in number and most oppressed and down trodden of all the workers. The lot of scavengers here is worse than Bombay. Here they are getting only Rs. 12/- & Rs. 14- a month. A few cartmen are only given housing accomodation while the majority of the rank & file are to hire houses for themselves. Their wages being scanty and the bribery system being prevalent all through, the scavengers are compelled one and all to borrow money on an interest of 12½ % a month. To make such depressed over exploited section of workers class-conscious a continued educational propoganda is necessary and this alone can organise them on a firm basis. Those who are organised by now under the banner of this union have got little capacity to pay any subscription.

Under the circumstances we badly require the financial aid from the Council of Action for organising the scavengers and fervently hope that at least a sum of Rs. 300/- will be granted to the union for the purpose as early as possible. So far as we can understand the Bengal members of the Council of Action will not grudge this small grant for the work of the poor scavengers.

With greetings,

Yours Fraternally

Sd/- Dharani Kanta Goswami

Secretary.

P. 30.

Mr. Harry Pollitt
Hony. General Secretary,
National Minority Movement,
38 Great Ormond Street,
London W. C. 1.

Dear Comrade,

Your letter dated the 17th June was received by me on the 11th July. I understood that the period which it takes for a letter to reach London from Calcutta and *vice versa* is a fortnight. If that be true your letter reached me just a week later than it should have. In future replies kindly let me know the exact date on which you receive letters from me.

Many thanks for the sample copies of the literature issued under the auspices of your movement. I received three pamphlets viz., (1) The Miners' Next Task, (2) What's Wrong in the Textile Industry? (3) Is Trade Unionism played out? I read all the three, specially the last with great interest and profit.

I thankfully accept your offer to me for writing to your press from time to time on the trade union situation in India, of course on a voluntary basis. But I trust you would be kind enough to send me all the literature that is issued under your auspices together with the papers viz., *Worker* and *Sunday Worker* which I am told represent the views of your Movement. In the next mail I hope to send you an article for publication dealing with the fundamental problems a trade unionist in India has to grapple with.

We are going to hold the second session of the All India Press Employees' Conference on the 13th and 14th August in Calcutta the details of which you find in a printed letter enclosed herewith. I notice in your letter head that your movement includes different sections of workers e. g. Miners, transport workers, metal workers, building workers, general workers and printers. I am sending under a separate cover labelled "printed matter" a number of copies of these printed letters which I trust you would kindly make over to the different sections. A message of good will and sympathy from yourself as well as from the different sections of the workers will be very much appreciated. I am also taking the liberty of sending the same under separate covers addressed to Messrs. Tom Mann and George Hardy your Hony. Chairman and General Organising Secretary respectively.

With fraternal greetings

Yours
Hony. Secretary,
Bengal Trade Unions Federation
and
All India Press Employees'
Conference.

P. 31.

"THE MASSES OF INDIA" Vol. III. No. 9-10, Paris,
dated September-October, 1927.

P. 32.

The Masses of India, Vol. III.— No. 7, dated July, 1927.

P. 33.

The Vanguard of Indian Independence, Vol. I, No. 8, dated
1st September, 1922.

P. 34.

THE BENGAL JUTE WORKERS' ASSOCIATION.

The fourth Annual General Meeting of the Central Executive Council of The Bengal Jute Workers' Association was held at Bhatpara on 3rd January 1929. The following Office-Bearers and Executive Members were duly Elected :—

President—Mr. Sibnath Banerjee.

Vice-President—Messrs. Dharani Kanta Goswami, Mahadev Bose,
and Sewbalak Sukul.

General Secretary—Mr. Radharaman Mitra.

Assistant Secretary—Mr. Hemanta Kumar Bose.

Branch Secretaries—Mr. Sibcharan Bhattacharjee, Hajinagore.

Mr. Gopendra Chakrabarti, Bhatpara.

Mr. Sidheswar Chatterjee, Tittagarh.

Mr. Kali Kumar Sen, Calcutta.

Mr. Mahendra Nath Maiti, Budge-Budge.

Mr. Bankim Chandra Mookherjee-Bauria.

Mr. Nirode Kanta Chakrabarti, Champdani.

Mr. Manindra Kumar Sinha, Metiaburz.

Executive Members—Messrs. Kalidas Bhattacharjee, Kalachand Mondal, Bibhuti Bhusan Banerjee, Mia Jan, Radha Krishna Mandal, Wozir Ali, Ejad Box Bero Sareng, Bal Kissen Kahar, Safed Ali, and Jogen Sirdar.

With power to Co-opt.

The Central Office of the Association is removed to 97, Cornwallis Street CALCUTTA.

The Secretary, BENGAL TRADE UNION FEDERATION

34, Bowbazar Street, CALCUTTA.

Superscription on the envelope :—

LONG LIVE THE JUTE WORKERS.

Printed Matter.

The

Secretary,

BENGAL TRADE UNION FEDERATION.

THE
BENGAL JUTE WORKERS'
ASSOCIATION.

Office :—BHATPARA,
24 PARGANAS.

34, Bowbazar Street,

CALCUTTA.

Rejected

P. 35.

At an meergent meeting of the Bengal Trade Unions Federation (Provincial Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress) presided over by Mr. Mahababul Huq and subsequently by Mr. Ram Chandra Rao in the unavoidable absence of Sj. Mrinal Kanti Bose, the following resolution was passed.

That this meeting of the Federation convey its deep sympathy for the martyrs at Bamungachi and conveys its respectful condolence to the families of the deceased workers and earnestly requests the relief committee just formed to afford adequate relief to them and to those of the injured workers.

2. That this meeting of the Provincial Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress expresses its deep sympathy and admiration for the brave stand that workers at Lillooah workshop. have taken against the series of petty injustices low wages and various other grievances they have all along been suffering from and resolves to take all measures necessary for help and relief to the licked out workers.

3. Read a letter adressed to Sj. Kishori Lal Ghosh Secretary, Bengal Trade Unions Federation by Mr. K. C. Mitter General Secretary E. I. R. Indian Labour Union and be it resolved that a committee be formed with powers to co-opt. with the following gentlemen representatives of all sections of public and members of the Federation to take charge of propaganda of raising fund and of administering relief to the needy looked out Railway workers and Factory workers of Burns, and Jessop and Martin on strikes.

1. Sj. Subhas Candra Bose.....President
2. Sj. Mrinal Kanti Bose.....Vice-President
3. Mr. M. Daud.....Vice-President
4. Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee.....Treasurer
5. Sj. Kishori Lal Ghosh.....Secretary
6. Sj. Bimal Ganguly.....Asst.-Secretary
7. Sj. Chandra Madhab Ghosh.....Asst.-Secretary
8. Mr. Moulana Abul Kalam Azad
9. Sj. J. Chowdhury
10. Sj. Probhu Doyal Himmat Singh
11. Sj. Satyananda Bose
12. Mr. Wahed Hossein
13. Sj. A. N. Bose
14. Mr. Mazaffar Ahamad
15. Mr. Atafat Ali
16. Sj. Kali Das Bhattacharya
17. Sj. K. C. Mitter

18. Mr. Mazammil Ali.

19. Mr. Abdul Huq

4. That a committee consisting of the following persons be elected to take all measures for the success of the May day celebrations.,

1. Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose
2. Mr. Daud
3. Mr. Azizar Rahman
4. Mr. Abdul Gunny
5. Mr. Muzaffar Ahamad
6. Mr. K. C. Mitter
7. Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt
8. Mr. Dharanidhar Goswami
9. Mr. Mazammil Ali
10. Mr. Aftab Ali
11. Mr. Hasamuddin Chowdhury
12. Mr. Indu Bhusan Sircar
13. Mr. Yazdami
14. Mr. Radha Raman Mitter
15. Mr. Bankim Chandra Mukherjee
16. Mr. Kishori Lal Gosh

5. Read a letter from the General Secretary disaffiliating the following Unions for failure to pay arrears of affiliation fees.,

1. Bengal Port Trust Workers Union
2. Box Makers Association
3. Champdany Labour League.
4. E. B. Railway Indian Employees Association
5. Henry Willam Workers Union
6. Hosiery Workers Association
7. Howrah Labour Union
8. Nadia Harinarayanpur Rayats Association
9. Railway Porters Association

Be it resolved that the Unions disaffiliated by the Congress be removed from the register of the Federation.

6. Affiliations for affiliation to the Federation from Coporation Primary School Teachers Association and Tramway Workers Union were read and it was resolved to affiliate them to the Federation and place them on its register.

7. Read a letter from Mr. N. Sircar describing himself as the General Secretary, B. N. R. Employees Union resolved that the

Secretary be directed to write to the writer of the letter pointing out to him the resolution No, passed at the 7th session of the Congress at Delhi about the undesirability of overlapping the Unions.

8. That the Secretary do take necessary step, for arranging a party to be given by the Federation to Messrs Mahababul Huq and P. C. Bose on the eve of their departure from India to Geneva as advisors to Mr. Chamanlal the Labour delegate at the session of the Conference at Geneva and that all affiliated Unions be called upon to contribute to the expenses of the said party.

P. 36.

AN APPEAL

TO

THE WORKERS OF JAMSHEDPUR.

Dear comrades,

In the Indian Labour movement you have carved out for yourselves by dint of your courage, sacrifice, solidarity devotion and loyalty to the ideals of the working class a unique position. Workers in other industries all over India have long been accustomed to look to Jamshedpur for inspiration while fighting their respective employers for their rights. Jamshedpur workers have never failed to assist to the best of their abilities their Comrades elsewhere in their efforts to get the employer to recognise their right to live as human beings. But for the last few months Jamshedpur seems to have fallen an evil times. The qualities of head and heart which gave its workers the pre-eminent position in the working class movement remain unimpaired, as has been demonstrated only recently in the prolonged deadlock in Steel works. But that solidarity which was the talk workers everywhere and an example to all is not there. Instead of one there are two bodies functioning as unions. The hearts of all the workers have ceased to beat in unison. As a result they are not now as strong as they were. Divided council, suspicion, bitterness and over hatred have taken the place of that unanimity, co-operation, mutual love and forbearance which knit them all together as brothers and made them a power to reckon with.

The All-India Trade Union Congress which depends for its strength and prestige on the solidarity amongst the work ers forming the constituent unions cannot stand by and see over half a lac of workers of the finest type forming hitherto one of the strongest pillars of the great labour movement in India rentasunder by discord. In pursuance of a resolution for enquiry passed at the Jharia session of the Congress last December Mr. Devakinandan Singh, President of the E. I. R. Labour Union, Mr. P. C. Bose, Secretary of the Colliery Employees Union and myself the Secretary of the Bengal Trade Union Federation (Bengal Provincial Committee of the A. I. T. U. C.) have been requested by Pundit Jawarhar Lal Neherue, the President and Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A., the General Secretary of the Congress to proceed to Jamshedpur and enquire into the circumstances that led the present unhappy situation and suggest ways and means for a lasting settlement so that you again may have one union-strong and solidly united-which would be capable of leading you from victory to victory. I have been asked to act as the Secretary of this Committee.

Dear Comrades, would you not help us to find out the truth ? Would you not co-operate with us so that instead of mutual suspicion, recrimination and bitterness leading to weakness and disunion which gladden none but to our enemies good-will may be restored and solidarity ensured. Comrades, in the last resort it is you who are the masters of your own destinies and to you and you alone devolve the task of improving your lot in life. Our task is to enquire and to suggest. The value of our service would depend on the measure of your confidence co-operation with and assistance to us. In the name of the sacred cause of labour, we appeal to you, Comrades help us to the best of your ability. We shall be shortly going to Jamshedpur probably by Sunday next (10-3-29) and you would be informed duly of our arrival. We shall address meetings of the workers and explain our mission to our Comrades. We shall also go from house to house if necessary, and conduct our enquiry. We shall seek information from individual workers, groups of workers as also from leaders. May we hope, Comrades, that you would give us scope to conduct our enquiries in our own way ?

The Indian Labour movement is young. It has many enemies who would only be too glad to throttle the movement while it is young and before it grows to be a formidable power. Legislative measures are being taken by the Government to nip it in the bud. The politicians are ignorant of our needs, the general public is apathetic in its attitude. Our only hope lies in ourselves and salvation in our solidarity. We know no barriers of race, caste, community creed or religion. The injustice of social system to which we are the victims and the sufferings which it is our lot to submit to bind all of us together who sweat that the few may live in luxury and lord it over us.

Can we afford, Comrades, to quarrel amongst ourselves ? Can we afford to fritter away the little strength and energy left to us by our employers in sencidal quarrels ? Can the movement which has for its watch-word "Workers of the World Unite" afford to offer the sorry spectacle of workers in a small area under the same employees having identical grievances failing to fight shoulder to shoulder for a common cause ?

Indian Labour movement in general and the All-India Trade Union Congress in particular expects the workers to be loyal to the working class movement and the ideal of working class solidarity.

Yours fraternally,
Kishori Lal Ghosh.

|| P. 37.

THE WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY, BOMBAY.

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

To: All The Trade Unions & Their Executive Committees

Comrades,

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

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

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

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

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

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

Owing to its weak and anti-working Class policy, the I. F. T. U. is declining in strength. It is dominated by the British and German Unions. The British 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, an Institution run by the capitalists of Europe in their own interests.

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

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

We have placed before you facts as they are, without prejudice and are of the opinion that the interest 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' &
Peasants' Party, Bombay. {}

P. 38.

DELHI.

16. 3. 27.

Dear Mr. Ghose,

I was asked to get in touch with you by my friend Mr. Campbell, who gave me a letter of introduction to you. Unfortunately I gave the letter by mistake to Mr. Bose whom I met here at the Congress. I wish however to meet you when I come to Calcutta in a few week's time. Meanwhile Campbell wished me to approach you with a view to your going to Canton in May of this year to represent the A. I. T. U. C. at a Pan-Pacific T. U. Conference. If this can be done officially, I will put your name forward, with your consent, as a delegate. If it cannot be done officially by the T. U. C. i. e. if Joshi & Co. refuse, we wish you to go unofficially. In either case your fares will be paid. Will you in reply tell Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad, by whom I am sending this letter, whether you agree or not, and let him communicate to me ?

If you agree to go, I should like to discuss the nature of the congress and your report and so on with you before you go.

Yours sincerely,

P. Spratt.

P. 39.

Rejected

A visiting card bearing :—

Phone 2407 Cal.

19, British Indian Street

Tel. "DRAWROF"

CALCUTTA.

Forward :—

THE PREMIER NATIONALIST DAILY

Represented by A. VENKATRAM.

Across the card is written in hand :—

P. Box 631.

NILMANI CHATTERJEE

CALCUTTA.

C/o MESSRS CHATTO & CHATTO

51 Ezra St.

Peasants and workers party conference.

CALL FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal held its third Annual Conference on 31st March and 1st April at Bhatpara, with the President, Atul Chandra Gupta, M. A. B. L. in the chair. About 80 members were present, including a representative of the Mymensingh Branch, and about 100 visitors. A telegram was read from the President and Secretary of the Bengal Trade Union Federation, and a letter from Prof. Atul Chandra Sen of Decca, regretting absence, and wishing success.

The report of the Executive Committee gave a short history of the Party, a report of work done in organising labour etc., and an account of political policy. It emphasised mainly the need for firmly establishing and thoroughly organising the Party. The President gave a short address in Bengali, in which he stressed the need for keeping the political objective of national independence constantly before the masses. A workers' or peasants' organisation kept aloof from the political struggle has no value at all. Many Labour leaders who try to eschew politics thereby obtain Government favour, and are rightly looked upon with suspicion.

A long political report from the Executive Committee was then read. It discussed the international situation, showing that Great Britain is in a state of economic and political decline, and is therefore unable to make any substantial economic concessions to India, but must attempt to exploit India more intensely. It must also keep India under firm political control, especially in view of the prospect of war in the near future against Russia or America. The policy of Britain has thus been to form an alliance with the India upper classes, including last of all the industrial capitalists, with the result that the nationalist movement, which is still led by the upper classes, has almost collapsed. In the last two years it has grown up again slowly, and the tendency is for the middle class to come forward with the workers and the peasants, in a mass nationalist movement. The appointment of the Commission with no Indian members has forced the bourgeois leaders to take up opposition again, and enabled them to deceive the masses by posing as revolutionaries. But they have exposed themselves by appealing to the Government to allow Indian members on the Commission, and by the proceedings of the All Parties Conference. The All Parties Conference, by drafting a Constitution instead of deciding ways and means to enforce its demands, has become a gesture for cooperation and peace. It has given up Complete Independence and the fight against the feudal despotism of the Indian States.

Those leaders who are really for Complete Independence but have agreed to " Full Responsible Government " have made a great mistake. The Boycott of British Goods, which has been adopted by the Bengal and other provincial Congresses, is only a reformist weapon, capable at the most of extorting compromise terms. The nation has been disappointed once again, and the enthusiasm roused by the Boycott of the Simon Commission and the Hartal is being allowed to die away without result. The Peasants and Workers Party demands that complete independence be retained, and suggests as a programme of action that propaganda and preparation should be begun for calling a Constituent Assembly representing the whole country, and elected by universal suffrage, and that the economic and social grievances of the masses should be taken up, and they be drawn into action. In view of the danger of war, in which India will be involved against her interests, the Party proposes to conduct propaganda against war especially among the masses.

A resolution was passed proposing means for removing the weaknesses of the Trade Union movement, and advocating the establishment of a Trades Council for Calcutta and Howrah. A forward policy on wages was urged, and the establishment by Unions of organised Defence Corps, to keep peace during strikes etc. and to protect workers against the hooliganism of the police.

A resolution on the Youth movement was adopted, which pointed out to the young intelligentsia and other that if they desire national freedom and democracy they must support the policy of encouraging a mass nationalist movement on the lines advocated by the Party. The attempt to find another course on the Fascist plan cannot succeed in India, and such a movement will inevitably finish by supporting the Government.

The peasant question was discussed at some length, and a resolution on the organisation of the Party, and a number of amendments to the Constitution were passed. The name was changed to "Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal". The proposal to form an All-India Party was approved. A resolution expressed sympathy for the E. I. Railway strike, and protested against the practice of firing upon strikers. Other resolutions congratulated the Workers' Welfare League of India and the League against Imperialism upon their work in the service of India.

P. 41.

DIARY FOR 1928 WRITTEN BY KISHORI LAL GHOSH.

January 18th—"To meet Radha Raman Babu.....to talk about organisation work".

January 20th—"To meet Muzaffar Ahmed at home..... Muzaffar Ahmed did not turn up".

January 21st—"To see Bankim Babu and Radha Raman Babu".

February 9th—"Sent to S. Tagore a registered letter-/8/- annas."

April 16th—"Came back this morning. Wrote letters to a Vidyarthi, Cawnpore and Bishwanath Mukharji., Gorakhpur."

October 27th—Train fare for Spratt and self 1/3 Dab for Spratt and self-/4/.Radha Raman Babu 2/-/-

November 2nd—Spratt 2 rupees.

November 14th—Spratt 1/-

November 18th—Mr. Spratt to go with me to Bauria.

Train fare for Spratt, Shamsul Huda and self 1/12/6

P. 42.

A NOTE BOOK FOR 1927.

January 5th—Cambell charged under Section Nos. 419, 466, 471, 474.

Under section 3 passport Act and 177 to 184 Cr. P. C. up to 12-2-27.

January 27th—Consultation with Campbell.

January 29th—Received in all from Campbell Rs. 35/-

January 30th—Consultation with Campbell at 4-30 P. M.

February 2nd—6 P. M. Campbell.

February 6th—Campbell consultation.

February 7, 9, 10, 12 and 14—Consultation with Campbell.

July 21st—Wrote letters to Soumen (Berlin). Soumendra Nath Tagore.

P. 43.

DIARY BOOK FOR 1929

January 24th—Received telegram from Bakhle informing Bradley sent money 500 to Muzaffar Ahmed for Jute strike. Wrote at once to Muzaffar Ahmed who replied that he had informed Radha Raman Babu and that in the mean time he learnt that the strike was over. He intended to hand-over the money at a meeting.

January 25th—Went in the morning to Muzaffar Ahmed and brought Rs. 100/- for Bauria.

February 28th—"Spratt came and had a prolonged talk with him. Told him every thing about the impertinent letters Muzaffar wrote to me. He could not justify them. Gave me hints that there is no love lost between 97 Cornwallis Street and 2/1 European Asylum Lane. Kali Das has been expelled from the Party. Bankim and Radha Raman have made common cause with Muzaffar's opponents.

March 6th—"7 and 8 to meet Mr. Spratt.".....Spratt came in the evening. Promised Spratt to hunt up Campbell's letter and give it to him next time. Had a talk about the enquiry he conducted as also the position of things regarding a split. He says Bankim and Radha Raman being outsiders got into the Party under false pretence and quarrelled.

P. 44.

A DIARY BOOK FOR THE YEAR 1928 AGAIN.

November 28th—League Against Imperialism International Secretariat Berlin, H.W.48, Friedrichstr 24.

December 27th—All India Socialist Youth Conference (First Session).....the object of the Conference is to propagate revolutionary ideas and new world views amongst the youth of the country and to chalk out a programme in consonance with world views (new) in all spheres of life for all round freedom of the Indian people.

P. 45.

DIARY BOOK FOR 1929 AGAIN.

January 1st—One of the things memorable in the history of the Indian National Congress in the year just expiring is the number of messages and goodwill it has received from far and nearThe National Minority Movement of England, National Party of Tunis under the iron heels of France are the two most important bodies which indicate how the freedom movement in India is attracting world-wide attention. All India Trade Union Congress has also Mr. Johnstone from League Against Imperialism and Mr. F. J. Ryan from Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

January 25th—Received from Muzaffar Rs. 100/- on account of Girni Kamgar Union.

February 2nd—Received Rs. 50/- Bombay Textile Labour Union.

P. 46.

A DIARY BOOK FOR 1927.

To the front page is attached a visiting card of Kedarnath Saigal of the Khabardar Office, Lahore. In one of the pages allotted for memorandum the following is written:—

November 1923.

Value, price and capital Karl Marx.
Wage, labour and capital and manifesto of Communist Party.

Sunday Worker.

In another page of the memo the following is written:—

“Modern India R. Palme Dutt.

The following further appears in another page-of the memo:—

Delegation to China First Class

To Honkong	Single.	Return.
First Class	9 3 6	9 6 1
Second Class	3 2 0	5 6 0
To Shanghai		
First Class	5 0 0	8 7 5
Second Class	3 7 5	8 5 6

January 28th—General Secretary, National Minority Movement, 38 Great Ormand Street, London, E. C. 1.

February 13th, 14th, and 15th Names of some Communist books are given.

June 27th—Srijut Hemant Kumar Sarkar, 12 Gopal Basak Lane, Post Office Enhurst Street.

September 1st—Mass meeting of the workers. Visit to the bustics.

November 21st—Mr. M. A. Majid, Spence's Hotel, Mr. M. A. Majid, Secretary Punjab Press Workers' Union, Mochi Gate, Lahore.

P. 47.

DIARY BOOK FOR 1926.

In one of the pages meant for memo the following is written:—

To see Jhabwala.

January 6th—Muzaffar Ahmad, Editor "Ganavani" 37 Harrison Road.

In the last page of the book the following is written:—

Srijut S. N. Banerji, 57/4 Michua Bazar Street.

P. 48.

"The Labour International Handbook 1921," Edited by R. Palme Dutt. Published by the Labour Publishing Company, Ltd., 6 Tavistock Square W. C. and George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 30 Museum Street W. C.

P. 49.

A Bound Book of Langal and Ganabani with a slip bearing—

(1) The Indian Seamen,
98, East India Dock Road, London E.

(2) Herr S. N. Tagore,
Cie Dr. D. R. Dhar
Charlothenburg
Fritschestrasse 44
Portel II

Berlin.

B Homann.

P. 50.

PRESIDENCY JAIL.

PRISONER'S LETTER.

To—KISHORI LALL GHOSE.

Dear Sir,

I have already tried to get into communication with you concerning the possibilities of my being released on bail and also with regard to legal advice. I would consider it a favour if you could grant me a short interview on these matters.

Yours Sincerely,
D. CAMPBELL.

Contents admissible
under the rules.

Jailer.

Passed may be posted

Sd/- Illegible.

Superintendent.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Thesis presented to the First All India

Workers' and Peasants' Party

Conference.

December, 1928.

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

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

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

easy access to one branch. Branch committees should be established, but primarily for the conduct of routine business. So far as possible all questions of policy, elections of representatives delegates etc., should be decided by branch meetings.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Saugat Press, 21 Wellesley Street, Calcutta.

THE PEASANTS' & 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 the 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 member 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 Himanta 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-committee. 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 dis-organisation, 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 "The Dakeswari Cotton Mill Workers' Union" at Dacca.

(c) Party members are re-organising 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, and 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 zemindars 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 worker's 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 on 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 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 15 April 1926. It was stopped owing to financial embarrassment. It reappeared under the name "Ganavani" (Voice of the People) the official organ of the Peasant's and Worker's 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 the 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 Comrades 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 "Mihnat-kash" (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 tasks 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 and political movements. He has studied particularly in Germany. In October 1927 an invitation was received from the Federation of Russian Rural Cooperatives to send a representative to take part in the celebrations 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 Cawnpore 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 at 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 Chandra 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:

- (6) Muzaffar Ahmad } In Charge of Publicity Work.
 (7) Pyari Mohan Das }
 (8) Kalidas Bhattacharya.
 (9) Faizuddin Hosain.
 (10) Quazi Nazrul Islam.
 (11) Abdul Halim.
 (12) Aftab Ali.
 (13) Nirod Kanta Chakraverty.
 (14) Nishi Kanta Patra.
 (15) Gopendra Krishna Chakraverty.
 (16) Ramesh Chandra Das Gupta.
 (17) Sanat Kumar Mukherji.

The Statement of Accounts

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.
<i>Subscription—</i>		<i>Loan—</i>	
March 1927 to Feb. 1928	325 6 0	Munshi Pear Muhammad	30 0 0
<i>Donation—</i>		Travelling	246 3 0
Atul Chandra Gupta ...	161 0 0	Printing	128 12 0
Sundries	471 3 9	Postage & Telegrams ...	118 7 6
<i>Loan—</i>		Stationery	25 2 9
Satish Chandra Bose ...	44 0 0	General	88 4 0
Qutbuddin Ahmad ...	30 0 0	Books purchased ...	37 5 0
S. N. Chakravarti ..	50 0 0	House Rent	400 0 0
		Cash in hand	7 7 6
Total	Rs. 1,081 9 9	Total	Rs. 1,081 9 9

The 31st March, 1928.

Published by MUZAFFAR AHMAD from the office of the Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal at 2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta and printed by S. C. MAJUMDAR, at the Sri Gouranga Press, 71/1, Mirzapur Street, Calcutta.

P. 53.

Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party report for the year
1927-28, dated 31-3-28, in Bengali. S 3 T. *Rejected.*

P. 54.

International Press Correspondence, Vol. 3 No. 32 (14),
dated 12th April 1923.

P. 55.

The Masses of India Vol. 3 No. 6, dated June 1927.

POLITICAL RESOLUTION.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Independence for India League is thus to be looked upon as the resultant of different tendencies: (1) a hesitating and yet confused move on the part of a section of the petty

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Sunday Worker, No. 174, July 8, 1928.

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A book entitled "The LABOUR MONTHLY" A magazine
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August, 1927 Number 8. Published at 162 Buckingham Palace
Road, London, S. W. 1.

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A book entitled "Russia under Soviet Rule."

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The Port Trust Marine Workers' Union.

Head Quarters—Kidderpore, Calcutta.

Bulletin—No. 1

A brief statement of the grievances of the men working in the Calcutta Port Commissioners Heave-up boats, Hawser boats, Anchor Vessels, Steam Launches, Kidderpore Docks, and dry Docks, Jolly boats, Tug boats, Rescue Vessels, Ferries etc.,

In this Bulletin it is under painful necessity that the Union is placing before the Public and the authorities a short statement of the series of representations made by the men regarding the increment of their wages by Rs. 10/- (price of a maund of rice per head per month, since August 1927, to the Chairman, Calcutta Port Commissioners.

Representations on 25-8-27 & 26-8-27.

The men of the Heave-up-boats, Hawser boats, Anchor vessels, Launches, Kidderpore Docks, Tug boats, Jolly boats made a representation to the Chairman, Calcutta Port Commissioners on 25-8-27 for the increment of their wages on the followings grounds:—(1) That there was no increase for 7 years ; (2) Scarcity of food in the men's Villages (3) Heavy and Hazardous work—day and night, in season and out of season (4) Starvation for the families of the men in the Districts of Noakhali, Chittagong and Jessore (5) Deaths and Diseases etc. On receiving no replies to the representations the men sent a reminder on 7-9-27.

The men of the Tug Rescue also submitted a representation to the Dy. Conservator Calcutta, Port Commissioners some times in March and June 1927 and another on 26-8-27 for the increment of their wages as also for over-time allowance.

Chairman, Port Commissioners' Reply—Dated 13-9-27.

Letter No. 11144 dated 13th September 1927 from the Chairman to the Deputy Conservator, Calcutta Port Commissioners was forwarded to the representatives of the men for information.

“With reference to the three Petitions in identical terms from the Manjees of the Hawser boats, the Serangis of the steam launches and the Tindals of the Heave-up-boats, I beg to say that I have carefully considered the memorial submitted, with reference to the

rates of Pay prevailing in the Port generally and also with reference to the cost of living at the present moment, as compared with that which obtained when these rates were fixed. I find that the rates now being paid by us are as high as any rates generally paid in the Port and I find also that the cost of living has declined since these rates were fixed. I am therefore unable to recommend any increase in the present rates for the approval of the Commissioners and the men concerned should be informed accordingly. In some cases there has been complaint regarding the quality of uniforms recently issued, and steps will be taken to see that the quality of all uniform is of a satisfactory standard."

Representation for a Deputation.

On receiving the above reply the men sent representations to see the Chairman in order to represent their grievances.

Chairman's Refusal.

The following letter No. 11997 dated 28th September 1927 from the Chairman to the Deputy Conservator, Calcutta Port Commissioners was forwarded to the representatives of the men for information. "Will you please inform the signatories of all these petitions that the Chairman does not consider any useful purpose would be served by seeing their representatives. There has been no increase in the cost of living either in Calcutta or in Muffusil since the last revision of their pay and the Chairman is consequently not prepared to recommend any increase in the rates of pay now drawn, which compare favourably with those prevalent in the Port. If the Harbour Master has any special recommendation to make in the case of very senior men with exceptionally long and meritorious service who cannot obtain promotion to higher grades, they will be considered on their merits."

Representations on 11-10-27.

On being disappointed at the refusal of the Chairman to see the men's representatives for a discussion of their grievances regarding increment of wages the men approached Mr. M. Daud on 10-10-27 requesting him to represent their case before the Chairman, Calcutta Port Commissioners and also submitted another petition 11-10-27 to the Chairman asking for a maund's rice (Rs. 10) for each man per month as increment of their wages on the following grounds. (1) The pay of the staffs under reference has not been increased since 1920 ; (2) During the aforesaid period the families of the men have increased in number and the minors have grown older and owing to this, the economic distress has come upon them in such a measure that they are practically living on debts ; (3) Diseases, unavoidable ceremonies, accidents and incidents (such as floods, famines etc.) are

continually putting the men out of their budgets and specially the items of medical expences have more or less an additional monthly expenditure (4) The nature of work that the men are to perform is so hazardous that they are always in the risk of their lives and it is so toilsome that they require at least three meals a day instead of two. (5) The prayer for a general increment of wages is not for an economic saving but for the upkeep of the men's health by having a maund of rice each per month, for bare existence in life. (6) The shipping has so much lately been increased that the Port by herself is in a well up condition and it is not a pressing demand on the part of the men for a maund of rice for each man from the authorities. The copy of this petition was forwarded to Mr. M. Daud, M. A., B. L. with a request to place the same before the Port Commissioners for redress.

Mr. Daud's Letter to Mr. Stuart Williams.

On 11-10-27 Mr. M. Daud sent a letter to the Chairman requesting him to hear the grievances of the men.

Mr. Stuart Williams' Reply.

"I received late last night your letter No. 101 dated the 11th October in which you ask me to see you regarding the alleged grievances of some of our staff. I will put your letter before the Port Commissioners on the next meeting which will be on Monday the 17th October, 1927."

Result of the Representation dated 11-10-27—Finally agreed to received a deputation.

Letter from Mr. S. C. Stuart Williams to Mr. Daud, dated 17-10-27....."I write now to let you know that I am arranging to meet a delegate of about, say, one dozen of the men concerned and I am making special efforts to ensure the delogation being as representative as possible of the different sections of the staff and of the different grades in each section or on each type of boat. Thanking you for the interest you have taken in the matter."

Deputation waited on the Chairman—Dated 19-10-27.

On 19-10-27, 14 men who were selected by the authorities as well as by the men as their representatives waited upon the Chairman and fully represented to him the men's grievances and requested him to increase their wages by giving them each a maund's rice per month the price of which would be Rs. 10.

Chairman's Reply—Dated 27-10-27.

.....“The Commissioners are not prepared to sanction any general enhancement of pay.....The Commissioners however recognise that the crews of the Heave-up-boats, the Anchor vessels, the Hawser boats and of the Launches “Sadie” “Psyche”, “Despatch”, “Pioneer” and Vigilant” had extra work to perform during the exceptionally strong bore tides and they appreciate the manner in which this work was performed. The Commissioners therefore sanctioned the grant of one half of a month's pay to the crew of the above named vessels and they will be ready to consider a similar grant later in the year if circumstances justify it.....”

The Port Commissioners refused to enhance the wages of the men but at the same time they admitted the hazardous nature of work done by the men at great risk and they also accepted that men are to perform extra work and hence they granted half a month's pay as over-time work pay. But the grievances of the men were not removed.

Formation of the Port Trust Marine Workers' Union.

When these representations were submitted to the Port Commissioners, several meetings were being held with a view to organise these men into a strong Trade Union. Finally on 23-10-27 a meeting was held under the Presidency of Mr. M. Daud and a Union was properly formed under the name and style of “The Port Trust Marine Workers' Union.”

Removal of the Grievances Urged by the Union.

The replies of the Port Commissioners to the representatives of the men—letter No. 12826 dated 27-10-27 were forwarded by the men to the Joint Secretary of the men's Union (Port Trust Marine Workers' Union) to place the same before the next general meeting of the Union for decision. Accordingly the Joint Secretary called a general meeting on 3-11-27 and it was resolved that the over-time allowance of half a month's pay should be accepted and that there by the men should not waive their demand of a maund's rice (Rs.10) per month per head as increment of their wages. And it was also resolved that the Port Commissioners be requested to meet the grievances of the men regarding the increment of their wages by Rs. 10 without any further loss of time. The resolutions of the meeting were forwarded to the Chairman Port Commissioners for information and necessary action.

Authorities' Indifference—Resolution of the Union's Executive.

A reminder of the Union's resolutions regarding the increment of the men's wages was sent on 10-11-27 by the President of the

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Union to the Chairman, Port Commissioners. but no reply was being received by the Union, when on 13-12-27 that is after more than a month, a meeting of the Executive council was held and it was resolved (1) That the Chairman, Port Commissioners be requested to reply to the representation of this Union within three days regarding the increment of wages of the men by Rs. 10 per head per month as adopted at the last general meeting of the Union (3-11-27) and forwarded by the President of this Union with his letter No. 19 dated 10-11-27; (2) That if no satisfactory reply be received by this Union from the Chairman, Port Commissioners within three days a general meeting of the Union be called by the Joint Secretary to consider about the steps to be taken regarding the early removal of the men's grievances by taking direct action or otherwise. (3) That the President of the Union be authorised to negotiate with the Port Commissioners to bring about an early settlement.

Negotiations Failed.

Mr. M. Daud, President of the Union forwarded the resolution of the Executive Council to the Chairman, Port Commissioners on 14-12-27 and on the morning of the 15th the Chairman, Port Commissioners was Phoned by the President of the Union and it was learnt that no negotiation was possible with the Union until & unless the Union is registered under the Indian Trade Union Act. The Executive of the Union met on 17-12-27 and decided to register the Union, if possible, by the 19th December. And also decided to hold the next general meeting on the evening of the 20th December in order to come to a final decision in the matter.

Application Submitted for the Registration of the Union.

On 18-12-27 Mr. M. Daud, President of the Union Phoned to Mr. R. N. Gilchrist M. L. C. Registrar of the Trade Unions, Bengal, requesting him to get the Union registered on the 20th December. But Mr. Gilchrist advised the Union to submit their application for registration and he said that within a due course of time the Union will be registered. Accordingly an application for registration was submitted on the very same date 18-12-27 a copy of which had been forwarded to the Chairman, Port Commissioners for information.

The All-India Trade Union Congress Resolution.

The All-India Trade Union Congress in its eighth session held at Cawnpore on 28-10-27 passed a resolution for the increment of the wages of the Calcutta Port Commissioners Marine Workers.

Conclusion.

In conclusion, the Union begs to place this information before the public the Trade Unions, the Government, the Shipping

Companies, the various Chambers of Commerce, and the traders and merchants and the parties concerned to judge the actions of and the constitutional steps taken stage by stage by the men and their union for the removal of the men's grievances. We further beg to invite the public and the Trade Unions to sympathise with the legitimate grievances of the men. We also appeal to the public and the Government to bear pressure on the Port Commissioners to avoid the catastrophe likely to happen, by immediately removing the men's grievances. The responsibilities of the catastrophe, if happens and the effects thereon to, under the circumstances lie entirely with the authorities.

7, Ekbalpore Lane,
Kidderpore, Calcutta,
The 20th December, 1927.

}

Abdul Halim,
M. Azizar Rahaman,
Joint Secretaries.

(Statement adopted by the general meeting of the union held on 20-12-27).

P. 68.

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Liebe Genossen!

Dem Ueberbringer dieses Schreibens, Herrn

Kishorilal Gohsh aus Calcutta / INDIEN

bitten wir jedge erforderliche Unterstutzung angedeihen zu lassen,
da er sich nach China begibt, um wahrheitsgetreue Berichte uber
die politische Lage in China nach Indien zu ubermitteln und sich
durch Vertrauenspersonen an uns wegen einer Empfehlung gewendet
hat.

Mit revolutionarem Gruss

(Sd). *Illegible.*

Chinesische Nachrichten-Agentur
in Europa

Superscription on the envelop.

Chinesische Nachrichten-Agentur
in Europa

SITZ BERLIN
BERLIN-CHARLOTTENBURG
Witzlebenplatz 5
GERMANY

AN

“Prodehenar” News Agency
CANTON/CHINA

White Cloud Building 26

P. 70.

Tele. Address: "Ganavani" Calcutta.

Phone Cal. 3270

WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY OF INDIA

2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Bengal Provincial Branch.

Organs:

"Ganavani"

(Bengali Weekly).

"Lal Nishan"

24. 1. 1928.

Dear Mr. Ghosh,

(Hindi-Weekly)

Girni Kamgar Union, Bombay sent me Rs. 500/- for the relief of the strikers at Bauria. I informed M. R. R. Mitra to arrange a meeting at once where I wanted to make over the money in the presence of the workers. Before he had done so the strike was over. Now, I do not know what to do. I am just wiring to the above named union for instructions. I shall let you know as soon as I get the reply. Please speak to me in phone some time tomorrow.

Yours fraternally,

Muzaffar Ahmed.

Superscription on the envelope:—

Mr. Kishorilal Ghosh, M. A. B. L.

P. 71.

*Rejected as P.
Kishori's P.*

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

27/2/29.

Dear Kishori,

I am sorry I did not keep my previous appointment with you. It was a rather vague one, if I remember. I am afraid now that I am engaged on Friday evening, but Thursday or Saturday will do for me. Huda told me this morning to go to see you on Thursday. Will that be satisfactory now? If not, you might phone some time during the day to Cal. 3270, otherwise, I shall come about 8.

Meanwhile I shall try to collect the material which I gathered previously on the Unions. I fear, though, that you will be disappointed in its quality and quantity I have not looked at it since the T.U.C., if I remember, having been extremely busy in doing, as usual, nothing in particular.

Yours
P. Spratt.

Superscription on the envelope:—

Mr. Kishori Lal Ghose,
1 Kantapukur Lane,
Baghbazar,
(Local).

P. 72. (1)

Letter dated Berlin 3.1.28 from Soumendra Nath Tagore to Kishori Lal Ghosh.

P. 72. (2) *Rejected*

Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Germany
Holsteinischestr. 36,
bei Prippenow
January 4th, 1928

Dear Mr. Ghosh:

Some time ago Mr. Tagore suggested to me that I start a news service from Berlin, to India. He asked me to work up a plan and submit it to you.

I have considered the matter, and think it best to work through a concern already established—such as the Free Press of India, about which I so often read in the Indian Press. I do not know what it is, what its financial basis is, etc., but the things it sends out seem to be good. Will you tell me what it is and how reliable it is, please? I am also enclosing a letter addressed to them, requesting them to start a branch of their work here in Berlin, and make me their representative. Could you recommend

me to them? I do not know their address, so am enclosing the letter, leaving a space which I request you to fill in with the proper address. I should be very glad if you could help me in this way, for not only would it benefit me materially if I could do such work, but it would be of help to India. I rather think it would be better than starting a branch of the Indian Journalists' Assn. here, for that would mean much money that you perhaps do not have.

Please write me about the Free Press and your ideas about the news service.

Very soon I shall write you again, in cooperation with Mr. Hirlekar, the correspondent of the "Bombay Chronicle" here, about the International Press Exhibition which begins in Cologne, Germany, and lasts from May to June. There will be a Press Congress also. The Indian Journalists Assn. should be represented there. It would be good if you could come yourself, or send someone, or if you could appoint say, Mr. Hirlekar and myself here as your representatives. I understand Mr. Hirlekar is joining your Association. But if you send someone, or if you appoint one of us, you should have to send complete material about your Association. But of this we shall write you next week. We are just now collecting facts from the Managing Dept. of the forthcoming Congress, and shall then be able to write you more fully.

With kind regards, I am
Very faithfully yours,
Agnes Smedley

What has happened to the China expedition?

Superscription on the envelope:—

Sj Kishori Lal Ghosh
1 Kantapookor Lane
P.O. Baghbazar
Calcutta
India

P. 73.

Rejected as D.
Khalid D.

Tele. Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY OF INDIA

2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

BENGAL PROVINCIAL BRANCH.

Feb. 19, 1929.

Organs:

"GANAVANI"

(Bengali Weekly).

My dear Mr. Ghosh,

I received the letter you wrote to me on the eve of your departure for Delhi. I have received one more this morning. The terms you have used in your letters are extremely objectionable. You have no right to use such expressions about me. I did not bungle with the "Girni Kamgar Union" money, on the other hand I tried my best to see that none else including you are allowed to bungle with the amount. I gave you one hundred rupees. You had received six hundred rupees from A. I. T. U. C. But, nobody knows what you have done with those amounts. In court everybody was complaining about non-payment of dues. I never saw in court, nor your man had taken any money with him. I have already spent nearly 300 rupees including one hundred which was given to you. I am not going to pay any more unless amounts received by you and Mr. Kalidas Bhattacharya are paid. I have been asked by the Girni Kamgar Union to use my discretion and I am doing so. Do you think that these people can be released on bail with this two hundred rupees? There are 48 Cases. Bail amounts come to Rs. 19200/- I have been told that you left with Kshitish Babu only ten rupees.

You must have known that for this money I am personally responsible, not the Workers' and Peasants' Party. Again, Messrs R. R. Mitra and Bankim Mukherji were not working under my instruction, nor they are members of our Party. So, it is no good to talk frivolous things about the Party. I had to spend money through Messrs Mitra and Mukherji because they attended the court while you wanted to finish your duty by writing letters.

Yours

Muzaffar Ahmad.

Superscription on the envelope :—

Mr. Kishori Lal Ghosh M.A. B.L.

1 Kanta Pukur Lane

P. O. Bagh Bazar

CALCUTTA

P. 74.

Rejected

2/1 European Asylum Lane,
CALCUTTA.

17-3-29.

Dear Kishorī,

I must apologise for not turning up last night, and hope that it caused you no inconvenience. The fact is that I had not finished the Report, and so thought it useless to go, and had arranged to let you know by phone. I asked Hafim, who is more expert on the 'phone, than I am, to inform the people at the Patrika office, about 4 or so yesterday afternoon. I went out immediately, and late at night, on Hafim's return, found that he had tried to get through to the Patrika three times, but had failed.

I could not finish in time owing to a slightly mysterious sickness which beset me on Friday, and many interruptions yesterday. I am proceeding with the thing now, however, and should finish to-day. I cannot come till Tuesday evening, though. With that suit you.

Yours

P. SPRATT.

Superscription on the envelope :—

MR. KISHOR LALL GHOSE

1 Kantapur Lane

Baghbajar

(LOCAL).

P. 75.

*Rejected as P.
Ghosh D.*

Phone Cal. 3270

Tele Address: "GANAVANT" Calcutta.

WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY OF INDIA

2/1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA.

BENGAL PROVINCIAL BRANCH

Organs :

"GANAVANT" "DAL NISHAN"

January, 29-29

(Bengal Weekly) (Hindi Weekly)

Dear Com. Ghosh,

I have already given you Rs. 100 to conduct the cases. I do not know why you are again asking me for money. I shall go

personally to the Court tomorrow and see how the things go on. I shall take with me some money there and pay if necessity arises. In the mean time please give me the detailed account of Rs. 100 which has already been given to you.

Your fraternally
Muzaffar Ahmad.

Superscription on the envelope:

Com. Kishori Lal Ghosh M. A. B. L.

On the back of the letter the following is written and crossed:

Dear Mr. Ahmad,

I confess I am a bit surprised at your reply yesterday to my letter of that requesting you to pay me a further sum of Rs. 150 in connection with the criminal cases pending against the Bouria Workers. The sum of Rs. 100 only helped me to pay a part of the liabilities as I told you at the time. Even a further remittance of Rs. 100 received by me on Monday is not adequate to meet the same. But that is not the question which your letter raises. From what I could gather from your letter it seems that you want to act on a principle which is rather quite novel, to say the least of it. According to it, because a certain Union affiliated to your party has placed in your hands a certain amount for the relief of the Bouria Workers

~~There can be only two way by which~~

and as I told you on Sunday I intended to write to you from time to time for money according to my needs. If of course you take charge henceforward of all the cases and responsible for the balance of the liabilities in connection with the cases pending before the Court I shall only be too glad to hand you over the same as for the last few months I could not do many other work and give you a short statement of the liabilities. But you can not expect me to draw up an account for every person or party who may have paid a donation showing how the same has been spent. You may rest assured that proper accounts have all been kept and they would be submitted to the Congress and published through the press in due time. In the meantime there is either of the two alternatives to be followed. Either take charge of the tadbir of the cases or if I am to conduct them I must have money.

I did not reply to your letter yesterday as I thought I would meet you today in court but I am informed this morning that the judgment would not be delivered to-day and have certain urgent engagements so I write to you. In case you take charge kindly let me know because in that case I shall meet you in Court on the

day when the judgment is delivered and introduce you to the lawyers who have hitherto been working and also you will have a balance of the liabilities still to be met.

Yours
KL.

P. 76.

Letter dated Berlin 12-6-28 from Souendra Nath Tagore to Kishori Lal Ghosh.

Superscription on the envelope :—

SJ. KISHORI LAL GHOSH
1 KANTAPOOKOR LANE-
P. O. BAGHBAZAR
CALCUTTA.
INDIA.

P. 77.

Dear Friend,

I am in receipt of your note and although not fully conversant with what transpired at 12 Dalhousie Sq yesterday afternoon I am fully aware that as the time for the E. C. Meeting drew nigh the environment and the tension grew increasingly unfavourable.

I can only regret that the fates made it impossible for something tangible to be done and hope that by some means, at present unapparent, a resolution will be forthcoming.

Yours fraternally,
D. Campbell.

Superscription on the envelope :—

BENGAL TRADE UNIONS FEDERATION.

From
COMRADE CAMPBELL.
62 Bowbazar Street.

P. 78.

2/1, European Asylum Lane,
CALCUTTA.

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 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 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 else 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 Committee, but did not attend any meetings, or sign the Report. We are therefore free to take up any attitude.

Accordingly I have drafted a statement, which is enclosed, which I suggest should also be published. You will see that it proposes complete rejection of the "principles of the Constitution,"

but suggests an alternative political line, and agreement with other bodies and sections on the basis of a common policy, Complete Independence, etc. It is drafted also as a continuation of the general statement "Labour and Swaraj," but this, though I think it is desirable, is of course not necessary, and small verbal changes could make it independent.

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

It is by this time clear that no 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 them themselves. To any who wish to do this, I should state that Rai Sahib Chandrika Prasad was appointed a member of the sub-committee by the Delhi Session of the Executive Council.

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 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 and 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 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 the words of the Presidential Speech at the VIIIth Trade Union Congress, at Cawnpore, "Nationalisation of land and industry, a civilised existence, a government of the workers, an economic system for the benefit of humanity and peace". More shortly, the function of the working class in history is the realisation of socialism. With almost complete unanimity the working-class organisations of the world have accepted this as their aim, and from the earliest times, workers' movements have, with greater or less consciousness, pursued policies in keeping with it. The experience and sufferings of the working class under capitalism force it inevitably to demand and strive for the abolition of the anarchic, wasteful and unstable capitalist system, and its replacement by an ordered system, democratically controlled, and run for the benefit of humanity. Socialism must be the aim of the working-class, and all its efforts and policies must be 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 in to 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 to 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 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 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, most able to wage the class struggle successfully. And its general political interests coincide with those of the great majority of the nation, which suffer, though in less degree, from economic exploitation, political oppression, and social and cultural neglect, at the hands of Imperialism and capitalism. For these reasons the organised working class is destined for a leading place in the struggle of society generally for economic security, political democracy, and social emancipation.

In this struggle the working class must ally itself with all forces and sections which will unite for the overthrow of imperialism. In particular it must establish the closest relationship with peasantry, as was suggested in the resolution of the 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 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 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 *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, and etc., and universal primary education.

In the economic sphere, the State must guarantee for labour the standard legal eight-hours 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, co-ordination 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 Councils and must act as its local representatives. Certain basic common demands should be adopted throughout the working class organisations, as a cement for its unity, and a fighting programme to lead it forward. Such should be the eight-hour day, the legal minimum wage, state support for the unemployed, freedom of speech and organisation, (and other general demands which have been repeatedly put forward by the Trade Union Congress).

Policy. (1) The strike is labour's chief weapon, and it must be preserved and used. The right to strike must be jealously guarded, and the strike popularised among all workers as their

greatest strength. Not only the ordinary strike with which all workers are familiar, but the sympathetic strike, often a most powerful weapon, and its development into the general strike, are to be regarded as means which labour must use, for political as well as for purely industrial purposes. These require systematic propaganda among workers before they can be brought into effect.

(2) The adoption of a policy of struggle against imperialism demands politically as well as logically that the traditional 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 committee. Similarly the Congress should cease to appoint members for the delegations to the I. L. O. Conferences. The I. L. O. was established and is supported by the capitalist governments of the European States, and works in accordance with their imperialism policies.

(4) *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 co-operate 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 unity appears to be more distant, a decision as to affiliation is called for. The position and policy of the Trade Union Congress in relation to Imperialism clearly demand that affiliation be made to the R. I. L. U. rather than to the I. F. T. U. A comparison of the records of the two internationals in regard to the colonial Labour movements, and the question of unity between the two bodies, will dispose of any claim which the I. F. T. U. may put forward for the allegiance of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

|| Draft of Statement by the 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 Trades 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 last year to protest 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 as absolutely essential for a National Government to establish complete control of all the armed forces in India.

On this questions 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 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 section of the population of India which can agree to fight imperialism to the point of its complete overthrow.

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

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

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

- (a) The statement of "Fundamental Rights" would be improved by extra definition on the following points. Art. 4, par. IV, on the right of free expression of opinion etc., should contain a definite repudiation of the proscription of publications on political grounds, and of the censorship of mails. The Labour movement is necessarily international in its outlook, but 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 para. 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 State, etc.

Finally these 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 object of concentrating the attention of the Indian public upon this and similar unimportant questions to the neglect of the real problems facing the country.
- (c) The treatment of the subject of the Indian States is most unsatisfactory. The Trade Union Congress sees no reason in ordinary democratic theory, nor in any reading of present political or tactical necessities, why the Report should advocate that the States

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 State, 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 condition of the working class and the peasantry of the States 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 some progress in regard to education and representative forms of government etc., shine only by comparison with the deplorable position of British India and the other States, and are in any case a hopeless minority. The Trade Union Congress feels strongly that in the twentieth century no case can be made out on any grounds for maintaining the existence of the States.

The Trade Union Congress regrets that it is unable to give support to the proposals of the Committee, especially in view of the appeals for Unity of all forces in support of them. It would of course be prepared to waive any of the detailed objections it may have to the Report, except that on the subject of the States, which it considers very important. But the objection of the Trade Union Congress, as has been made clear, is not based on details or 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 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 paragraph 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 class. 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 programmes 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. 79. *Rejected as 12.*
Shashi D.

MY DEAR MR. TAGORE,

With reference to your previous correspondence Re: the establishment of an agency for the supply of accurate news, I beg to inform you that the following resolution was passed at a meeting of the Council of the Indian Journalists' Association on the 7th January 1928:—

“This meeting of the Council of the Indian Journalists' Association welcomes the offer of S. Soumyendra Nath Tagore, now at Berlin to supply me of last accurate foreign news to the Association for circulation to the Indian Press and authorises him to negotiate with the Continental papers and news agencies as to the terms on which accurate Indian news may be acceptable to them and this meeting further requests the Secretary of the Association to communicate with Indian daily papers and elicit opinions and suggestions on the Association's project of establishing a news agency for obtaining accurate foreign news and submit a scheme to the Council pending Mr. Tagore's reply”.

I owe you an apology for delay in communicating to you. The fact is that a talk with some of the daily papers to ascertain their views on the resolution was essential before we took away further step in the matter. Than for the last two weeks I was busy about the *Hartal*.

I received a letter from Miss Sandby week before last suggesting that the Free Press of India should take up the efficient even at the outset, it finds it difficult to secure a very large clientele amongst the Indian papers. But if the Indian Journalists' Association takes the matter up and gets up a complete scheme and works it out at the initial stage and then hand it over to the Free Press—it would save much of the trouble while the Association will have done a service to the Indian Press. If you of course want to correspond directly with the Free Press I shall certainly do all that it lies in my power. But I leave to your judgement to consider whether it would not make for greater co-ordination, co-operation and efficiency if you will kindly communicate to me directly your scheme and allow me to come to an understanding with the Free Press. I shall in this matter of course do as you ask me. But I may tell you that I am already in correspondence with Indian Journalists in England and America, and if I get yours as well as Tagore's help I shall be able to place before the Council a complete scheme for exchange of views.

You would remember that this matter arose out of my scheme for sending a delegation to China. The journalists here are of opinion

that if we can organise this news-service the China Delegation scheme can be successfully carried out.

Awaiting your reply.

Yours truly,
Hony. Secretary.

P. S.—I am also writing to Mr. Tagore. You may show this letter to him and you two can help us a great deal.

To Miss AGNES SUNBY,

BERLINE.

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Awaiting your reply.

Yours truly,
Honorary Secretary

P. S.—I am also writing to Mr. Tagore. You may show this letter to him and you two can help us a great deal.

To
Miss AGNES SUNBY,

BERLIN.

P. 80.

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To (Person) Lcd JOHNSTONE COUPON,
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Greetings cabled and leage statutes posted Joshi stop attend also national congress and conference independence leage as our delegate stop Mandates posted Calcutta stop wish you success stop cable result.

Ancolina Berlin.

P. 81.

COMRADES,

I came to India as a fraternal delegate from the League against Imperialism (Berlin) to the All-India Trade Union Congress. I landed in Bombay on and reached Calcutta on via Jharia. I have visited Bauria 16 miles off from Howrah where there is a big lock-out involving 15,000 jute workers and I also visited Chengail where also there was a lock-out involving about 10,000 jute workers. I also addressed a very big meeting of the Lillooah Railway workers. I attended on invitation a meeting of the Provincial Committee of the A. I. T. U. C. and a Conference of Bengal Journalists. I have also addressed a public meeting at Albert

Hall, explaining the aims and objects of the League against Imperialism.

Besides this, for the last six days I have been going round the workers' quarters in Calcutta and the terrible conditions under which they live have turned me fairly sick. Evidently all these activities, open as they are, were not to the task of the powers that be, as I have reasons to believe from the fact that since my arrival in this city I am being shadowed by two men night and day. On the 14th December I have been served with an order from the Government of Bengal asking me to remove myself "forthwith" from British India "by sea from Calcutta." As I have done nothing to disturb the peace in the realm of His Britannic Majesty, far less to explode the glorious British Empire I do not intend to obey this rather peremptory order of the Governor-in-Council. According to the "lawless law" (Act III of 1864) under which this order has been served this disobedience on my part will make me liable to "detention in safe custody." till the Government of Bengal considers my release would not jeopardise the peace and security of British India. I do not know when I shall become so innocuous as to be set free, but while thanking the Indian Trade Unionists for the warmth of their reception I shall be happy in "safe custody" if the high handed treatment meted out to me gives the slightest impetus to the great movement for which you are doing so much.

What is beyond my intellectual capacity to comprehend is that while the great "unsubsidised" Miss Mayo, I am sorry to own, a country-woman of mine, was given every facility for enquiry and made much of, I who am also an American should be treated in the way I have been for trying to use my eyes and ears without troubling anybody to act as my guide. Perhaps the Government in this country does not like anybody to conduct any enquiry unless chapioned by its officers, preferably of the C. I. D. That is the explanation which offers itself to me in regard to this discriminating treatment.

J. W. JOHNSTONE.

P. 82.

A Bengali letter Dated 25-5-28 from Musaffar Ahmad, 2/1 European Asylum Lane to Kishori Lal.

P. 83.

DEAR COMRADE,

It is impossible to see you tomorrow morning. It is absolutely necessary to hold a meeting at Bauria this evening, as some people are wavering. To-morrow I can't reach home before 10 a. m.; at 10-30 I have got my school. So I can meet you either tomorrow afternoon or on Sunday at Bauria, if you go there. I think Kishori Babu too will be going to Bauria that day. I think that will be the time and place that will suit us all.

Yours fraternally
Radharaman

23/11/28.

P. 84.

Indian Colliery Employees' Association
JHARIA.

No.....

Dated the 25th Nov. 1928.

To

Kishori Lal Ghosh Esq.
General Secretary
Bengal Trade Union Federation
Calcutta.

MY DEAR KISHORI BABU,

The bearer of this Mr. J. W. Johnstone represents the League against Imperialism in the ensuing Session of the Trade Union Congress. According to our previous decision he was under the impression that the congress would be held in November this week but as there is still a long time for the congress he is going to Calcutta to meet with you and other comrades there and will come back to Jharia in time to attend the session. As to other things he will speak to you himself. (I shall be glad and) I have no doubt that he will get every facility to work out his programme, through your help.

Write to me about the possible number of delegates from Calcutta. More after.

Yours sincerely,
P. C. BOSE

Superscription on the envelope.

To

Kisori Lal Ghosh Esq. M.A. B.L. Secretary.
1— Kantapukur Lane.
Bagbazar. Calcutta.

P. 85

A
MANIFESTO

TO THE

ALL-INDIA
NATIONAL
CONGRESS

BY

THE COMMUNIST
INDIA *of* PARTY

Price TWO Pence.

A Manifesto to the All-India NATIONAL CONGRESS-GAUHATI, 1926.

On the eve of the annual meeting of the Indian National Congress, the Nationalist Movement presents a picture which is apparently very discouraging. What a change compared with the situation that prevailed in 1920-21 when the people were enthusiastically gathered around the National Congress and eagerly looked up to it for a courageous lead in the fight for freedom!

To-day the National Congress exists but in name, a number of conflicting political groups contending for the possession of its prostrate frame. Nationalism—the courageous fight for real freedom is drowned in the surging sea of communalism. Bickering over petty formalities is the outstanding feature of the political life of the country. More than half a dozen political constellations are vilifying each other. Each claims to represent the nation. But none of them touch the vital issues before the nation, their sole object being to secure a majority in the legislatures.

Even those who recognise the impotence of these pseudo-parliamentary bodies are nevertheless frantically trying to enter them. They have forgotten that the road to freedom does not lie through the blind alley of those impotent and unrepresentative legislative bodies. They have forgotten that in the fight for national freedom these at best can only serve as auxiliaries to other more powerful and effective weapons.

The Legislatures do not Represent the People

The present legislative bodies, to capture which has become the beginning and end of the programme of the Nationalist Parties, are impotent. They are impotent because they do not represent the people. Being unrepresentative they cannot act as the vehicle through which popular energy can find adequate expression. The experience of the last two years should have made this abundantly clear. The Swaraj Party entered the Councils ostensibly with the object of wrecking them. What actually happened, however, was the wreck of the Swaraj Party on the treacherous ground of pseudo-parliamentarism.

Although the situation is as clear as daylight, it may be useful to give a few facts showing the unrepresentative character of the legislative bodies established by the Reforms of 1919. It is necessary to repeat this axiomatic truth because of the lamentable parliamentary degeneration of the entire Nationalist Movement.

The total population of British India (excluding Burma) is 221,500,000 in round numbers. Of these a little less than 5,000,000

are qualified voters according to the findings of the Southborough (Franchise) Committee. That is to say, about 2.2 per cent. of the entire nation is enfranchised by the Reforms! The Councils at best, therefore, represent this small minority. The overwhelming majority of 97.8 per cent. being unenfranchised cannot make themselves heard or felt through these bodies.

Is not the Nationalist Movement reared on a very narrow social foundation when its programme and policies are largely concerned with entrance into and action within these legislative bodies? Can the Nationalist Parties which stake their very existence on capturing a sufficient number of seats in these Councils be expected to shake the power of imperialism? Still, these unrepresentative legislative bodies have become the centre of Nationalist politics. Consequently the Nationalist Movement as represented by the existing political parties is divorced from the popular masses. It has neither the power nor the will to fight for freedom. The general desire is to reach a compromise with imperialism without losing face. Mutual recriminations and loud protestations of patriotism do not change the essentials of the situation.

No Fundamental Differences among the Nationalist Parties

Nationalist criticism of the Councils seldom concerns their unrepresentative character. Neither the National Congress nor any particular party inside or outside it has ever conducted a campaign for the extension of the franchise. The National Congress in the beginning boycotted the reformed Councils not as a protest against their unrepresentative character, but owing to the limited power conferred on them. The general Nationalist demand is that the Government should be responsible to the legislatures representing 2.2 per cent. of the population. This would be considered self-government! Political domination and economic exploitation of the people by British imperialism would obviously be considered tolerable and permissible provided that they are carried on with the sanction of the legislature representing the enfranchised few of the native upper and middle classes.

The year 1925 was marked by a complete decomposition of the Nationalist Movement. The National Congress was split up into warring factions. But there is little fundamental difference between these parties. They all subscribe to the programme of self-government within the British Empire. Even their immediate demands are identical.

The bitter controversy between the orthodox Swarajist leaders and dissidents (Responsivists and independents) confused the situation. The rank and file members and adherents of the Swaraj Party

failed to see the sham character of their fight over formalities. Ostensibly, the difference was only on one point—on what condition the Nationalist should accept office. On principle, however, there was no objection to accepting office under the present constitution, which only three years ago was boycotted.

During his negotiations with Malaviya, Motilal Nehru stated on September 15th that “ the general principle and policy laid down in the resolution of the Cawnpur Congress shall be adhered to.” But two days later, after the negotiations had broken up, the central organ of the Swaraj Party wrote editorially.

“ The result of the elections would go a great way to show if the country wanted a change of policy formulated by the Cawnpur Congress The Swaraj Party would also approach the Congress to formulate a new policy, if necessary, in the light of the mandate of the country.”—(Forward, Sept. 17th.)

Where is the fundamental difference between the two parties then? Both are ready to change principles and policies of the best of the electorate representing 22 per cent. of the population. Both are prepared to over-ride the interest of the unfranchised masses in favour of an infinitesimal minority. The Independents stated the new “principle and policy” of agreement with imperialism before the election; whereas the Swarajists wanted only temporise. At the moment of writing, the results of the election are not fully known. But it is a foregone conclusion that the Swarajists will lose ground. Nowhere will they have an independent majority to carry on their old tactics. So they will approach the Gauhati Congress to revise the decision of the Cawnpur Congress. The endeavour will be made to trick the National Congress into sanctioning a policy of compromise dictated by the interests of the upper and middle class minority.

The authority of the National Congress will be asserted, it will regain its position as the supreme organ of the Indian people, only if at Gauhati the tricky politics of the bourgeois leaders are frustrated. This can be done by mobilising the rank and file on a platform of revolutionary Nationalism.

Contradictions Inside the Swaraj Party

One by one the consciously bourgeois elements have gone out of the Swaraj Party. But unfortunately the leadership of the Party still remains predominantly bourgeois. The Left opposition which saved the party by repudiating the treacherous Sabarmati Pact, and which made itself felt in Bengal, is still incapable of unwilling to revolt openly against the bourgeois leaders. But the Swaraj Party will not be able to become a party of the people, leader of the

fight for national freedom, until and unless it breaks away completely from the bourgeoisie seeking compromise with imperialism.

The weakness of the Swaraj Party has always been the contradiction between the leadership and the ranks. The programme and policy of the party have always been dictated by the interests of the capitalist and landowning classes; but the members and adherents of the party largely hail from other sections of society. The party has always defended aristocratic and bourgeois interests while making some meaningless gestures to hoodwink its revolutionary following. But in course of time even these meaningless gestures became somewhat harmful to the agreement between British imperialism and the native upper classes. The Swaraj Party stood at the parting of ways. It must completely betray its petty bourgeois followers or forfeit the votes of the upper and middle classes. The latter eventuality would be fatal for a party which had staked its existence on the success of a parliamentary policy.

Serving as a connecting link with the people, the petty bourgeoisie give the Swaraj Party a national significance. But most of them cannot give it the vote. Connection with the popular masses would be vital for the party that wants to lead a revolutionary fight. For a party depending exclusively on parliamentary action, however, the electorate is more important than the nation. The class composition of the present electorate demands that any party seeking its vote must be committed to defending capitalist and landowning interests. Should these interests conflict with those of the nation, the latter must be betrayed.

This was the vital issue in the controversy that raged in the period immediately preceeding the elections. The bourgeois leaders who still remained at the head of the Swaraj Party were called upon to speak clearly on this point: Would they throw overboard their trusting lower middle class following, betray the people and stand openly as the spokesmen of the capitalist and landowning classes? They evaded a straight answer. By means of sophistry and hair-splitting over formalities they deceived the party. Actually, however, they have betrayed the party and the nation. Their insistence upon staking the future of the party on the verdict of the electorate is a violation of the sovereignty of the people. They would make not only the Swaraj Party, but the National Congress, an instrument to be used in the interests of the small minority—enfranchised by the grace of Britain.

The Programme Must be Changed

The Swaraj Party cannot rescue itself from the deadening grip of bourgeois influence unless it adopts a new programme. A new programme reflecting the interests of the people and providing for militant mass action for the realisation of national freedom will

put the leaders to the test. They must either accept that programme and thereby burn the bridge over which they want surreptitiously to sneak over to the camp of the bourgeoisie with the party in their pocket, or leave the party, following the example of their spiritual comrades who have preceded them.

The programme of the Swaraj Party is essentially a programme of bourgeois Nationalism. Literally, it is ambiguous. For example, while formulating its broad principles at Gaya, C. R. Das said:

“Swaraj is undefinable, and it is not to be confused with any particular system of government. Swaraj is the natural expression of the national mind, and must necessarily cover the whole history of the nation.”

This statement ought to be laughed at, were it not so tendencious. Das would not have been able to carry the best elements in the Nationalist Movement with him had he at that critical period defined Swaraj as he did two and a half years later at Faridpur. Swaraj, which was enunciated as an undefinable metaphysical category at Gaya, in the course of two years and a half assumed a very definite material form—a particular system of government. At Faridpur, the Swarajist leader defined Swaraj as Dominion Status within the British Empire. The Party, intellectually paralysed by the cult of hero worship, could not even ask the leader how such a modest place on the outskirts of the British Empire would be “the natural expression of the national mind covering the whole history of the nation.”

Dominion Status is not an expression of the national mind. It corresponds with the interests of the Nationalist bourgeoisie. Here is what C. R. Das has had to say in favour of Dominion status: (1) it brings material advantage; (2) it affords complete protection; and (3) it provides all the elements of swaraj. (Faridpur speech.)

Dominion Status will bring material advantage to whom? To the India bourgeoisie. An agreement with imperialism will assure the development of India capitalism. Protection is needed by those who have something to protect. They, again, are the capitalism and landowning classes who are afraid that national revolution involving the workers and peasant masses might encroach upon their preserves. The classes of India society that live and thrive by exploiting the toiling masses and to whom national freedom means the freedom to increase this exploitation, want the protection of British imperialism against the possible revolt of the people. This is the meaning of Dominion Status. Material advantages for the Indian bourgeoisie and protection of the rights and privileges of exploiting classes—these are the principal elements of

the Swaraj, which the founder of the Swaraj Party desired to see established.

So long as the Swaraj Party stand by the programme outlined at Gaya and expounded in detail at Faridpur by its founder, it cannot claim to be essentially different from the other Nationalist parties. It must go the same way as that pursued by other parties committed to the defence of the upper classes. Even Dominion Status is a far cry. It won't be granted by imperialism just for the asking. There must be a long period of apprenticeship, which must be served by co-operating with imperialism on the basis of the Reforms. The Nationalist bourgeoisie are anxious to serve this apprenticeship to qualify for a further instalment of concessions—economic and political.

This is the situation in which the Congress meets at Gauhati. It must choose between the enfranchised 2.2 per cent. of the unfranchised, oppressed and exploited 97.8 per cent. of the nation. The hypocritical policy of shouting "Swaraj for the 98 per cent." and doing the bidding of the 2 per cent. cannot be carried on any longer without ruining the Nationalist Movement, without prostituting the name and prestige of the National Congress.

The opinion of the "Forward" quoted above, and more than one pronouncement of the Swarajist leaders in a similar strain, do not leave any doubt about the policy that will be pressed upon the Congress as soon as the results of the elections are known. In the very unlikely event of the Swarajists increasing their forces in the Councils or even retaining their present strength, they will accept office. The fiasco of the last two years cannot be repeated all over again. In the much more likely eventuality of their defeat in the polls, they will, of course, change their policy and try to secure the sanction of the Congress for this bankrupt policy of surrender and compromise.

The National Congress can save itself only in one way.

It is roundly repudiating the programme and policy that seek to make it an instrument of parties betraying national interests for the sake of a small minority. The repudiation of the bankrupt policy of bourgeois Nationalism should be followed by the adoption of a programme of democratic national freedom. Pseudo-parliamentarism should be replaced by militant mass action. The policy of surrender and compromise should be discarded in favour of a policy of a courageous and genuine fight with imperialism. The National Congress should be liberated from the treacherous bourgeois leadership and brought under the inspiring influence of a Republican People's Party.

Communal Conflicts.

Many must have been discouraged by the communal conflicts that have been devastating the country during the last years. It is certainly a discouraging phenomenon. But here again a party of the people will find the solution. While the upper classes fight for rights and privileges, the masses of both the communities have one very vital thing in common. It is exploitation. Hindu and Moslem workers are sweated in the same factory. Hindu and Moslem peasants toil on the land side by side, to be equally robbed by the landlord, the moneylender and the agents of imperialism. The Moslem worker is not better paid when the employer is his co-religionist. Nor does a Hindu landlord take less rent from a Hindu than from a Moslem tenant.

The same rule largely applies to the exploited middle classes (petty intellectuals, small traders, artisans, etc.). United by the common tie of exploitation, 98 per cent. of the entire people have no reason to be involved in the communal conflicts. Help them to be conscious of their economic interests, give them a courageous lead to fight against their common enemy, the forces of exploitation, and the bottom will be knocked out of the insidious policy of provoking communal conflict. It is true this cannot be done overnight. But there is no other remedy for the cancer of communalism which eats into the vitals of the Nationalist Movement.

The collapse of the Nationalist Movement has given an impetus to the communal conflict. Re-organisation of the Nationalist Movement with a programme of militant mass action will remove this impetus. Non-co-operation and the Khilafat agitation quickened religious fanaticism at the expense of political consciousness. This grave error must be rectified by placing the Nationalist Movement on a solid secular basis. The masses should be mobilised under the banner of Nationalism with slogans of immediate economic demands. Land-tenure, land rent, usurers' charges, prices, wages, working conditions, primary education—these should be the main topics of agitation. On every one of these points, vitally concerning the life of the people, the identity of interest can be made clear very easily. Agitation along these lines, therefore, will provide the safest guarantee against communal tension, while building up a solid basis for the Nationalist movement.

Democratic principles, however, do not operate against the interests of national minorities. The mutual distrust between the Hindus and Moslems in India has a historical background. The communal question, therefore, should be approached as the question of a national minority. One of the main planks in the Nationalist platform must be the protection for national and communal minorities. If the Nationalist Movement fails to guarantee this protection

imperialism gets the chance of offering it and thus drives a wedge straight through the nation.

The behaviour and pronouncements of more than one prominent Hindu Nationalist leader give the Moslems sufficient reason for suspicion. The extra-territorial patriotism of a section of the Moslem leaders, on the other hand, gives a handle to the injurious propaganda of the Hindu reactionaries. Excesses on both sides should be avoided. The surest guarantee against communalism is the mobilisation of the masses on the basis of their economic interests. Class lines cut deeply across the superficial and often artificially drawn communal lines.

National Interest and Class Interest.

The recrudescence of communal conflicts has been very harmful to the Nationalist Movement; but the present decomposition of the movement is caused primarily by the conflict of class interests inside the Nationalist ranks. Indian society is as much divided into classes as capitalist society in any other country.

The relation of British imperialism with the different classes of the Indian society is not uniform. The nation is oppressed and exploited by a foreign power. But the pressure of this oppression does not fall equally on all the strata of the Indian population. The object of exploitation is not the entire people, but only the classes that produce wealth by their labour power. These are the workers and Peasants constituting over 90 per cent. of the nation. The quarrel between imperialism and the upper classes of Indian society is a quarrel over the booty. Native landlords and capitalists also live at the expense of the producing masses. But the monopolist policy of imperialism did not permit them an unrestricted economic development which would increase their capacity to exploit the working class. The major portion of the values produced by the Indian workers and peasants go to swell the pockets of imperialism. The Indian bourgeoisie were allowed only a modest middleman's share. In course of time they have become dissatisfied with this small portion of the booty. They wanted an ever-increasing share and finally the prior right over the entire resources of labour power of the Indian masses.

The Indian bourgeoisie, however, could not realise their aspirations for the mastery of the country without challenging the monopoly of imperialism. This again they cannot do by themselves. India cannot become free from foreign domination except through the revolutionary action of the entire people. But the popular revolt against imperialism is not caused by the grievances of the Nationalist bourgeoisie. It has its own cause. The popular masses rise against exploitation as such. Consequently, the Nationalist bourgeoisie, who would like to be the sole masters and

and rulers of the country, do not dare to use the weapon which alone can seriously threaten the imperialist hold on the country. National interests—the interests of the 93 per cent.—are thus sacrificed for class interests. The attempt to conquer sole mastery over the country being fraught with possible danger of immense gravity, the Nationalist bourgeoisie enter into an agreement with imperialism to exploit the Indian people jointly.

Why does imperialism enter into such an agreement? There are several reasons. Firstly, the general crisis of capitalism has weakened the basis of imperialism so much that the policy of the old classical colonialism must be revised. Secondly, the Indian market is attacked by Japan, U. S. A., Germany, etc.; only goods manufactured in India with cheap labour can compete with these intruders. Therefore Britain adopts the policy of industrialising India under the domination of Imperialist finance. Thirdly, the decline of the accumulation of capital in Britain does not permit her to spare sufficient capital to carry on the programme of industrialising India. She must draw Indian Capital into operation. Fourthly, the mass character of the post-war Nationalist Movement forces imperialism to win over to its side ever wider strata of the native society.

A foreign power cannot rule a country for a long time unless supported by a certain native element. A government to be stable must have a social basis. Up to the world war, two social factors supported the British Government in India. They were the land-owning class and the peasantry. These two together constitute a majority of the population. So, imperialism had a sure social base. But these two social forces did not support the British Government in the same way. The landowning class gave positive, conscious support, while the peasantry provided an unconscious support by virtue of its passive loyalty. Since the war, the situation has changed. The passive loyalty of the peasants masses has been disturbed. It has been replaced by a state of seething revolt which breaks out from time to time; consequently the basis of imperialism is now seriously shaken. A new ally must be found to reinforce it.

The new ally is the Nationalist bourgeoisie (bankers, merchants, manufacturers, high officials and the professional people closely connected with these classes). In the years following the war, the Nationalist Movement was heading towards revolution. The ominous prospects were dreaded by Nationalist bourgeoisie. They decided to travel the safer way, and accept the junior partnership with imperialism in the exploitation of the Indian people.

The defection of the bourgeoisie left its mark on the Nationalist Movement. Compromise and surrender became the policy.

This sacrifice of the people on the altar of class interests has been carried on by stages ever since 1922. The last stage will be reached when the new Legislative Assembly and Council meet. It does not matter what form it will take. There may still be staged the farce of His Majesty's Opposition. But, essentially, the parties representing the bourgeoisie will give up all real resistance to imperialism and co-operate—either “honourably” or “responsively”—with the British Government.

What is to be Done?

The reconciliation of the antagonism between imperialism and the native bourgeoisie, however, does not remove the basic cause of a national revolution. The necessity of freedom for the Indian people is not determined by the sectional interests of the Nationalist bourgeoisie. The agreement between imperialism and the native bourgeoisie does not free the Indian people from political domination and economic exploitation. Nearly 98 per cent. of the population still remains without any political rights. Economic concessions to native capitalism are not and will not be made by reducing the share of imperialism. The latter will increase the exploitation of the labouring masses, who will be forced to produce value for native capitalism over and above what they produce for imperialism. This being the case, the fight for national freedom must be continued. The Nationalist Movement must be a movement of the masses with a programme reflecting the interests of the majority of the people. The programme of the movement must be free from all haziness and ambiguity, such as has been the case with the Swarajist programme.

Particularly clear should be the position of the Nationalist Movement on the agrarian question. The peasantry constitute over 70 per cent. of the population. It is the most important economic factor in the present state of Indian society. It will play a decisive role in the movement for national liberation. The fight for the peasantry should be one of the main tasks of the Nationalist Movement. Imperialism is endeavouring skilfully to regain the confidence of the peasantry. During the last years, it has forced upon the landowning class tenancy reform laws in several provinces. This has enabled it to take in hand the alarming situation created by the acute agrarian disturbances in 1919-21. The next step in the attempt to regain the confidence of the peasantry is the Royal Commission on Agriculture. Needless to say that the motive behind all these moves is not to help the peasantry, but to deceive them. Brutal exploitation of the peasant masses is the main source of imperialist profit from India. To frustrate the sinister designs of imperialism to regain the confidence of the peasantry, the Nationalist Movement must adopt a radical agrarian programme and expose the motive of the so-called reform measures passed or proposed by the Government.

The following occurred in the manifesto issued by the Swaraj Party on the eve of the 1923 elections :

“It is true that the Party stands for justice to the tenant, but poor indeed will be the quality of that justice if it involves any injustice to the landlord.”

If the Nationalist Movement wants to secure active support of the peasant masses, it must liberate itself from the reactionary point of view expressed in this quotation. Such a programme is necessary for a party fishing for the vote of the landed gentry; but it is positively harmful for a party that proposes to lead the popular masses in the fight for freedom. If you are so careful as not to touch the privileged position of the landowners, you can only do injustice to the peasantry. The landowning class is social parasite that sucks the blood of the peasantry. Then, over nearly half the country, the government is the landlord. The maxim of justice should also apply there.

Thus the Swarajist programme about the peasantry not only protects the parasitic landowners : it gives British imperialism an unlimited lease of life. The agrarian programme of the Nationalist Movement must be to defend the interests of the peasantry. It should be directed ruthlessly against all the agencies, foreign and native that exploit the peasantry.

The Programme of the Nationalist Movement.

The movement for national freedom can be led to victory only by a party of the people. Unless it is led by a party which acts according to a clearly defined programme, the Nationalist Movement will be floundering like a rudderless ship. It is remarkable that for years the leaders did not tell the country what exactly was the object of the Nationalist Movement. Swaraj was defined as everything but what it is—national independence. The Nationalist Movement loses all meaning if its object is not to secure national freedom. National freedom—it is a very clear expression. It does not require any legal or constitutional commentary. It means freedom for the people to establish its own government—to manage its own affairs, political, economic, cultural and so forth. Up till now this fundamental point of the Nationalist programme has not been clearly and squarely placed before the country. This must be done as the first act in re-organising the Nationalist Movement. Let not the controversy over the conditions under which Nationalists should accept office confuse the main issue. All the existing Nationalist parties to-day are committed to the programme of Dominion Status. Even that much is not demanded immediately. Some measure of responsibility to the present unrepresentative legislature would

placate the most radical element. This is no struggle for national freedom. It is mockery. It is a downright betrayal of the nation.

The people must have freedom, complete and unconditional. There must be a People's Party to demand and fight for this freedom.

Then, national freedom is not a thing in itself. National freedom would not be worth having and fighting for, if it did not bring the people political and economic rights that they are deprived of under the present conditions. The concrete form of national freedom will be the establishment of a **Republican State** based on advanced democratic principles.

A National Assembly elected by universal adult (man and woman) suffrage will be the supreme organ of the people. All caste and class privileges will be abolished. The country will be thoroughly democratised.

To the masses, national freedom must offer more concrete advantages. It must remove their immediate economic grievances and guarantee them a higher standard of life. National freedom must establish the principle : **The land belongs to the toiler.** Parasitic classes living in luxury on unearned incomes from land will be deprived of their vested interest. The enormous sums that swell the pockets of the landowning class will go to relieve the burden on the peasantry. Land rent will be reduced all round. Poor peasants, eking out a miserable existence on uneconomic holdings will be entirely exempt from rent. The peasantry will be protected against the excesses of the moneylenders. The National Government will help the peasantry by means of extensive agrarian credits. The cultural level of the peasantry will be raised through the introduction of machinery in agriculture and through free primary education.

The National Government will guarantee the industrial workers an **eight-hour day and minimum living wage.** There will be legislation as regards decent working conditions and housing. Unemployed workers will be taken care of by the State.

Public utilities such as railways, waterways, telegraphs etc., will be the property of the nation. They will be operated not for private profit, but for the use of the public.

Workers (also peasants) will have full freedom to combine, and the right to strike to defend their interests.

There will be complete freedom of religion and worship. National and communal minorities will enjoy the right of autonomy.

These are the main points of the programme which will unite the overwhelming majority of the people and set them in irresistible

action. The programme of bourgeois Nationalism (defence of the interests of the capitalist and landowning classes) has betrayed the nation. The nation must assert itself and move toward freedom in spite of the treachery and timidity of the bourgeoisie. The National Congress must be liberated from the influence of hypocritical bourgeois politicians. Those willing to fight honestly and courageously for freedom must become the spokesmen of the people. The party that wishes to lead 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.

National Independence and complete democratisation of national life in every respect—these are the main planks of the Nationalist platform. The battle to realise this programme must be fought with the slogan : "Land, Bread and Education."

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA.

Dec. 1st, 1926.

DEARIE PRESS, LTD. (T. U. throughout) 68 & 70, Lamb Street Borough, London, S. E. 1.

P. 86.

3rd January '28.

DEAR DANGE,

Bakhale must have by this time given you an account of what took place at the E.C. meeting at Jheria. We missed you very much, believe me, and were surprised to find that the part for which we all know you did so much giving preference to Juglekar over you in the selection of the Asst. Secretary to the Congress. At Cawnpore I found you to be the hot-favourite and Juglekar not very seriously taken. What can have happened in the meantime excepting the fact that Juglekar is hand and glove with Bradley that he would welcome the hot favourite at Jheria? However that is not our look-out. As soon as we found out from the statement made by Bakhale that you did not expressly express any disinclination to stand as a candidate for the Assistant Secretaryship as we were led at first to believe from what Jugledar said we all voted solidly for you. Your party, if you permit me to be frank, does not consist of so many members having any adequate intellectual equipment that it can afford lightly to throw over one who is perhaps the most intellectual amongst them, specially during his absence.

Sometimes back I addressed twenty five letters to Labour leaders all over India including yourself, Bradley and Jhabwalla c/o Mr. N. M. Joshi at the Trade Union Congress office. I was surprised to learn that none of these letters excepting the one addressed to Rai Saheb Chandrika Prosad reached its destination. From the fact that I received no reply from you I conclude that you did not receive the letter. The letter was about the Bauria strike of which a short account was given and contained a request for a message expressing your support and good will.

At the Executive council meeting I made statement about the situation at Bauria, Jamshedpur Labour Union, G. I. P. Union and Girgini Mohamondal (The Textile Union with which you, Juglekar and Bradely are connected I believe) each promised Rs. 100/- as donation for the Bauria Relief fund, I met Bradley to-day and reminded him of his promise made at the Executive council and he requested me to write to you in his name and further to refer this matter to Juglekar who would be able to confirm Bradley's promise on behalf of the Union Bradley might start to-morrow for Bombay and as I am hard pressed for money I am forced to write to you to-day as from what I heard from Bradley it might not be possible for him to leave Calcutta to-morrow. We are also trying to keep him for the Federation meeting which takes place day after tomorrow. I trust you would kindly do the needful as soon as you receive this letter and send the remittance to me as Provincial Secretary and as President Bauria Jute Workers' Union at 1 Kantapukur Lane, Bagbazar,

Calcutta which being my home address you may direct your letters to me to that address. Bradley is going to Bauria to-day. The situation is rather bad and the need for cash is as great as urgent. Kindly be very prompt in sending remittance and oblige.

Yours truly

On the back of the first page is written :—

1. K, Natarajan - Indian Daily Mailes
2. A Rangaswami Iyengar (Hindu) Madras
3. N. C. Kelkar Kesari, Poona
4. G. A, Natesan-

To be wired in order.

R. C. All India Press Conference on January 1 elected you President Kindly wire acceptance immediately

Raman

Reception Committee All India Press Conference to be held 1st January elected you President Kindly wire acceptance immediately Modern Review, Calcutta.

Ramananda Chatterjee
Chairman

P. 87.

A book entitled "LENINISM" by Joseph Stalin Translated from the Russian by Eden and Cedar Paul The Communist Party of Great Britain, 16 King Street, Covent Garden London, W. C. 2. Price Four Shillings and Sixpence.

P. 88.

A book entitled "RUSSIA'S PATH to COMMUNISM." by G. Zinoviev. Price - One shilling. London: Communist Party of Great Britain 16 King Street - Covent Garden- W. C. 2.

P. 89.

A book entitled "TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD." by John Reed. Price Two Shillings.

P. 90.

A book entitled "THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN THE COLONIES ". First Published in January, 1929. Printed in England by the Dorrit Press, Limited (T. U. Throughout) 68-70 Lant St., London, S. E. 1. Price Ninepence.

P. 91.

A book entitled " Lenin as a Marxist. by N. Bukharin: Price- One Shilling. London: Communist Party of Great Britain, 16 King Street- Covent Garden- W. C. 2."

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 4-30 a. m. at about 20th March 1929.
2. Name and residence of persons whose house is searched.—Radha Raman Mittra, 27 Mohindra Bose Lane.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search.
 - { (1) Jogindra Nath Bose, 17 Brindraban Paul Lane Shambazar.
 - { (2) Sourindra Nath Sen, 44 Ram Kumar Bose Street.

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 se number in complainant's <i>mallika</i> a the exact circumstances under which articles have been found. A note sho also be made in case anything unusua observed, such as the remains of bu paper, etc.
1	Leninism Book by Joseph Stalian.	#97		
2	A Note Book of Radha Raman Mitter.			
3	"Satyagrahasram Sabuz Book" 2nd Chaitya 1335 B. S.			
4	One small attache case containing papers sealed and signed in presence of witnesses.			
5	Some Note statistics regarding Bauria and other Jute Mills—sealed and signed in presence of witnes.			
6	A Pocket Book of Radha Raman Mitter.			

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 etc.
7	One Map of India showing Railway and Route Map of Padma; Bramaputra Ganges. Surma and Delta Rivers.			
8	Cutting from forward containing articles to tighten grip Imperialism; Trade Union Movements in India; History of labour laws in India by Mordy Jones, appeal to teachers of India; A peep into the Jute Industries.			
9	Calcutta Corporation Free Primary School Teachers Association.	P 105		
10	A letter from D. K. Goswami Dated 19-11-28 the first All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference (Reception Committee)	P 106 + 106E		
11	A Receipt No. 1740, dated 21st Nov. 1928, of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee given to Radha Raman Mitra and a notice of a meeting of the Executive of the town Calcutta Youth Association, dated 8th November 1928.			

ii.

- 12 One red Ribbon badge of All-India Workers and Peasant party Conference.
- 13 One certificate and a letter by M. K. Gandhi to Radha Raman Mitter dated 8th November 1925, and another certificate by Magan Lal Gandhi manager Satyagrahasram Sabarmati, dated 29th October 1925.
- 14 A Post Card addressed to Radha Raman Mitter by Khitish Chandra Chakraverty, Mandakeni Asram Bhubanesser, dated 23rd October 1928.
- 15 A letter (P. C.) addressed to Gopendra Krishana Chakraverty, by Raman, dated 9th March 1929 from Chandpur.
- 16 One copy of Mind and Face of Bolshevism by Reneferlop Miller having inside it a slip of paper addressed to Radha Raman Mitter by G. N. Chowdhury; a slip of paper bearing the name of Mahendra Nath Sarcar 24/1 Hridram Banerjee Lane, a letter to Gopen Babu by Kali Dass Gouripur P.O. District Assam dated 9th March 1929 and a Bengali Notice signed by Hemanta Kumar Bose. Announcing a boycott procession on the 15th March 1929 it is dated 15th March 1929.

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.
17.	A. P. C. addressed to Gopendra Krishna Chakraverty by his mother from Chandpur dated 24th February 1929.			
18.	A. P. C. addressed to Radha Raman Mitter 27 Mahendra Bose Lane by Raj Kumar Chakraverty Rangobasi College dated 25th Nov. 1928.			
19.	One printed letter addressed to Radha Raman Mitra by Dharanath Bhattacharya regarding the 3rd Session of Hoogly District Conference dated 1st Chaitra 1335 B.S. together with admission card No. 146 signed by Bejoy Coomar Bhattacharya.			
20.	(a) A meeting notice of the Ex. of the North Calcutta Congress Committee signed by Hemanta Kumar Bose Secretary, dated 19th March 1929. (b) A printed letter to Radha Raman Mitter 27 Mohendra Bose Lane		1. Radha Raman Mitter, son of Late Bepin Behary Mitter village Bamanpura, police station unknown district Burdwan. 2. Gopi Raman	

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.
	<p>Calcutta by Persottam Roy 159 Mechua Bazar street, dated 20th November 1928.</p> <p>(c) One cover addressed to Radha Raman Mitter of 27 Mohendra Bose Lane Calcutta sealed 20th March 1929 8 a.m. containing Circular letter No. 15 of President Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, dated 116 Bowbazar street, Calcutta, 17th March 1929.</p>		<p>Mitter brother of No. 1 3. Aboni Kumar Sarkar son of Satish Chandra Sarkar of village Koura, police station Mohamedpur, district Jessore. 4. Bankim Mukherji son of Late Jogendra Nath Mukherji Calcutta</p>	

(Sd.) K GHOSH,
*Signature with date of
the person whose property,
is seized is present at the
20-3-29. each.*

*N. B.—This form to 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.) R. S. MEHTA,
*Police-officers conducting the search.
Date 20-3-29 Place No. 1 Kanta Pookur lane.*

(Sd.) JOGINDRANATH MITTRA. 20-3-29.
(Sd.) H. N. BHATTACHARJI. 20-3-29
Signature of witness with date.

Signature by the accused (optional)

P. 95.

To

The Commissioner of police, Calcutta.

My two sealed items of the search of my house at 27 Mohendra Bose Lane may be examined in presence of Sj. Bankim Chandra Mukherji on my behalf.

Radharaman Mitra

21/3/29.

P. 96.

SEARCH LIST.

Details of Property seized by Police-officers acting under the provisions of section '03 or 165, Criminal Procedure Code

1. Date and hour of search 4-30 a. m. at about 20th March 1929.
2. Name and residence of persons whose house is searched—Radha Raman Mitra 27 Mahendra Bose Lane.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} (1) \\ (2) \\ (3) \end{array} \right.$

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>mattolika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
	<p>Details of item No. 5 of the house search of Radha Raman Mitter of 27 Mohendra Bose Lane dated 20th March 1929.</p> <p>(1) 37 Shees of papers containing accounts; notes regarding Bauria Jute Mill strike thirty seven sheets).</p> <p>Details of item No. 4.</p> <p>5 receipts for foreign.</p> <p>(1) Telegram dated 12th. Nov. 1928.</p> <p>(3) Two receipt 21st Nov. 1928.</p>			<p>Item Nos. 4 and 5 are the original search list of the search of the house of Radha Raman Mitter of 27 Mohendra Bose Lane which were bought under Seal and signature of Search witnesses on 20th March 1929 were opened this day in presence of the search witnesses and the detailed list of of these two items were prepared in presence of the witnesses and also in presence of Babu Bankim Chander Mukerjee as representative</p>

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.
	<p>(3) Two receipts dated 5th. Dec. 1928.</p> <p>(4) One Telegram receipt of Sham-bazar P. O. dated 20th November 1928.—charge 1-9.</p> <p>(5) One typed letter addressed to Radha Raman by Fani from Chicago U. S. A. dated Sept. 5 '28.</p> <p>(6) One draft telegram addressed to N. M. Joshi by Kali Dass Bhattacharjee Bengal Jute workers' Association.</p> <p>(7) One Telegram dated 17th Nov. 1928, addressed to Rada Raman Mitter Calcutta by Subhas Bose.</p> <p>(8) 2 letters addressed to Radha Raman by P. Spratt dated 24th Nov. 1928 and 22nd. Nov</p> <p>(9) 2 receipts. Nos 344 and 345 dated 5th Dec. 1928 of the first all India workers and Peasants Party Conference Reception Committee 2/1 European Asylum Lane given to Radha Raman Mitter Bankim Mukherjee respectively.</p>			<p>of Radha Raman Mitter who was also present at the time of the opening of the seal and the signature of the witnesses were obtained Signature of Bankim Chandra Mukherjee is also obtained with search list.</p>

IV

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.
	<p>Sahabhat to be held on 25th Nov. 1928 at 11 a.m.</p> <p>(17) A typed paper containing demands of the workers of Fort Glastonbury Jute Mill, Bowria.</p> <p>18. A printed notice in English under the heading "Do you want freedom", issued by Reception Committee of the first all India Workers & Peasants' party Conference with other side of this. Some accounts are written.</p> <p>(19) A notice to the labourers in Bengali regarding Trade Dispute Bill printed at the Saraswati Press of 1 Ramnath Mozumdar Street Calcutta.</p> <p>(20) A letter in Bengali addressed to Radha Ramah by Hrishikesh of 12/1 Gopal Banerjee Lane Ramkrestapur Howrah dated 11th Oct., 1928.</p> <p>(21) One post card addressed to Bankim Chander Mukerjee by</p>			

(10) One letter addressed to Radha Raman Mitter by Chartered Bank of India, Calcutta dated 28th Nov. 1928.

(11) Two letters (a) addressed to Radha Raman by K. Ghose dated 9th Dec. '28 (b) addressed to Radha Raman and Bankim by K. Ghose dated 31st Dec. 1928.

(12) Three typed papers printed up together (a) Resolution regarding Trade disputes Bills by the Executive Committee, 2/1 European Asylum Lane dated 11th August '28.

(13) One letter signed by Kiran-Sanker Roy Secy. B.P. C.C. dated 3rd August 1928 and a covering letter by Lal Mohan Ghose to Radha Raman Mitter dated 24 August '28.

(14) A printed meeting notice in Bengali by Kishori Lal Ghose Secy. Bengal Trade Union Federation and President Bauria Jute workers Union.

(15) A slip of paper containing two draft foreign Telegrams (a) to Interfed—Amstardam and (b) Ankolina-Berlin by Radha Raman Mitter Jute workers Union, Bouria Howrah.

(16) A printed notice regarding a labour meeting at Raja Bagan

Hemanta 42 Bonomali Sarkar St.
dated 17th Nov. 1928.

(22) A typed letter addressed to
Fort Gloster worker by A.
Cameron, of 10 Government place
dated 7th November 1928.

(23) A copy of Lal paltan in Bengali
dated 11th December 1928.

(24) A piece of paper containing
address of Harendra Nath Ghose c/o
National.

(25) Khatta book under the heading
of receipt book and badge issue book.

(26) A book named Hundred Per
cent India by C. G. Shah.

(27) Press report No. 6 issued by
Mr V. V. Giri General Secretary
A. I. R. F.

(28) Thesis named the Trade
Union movement presented to the
first All-India Worker and Peasant
party Conference December 1928.

(29) A Booklet named some
aspects of Indian Socialism by Jotish
Chandra Ghose M. A.

(30) Address of the Chairman of
the All-India Trade Union Congress
Jharia 1928.

(31) Presidential address of All-
India Trade Union Congress held
at Jharia on 18, 19 and 20 December
1928.

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 articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
<p>1A</p> <p>✓</p> <p>✓</p> <p>✗</p>	<p>(32) A receipt Book of the Reception Committee of the first All-India Workers and Peasants Party Conference bearing Nos. from 976 to 986.</p> <p>(33) A copy of All-India Trade Union constitution.</p> <p>34) A copy of term of settlement of Jamshedpur labour disputes 1928, published by Secretary Labour Association Jamshedpur.</p> <p>(35) Typed copy of allegations of illtreatment at the Howrah General Hospital.</p> <p>(36) A copy of a letter addressed to Radha Ramah by Spratt dated 23rd November 1928.</p> <p>(37) A printed letter by Dharani Kanta Goswami Secretary Reception Committee first All-India and Peasant Conference to the Secretary Bauriah Jute Workers Union. A printed appeal with student Community of Calcutta by Kishori Lal</p>			

Ghose Honorary Secretary Bengal Trade Union Federation dated 30th Sept. 1928.

(38) Copy of the Agenda of the Jbaria Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress held on December 18, 19, 20, 1928.

(40) Draft Telegrams to Shaklatvala House of Commons, London Berlin by Radha Raman Spratt and to Tagore care Smody Germany by Moeaffer Ahmad Reg Bauria Jute workers strike.

(42) A letter to Radha Raman by K. Ghose, dated 29th November 1928.

(43) A letter to Washington by Bankim Ch. Mukharjee dated 14th November 1928.

(54) A letter to Radha Raman by Subhash Chandra Bose dated 27th November 1928, from 116 Bowbazar street.

(45) A Bundle of loose 95 sheets having miscellaneous accounts and writing.

(46) A Bundle of miscellaneous papers having 14 loose sheets.

(47) A Bundle of cutting Forward news paper containg 19 sheets Bauriah Strikes and other labour matters.

VIII.

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.
	<p>(48) A Bundle of miscellaneous papers having 54 sheets containing writing and accounts beginning with assault on Gangadhar Nath.</p> <p>(49) Another bundle containing 28 sheets. Twenty eight sheets of paper beginning with Chengail lock out.</p> <p>(50) A pocket book of Radha Raman Mitter bearing a stamp of Bauriah Jute workers union 1928.</p>			

(Sd.) RADHA RAMAN MITTRA

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

20-3-29

N. B.—This form must be signed by witnesses.

* Articles seized, numbered and labelled should be attested by signatures of witnesses and Police-officers.

Permanent marks, such as cuts, etc., must not be made.

(Sd.) JOGINDRANATH MITTRA. 20-3-29.

(Sd.) SOURINDRA NATH SEN. 20-3-29.

Signature of witness with date.

Police-officer conducting the search.
Date 20-3-29 Place No. 1. Kanta Pookur lane.

Signature by the accused (optional)

P. 97.

LENINISM, by Joseph Stalin. Printed by Unwin Ltd.,
Brothers, Woking. Published by George Allen & Unwin
Ltd., Museum Street, London.

~~P. 98.~~

Withdrawn

POSTS

TELEGRAPHS.

Receipt for Deferred
Foreign Telegram.

The charges printed on this form have been
duly paid in respect of the telegram and indi-
cated by number.

Class Amount.

The sum stated includes extra charges, if
any, paid for Reply, Delivery etc.

Prefix Rs. A.

OF-09-12

No. Date.

Do 196 Nov 12-28.

Should any reference become necessary, the
production of this receipt will enable the tele-
gram to be traced by the office of origin within
seven days of the date of its despatch - there-
after, *Complaints* respecting this telegram and
applications for *Refund* containing complaints
as well, should be addressed to the Director-
General of Posts and Telegraphs, Traffic Branch,
Calcutta, within five months. Application for
refund *which do not contain complaints as well*,
should be addressed to the Deputy Accountant-
General, Telegraph Check Office, Calcutta.

P. 99. Withdrawn

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

Receipt for Deferred Foreign Telegram. The charges printed on this form have been duly paid in respect of the telegram indicated by number.

Class Amount. The sum stated includes extra charges, if any, paid for Reply, Delivery, etc.

Prefix. Rs. A.

LT-05-10-
No. Date. Should any reference become necessary, the production of this receipt will enable the telegram to be traced, by the office of origin within seven days of the date of its despatch - thereafter, *Complaints* respecting this telegram and applications for *Refund* involving complaints against the service should be addressed to the Postmaster-General, Bengal and Assam Circle, Calcutta, within five months. Applications for refund *which do not involve complaints against the*

₹ P. 100. W. M. D. S. N.

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT,

Receipt for Deferred Foreign Telegram The charges printed on this form have been duly paid in respect of the telegram indicated by number.

Class Amount.
Prefix Rs. A. The sum stated includes extra charges, if any, paid for Reply, Delivery, etc.

LT 03 I5 Should any reference become necessary, the production of this receipt will enable the telegram to be traced, by the office of origin within seven days of the date its despatch thereafter,
No. Date. *Complaints* respecting this telegram and applications for *Refund* involving complaints against the service should be addressed to the Postmaster-General, Bengal and Assam Circle, Calcutta, within five months. Applications for refund *which do not involve complaints against the*

901280 NOV 21-28

AP. 101. Wellington

POSTS.

TELEGRAPHS.

Receipt for Foreign
Telegram.

The charges printed on this form have
been duly paid in respect of the Telegram
indicated by number.

Class Amount

The sum stated includes extra charges,
if any, paid for Reply, Delivery, etc.

Prefix Rs. A.

Of-12-0

Should any reference become necessary,
the production of this Receipt will enable
the Telegram to be traced by the office of
Origin within seven days of the date of its
despatch; thereafter, *Complaints* respecting
this Telegram and applications for *Refund*
containing complaints as well, should be
addressed to the Director-General of Posts
and Telegraphs, Traffic Branch, Calcutta,
within five months. Applications for Refund
which do not contain complaints as well,
should be addressed to the Deputy Account-
tant-General, Telegraph Check Office,
Calcutta.

No. Date.

90699 Dec-5-28.

Office of origin

CALCUTTA.

~~P.~~ 102. 1000000

POSTS

TELEGRAPHS

Receipt for Foreign
Telegram.

The charges printed on this form have been duly paid in respect of the Telegram indicated by number.

Class Amount.

The sum stated includes extra charges, if any, paid for Reply, Delivery, etc.

Prefix Rs. A.

LT-07-14

No. Date.

90700 Dec-5-28.

Office of Origin

CALCUTTA.

Should any reference become necessary, the production of this Receipt will enable the Telegram to be traced by the office of Origin within seven days of the date of its despatch; thereafter, *Complaints* respecting this Telegram and applications for *Refund* complaints as well should be addressed to the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, Traffic Branch, Calcutta, within five months. Applications for Refund *which do not contain complaints as well*, should be addressed to the Deputy Accountant-General, Telegraph Check Office, Calcutta.

Withdrawn as per
P. 103. *Shakti D.*

1 KANTAPUKUR LANE.

24/11/28.

Dear Radharaman,

I can't be at Bauria tomorrow. Can I see you at Kishori's place at 8 p. m. today? It is essential to clear the matter up at once. I feel that I cannot allow the position to remain as it is any longer.

Yours

P. Spratt.

Withdrawn as per
P. 104. *Shakti D.*

2/1 European Asylum Lane

Calcutta

22-11-28.

Dear Radharaman,

Could you see Kishori and myself with Bankim if possible, tomorrow (Friday) morning, at Kishori's place? It is about the telegram which I sent yesterday. Kishori is furious and wants me to withdraw it. I can do nothing of course until we have a general discussion and decide. Please come, with Bankim, if you can. Say at 9 a. m.

Yours

P. Spratt.

P. 105.

No. 344.

Dated 5/12/38.

THE FIRST ALL-INDIA
WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY CONFERENCE
(RECEPTION COMMITTEE)

2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Received with thanks from Mr. Radha Raman Mitra the
sum of Rupees one, annas as subscription,

Rs. 1/-

D. K. Goswami
Secretary.

THE FIRST ALL-INDIA
WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY CONFERENCE
(RECEPTION COMMITTEE)

2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Received with thanks from Mr. Bankim Mukherji the sum of
Rupees one, annas as subscription.

Rs. 1/-

D. K. Goswami.
Secretary.

P. 106.

CHARTERED BANK OF INDIA, AUSTRALIA & CHINA.

(Incorporated in England by Royal Charter 1853)

All Communications

Important.

should be addressed

to the Bank and not

In reply please quote

to individuals.

Telegram Dept.

Telegraphic Address:

"Constance" Calcutta.

Telephone: 6945 (2 lines)

Post Box No. 40.

CALCUTTA, 28th November 1928.

Radha Raman Mitra Esq
Secretary Jute Worker's Union
Bauria.

Dear Sir,

Under telegraphic instructions from our London office we are prepared to pay you on identification £10-0-0 (Equivalent of Pounds ten only) on presentation of the enclosed receipt in duplicate duly signed and stamped (from Saklatvala Workers Welfare League).

I am, Dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,

Sd. Illegible
Agent.

P. 107.

A Bengali notice under the signature, in print, of Kishorilal Ghosh, Secretary of the Bengal Trade Union Federation and President of the Bauria Jute Workers' Union, announcing the holding of a meeting of the Jute workers on 27th December 1928, at Karbala Field, Bauria. Spratt, Bradley, Ryrn, Joglekar, Mirajkar, Muzaffar Ahmad, Abdul Majid, Radha Raman Mitra, Bhupendra Chakravarty, Kalidas Bhattacharji and others were to deliver lectures at this meeting.

P. 108.

A joint notice issued by the Bengal Textile Workers' Union and the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, announcing the holding of the First All India Workers' and Peasants' Party on December 21st to 23rd, 1928.

P. 109.

Interfied,
•
AMSTERDAM.

Send Eighteen thousand help Fort Gloster Jute Workers locked out since sixteenth (16th July)

Radharaman Mitra.
Secretary
Jute Workers Union
Bauria, HOWRAH.

Ankolina, Berlin

Eighteen thousand Fort Gloster Jute Workers locked out since sixteenth July International working class help urgently solicited.

•
Radharaman Mitra
Secretary,
Jute Workers Union.
Bauria. HOWRAH

X P. 110. *Withdrawn*

"Lal Paltan" dated 11th December 1928. A vernacular organ of the E. I. R. Union, Lillooah with hammer and sickle on the top page.

P. 111.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

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

December, 1928.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4) The economic policy of the Unions can only be one of unremitting aggression. A continued fight must be waged in all industries for the improvement of the fundamental condition, wages and hours principally of the workers. This does not mean that other matters, such as enforcement of Factory legislation, the Compensation Act, etc., should be neglected. But it means that the essential plank in the programme on which the workers are organised is the demand for substantial improvements. For each industry a comprehensive programme should be worked out, in which these demands take a prominent place, and the workers asked to unite to enforce the programme. If necessary the workers must be restrain-

ed from talking too hasty action, without sufficient resources and solidarity to carry through the struggle properly, but when preparations are sufficient, action must be taken.

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

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

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

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

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

pernicious effect upon the movement. (2) The second proposal, to prevent all strikes in Railways, Posts, Telegraphs, etc, and (3) to prevent sympathetic and political strikes, are sheer repression, and must be fought with all the strength at the disposal of labour.

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

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

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

Both for the purpose of the purely economic struggles, and for the larger purposes of the Trade Union movement also, the establishment of democracy within the Unions is a most necessary matter. The value of the Union, as a training ground in politics

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

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

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

The Trade Union movement must also take a clear line in the international sphere. The move on the part of the right-wing

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

The Saogat Press, 11 Wellesley Street, Calcutta.

P. 112. *Withdrawn as
Mitras D.*

Some Aspects of Indian Socialism



1st All-India Socialistic Youth Congress.

1928



JYOTISH CHANDRA GHOSH, M.A.,

CALCUTTA.

Some Aspects of Indian Socialism.

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

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

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

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

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

It is true that we have noticed a vague desire in the mass to secure SWARAJ within the shortest possible period and consequent

discontent with the existing order of things. But the will of the mass remaining hypnotised in a stuporous slumber, the mass is not yet endowed with consciousness in the strict sense of the term. It is a pity that the existing political organisations in the country have done but little in the way of properly rousing up the mass, they being mainly preoccupied with the sole work of indulging their political hobbies, with the result that while the mass of the people makes the greatest sacrifice for upholding the cause which their leaders love most they derive very little benefit out of it and are, a sense, exploited once again in the interest of a new class of bourgeoisie. Therefore, our first duty should be to do the work that as yet remains undone to make the mass of the people fully develop its consciousness, so that it may know the endless tortures to which it is subjected, by dehypnotising the mass as a whole by carrying on an intensive propaganda among the people. This plastic consciousness, when liberated, should be developed into a concentrated will to tear off the bonds which render the mass lethargic and uncreative. When once this will is properly drilled and trained it will be able to create the necessary conditions under which it will refuse to be hypnotised again under any circumstances and will get the path to victory crystallised before its mental vision. After this is assured, success is only a question of time.

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

As for socialism in its constructive aspect it may be attempted with great advantage in carrying on certain experiments in

socialism with a view to train the workers in the methods of socialistic administration in local bodies. In order to make this work fruitful, it is absolutely necessary that the youths of the country should make themselves thoroughly conversant with socialism in theory and practice with special reference to Indian conditions. In small areas, by a sort of voluntary co-operation introduced among the masses, they may receive their preliminary training in holding land and capital in common, doing labour in commonalty and receiving the produce equally through a locally constituted Board, representing the socialistic Government of the future in a seed-form.

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

The youths have been appropriately called the mainstay of society, chiefly because they represent the fighting units of the race. If this unit is not properly developed in them and they are given to a life of slothful ease leading an irresponsible life, permitting insult, shame, calumny and humiliation on the race to which they belong, it leads to a rapid deterioration and ultimate extinction of the nation from the face of the earth. Therefore, the chief responsibility of the arduous labour falls on them as a class and they must rise equal to the occasion in order to save their fair name from unrestricted Stigma, for, if properly inclined, victory is automatically theirs. When the youths deeply imbued with socialistic doctrines have filled up the quota of the total strength of fighters required for the work, the rest may conveniently be permitted to follow the peaceful avocations of life according to their own inclinations in the various departments of life leading to an all-round revival of every aspect of life—art aesthetics, meta-physics, etc. etc.

When once this is assured every movement falls in its proper place, no matter higher or lower but depending for its existence on the development of the fighting instincts in the race, the creation of the rationalistic thinker, the intellectual fighter, who alone can save the knotty situation of the present day.

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

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

P. 113.

1 Kantapur Lane

23/11/28.

Dear Radharaman,

Please come to see Kishori and myself here at 7-30 a. m. tomorrow (Saturday). It is about the telegram etc. and it is absolutely essential for you to come if Bankim can be here also, that would be well. But you must come, and allow the matter to be cleared up at once. My own position, among other things, has become impossible, and unless some agreement can be reached I shall have to repudiate the telegram.

Yours

P SPRATT.

P. 114.

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,

BOWRIA JUTE WORKERS' UNION.

SECRET

P. 115.

Saktatvala

House of Commons

London.

18000 Jute workers Fort Gloucester locked out since July 16—
arrange help immediately.

Radharaman

Spratt.

Tagore

Sare Smedley

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

Holsteinschestrass 36.

Berlin-Wilmersdorf Germany.

Arrange help 18000 Bauria Jute Workers locked out since
July 16.

Mujaffar Ahmad

P. 116.

29-11-28.

D/r Radha Raman Babu,

Instead of coming to me at every step for work that ought to have been done by the Secretary, you have now gone to the other extreme of not caring to inform me by a line as to how things are going on at Bauria or the measures you are taking. But while preferring your latter course to the former I can not help remarking that contact by a line or two with the President would not bring about the collapse of a strike.

It seems that you do not think it necessary to communicate to me the money you have received. I trust Chengal mistake would not be repeated at Bauria. Would you let me know the monies you have received up to date from other sources than mine?

I want Rs. 100 out of the sum of Rs. 250 you have received from Bengal Jute Workers' Union for cross examination copies

and fee to Jamindars. I do not expect any money till after a week but I must deposit folios (stamped papers) for copies any day after tomorrow. I have already given them about Rs. 40 but much more is necessary. I know how busy you are so would not request you to call on me. But if you conveniently can tomorrow by 9 A. M. you can see me for a few minutes and oblige.

K. L. GHOSH

Superscription on the envelope:—

Sj. RADHA RAMAN

Mitter.

Withdrawn

P. 117.

Bankim Babu,

Neither Washington nor Carter could be induced to take the 41 men back. In these circumstances there is no other alternative than continuing the dead-lock. I think *you should go their and address a meeting*. The 41 men have no chance of being taken back if there is resumption.

Kishori Lal Ghosh.

23.11.24.

Withdrawn

P. 118.

4. 6. 3rd Strike Ludlow begins.
7. 6. Hatlooting chronology of Events at or in connection with Bauria.
8. 6. Female assault.
9. 6. 28. Saturday. Magisterial Enquiry.

Dates.	Events.
10. 6. 28 Sunday.	Meeting-Karbala-Kishori-Bankim.
15. 6. Friday.	Meeting on Karbala prohibited, on road.
20. 6. Wednesday	Chengail Riot Kalidas, Bhattacharya, Bankim, Manisingh.
21. 6. Thursday	Bankim arrested & released on bail.
23. 6. Saturday	Meeting-Konai Mochar-Mrinal, Spratt, Hemanta, Debkumar, Manisingh, Bankim. Cotton Mill strike called off and forbidden.
26. 6. Tuesday	Howie and Chalmers assaulted.
27. 6. Wednesday	Rathajatra mills closed.
28. 6. Thursday	Moharam " "
29. 6. Friday	Karbala recovered.
2. 7. Monday	Money raised and deposited with Kishori.
6. 7. Eriday	Mills worked.
8. 7. Sunday	Meeting-Konai Mochar-Kishori, Mrinal,
9. 7. Monday	Esfan & Jabbar's trial opens Hemanta, money deposited with Kishori.
11. 7. Wednesday	Notice threatening closing old mill.
12. 7. Thursday	Notice closing " " "
13. 7. Friday	Old mill closed, wages paid outside the gate New & North worked. Esfan & Jabbar's prosecution closes.
14. 7. Saturday	Money deposited with Kishori.
15. 7. Sunday	Meeting-Karbala-Mrinal, Kishori, I, Union formed. Money deposited.
16. 7. Monday	Riot and shooting. Kishori left for Jamshedpur. Bimal Ganguli visited.
17. 7. Tuesday	New & North mill men paid outside the gates Spratt, Mrinal, Halim, I. Talk with D. S. P. Meeting-Karbala. D. Magistrate & S. D. O. visited. My talk with them night at Uluberia. Arrests. Atul pal.
19. 7. Thursday	Kishori, Hemanta, I. Arrests.
21. 7. Saturday	to Uluberia Ct. Abdul Jabbar's cross begins Khitish Babu appears. Debkumar.
21. 7. Saturday	Atul pal dismissed, Debkumar.

22.	7.	Sunday	Meeting-near Konai Mochar-Kishori, I, Debkumar. "Don't run for fear of arrest."
23.	7.	Monday	March to Thana under Debkumar.
25.	7.	Wednesday	Cross of Esfan begins.
26.	7.	Thursday	Notices of Single shift at the 3 mill gates
29.	7.	Sunday	Meeting-Karbala-Mrinal, Kishori, I, Hemanta.
30.	7.	Monday	Old mill whistle blew.
1.	8.	Wednesday	upcountry mill hands cleaned machinis of old mill for 3 days.
5.	8.	Sunday	Meeting Karbala-Mrinal, Hemanta, Debkumar, Bankim, I,
6.	8.	Monday	morning meeting-Karbala-Bankim, Hemanta.
8.	8.	Wednesday	Notice posted Tresspassers will be prosecuted. Panchanan parni first appeared, old mill worked with Hindusthanis single-shift up to Friday 10. 8.
12.	8.	Sunday	Meeting-Karbala-Mrinal, I, parni, collection of Rs. 63-10-0 announced.
13.	8.	Monday	Hindusthanis paid their wages, sent away, old mill closed.
15.	8.	Wednesday	Meeting Debkumar & I, Abdul Jabbar, Esfan convicted.
16.	8.	Thursday	I, Debkumar, Kishori (after long illness) meeting on road in front union office.
17.	8.	Friday	to Howrah court. Gang case opens. to Bauria took charge of collection & accounts.
18.	8.	Saturday	took suit case, badges, anna receipt etc Meeting-Kishori, I, submitted accounts.
19.	8.	Sunday	Meeting Chengail-reception to Mahababul Huq. Relief parties formed.
22.	8.	Wednesday	to uluberia Bankim convicted.
23.	8.	Thursday	„ night at Uluberia.
24.	8.	Friday	Bankim released.
26.	8.	Sunday	Meeting-Spratt, Dutta (Bhupen) and Bankim, I

27.	8.	Monday	to Metiabruz.
28.	8.	Tuesday	Roychowdhry & Latafat visited.
29.	8.	Wednesday	To Budge Budge from Bauria, Metiabruz.
31.	8.	Friday	To Howrah, court Lal Mohan, Baroda-pain negotiation.
1.	9.	Saturday	Prohabati, Dharani visited. panchnan Parvi asst secretary.
2.	9.	Sunday	Meeting-Kishori, Bankim, I, Parvi. gave up charge of accounts.
4.	9.	Tuesday	The Union office closed.
9.	9.	Sunday	Meeting-I, Bankim.
13.	9.	Thursday	Prosecution in gang case closed. Charge framed.
15.	9.	Saturday	Ati, Mati released on bail, to changail.
16.	9.	Sunday	Meeting Bankim, I.
21.	9.	Friday	to Howrah court cross of Gang case begins.
22.	9.	Saturday	Meeting, Latafal Hosaein, I.
23.	9.	Sunday	Interview with Campbell Forrester-Roychowdhury, Latafat, Kishori, I.
24.	9.	Monday	To Roy chowdhury's office. No interview with Watts. Cotton mill whistle blows for 3 days.
25.	9.	Tuesday	Interview with Watts. " "
29.	9.	Saturday	Meeting-I.
30.	9.	Sunday	Independence League Meeting. Chengail meeting-Mrinal, Kishori, Latafat, Subodh
1.	10.	Monday	Latafat started cotton mill.
6.	10.	Saturday	Meeting Kishori, Mrinal, Spratt, I. cotton mill notice. night at Chengail
7.	10.	Sunday	Morning meeting-Spratt, Kishori Women pickets organised.
8.	10.	Monday	Morning meeting Spratt, I jute Mills whistle blew.
10.	10.	Wednesday	Meeting-I. Ogg's reply refusing negotiation.
11.	10.	Thursday	"Bauria struggle" given to Forward. Dr. J. M. Das gupta visit Kishori.
13.	10.	Saturday	Meeting-Kishori, Mrinal, exposed Kader I with Lillooah procession. Purushotam Roy's visit to Kishori.
14.	10.	Sunday	I, K. C. Mitra visit. Rains. No meeting

- | | | | |
|-----|-----|----------|---|
| 15. | 10. | Monday | Morning meeting. Interview with Keshoram No whistle Jute Mills. Poddar-Mrinal, Kishori, Purushottam, I. |
| 18. | 10. | Thursday | Meeting-Bankim, I printed notice re. Jute Mills. Dr. Das Gupta's second visit. |
| 19. | 10. | Friday | 'Bauria struggled' published. Purushottam Roy's visit. |
| 20. | 10. | Saturday | Kishori saw Dr. Das Gupta-learnt Ogg's refusal of settlement. |
| 21. | 10. | Sunday | Meeting-Bankim, I. |
| 27. | 10. | Saturday | Meeting-Kishori, Spratt, I reached late with 2000 copies of appeals to fellow-workers. Report 50 Hindusthanies brought from outside to work North Mill. |
| 28. | 10. | Sunday | Huge Meeting-Kishori, Spratt, Hemanta, Debkumar, Jitenda Nath Mitra, Moni Mohan Mukherji (B. N. R. Union, Shalimar Branch). 3000 copies. of appeals taken. Several hundred upcountry workers from Alambazar & Jagatdal brought. |
| 29. | 10. | Monday | Meeting-Hemanta & I. Jamtala mill started work with Hiudusthanies. |
| 30. | 10. | Tuesday | Courts open after puja vacation-cross-examination of Gang Case resumed. |

P. 119.

A note-book in Bengali containing details of expenses incurred on account of Spratt, Kishori Babu, Hemanta, Gopen Chakravarty, Radha Raman, Kalidas and others. Movements of Radha Raman and his party regarding the strike at Bauria, Chengail and other places are also briefly noted.

Expenses of telegrams sent to Saklatwala, Tagore and others are also mentioned.

P. 120. *Withdrawn*

A manuscript partly in English partly in Bengali and mostly illegible, referring to strikes.

P. 121.

A note-book of Radha Raman containing accounts of his movements between 3-5-28 and 22-5-28.

P. 122.

**THE FIRST ALL-INDIA
WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY CONFERENCE
(RECEPTION COMMITTEE)**

2-1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Dated 19/11/28.

Dear Comrade.

I have been directed by the Reception Committee of the **First All-India Workers' & Peasants' Party Conference** to be held in Calcutta on 21st, 22nd and 23rd December, 1928 to inform you that you have been elected a member of the said Committee at a meeting of it on 6/10/28. My Committee fervently hopes that you will be pleased to give your full support to it. The minimum subscription is Rs. 2/- for a member of the "Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal" and Re. 1/- for a non-Party member.

The next meeting of the Committee will be held on 22/11/28
at 7 P. M. at the office of the Committee or at
to consider the following agenda. Your presence is solicited.

Yours truly,

D. K. Goswami

Secretary, Reception Committee.

Agenda:

- (1) Election of President.
- (2) Collection of fund
- (3) Miscellaneous.

P. 123.

A Book entitled "The Mind And Face Of Bolshevism"—An
Examination of Cultural Life in Soviet Russia—By Rene Fulp-
Miller—First Published, June 1927. Printed in Great Britain,
Chiswick Press : Charles Whittingham and Griggs (Printers), LTD.
Tooks Court, Chancery Lane, London.

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 4-30 a. m. at about 20th March 1929.
2. Name and residence of persons whose house is searched. Aftab Ali s/o Jawad Ali of 7, Ekbalpore Lane.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search,
 - (1) Hafiz Abdul Jabbar 28, Ekbalpore Lane.
 - (2) Ali Hussain of 39, Mominpore Road.
 - (3) K. S. M. Shahuque of 6, Ekbalpore Road.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>matalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
1	1 Khata book named "Major" with the name Aftab Ali in Bengali containing 18 leaves written in Bengali and English list with headings "American fight for Freedom, and History of the American revolution etc., etc..	Found in an unlocked imitation leather suit case in the north west corner of the room occupied by Aftab Ali.		
2	1 Copy of "Crystal garling" by John Metville 1923.			
3	1 Copy of "The Making of our Country" by Smith Burnham.			
4	1 Copy of E.B.R. time table containing some names No. 135 dated 1st Sept. to 28th Feb. 1929.			

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>maltalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt etc.
II	<p>5 1 Bengali copy of Sandha Sangit of Rabindra Nath Tagore with the name of Amarendra Nath Dey in English.</p> <p>6 1 Bengali copy of "Udarer Chinta" by Jiban Nath Chatterjee.</p> <p>7 1 Pocket book with the name Aftab Ali in English Containing same names and address and accounts etc.</p> <p>8 1 Khata book with the words "Maker of America and their fight for freedom and the name of Aftab Ali Sultan written in pencil and ink containing English and Bengali notes regarding History of Americas' revolution etc. etc.</p> <p>9 1 Copy of Ganesons' Recent publications Gandhi Literature in English containing the name of Mrs. Raymands Govt. High School Shahjahanpore.</p>	<p>Found in an unloked imitation leather suit case in the north west corner of the room occupied by Aftab Ali.</p>		

10	1 Copy of workers' and peasants party principles and policy in English yellow colour.	Found in an unlocked imitation leather suit-case in the northern corner of the room occupied by Aftab Ali.
11	1 Copy of Exercise-book marked "I" containing the names of some books such as Russia in Revolution by N. Lenin etc. etc.	
12	1 Copy of constitution of the Indian National Congress of Gauhati Session 1926 bearing the name of Kedar Nath Bhattacharya, Sylhet,	
13	1 Copy of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, Bhat para, 1928 in English.	Found in an unlocked imitation leather suit case in the north west corner of the room occupied by Aftab Ali.
14	14 (1) to 14 (67) containing letters, booklets, copy of telegrams, money order coupon etc. etc.	
15	1 Copy of "Gana bani" in Bengali Dated 2-8-28.	
16	1 Copy of "Bengal Mariners Union" in Bengali.	
17	1 Khata book containing press cuttings.	
18	1 Copy of "Why Men-strike" by Samuel Growther in English.	
19	1 Copy of "Company Unions" by Robert W. Dunn.	
20	1 Copy of "Practical Socialism" by the Rt. Hon. Christopher Addison.	
21	1 Copy of "Ragged Transered Philanthropists." by Robert Tressall.	Found in an unlocked leather sutt case in the northern corner of the room occupied by Aftab Ali.

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.
22	1 Copy of "The Diary of a communist school boy" by N. Ognyor translated from the Russian by Alexander Worth.	Found in an unlocked leather suit case in the northern corner of the room occupied by Aftab Ali.		
23	23 (1) to 23 (13) containing letters, press report, pamphlet, draft statement by the Trade Union congress on their Nehru committees Report and constitution etc., etc., in English and Bengali—hand written and type written.			
24	4 Group photoes, 2 single photoes and 6 negatives copies of the same in a cover bearing the name of Suresh chandra Bhattacharya 5/2 A Raja Raj Ballav Street.			
25	155 Copies "An open letter to workers" by Aftab Ali dated 9th Nov. 1926 of 7 Mantun Lane Calcutta—printed in English.			
26	29 Copies of English printed letters addressed by Aftab Ali Asst. Secy. All India Trade Union Congress to			

	the General Secy. All India Trade Union Congress Bombay.	
27	2 Copies of a Bengali book entitled "Krishaker—khata" by Aftab Ali.	
28	1 Copy of Bengali weekly entitled "Lall Paltan"—dated 22nd December 1928. Edited by Benial Ganguly.	
29	29 (1) to 29 (27) containing letters, booklets, and other printed and hand written and type written English and Bengali papers.	Found in a letter basket in the southern corner of the room occupied by Aftab Ali.
30	1 Copy of the "Desk Standard Dictionary of the English Language by James C. Fernald containing some figures in English at the end.	Found in a broken imitation leather suit case in the southern corner of the room occupied by Aftab Ali.
31	31 (1) to 31 (18) containing letters, booklets, other papers in Bengali and English etc. etc.	
32	32 (1) to 32 (11) containing letters, booklets draft copies of press telegrams 1 congress membership receipt and others papers in English and Bengal.	Found in the drawer of an unlocked wadrobe trunk in the Southern corner of the room occupied by Aftab Ali.

(Sd.) AFTAB ALI,
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.) N. BLAMAN,
Police-officer conducting the search.
Date 20-3-29. Place No. 7 Ekkalpole lane.

(Sd.) HAFIZ ABDUL JABBAR. 20-3-29
(Sd.) ALI HUSAIN. 20-3-29
(Sd.) K. S. M. 20-3-29

Signature of witness with date.

Signature by the accused (optional)

P. 126.

Tuesday night.

34 Holland Hall,

Allahabad.

Comrade,

I am waiting for your letter with suspense and eagerness. Please do write to me in detail.

(1) When are you coming here ?

(2) What do you think of my joining the Party ?

(3) Of starting a study circle here immediately ? The boys are pressing me so hard for it ? It is only in the beginning of the session that they can give their thoughts such to things. November & early December are busy Convocation days, and then everybody studying for the examinations after Xmas. If you approve of it could you instruct your Party Office to send me the available literature soon for a small library ? Could you not do it free ? It will serve as the basis of the Party library in U.P. and when that is established we could buy our books with our own funds ?

(4) You will ask them to send me the catalogue of all the books they stock as also of the Plebs League, Labour Research, Vanguard Press etc. I will select some literature, order for it and get it hawked here ? Could they do this on credit ? I could personally stand security.

(5) Whence to get the Communist badge-hammer and sickle ? Many boys are requesting me for them. If in the Party Office, you will ask them to send me some.

(6) I have given the party pamphlets to Prof. Rudra here. He teaches Social Thesis and labour to M.A. You will please ask them to send me some.

(7) In Mr. Ganga Prasad Agarwal of the All-India Spinners' Association, Khadi Bhandar there, you will find a very enthusiastic man. You will please do see him.

(8) What about Jawahar Lalji ?

Non I am here for good. Whenever you please you are most welcome to come here and stay with me. Nothing has been decided about the Muttra Job, the Research Scholarship will be announced on the 7th August at the earliest. You will please answer me immediately and in detail. If you are too busy at least write so.

I will be sending the books to you after 2 or 3 days, as to the thesis they are not with me here. I think you took them away, at least, I took them out of my attache case and gave them to you.

You might have left them on my table. I am writing to my cousin Mohan there to find them out, if he can. You will please see him.

Faternally,

Puran.

P. 127.

Rejected

Letter dated 16. 9. 1928 from Muzaffar Ahmed Calcutta.

P. 128.

Rejected

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

©.

Notice :
This form must accompany
any inquiry made res-
pecting this Telegram.

<u>Charges</u> <u>to pay.</u>		<u>Office</u> <u>Stamp.</u>
Rs.	As.	
		Almora 26 Sep 28 Tel.

Handed in at
(Office of Origin)
Calcutta.

Date.	Hour.	Mt.	Service	Words
25.	18.	45	instruc- tions.	19.

Recd. here at : 10H. 8 M.

To

Aftab Ali, Eaddy Villa, Almora.

Lyalpur Conference begins twentysighth please proceed there immediately ready party message sent direct.

Muzaffar Ahmed,

P. 129.

SANTARAM S. MIRAJKAR,

Journalist.

2/3, Khandke Bldgs.

Dadar, Bombay No. 14.

Date, 5. 5. 1928.

My dear Aftab,

I have seen your letter to Nimbkar and I have decided to pen a few lines for you.

We are, at present, busy with the textile General Strike wherein 1,50,000 persons are concerned. The Strike Committee is formed and the demands are presented to the Mill-owners' Association.

The Mill-owners' game is not to recognize us and open negotiations with Joshi ; but that move we are trying to counteract with as much tact and cleverness, Mr. Joshi and Co is completely discredited in the eyes of the workers and when they come to meeting amidst the workers, they are houted out. We are watching the further developements with great anxiety.

Please come to Bombay once if you can.

Yours sincerely,
S. S. Mirajkar.

P. 130.

1 Kantapur Lane,

11. 6. 28.

Dear Mr. Ali,

Your letter of 5th instant duly received. Yes, I am trying to do my best in connection with the strikes. A strike has broken out in Chengail again. What with Jamshedpur, Chengail and Lillooah not to speak of Bombay and Cawnpore and restiveness in the entire jute area things are indeed lively.

I trust you are doing well in the bracing climate of Almora and that you would take an active part in the movement after you come back with restored health.

Yours
K. L. Ghosh.

Superscription on the post card:—

Mr. Aftab Ali,
Eaddy Villa,
Almora U. P.

P. 131.

24 Holland Hall,
Allahabad.
Saturday.

Dear Comrade,

I wrote to you last what I considered an urgent letter and to which I recd. no reply. May be it may have never reached you, as the case so frequently is. To business, and very shortly, I am writing against the post.

On 11, 12, and 13 October at Meerut they have going to have the Delhi Pol: Conf: under Jawahar Lalji's Presidentship and the U. P. Workers' and Peasants' Conf: At Jhansi on 27, 28 & 29 October U. P. Pol: Conf: again under Jawahar Lalji and Baghelkhand Workers' and Peasants' Conf: under Jhabwalla. I wrote to you to come here immediately so that we may go to both together. We would have got an opportunity in the very beginning of our work to form a permanent organisation and see the workers, what stuff they are made of. What is most important we would have got an opportunity to impress our views on the policy and programme to be laid down. It is easiest to capture an association when it is being formed. Struggle afterwards is a harder one, leads to disruption and much bitterness beside among the advocates of the common cause.

I am however, leaving for Meerut on the 9th at 3. 30 in the evening. I will stay there with Dr. Bhopal Singh, near Government High School. If you can reach for the Conference there in time you will please wire to me c/o Dr. Bhopal Singh, Meerut, or else send me your instructions in detail. I am trying my best to get accepted the Bangal Workers' and Peasants' programme and have a permanent organisation. I intend to leave Meerut on the 15th for Cawnpore where I stop to see the Labour workers. Could you not join me there if not at Meerut. You should find me out by inquiring at the Congress Office or Swaraj Ashrama Jubi, Cawnpore—opposite the Railway Station.

If you do not meet me there I may go to see my father at Etah or to Indore in the meantime or I am stop all these days at Cawnpore and thence go to join the Jhansi Conference and come back to Allahabad.

You will please write to Jhabuwalla about me write to him c/o the Congress Office Jhansi. At Jhansi you should find me at Mr. Dhulekar's, the Reception President, a labour worker, and a Congressman.

You will please write to me in detail to my Meerut address c/o Dr. Bhopal Singh, Meerut by return post.

With best regards.

Fraternally,

P. G. JOSHI

P. 132.

34 Holland Hall

Allahabad.

Dear Comrade,

I have not heard from you in reply to my last letter. I believed it to be very unjust but I do not know why you did not take it as such. May be it never reached you. Thus it is that. I am sending it through a friend and posting another.

There are two Worker's and Peasant's Conferences during Dasehra Week in our Province. U. P. Workers' and Peasants' along with Delhi Province Political Conference at Meerut on 11, 12 and 13 Oct. Over the Political Conference Jawahar Lalji will preside. At Jhansi we have U. P. Political Conference presided over by Jawahar Lalji and Baghilkhand Workers' and Peasants' Conference presided over by Jhabwalla on 27, 28 and 29 Oct. As I wrote to you we should both go and attend these Conferences. We could see the provincial workers find out what stuff they are and try to have a permanent org. with a policy.....we would have been able to give a momentum to them and influenced the organisations with extremist ideas in the very beginning—the best and surest way.

I am, however, leaving this place by the last train to reach there on the 10th. Could you not come and join me there in time. I will be there till the 15th. Thence I intend to go to Cawnpore and see the Workers there could you join me there, please write to me the date when you could reach there. You could find me by inquiring at the Congress office at Cawnpore. If I do not find you even at Cawnpore you try to catch me at Jhansi—inquire at Mr. Dhulekar's, the Reception President and a leading Vakil there.

Wherever I go I will try to get accepted your Party programme and try to form a permanent and active org: I will ask Jawahar Lalji to help me therein.

You will please *wire* to me if you are going to Meerut—you will find me at Dr. Bhopal Singh's near Govt. High School, or write to me c/o Dr. Bhopal Singh, Meerut Cantt., in detail about your programme, and where you could meet me. If you cannot meet me you will please write to me all your suggestions in detail by the same address.

Treat this as most urgent.

With best regards,

Fraternally,

P. C. JOSHI.

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 4-30 a. m. to 5-30 a. m. 20th March 1929.
2. Name and residence of persons whose house is searched. Kali Kumar Sen, 97 Carnewallis Street.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search,
 - (1) Satish Chandra Mitra of 41 Ramakanta, Bose, Street.
 - (2) Manohar Lal Mullick, 2 Shtam Square.
 - and so on

S. Mitra

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.
I.	De Valera Principles of scientific Socialism msyteries of Ireland, 4 copies of Commercial and Industrial India. Peoples, maix, A, call, to action, Political Resolution, Trade Union Movement Workers Peasants' Party in India.	Found in the table and in drawer in the office room Bengal Jute Workers associa-tion.		
II.	Six files containing papers,	Found on the office		
III.	Three Registers.	room.		
IV.	One bundle of miscellaneous papers including correspondence.			
V.	Two red flags All India Socialist Youth Congress			

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>mallika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt etc.
1	A photograph (group) a small photograph some handbills regarding a meeting at Beltala chengail on 10th March 1929.	Found in the room of Kall Kumar Sen (2nd floor).		
2	A photograph of Mr. Arabindo Ghosh.	Found in a box on the Veranda (2nd floor).		
3	Books Socialism for today, 2 copies of Rajnaitik prostab, 2 copies of Trade Union movement, A call to action Economic Development, some aspects of Indian Socialism. One letter written by K. Anjanagulu from Kodali dated 28th Nov. 1928.	Found in the room B. B. Ganguli (2nd floor).		
4	One wire from Jawaharlal Nehru dated 17th Dec. to Dutta 97 Cornwallis street and another from Raja Rao to Dr. Dutta dated 12th Dec. 1928. One file called information containing papers. Another file called list of delegates.	Found in a room on the 1st floor next to office room.		
Item I.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Life of De Valera. 2. Principles of Scientific Socialism. 			

3. Mystries of Ireland.
 4. 4 copies Commercial and Industrial India.
 5. People's Marx.
 6. A call to action.
 7. Political resolution.
 8. Trade Union Movement.
 9. Workers and Peasants' party.
 10. Peasants and Workers party in Bengal.
 11. India.
- II. 1. One file marked Bengal paper Mills Workers Union Central Office Bhatpara containing:—
- (a) All-India Trade Union Congress Circular 23 Bombay 26th Jan. 1929.
 - (b) All-India Trade Union Congress (congress constitution.)
 - (c) All-India Trade Union Bulletin Vol. 5 No 6 and Bombay dated December 1928.
 - (d) and (e) Jharia Session of All-India Trade Union Congress (agenda further business for the Session of the congress.)
 - (f) and (g) Draft All-India Trade Union Congress—annual report to be submitted to the session of the All-India Trade Union Congress at Jharia.
2. File marked Bengal Jute Workers Association Bhatpara 24 pargs. containing:—

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	<p>(a) One Hindi post card addressed to Kali Babu Bhatpara 24 paraganas from Mustakin, Alambazar.</p> <p>(b) One post card to Kalipada Bhattacharya from Hari Charan Das of Mahesh dated 6-11-35.</p> <p>(c) One post card to Gopendra Chakrabutty from Haripada Sarkar, Jehapur Nadia.</p> <p>(d) One letter to the Secretary Bengal Jute Workers association Bhatpara from manager Calcutta Claimes Bureau dated 13th Feb. 1929 regarding claim No. A-1920. (Letter No 1502).</p> <p>(e) One letter No. F-3-766 dated 12th February 1929 to G. Chakrabutty from Superintendent Post Offices Hooghly Division with a certificate of payment of a M.O. No. 4803 for Rs. 20.</p> <p>(f) One letter to Secretary Bengal Jute Workers Association from</p>			

Manager Nadia Mills Co., Ltd.,
Naihati dated 11th February 1929.

(g) Four letters from Calcutta,
Blaims Bureau dated 9th Feb. 1929,
No. 1216, dated 7th Feb. 1929,
No. 1206, dated 6th Feb. 1929
No. 1123, dated 4th Feb. 1929.

(h) One post card to Kalipado
Bhattacharya Bhatpara from Bhu-
banch Nath, Champdani, Dated 23rd
March,

(i) One letter in Bengali from
"Dukha Daradi,".

(j) One post card to Kalidas
Bhattacharya from Bhatpara from
Nagendra Nath Chakrabutty pleader
Dated 2/2/29 re. money appeal No.
451-28.

(k) One letter to Secy. Bengal
Jute Workers Association from
Manager Auckland Jute Mills Jagad-
dal Dated 31/1/29 re claim No. C.B.
D, 1588. N, 2—W 1268 Pauce.

(l) Four letters to Secy. Bengal
Jute Workers Association No. 713
Dated 22/1/29, 712 Dated 23/1/29,
830 Dated 26/1/29, 952 Dated
31/1/29.

(m) Letter to Secy. Bengal Jute
Workers Association, Bhatpara from
the Managar Anglo Indian Jute
Mills Co. Limited Jagaddal Dated
30/1/29.

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	<p>(n) Letter to Secy. Bengal Jute Workers Association from American Manfg. Co.</p> <p>(o) Letter to Secy. Bengal Jute Workers Association from Manager Magra Jute Mills, Dated 28/1/29.</p> <p>(p) Acknowledge receipt of a letter No. 33 Dated 24/1/29 from Supdt. P. O. Army Dn,</p> <p>(q) Post card to Kalipado Bhattacharya Bhatpara from Hari Charan Dass Mahesh, Dated 22/1/29.</p> <p>(r) Letter for Manager Reliance Jute Mills, Dated 9/1/29 to the Secy.</p> <p>(s) Letter from Subhas Chandra Bose President B. P. C. C. Dated 9/1/29 re Hartal and demonstration at Sealdia Station on 12/1/29 in connection with the arrival of the Simon Commission.</p> <p>(t) Postal letter from Supdt. Post Office Presy Dn. Dated 3/1/29 re no. of M. Q.</p>			

(u) Letter from Kalidas Bhattacharya to Manager Kankinara, Jute Mills, Dated 2/1/29.

(v) One typed letter from General Secretary B.N.S. Indian Labour Union Kharagpur Dated 26th Aug. 1927 to Secy. Bengal Jute Association.

(w) Letter to President Bengal Jute Workers Association from Jagadal Thana Dated 19/8/28.

(x) Three post cards to Kalidass Bhattacharji Bhatpara from Jiteudra Nath Sarkar of Bagpur D/- 15/1, Sidheswar of Gowhati D/- 11/1/29 Kali Sen of 97 Cornwallis Street Dated 4/12/28.

(y) Two post cards to Chakrabutty Bhatpara from Kamla Kanta Kar Dated 6/1/29 and 4/12/28.

(z) One post card to Sec. Workman Labour Association Bhatpara from Benoy Kumar Dated 25/12/28 regarding accident of Chuna Tank.

3. One file marked Receipts and vouchers Bengal Paper Mill Workers Union Bhatpara contg.—

(1) A receipt for Rs. 9/10/9 paid to Wandlal Das of Paper Pulp Mill Hazaripur by the Secy. of Paper Mills Union.

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	<p>(2) A receipt for Ra. 21/11/9 paid to Prosad Ch, Paramanik for expenses in a case.</p> <p>(3) A voucher for Rs. 6/8/- spent on account of meeting and 1000 Bengali printing handbills for Paper Mills Workers.</p> <p>(4) Paper showing purchase of ink, pen etc. and kerosine oil.</p> <p>(5) Cash bill for making & framing a sign board Bengal Paper Mills Workers Union.</p> <p>(6) Paper showing loan of -/12/- to Prosad Das Paramanik Dated 10/11/27.</p> <p>(7) Travelling expenses -/8/- by Kalidass for Kakinara to Titagarh D/ 5/1/27.</p> <p>(8) A cash memo of Ananta Lal Mukerji & Sons. D/ 19/5/27.</p> <p>(9) Paper showing cost of printing 1000 receipt in 10 books 5/12/-.</p> <p>(10) Purchase of Kerosine oil.</p>			

(11) A receipt granted to Kali Das Bhattacharjee for Rs. 4/13/- by P. Ganguli dated 6th June 1927.

(12) Papers showing purchase of stamps and Post cards, Kerosine oil and papers and expences incurred by Nirmal Kumar for travelling to Hajinagar and back for inspection.

(13) Papers showing travelling expences of Kalidas to Titagarh, signboard making, tin and a frane for signboard, and bying Kerosine oil.

(14) Papers showing purchase of envelops, Kerosine oil, stamps and travelling.

(15) Papers showing purchase of wirefiles, dye for signboard and papers.

(16) Papers showing loan of Rs. 14/14/9, Rs. 6/- and purchase of paper and travelling expenses.

(17) Papers showing loan of Rs. 3/8/- to Lalit Mohan Koyal, purchase of pacca book and Kerosine oil and stamps and postcards.

(18) Paper showing receipt of Rs. 5/- and 10/- by Charnchander from Kalidas Bhattacharjee.

(19) Papers showing Lawcharges of Rs. 4/6/-, Travelling expense -/8/- Travelling to Titagarh and back -/8/-, payment of Rs. 4/- to

X

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II 4.	<p>Lalchand, Lawcharges of Rs. 4/- for Lalchand's case.</p> <p>(20) Paper dated 14th August '27 showing payment of Rs. 8/- for maintenace of the family of Lalit Mohan Koyal and a paper showing purchase of oil and stamps and postcards.</p> <p>A file marked Bengal paper mills workers union, miscellaneous file 27-28. Containing—</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A paper regarding a meeting at Bhatpara (2nd annual meeting) electing new office bearers of the paper mills workers union for the year 1929—dated 6-1-29. 2. First meeting of the Executive Committee of the above union dated 17-2-29. 3. Paper showing "Khokaki" Rs. 9/10/- signed by Kalidas. 4. Bill for all India Trade Union Bulletin—Rs. 2/4/-. 			

- 5. Letter No. 100-26 of d/6th May 1926 from managing agent Titagarh Paper mills to Durga Das Banerjee Pleader.
- 6. Letter d/ 22nd July '27 from manager India paper Pulp Co. to Lalit Mohan Koyal Bhatpora.
- 7. One Bill for Rs. 33/7/- less fine Rs. 5/- Balana 28/7/-.
- II 5. File for postal receipt for registered letters containing 85 receipts.
- II 6. Register of acknowledgement receipts containing 119 receipts.
- III.
 - 1. One address Register containing addresses in alphabetical order.
 - 2. One Register named Bengal Paper Mills Workers Union Members Roll 1929.
 - 3. One Register named Baman-gachi case Defence Fund for Santiram Mondol and three others.
- IV.
 - 1. One draft letter from Gopendra Chakrabutty for Free Press D/ 29-2-29.
 - 2. Proceedings of a Labour Sub-Committee meeting 24 pargah held on D/ 6-3-29 at 97 Cornwallis St.
 - 3. Bulletin No. 2 First All-India Socialist Youth Congress.
 - 4. An appeal to the Indian youth by Satyanarain Ch. asstt. secy. Provisional Reception Committee of the above Congress.

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	<p>5. One Delegates ticket of Radharaman Mitter for the first All-India W. & P. party conference contg. names of office bearers of the Bengal Jute Workers Association 1929.</p> <p>6. A paper of Chengail Jute Workers union containing names of 7 unions and three members.</p> <p>7. Two notices for a labour meeting at Bouria on 3-2-29, issued by Kali Das, Gopendra, Radha Raman, Kali Sen, Bankim Mukherji, Muzaffar Ahmad, Dharain.</p> <p>8. Minutes of an informal meeting held on 1-1-27 at the residence of Mr. N. C. Sen 98 Behola road.</p> <p>9. A note paper of employees association containing typed letter by Mukandilal Sarkar to alder men and committees of the Calcutta congress dated 27-8-29.</p> <p>10. All-India Railway men's Federation dated 26 Oct. 1927 Labour</p>			

Unions Rejoinder to Government
Communique, B. N. Ry. Labour
Union—Reply to Agent's rejoinder
B. N. Ry. labour union by Dewan
Chammanlal on 14th Sept. 1927.
B. N. Ry. labour union Talle with
the works by Giri dated 25-10-27.

11. One Post card to Kali Kumar
Sen 97 Corn. St. from Santosh
Mukherji 78 Chowrighat.

12. An acknowledgement receipt
signed by Muzaffar Ahmad.

13. On P. C. to Kalidas, Bhatta-
charji from Gopal Sanyal dated
11-3-29.

14. Three copies of the constitu-
tion of congress Radical party.

15. Letter from Hari Singh
Chakwalia to Kali Babu beginning
with "awake awake O youths of 97
Corn. St."

16. Constitution of All-India
Socialist Youth League.

17. Proceedings of 2nd annual
general meeting of Bengal Paper Mill
Workers Union (2 sheets)

18. One resolution re. formation
of a subcommittee with Kalidas
Bankin Gopen and Radha Raman.

19. One note sheet of Bengal J.
W. Association, containing proceed-
ings of an executive meeting presi-
dent— Dharam Gossain.

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	<p>20. One typed letter from Director International Labour Office New Delhi D/ 19/12/28 to Secy. B. J. W. Association.</p> <p>21. Letter from Kalidas Bhatta-charji to Secy. B. J. W. Union No. 62 D/- 8/2/29—enclosures—letters Nos. 56 D/- 8/2/29. 57 D/- 8/2/29 50 D/- 4/2/29, another without date and signature.</p> <p>22. Press reports of the International Federation Trade Union No. 6 D/- 7/2/29,</p> <p>23. Press report of the same No. 47 D/- 22/2/27, with Titagarh Workers Union—appeal.</p> <p>24. A draft letter addressing Sime 4 pages.</p> <p>25. A printed pad of Socialist Youth Congress.</p> <p>26. A letter from Muzaffar Ahmad to Gopen Chakrabutty D/- 20/2/29.</p> <p>27. Resolutions adopted at a meeting of the executive committee</p>			

of the W. and P. Party India on
17/2/29

28. Letter from Muzaffar Ahmad
D/- 2-2-29, to General Secretary.
J. W. Asson.

29. Draft letter (unsigned) ad-
dressing "friend."

30. Resolutions of a meeting
electidg office bearers of the B. J. W.
Assn. on 2/1/29.

31. Rules and constitution of
B.J. W. Union modified upto 3-1-29.

32. 2 typed letters addressing
managing agents issued by the Genl.
Secy. B. J. W. Assn. 97 Corn. St.

33. Proceedings of a labour
meeting Titagarh Mill hands 3/2/29.

34. True copy of a letter to Kali
Kumar Sen from Kalidas Bhatta-
charji of Bengal P. W. Party dated
16/2/29.

35. Letter from Vice President
All India Pymen Federation.

36. Two post cards to "Bekar
Juta Samiti" by Gopal Gupta and
Kanai Mukerji.

37. One Bengali article entitled
(Michael Bakrin) 6 pages by Abdul
Kader of 152 Muslim Hall, Dacca.

38. Letter from Gopal Basick to
Kali Kumar Sen.

39. 1 P. C. to Kali Kumar Sen
from Hari Singh Chaklia.

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<p>V.</p> <p>I.</p> <p>II.</p> <p>III.</p>	<p>40. Letter (typed and unsigned) to Secy. Publicity Board International Federation Trade Union 31 Tesselchadestrat Amesterdam No.61 D/- 8/2/29.</p> <p>41. Letter from K. D. B. to Genl. Secy. B. J. W. Union No. 62 D/- 8/2/29.</p> <p>42. 7 pages of Socialist Youth Congress with scribblings.</p> <p>43. A sheet paper containing a plan and a Bengali writing on a side.</p> <p>Two red flags— "All India Socialist Youth Congress."</p> <p>(a) A photo (group). (b) A small photograph. (c) 10 handbills regarding a meeting at Beltala Chengail on 10-3-29 issued by Radharaman Mitter.</p> <p>A Photograph of Mr. Arabindo Ghosh not taken charge of.</p> <p>(a) Socialism for today by H.N. Brainsford.</p>			

IV.

- (b) 2 copies of Rajnaitik Prostate.
 - (c) 2 copies of Trade Union movement.
 - (d) A call to action.
 - (e) Economic development.
 - (f) Some aspects of Indian socialism.
 - (g) One letter written by K. Anjanaguh from Kodali d/ 28-1.
1. One wire from Jawarlal Nehru d/ 17-12 to Dutta 97 Corn. St.
 2. One wire from Raja Ram to Dr. Dutt of 3 Gowr Mohan Mukherjee St. d/ 12-12-28.
 3. One file called Information containing:
 1. First all India Socialist young Congress, Calcutta resolutions on the formation of a young Communist League of India (organisation of youths of Marxist view) as Vanguards of Social Revolution in India by Gopal Basack.
 2. Advice to youngmen (typed in 7 pages).
 3. Thesis by Nigm Chandra Roy Bardwan.
 4. Thesis of 9 pages by Sailendra Nath Ghosh.
 5. A few hints on the arms and programe work of Socialist Youth Assn.

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	<p>6. Resolutions of the Socialistic Youth Congress (draft resolutions) in sheets of papers. (41 sheets.)</p> <p>7. Papers relating to Socialistic Youth Congress (15 pages).</p> <p>8. A letter from Hari Singh Chukutra and resolutions by him (5 pages).</p> <p>9. Provincial organisation.</p> <p>10. A writing beginning with village, Dist— Province all India.</p> <p>11. Socialist party of India—constitution.</p> <p>12. List of members and office bearers—accepted.</p> <p>13. One sheet of paper containing 33 names.</p> <p>14. A typed list of names and addresses (4 written typed.)</p> <p>15. An appeal to Indian youth—2 pages by Satyanarayan.</p> <p>16. Bulletin No. 2—All India Socialist Youth Congress.</p> <p>17. 2 handbills of Young Liberator</p>			

18. Letter from Kalicharn Bansal
d/ 10-1-29.
19. One letter from K. Kameswar
Row D/- 21/1/29 to Secy. All
India Socialistic Youth League.
20. A letter from S. Sharma
D/- 28/11/28.
21. A letter from P. B. Das
Gupta to the Secy. of Reception
Committee S. Y. Congress D/-
8/12/28.
22. Letter from Genl. Secy.
Bombay Presy, Youth League to
Dr. Bhupan Dutt 97 Cornwallis St.
23. One letter by "Atibar's
brother" D/29-1-29 to Bankim Babu
and Radharaman Babu.
24. A memo from Mahabir
Basack Asst. Secy. Dacca District
Young Mens Conference D/- 2-12-28.
25. Letter from B. N. Dutta of
3 Gowr Mohan Mukerji St. D/-
12/12/28—8/30 to Kali Babu.
26. Some writing of Sailen Roy
D/- 1/1/29.
- IV 4. One file marked list of Deligates—contg.—
1. List of Deligates.
 2. List of student visitors.
 3. List of names showing amounts
against each.
 4. List with a heading list of
ordinary visitors.

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>matolika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
	<p>5. One letter from Bepinbhem Das Secy. Bankina District Youth Association D/- 21/12/28 together with a list of 13 deligates.</p> <p>6. One letter from Parma Mukerji Krishnagar D/- 18/12/28 contg. names of 18 deligates.</p> <p>7. One letter from Genl. Secy. Bangiya Muslim Tarim Sanghya, Bani Runja Sirajgong D/- 18/12/28 to Secy. Reception Committee All India Socialist Youth Congress Calcutta contg. names of 13 deligates.</p> <p>8. One sheet of paper containing names of Ghennesh Chatterjee, Ritesh Chatterjee Bankim Ch. Chatterjee.</p> <p>9. Members of the Reception Committee Billighon—received on 20-12-28.</p> <p>10. 1 post card to Secy. All India S.Y.C. for Secy. Dist. Youth Asso. Barisal d/ 10-12-28 containing names of 11 deligates.</p>			

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11. 1 post card to the Secy. A. I. S.Y.C. from U.K.S. Party dated 23-11-28.

12. 1 post card to Phanindor Kumar Sanyal Joint Secy. Socialistic Youth Congress by Parmand Tribadi of Benaras d/ 21-12-28.

(Sd.) KALI KUMAR SEN

20-3-29.

*Signature with date of
the person whose property,
is seized is 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.

*Police-officer conducting the search.
Date 20-3-29 Place 97 Cornwallis St.*

(Sd.) S. C. MITTER.

(Sd.) M. L. MULLICK.

Signature of witness with date.

Signature by the accused (optional)

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A Pamphlet entitled "A Call to Action"
Being The
Resolutions, Theses And Report Presented

To the Third Annual Conference

Of The Workers' and Peasants'

Party of Bengal

Bhatpara, March—1928

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1928.

P. 136.

POLITICAL RESOLUTION.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Before the firmness of the Government the bourgeoisie have again retreated. Their natural indignation and the pressure the masses after the appointment of the Simon Commission drove them

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

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

In return it concedes:—(1) foreign affairs to be conducted on the same basis as those of the Dominions. (2) Executive powers nominally vested in the king, acting through nominated Governor-General and Governors. (3) no discrimination against British financial, commercial and industrial interests. (4) the armed forces to be under the control of a committee consisting partly of ministers and partly of British officers. (5) existing pay etc. of present civil and other officers to be guaranteed, their resignation voluntary. (6) Indian states remain under their present regime, but in relations with the India Government.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Some sections of the petty bourgeoisie have also manifested increased activity, as is shown by the continued growth and activity of the Youth movement, the enthusiastic acceptance almost everywhere in the Youth organisations and in Congress meetings etc., of

the slogan of Independence, and the tendency, given expression, though not yet much realised in practice, to take up mass organisation.

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

4. The publication of the Nehru Report, which by its frankness and moderation revealed the true nature and aims of bourgeois nationalism, brought about a crisis within the Congress ranks. The hypocrisy of the bourgeois nationalist propaganda for some time past, especially of its support of complete independence, was very clearly shown. It was feared that the pettybourgeoisie, whose enthusiasm has been greatly roused by the slogan of independence, would withdraw support in disgust. At the same time the rapid rise of the workers' movement impressed many with its power, and with its danger for the bourgeoisie, it was clearly seen to be emancipating itself from the control of the old type of moderate bourgeois labour leader.

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

The programme and manifesto published by the Bengal Independence for India League, while using phrases such as "economic emancipation", "removal of economic inequalities", and "rousing the masses", contains nothing totally unacceptable to the

more moderate wing of the bourgeoisie. The section on political democracy contains nothing but the demand for complete independence, and that on social democracy familiar items of social reform propaganda. The economic demands include, for workers 'the eight hour day for factory workers, unemployment pay, sickness insurance, pensions, etc., and control of the rate of interests on loans and supply of cheap credit by cooperative institutions. In connection with industry it is proposed to nationalise the key industries, railways shipping, and air services, to introduce compulsory arbitration, profit sharing, and labour participation in management. Taxation on private capital, including inheritance duties are also proposed.

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

Even more reactionary is the programme in connection with the land, in which the chief items are annulment of agricultural indebtedness and abolition of landlordism, by indemnification. This item provides a very clear indication that the Independence League intends no break with the Congress, which in Bengal is notoriously influenced by landowning interests, but is 'no the contrary more in fundamental agreement with the general line of Congress policy.

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

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

Although the Bengal League represents a moderate wing in relation to some other sections, the nature of the League as a whole

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

The Independence for India League is thus to be looked upon as the resultant of different tendencies: (1) a hesitating and as yet confused move on the part of a section of the petty bourgeoisie towards a revolutionary policy, with perhaps on the part of some the idea of exploiting the revolutionary mass movement for the attainment of independence for the middle classes. (2) An attempt by a section of the bourgeoisie to extort concessions from imperialism by threatening it with a movement for independence among the middle classes and the masses. (3) An attempt by a section of the bourgeoisie to regain that control over the mass movement and the petty bourgeoisie which the increasingly reactionary attitude of the bourgeois class as a whole, and of the bourgeois labour leaders, is causing it to lose.

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

For the first purpose it is necessary to establish united front with all organisations which tend to increase of the momentum the movement, whether of the worker's of the peasants or of the petty bourgeoisie. But for the remaining purposes it is essential to insist more strongly than has been done previously upon the independent role of the Workers' and Peasant's Party, as the only

organisation which has a correct policy and can unite and lead all the mass revolutionary forces of the country. The Party can be content no longer to act primarily as a section or wing of another organisation. It is the only genuine representative of the rising mass movement.

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

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

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

The relation with the Independence League is of a different nature. Although not homogeneous in membership, the Independan-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

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

DECEMBER, 1928.

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

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

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

In addition to branches, there should be set up where possible factory committees, whose function it is to lead the struggle of the

workers at the most vital point within the place of work, by voicing complaints and rallying support for their redress, leading a campaign against non-unionism, etc., The Committees should be representative of all sections etc., of the workers, and should have special representation on branch committees.

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

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

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

(4) The economic policy of the Unions can only be one of unremitting aggression. A continued fight must be waged in all industries for the improvement of the fundamental condition, wages and hours principally of the workers. This does not mean that other matters, such as enforcement of Factory legislation, the Compensation Act, etc., should be neglected. But it means that the essential plank in the programme on which the workers are organised is the demand for substantial improvements. For each industry a comprehensive programme should be worked out, in which these demands take a prominent place, and the workers asked to unite to enforce the programme. If necessary the workers must be restrained from taking too hasty action, without sufficient resources

and solidarity to carry through the struggle properly. but when preparations are sufficient, action must be taken.

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

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

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

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

All occasion on which the political general strike is called for is an attack upon the Trade Union movement as a whole, such as is made in the Trade Disputes Bill. The Trade Disputes Bill involves three main proposals: (1) to establish courts of inquiry and conciliation boards on the occasion of disputes. This proposal must be fought, not merely on grounds of detail, but on principle. The bourgeois school of Labour leaders have extended a partial welcome to it. This is utterly wrong. The procedure of inquiry and conciliation by supposedly impartial persons can only have the effect of weakening the workers, class-spirit and solidarity. It tends to minimise the importance of organised strength and makes the workers depend upon the justice of their case from bourgeois point of view, and the sympathy of bourgeois conciliator for their poverty. If this, or similar legislation such as is proposed by certain labour leaders, is passed, it will have a most pernicious effect upon the movement. (2) The second proposal, to prevent

all strikes in Railways, Posts, Telegraphs, etc., and (3) to prevent sympathetic and political strikes, are sheer repression, and must be fought with all the strength at the disposal of labour.

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

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

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

Both for the purpose of the purely economic struggles, and for the large purposes of the Trade Union movement also, the establishment of democracy within the Union is a most necessary matter. The value of the Unions, as a training ground in politics for the workers, is almost entirely lost in the Trade Union movement as it exists to-day. Genuine workers' leaders cannot come forward unless they have a thorough education in the conduct of their

Union affairs. Improvement is to be obtained not only by alteration of constitutions but by continuous pressure from the left wing for the holding of regular branch and general meetings, the appointment of workers to important official positions, the election of all officials and delegates by workers meetings, the proper reporting of committees and delegates, etc. The establishment of a democratic regime in the Unions is a most urgent task.

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

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

The Trade Union movement must also take a clear line in the international sphere. The move on the part of the right-wing to affiliate Trade Union Congress to the I.F.T.U. (Amsterdam) must be fought by all possible means, as also the tendency of individual

Unions to affiliate to the international Trade secretariat of the I.F.T.U. On the contrary the Trade Union Congress must affiliate with the R.I.L.U. (Moscow). It is also desirable that the Trade Union Congress is affiliated to the anti-imperialist "Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat" (Shanghai) and not to the "Pan-Asiatic Federation of labour which is being instituted by the most reactionary of the Japanese Trade Union. The T. U. C. should also be be affiliated to the League against Imperialism.

THE SAOGAT PRESS, 11 WELLESLEY STREET, CALCUTTA,

Workers' & Peasants' Party Principles & Policy.

Thesis submitted to the First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference. December 1928.

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

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

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

The policy of the Party consequently also assumes a complete acceptance of industrialism, and denies both the possibility and the desirability or abandoning it. Modern machine and other technique is rapidly invading and conquering production in all fields in all countries. It is the dominant economic system, and to destroy it without also destroying the bulk of the human race is impossible. Moreover, while capable of doing great mischief while used primarily for profit-making, it is capable of equally great good when

socially controlled. The Workers' and Peasant's Party is thus in no way opposed to industrialism, and on the contrary regards the attempts which are made to introduce or bolster up hand industry and individual production in opposition to it, as in general reactionary not only economically but also politically.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The demands which the masses are putting forward in the first place for an improved standard of life, can only be granted by

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

These sections are. (1) The industrial working class, whose attempts merely to achieve improvements, in standards of wages, and to regulate hours and other conditions, have been fiercely resisted, and have developed a semirevolutionary character. The

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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The Peasants' & Workers' Party of Bengal.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1927-1928.

~~the report~~

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 first 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 legislature 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 Hamanta 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 Gupra, 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 on a committee was elected with Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen as Chairman

and Comrades Hamanta 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 the 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 the 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. Reorganisation 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 recognising 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, and 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, inspite 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.

(i) 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 zemindars 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, decrease 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 on 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 15 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. Nareesh 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 Peasant' Party of Bombay. For some months in that year it published "Krantī" (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 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 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 wholeheartedly for national independence. This must be made clear in our propaganda.

OUR DUTY: Nevertheless our tasks 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 and political movements. He has studied particularly in Germany. In October 1927 an invitation was received from the Federation of Russian Rural Cooperative to send a representative to take part in the celebrations 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 Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case, S. A. Dange of Bombay, and Shaikat 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 1923. 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 at 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 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 Chandra 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 (Labourer):

- (5) Dharani Kanta Goswami.

Sectional Secretary (Peasant):

Vacant,

Members

- (6) Muzaffar Ahmad }
(7) Pyari Mohan Das } Incharge of Publicity Work
- (8) Kalidas Bhattacharya.
- (9) Faizuddin Hosain.
- (10) Quazi Nazrul Islam.
- (11) Abdul Halim.
- (12) Aftab Ali.
- (13) Nirod Kanta Chakraverty.
- (14) Nishi Kanta Parta.
- (15) Gopendra Krishna Chakraverty.
- (16) Ramesh Chandra Das Gupta.
- (17) Sanat Kumar Mukerji.

The Statement of Accounts

RECEIPTS			EXPENDITURE				
<i>Subscription—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Loan—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
March 1927 to Feb. 1928	325	6	0	Munshi Pear Muhammad	30	0	0
<i>Donation—</i>				Travelling	246	3	0
Atul Chandra Gupta ...	161	0	0	Printing	128	12	0
Sundries	471	3	9	Postage and Telegrams	118	7	6
<i>Loan—</i>				Stationary	25	4	9
Satish Chandra Bose ...	44	0	0	General	88	4	0
Qutbuddin Ahmad ...	30	0	0	Books Purchased	37	5	0
S. N. Charavarti ...	50	0	0	House Rent	400	0	0
				Cash in hand	7	7	6
Total	Rs.	1,081	9	Total	Rs.	1,081	9
		9	9			9	9

The 31st March, 1928.

Published by MUZAFFAR AHMAD from the office of the Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal at 2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta and printed by S. C. MAJUMDAR at the Sri Gauranga Press, 71/1, Mirzapur Street, Calcutta

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An Address Register.

P P. 141. *Withdrawn*

The First All-India Socialist Youth Congress:

Bulletin No. 2.

The second meeting of the provisional Reception Committee of All India Socialist Youth Congress was held at 97 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta on Monday 12th November, 1928, at 6 p. m.

At the first meeting of the Committee held sometime back a resolution was passed inviting resolutions from intending delegates in forms of thesis to be submitted by the 15th November but as sufficient response was not received due to want of proper advertisement it was decided to extend the time up to 15th December.

• Youths of the country holding Marxist views are invited to become members of the Reception Committee and all youth organisations and Trade Unions are requested to send delegates to the Congress.

Delegations fees and other matters will be announced later on.

ŞATYANARAIN CHATTERJI,

Provl. Asst. Secretary,

ALL INDIA SOCIALIST YOUTH CONGRESS:

P. 142.

FIRST ALL INDIA WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY
CONFERENCE

ALBERT HALL— CALCUTTA.

December 21, 22 and 23 (1928.)

DELEGATE'S TICKET.

Name Mr. Radharaman Mitra, Bengal Jute Workers' Ass.

As. 4.

D. K. GOSWAMI

Secretary,

Reception Committee.

∞ P. 143.

Withdawn

THE ALL INDIA SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE.

Aims:—

The establishment of a socialist in republic India.

Programme:—

- (a) To propagate the ideas and methods of scientific socialism amongst the youths of India as expounded by Marx and lening and others.
- (b) To organise study circles in various centres of India with a view to educate the youths of India in advanced ideas of socialism and thereby making them ideologically fit for correctly leading workers and peasants movement against imperialism, capatilism, landlordlizm and other forms of exploitation and coercion.
- (c) To carry on a relentless trouble against communalism, racialism, cast distinction and religious exploitation and other instruments and exploitations and mast exploitation and mast reaction as these tend to prevent the uniquefication and solidiraty of the exploited sections of fairly.

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- (d) To carry on intensive propaganda and agitational campaign amongst the masses through platform press and such other methods as films posters etc.
- (e) To take part in the formation of trade unions amongst industrial and agricultural workers and also Peasants Unions.
- (f) To build organisation connections and to work in cooperation with other organisations and groups having similar programme and fighting for the same goal both in India and in the International World.
- (g) Organisation of youths corps and young pioneers who will have special uniform.

THE ALL INDIA SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE

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- (d) To carry on intensive propaganda and agitational campaign amongst the masses through platform, press and such other methods as films, posters etc.

- (e) To take part in the formation of "trade unions" and Peasants Unions amongst industrial and agricultural workers.
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RULES AND REGULATION :—

1. Membership shall be of two kinds regular and probationally.

- (a) Any young man and woman under 36, holding socialistic views may be enrolled as a regular member of a league.

- (b) Any young man or woman of any age holding radical world views is eligible for becoming a probationally member.

Explanatory:—

A radical person will be allowed at first to be a member of the study circle and only when he or she becomes a convince socialist can such a person be taken in as a regular member.

- (c) The executive committee of the league shall have power to enlist any person above the age of 36 as a member if the committee thinks it fit, but in that case such a member shall in no case be given any office in any committee.

2. The All India Socialist Youth League will have a central executive body to direct the whole movement.

- (a) The All India body will be the federation of provincial leagues.

- (b) In each province there will be central executive and district organisation with branches and towns and villages.

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*Withdawn, es
mitra: D.*

Tele. Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

Phone: Cal. 3270.

Workers' & Peasants' Party of India.

2/1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA.

BENGAL PROVINCIAL BRANCH.

Organis :

"GANAVANI"

February 20, 1929.

(Bengali Weekly).

The General Secretary,

Bengal Jute Workers' Association.

97, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

Dear Comrade,

I am sending herewith the copies of resolutions passed at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Bengal Branch of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India on the 17th instant. Please do circulate these resolutions amongst those office bearers of your Association who are also the individual members of the Party.

As an affiliated Union of the Party your Association never paid any affiliation fees, which is an essential condition for continued affiliation. Please inform me if you intend to remain affiliated, and if so, please pay the necessary fees. During the last National Conference of the Party your Association sent a false report to the Reception Committee saying that its strength of membership was 46500. Please do explain why such a false report was sent. On getting an explanation from you I shall bring the matter to the notice of the Executive Committee for decision.

Yours fraternally

MUZAFFAR AHMAD,

Secretary.

THE FIRST ALL-INDIA SOCIALIST YOUTH CONGRESS CALCUTTA.

Resolutions on the formation of (organisation of Youths of marxist-views), as vanguards of social revolution in India.

In formulating a policy for the youths to lead a social revolution in India, it is necessary to know the relation, "youths" stand in with that of the society and the course of the society which we are told by the Historians is on its onward evolutionary marches.

From the Darwinian's ape-age to this day youths are held responsible for creating the world of to-day. Only the youths have got the creative power and its instinct to create demands of it a world of perfection. So the world of men and women has to pass through so many creative-revolutions, whereby youths have produced, primitive civilization or civilization of pre-historic age, feudal civilization, Bourgeois civilization, and the proletarian civilization (that is to-day rushing on us, threatening to make a new world). The striving for perfection which is immanent in youths, when found that an individual is an imperfect germ, in capable of changing itself the environment to attain its perfection, it concluded that only some individuals together are capable for that march for perfection and so the idea of "Society was given birth to.

This society which has to live on accumulated energy or productive labour, of all the being it is composed of, should be responsible to and guided by those social being in it, whose perfection it will wrought for. Society's move from the first, though was not guided by the social being, yet the environments it was passing through made them acquainted with knowledge it must acquire. In the last decade of feudal civilization, we find that when the knowledge, "that the system that was being worked for the move of the society did not fully serve the interest of the peoples of the society and it is rotting in stagnation",—dawned upon those who work for the society, youths energy was called upon, to change the system by bourgeois revolution (French Revolution in France, industrial revolution, from the time of Cromwell in England, American Revolution, bourgeois England's domination on India and the colonies etc.) The bourgeois revolution which changed the system of the society, i. e. the system of the control of the society, inaugurated a bourgeois civilization. This bourgeois civilization has stripped of the halo of the ties of natural superiors in Brahmnanya (religious) and Kshatriya (political) illusions of feudal civilization. The exploitation of man by man that was inherent in that system of controlling the society came to play nakedly in this bourgeois role. And this germ, that is this knowledge of usurpation of the power of guidance or control (which should be in the hands of the people which keep alive the energy of the move of the society) of society

from the people of the society to that of a small group of exploiters who thrive on other peoples labour, working its way to reach the the worker's, peasants and lower middle class-people who are exploited, made them conscious of the class structure of the society and how the society came to be controlled by peoples who are not "society-man". This knowledge made them resolute to weed away those exploiting class, and to introduce ergatocracy, which only can remove their barriers on the paths of gaining mental and physical perfection by political and economic emancipation of all the working masses of the society.

Nationalism, war, dominions control, property and profits, which have come to play a prominent role in the present world are now exposed as outcomes of exploiting fever in competing and robbing the surplus value or profit from the workers' labour, by those who do not belong to the society. They are to do away with all these tools of exploitation by a social revolution throughout the world and establish peace in all lands, control of the society by the Society (i.e. by people who by their productive labour enrich the society of its progressive capacity and fraternity between all the lands of workers. To do all these things youths energy is again called upon, and the youths of other lands are responding to the call and so are making reinforcement of their strength for the world wide fight.

And as Indian youths won't lag behind which they prove by convening this congress, they should know before they take the political move, the present political situation, class structure of those who are in the political arena and the relation they stand in, now with them.

Political Situation

International: The insatiable greed, inherent in the capital controlled by the capitalists in centralising all the stocks of labour to produce its profits, did not stop its work in enslaving all the working masses of its own country, it is continually on its march of colonial expansion and extending its control on the backward countries and so when coming in clash with other capitalist concerns—are given rise to battles and wars—wherein wage slaves and colonial slaves are goaded, in the name of nationalism and justice and upholding the cause of Humanity, to fight slaves of other camps, to safeguard that exploitation of capital—it is enriching with its own bloods. So the possessing ruling classes (capitalists) of different nations developed in imperialists have given birth to world militarism or war. In the last world war, we have witnessed the ruthless incendiaries and burning ruins of the society—the Humanity in Europe, which this militarism did bring in.

But this insatiable greed of the finance-capital carries with its death-germ of creating the huge armies of proletarian class which is not only militarised, while the finance-capital engage it in war, but is also made class-conscious and so combined on the basis of social equality, are doing away with all the sham barriers of nationality, with objects of destructing the whole machinery of oppression formed as "State," (which this finance-capital has created and to establish their control in society and a new kind of state with its own methods of production and distribution. So the last war did also bring in a revolution in Russia and a worker's Government "Soviet Russia." The criminal deeds of the German militarism and the no less last and moral savagery in mass slaughter of workers by the Allies were unmasked by the last war. Sharing of ruins or annexations of the colonies of the defeated imperialists, ruthless, suppression of the organisation of militant proletariats and their devastating wastes in competition of monopoly by the trusts and syndicates-have come to be booked and made the workers of all lands conscious of the situation. In the last war, we find that the war also give rise to wage-war for the first time in a world wide basis and it is working in all the countries where there is exploiting rule of the finance-capital. The colonial slaves of Europe and Asia are no doubt feeling the throbing and so the ruling classes find that their propoganda aided and conducted by their politicians, journalists, professors and other supporters of the bourgeoisie fail to demand the past lamb-like following from labour in sacrificing their lives for saving their bourgeois democracy-civilization and so their exploitation of labour. So to-day by means of blood and iron the bourgeois class is trying to stabilise its economic conditions which is threatened with complete deterioration of its organisation and so military economic has come to be operated in the exploitation of resources of different countries. At the present moment though it is feeling the death agony of the economic chaos which capitalist order of production brings in its developed state, it has succeeded in finding temporary stabilisation and by a "League of nation" (association of the exploiting classes of different nation i. e. league of bankers) it is now trying to unite all the forces of its class and set up such an organisation as can make impossible the International efforts of the proletariats in bringing in the proletarian civilization. But these efforts by the imperialists are not in the present world working to their satisfaction. The centralising tendency of the the finance capital i. e. the tendency for the monopoly of exploitation in the world market defeating other concerns of finance capital-the striving for complete supremacy in deriving profits from production by wage slaves, of any nationality, over any other competing powers-i. e. the process of devouring up the weaker and smaller concern, is pushing them at each other's throats and so it was difficult with a league of nations even to induce the bourgeois democratic imperialist power like America to fill up its membership

form. Countries like America and Japan where finance—capital was not so much disturbed by the ravages of war developed to threaten the supremacy of Great Britain, Germany, France and other powers so another plunge in an Imperialist war was expected in the bourgeois diplomatic circles. But the internal disintegration of the capitalist organisation is in progress and imperialist fights and wars are giving place to class struggles, that are springing up in all countries.

The soviet Russia which has freed all the productive forces from the restriction of national state and control of the privileged class on the basis of an universal economic plan has controlled all productions and distributions by the proletarian state—with it the society, introduced the universal duty to labour destroyed all the honour of property ownership and is now disclosing the secrets of imperialist war to make any such war in future impossible by the proletarian soldiers preaching for the transformation of the whole world into a co-operative common wealth and bring about the real human brotherhood and freedom—stands to-day a menace to the designs of the society dispoilers. The British Imperialist which has to depend on its greatest stock of colonial plunder finds in soviet Russia its mortal enemy and so its supremacy is in death struggle with that of the teachings of the soviet Russia. Thus the British Imperialist which had once felt the threatening of the supremacy of the German capitalist organisation and to brought in the last Imperialist war, by its long conscious and provocative policy is to-day playing the same policy of provocation, and by raising a cry of common cause it is trying to bring in a war against the soviet republic. The imperialist pillar on which the British imperialism rest, is rooted in the Indian soil—exploitation of Indian resources first than the chiefest Indian labour power.

After the last war, when it was busy on the one hand, sharing the gains of the war along with other powers by their military economic policy (occupation of Mesopotamia, Masul, Iraque, and others by the British Imperialist, occupation of Ruhr and other colonies of the defeated imperialist by the French imperialist etc.), it was on the other hand struggling to avoid or shorten the period of calamity that the war gave rise to, in the form of chaos in its economic organisation which it already felt in its home land due to exhaustion of man-power, its wage slaves organisation refusing to submit to the death agony of its exasperating exploitation and so it was changing its policy regarding India which served as the dumping ground of the British exploitation. Upto the period of the last war, that were exploiting the Indian resources, loading all the raw materials of India they can lay their hands upon, to reach Great Britain, and to give birth to enormous profits by the wage slaves of Great Britain and to capture the world market. So in India it was ruth-

lessly suppressing all kinds of manufacturing enterprises and the handicrafts the remnants of the most developed Indian feudal civilization and driving the poor and lower middle class to villages and to agriculture. Old feudal towns fell one after another and in its place some few ports grew up to export and import the raw materials and finished products by the British capitalist. India was covered with net work of Railways from those ports to the remotest corners to carry the raw materials but at the same time indenting the idea and knowledge of their bourgeois civilization which destroyed the self sufficing village organisation of the feudal civilization and so reep the seed of bourgeois civilization in India. This knowledge growing with the English education and civilization created Nationalism first in the crude form of bourgeois nature to transit to the proletarian or mass nature at a later date and because of this movement of nationalism the British capitalist was in great difficulty as the last imperialist war broke out when they had to concede some concension to the Indian capitalist aspiration to have recruitment of soldiers by the nationalist leaders—the capitalists, from the poor peasants and lower middle class people. But the taste of those concessions supplied the Indian bourgeoisie energies to move for more concessions and to a N. C. O. movement was launched after war and it was in expectation of Mr. Gandhi's change of heart which did not come about due to the unyielding attitude of the ruling foreign power.

The British Imperialist was then scrutinizing its policies and a change of heart was there by really effected but to take a different course. It became busy in transferring its "capital" to India, to break the labour organization in its homeland, to complit with American and Japanese capitalists by exploiging the lower wages of the Indian slaves, and at the same time unconsciously preparing India for revolutions and transitation to proletarian civilization—clearing the political atmosphere of the agonies of slow transition from feudal civilization to Bourgeois civilization (effected by the domination of British Bourgeois in India) and helping the Indian proletariat to be formed in to class conscious organisation and also making it possible for the close relation and help from their comrades in Great Britain whose prejudice of colour and benefits of Indian exploitation are being removed by the acts of British Imperialists. The prejudices of the British proletariat and specially the national prejudices of British agricultural workers will be further removed as they come to be conscious of the latest developments in the Imperialist policies regarding agriculture in India. The productivity of British trade is exploiting profits was running higher than any other capitalist concerns in the world and so factory buildings roadbuilding etc. to further the cause of the industries, were eating up the arable lands of Great Britain and the farmings which were run more for bringing profits to the land owners

majority of whom are capitalist, than to serve the interest of the agriculturists, the population of the rural area is continually dwindling. It was 20 per cent before the war and a census to-day will tell less. So the farming business came to be run on capitalist methods by employing hired workers and improved machinaries to supply the capitalists for the immediate necessity of life but the majority supply of good materials are procured from its colonies and dominions. Now with its transferring of capital to India where it has made the land-owners and people of bourgeois it ran interested in their schemes in working as its junior partner, have proceeded in bourgeois organisation of production and distribution. Now the Indian bourgeoisie as a partner, in the imperialist organisation may not in future, in combination with landowners, agriculturist farmers and petty bourgeoisie, come to take a stand as a rival of the British Imperialist's foreign trade, and the land workers of Great Britain with the help of the growing militant proletarian organisation therein may not compel the British traders to pay highly for their production and wages, it is now appearing in India also in its new role of land owner and farmer in parts of India where food materials can be produced easiest and cheapest such as in Eastern Bengal, some parts of Gujrat and other like places. So the other day it was alleged that some agents of the imperialists in persons of some District Magistrate, District Commissioner and other people were found to be in the neighbourhood of Baga and the like of the District of Barisal the richest crop producing district of Eastern Bengal to be recruiting and haunting for presidents of the local panchaits, who can act as via media to secure mortgages of lands in large number from poor peasantry. Will these august personages who lectured the illetariate masses as to how they are being highly exploited by the country money lenders and how they will be soon protected from such robbery by then dare to unmask their identity and their objects in longso? These august personages are alleged to have gone thither by the last 7th December also and have made of a rich peasant of middle class origin a President of the panchyts of the locality, for whose help gathered some villagers to lecture and advise them to have all their dealings with the said president whereby they will be saved from ruin and exploitation and have protection from Sarkar Bahadur. In a few years my young comrades will find the British imperialist appearing in the role of money lenders, farmers and zeminders in Eastern Bengal and so their further extension of Railways in these parts. It has already been established in U. P. Behar and Bombay as industrialist and manufacturer and hence we find the other day in columns of Forward some news regarding sudden high enhancement of rents of khas (latifundia) and other lands of Behar, whereby hundreds of tenants are threatened to be homeless. The land hunger of profit making traders will no doubt soon eat up all those lands growing those self

sufficing villages into large cantonment of wage slaves or proletariats who when formed into militant class conscious organisation-organised by the vanguards from the declassed intellegentsia, become the real fighters to bring in revolution to establish the proletarian civilization. And so when the British imperialist have become conscious that along with the growth of their exploits of Indian labour and resources, the proletariats are forming into organised class and communist Russia is playing a prominent role in moulding its ideal and aspiration it adopted all kinds of precautions that no news from Russia may be defused in this land and all kinds of repressive measures to strangle any attempt of making any such militant organisation and it has also spared no pains in engineering lies, hatred and columny against the soviet Russia. But all its efforts have utterly failed to exterminate "communism" to drive its roots in Indian soils. Hence it has become immediate urgent necessity on its parts to wage wars by any means against soviet Russia.

And so in India as a preparation for the coming war they are making at the western frontiers, the Karachi Air base, western frontier forts (these brisk attempts, for mobilisation of army one can witness if he now goes to the frontier) they have tried a favourable treaty with Afganistan and in their such attempts they have gone much out of the way as to lower the Imperialist prestige but they have failed in their attempts. In the eastern front the British Imperialist have already made Singapur navel base and are trying to blockade caravan routes with strong military forces. Besides along with other imperialists they have successfully purchased the whole of Kuamintang founded by comrade Sun-yet-Sen as a fighting institute against the bourgeoisie but which has now after his death betrayed the cause under the leadership and instigation of the bourgeois nationalist or rather a fascist Ching-Kai-Shek and the proletarian vanguards there, are now in hidings and exiles, wherfrom they are still trying to rally the prolitariats and peasants to action. They indeed count much on your active support of you-young comrades of India.

Indian Political Situation.

We have seen in our past History of the National struggle, how the bourgeois element has come to take a prominent part in the Indian national movement when the landed aristocracy and the upper class bourgeoisie had been drawn away from the political field by British Imperialist by granting them some concessions in their Indian exploits and how Mr. Gandhi and Mr. C. B. Das (who preached mass nationalism and so by their propaganda at the first stage of the movement were able to capture the confidence of the mass people but when it was compelled to be put to practical test due to the unyielding attitude of the imperialist power to accede to any of

their demands)-were exposed as gospels of Bourgeois nationalism and so were deprived of mass support. Mr. Gandhi's fall was marked by his Bardoli decision or draw back at the sight of the growing class struggle that took its first shape at Chauri Choura and Mr. Das and his party's fall was marked by their dissension with that of the group of the terrorist or the so-called revolutionaries or middle class bourgeoisie who had once drawn, influence and respect from general middle class people upper and lower due to their past suffering, in their fight for nationalism Mr. Das wanted with his whole heart a bourgeois revolution in India but without any blood-shed that is a peaceful transition to bourgeois civilization if necessary even with the help of the Imperialist Government—hence his climb down in the Faridpur conference. While the latter group was for bloody bourgeois nationalist movement by which they could establish a "bourgeois state" in India. So the dissension. Though the latter group wanted a bourgeois revolution yet those among them who sacrificed life for that cause were not conscious of their class prejudice which prevailed at the last stage—not before the latest stage of the N. C. O. movement. But it was a fact that leaders of that party were always exploiting the younger section of the middle class (both economically and intellectually) who are exploited by both the imperialist Government and the native capitalist class and who were at the same time sentimental and hot-blooded. Exploiting these lower middle class students the so-called revolutionary leaders created a position and with their youth-power they compelled the leaders like Mr. C. R. Das and others to take their help. But during the life-time of Mr. Das they at no time could exploit him or make him yield to their designs—they were rather exploited by Mr. Das in working out his programme within the congress. After the death of Mr. Das they exerted some influence upon Mr. Subash Chandra Bose who became prominent from among the swarajist group. The Imperialist Government fearing that this combination might bring in some difficulties in their exploiting policy in India threw nearly all of them in jail. Now in jail they came to full understandings what they would do when they would be released. We have by this time come to face the facts which effected the change of policy of imperialist power regarding the release of this political detainees and the double diplomatic play of the Imperialist power. After the arrest of those people who once launched terrorist movement specially in Bengal, it was brought to home by some members of the same society who were in foreign exiles—as to how the younger section was being exploited upto this day and the younger middle class people demanding a thorough scrutiny of their past work, describing a future programme and their taking part therein caused a wide conflict as the sincerity of cause an idea was in question—and resulted in a strong minority of it joining the workers and peasants' party which was then in moribund condition and was made a fighting institute after those people have joined it and reconstructed it to

lead a mass-revolution in India. The progress that was made in this interval in organising militant proletariats made the British Imperialist unrestive as it found in it its mortal-enemy. It so decided to have the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie on its side to make a common fight with the organisation of worker's and peasant's. Besides it has also the idea that these people when released will try to reestablish their influence on their old chums in worker organisation, and with their old tactics-making of some one a spie and some morally degraded they can possibly bring a dessension among the vanguards of workers' and peasants' organisations. So the proletariats organising in class conscious units effected the release of these political prisoners. But from the very first moment after their release we find that they under-estimated the strength, the labour movement has gained in India. They were only busy in trying to regain their lost influences upon those declasssed intelligentsia in workers and peasants movement, to submerge all the differences of different groups of the same idea (which came to existence only due to the quarrels for leadership) and with the help of Mr. Subash Chandra Bose to capture the congress from the old peaceful swaragists like Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta and others.

The once great national congress has by this time lost all its influence upon the vast exploited masses in India and in Bengal and more or less in other provinces the officials of all the districts and provincial congresses are from bourgeois-stock, with few intellectual lower middle classes as their satellites. To safeguard their position therein they have made any election practically impossible. Besides its geographical representation is also a bar to any socialist to have entrance therein. In the last election of the national congress, the majority of voters of several district constituencies (Geographically) in Bengal voted for who are socialist revolutionaries and who belonged to trades unions, but in most cases the provincial body did set aside the election where it was in favour of those socialist members and then had their own men nominated or elected by the council of their district body and in some places particularly in the district of Dacca where there are compitable men in election forgery, they had forged ballots in large numbers after election-time and no objection by the members of the said congress committee were even accepted by the Provincial body. Thus it is evident that the petty bourgeoisie and the old terroist combined within the congress has taken a definite stand against sovitm or union representatives and those who work for a labour movement in India. But the country was at this time, in the embroy of strikes of different trades unions and as this group, due to their indifference to the labour movement found that they were loosing grounds, as the lower middle class (most of whom were sentimental) were being drawn away by the glandour of the

fight—so from the time of the last stage of Lilia struggle, they are trying to poke their nose in any labour dispute that may rise, as a labour sympathiser but due to their class prejudice they are apt to make some blunder everywhere and make the labours against them.

At some places where reaction has set out due to the failure of strikers and large scale victimization are in progress, they go to the capitalist who are their kith and kin and somehow manage to have their secret sanction and then set up either reactionary unions with some understanding with the capitalists or start co-operatives whereby they try to buy black-legs with congress money. This is what these people are doing now.

The Government attitude towards these bourgeois nationalist these years was unyielding and defiant but as Man's teachings came to drive deep roots in the soils of India, due to the organisation of some Indian communists in Russia and other lands—who also sometimes belonged to the so-called revolutionary party of Bengal (on whom these reactionary people had some hopes that as they will help them from foreign land in their devices—but they have now a days given up that hope as they are disillusioned and so they are trying to down them also) Government became unrestive and when its policy of bring dissension, among the members of the workers' and peasants' party, have failed—it has now decided to capture the congress groups with the least concessions it can give in bargain.

So the bargaining nature of the capitalist power has sent, a Simon Commission to test the strength of the bourgeois congress and the help it can get in recruiting men and money from India in the coming war—and has sent a Purcell Co to test the strength of the labour-movement in India.

As a reply in the bargain by Simon and Co. the Swarajyists headed by Mr. Motilal Nehru and the so called Bengal revolutionaries headed by Mr. Subhash Chandra Bose in its all parties conference drew up a Nehru committee reported manding domin status—a sharing of quota for the Indian capitalists in the exploitation of Indian resources and Indian labour (wage slaves).

By sympathising with labour unrest in India and in drawing a programme of village organisations, i. e. organisations among the peasants, they are trying to make a boisterous and pompous clamouring to prove that they have got strength even to fight the British Imperialists if need be.

But at Lucknow when they found that these proceedings even could not hold back the lower middle class students (whom they count much), as Mr. Jawharlal Nehru did not fall in with them in signing the Nehru Committee report and rather submitted a separate report

for complete independence and so gained the confidence of the youths of India Mr. Subhas Bose & Co. made once again a somersault and though he had signed in the N. C. report of Dominion status he joined Mr. Jawharlal's camp also and formed an Independence League of India at Lucknow.

To make an amend of the blunder he has done in signing N. Committee report he went so far as to form Bengal Provincial Independence League within a month even without consulting the Bengal organiser as elected at Lucknow and formulated a constitution and detailed programme basing social equality, though the central body (which had to meet again when the reports of all the organisers had reached the central office) did not then even formulated any detailed programme. Later on the Bengal organisers just before the next sitting at Delhi called a meeting of those who had been organised and elected two representatives to the Delhi conference and Mr. Subhash Ch. Bose also in their meeting did choose some eight representative (with powers to co-opt.) for Delhi conference. Mr. Subhas & Co. then proceeded to declare the meeting convened by the organisers as illegal. Mr. Jaharlal Nehru on this issue, in a notice press declared that no people other than the members of the organisation that was first set up at Lucknow had any power to join the proceedings of the league at Delhi. At this declaration, the petty bourgeois organ forward which on previous occasions had repeatedly spoken highly of Mr. Jawharlal Nehru became furious and in its editorial of 6th Nov. condemned him. From this you can witness the class-nature of the much advertised organ of the so-called vanguards of Indian Independence.

However in Delhi we find that Mr. Jaharlal's notice came to nothing and zaminders like Kiran sankar Roy was elected one of the secretaries for Bengal and Mr. Subhas Ch. Bose a joint secretary instead of Mr. Jaharlal a general secretary. The independence of India league is to fare the same role the nationalist congress is now playing. A few years back it could have no doubt given a practical shape of the thesis "the future of India politics by comrade M. N. Roy but to-day India has passed that phase, the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie combined are now out to betray the country to have some compromise in serving its class interest and as now the proletariat are growing into class and the agrarian question is become more acute every day, an open organisation of workers peasants and a section of lower middle class can speak for the proletariat and organise for a mass revolution. So it is with the youths who carry marxist view to deal with the present issues that are confronting us.

The awakening consciousness of the youths from de-classed intelligentsia and youths for other workers' and peasants' should be

immediately mobilised to be form in to *young communist league of India* to train themselves for the scientific outlook of the movement for controlling the political mass nationalist movement and for leading the transition to proletarian civilization as such be it resolved that with their main general programe task *will be* (1) to spread radical marxist ideas among the lower middle class, workers and poor peasants (2) to further the trade union activities and kick out the reactionaries and imperialists agents from the trade union movement (3) to educate in ideas and to give military training to the workers poor peasants and students from its study circle classes volunter corps.

Sd. Gopal Chandra Basak.

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1. S. A. Dange,
4 Wadekar Buildings,
Girgaon, Bombay No. 4.
2. S. V. Ghate,
17 Dwarkadas Mansions,
Sandhurst Road, Bombay No. 4.
3. C. G. Shah
Ranchhod Bhavan,
Girgaon, Bombay No. 4.
4. S. S. Mirajkar,
2/3 Khandke Buildings,
Dadar, Bombay No. 14.
5. K. N. Joglekar.
168 Fanaswadi,
Bombay No. 2.
6. R. S. Nimbkar,
Near Prarthana Samaj,
Bombay No. 4.
7. M. A. Majeed,
Dhal Mahalla,
Mochi Gate, Lahore.
8. Ramchandra Kapur
Bande Mataram Office,
Lahore.
9. Lala Kedarnath Saigal.
C/O Provincial Congress Committ
Lahore.
9. Firozuddin Mansur,
Kirti Office
Amritsar.
10. Sohan Singh Josh.
Kirti Office,
Amritsar.
11. Bhag Singh,
Kirti Office,
Amritsar.

12. Gauhar Rahman,
Darvesh,
P. O. Haripur,
Dt. Hazara, N. W. F. P.
13. Abdul Gani,
Editor, Hindustan,
Jubbulpore C. P.
14. P. C. Joshi, M. A.,
34, Holland Hall,
Allahabad,
15. Gaurishankar Sharma,
Secretary, Mazdoor and Kisan Sangh,
Meerut, U. P.
16. Dr. Biswanath Mukherjee
Gorakhpur U. P.
17. M. G. Desai (Sandhurst Road)
c/o Workers and Peasants Party Dwarka D
mansion, Bombay.
18. Dr.
19. Didarul-Alam Fateahbad Chittagong.

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Village—District—Province—All—India.

5. Every member must pay annual subscription of Re. 1/- in advance and must carry on some active propaganda amongst the youth, workers and Peasants.

6. Every province shall send members in proportion to the total provincial membership to the All-India Youth League the definite proportion being decided as the movement grows.

7. For facility of work, if necessary a working committee will be appointed by the Central Executive.

8. The League must start an official organ in English as soon as possible.

9. Every applicant for membership must be recommended by two regular members of the Executive and will be approved by the Executive Committee by election.

10. The provincial Executive Committees will have power to expel any member if he is found unfit.

11. The constitution and rules are subject to alterations on suggestions from two third of the total number of members of the General body of members in a general meeting.

Bhupindra Nath Dutta
C. G. Shah.
Ranchhod Buvan
Girgaum Bombay 4.
Kali Sen 97 Cornwallis Street.
Gopal Chandra Basak, 125
Baithakana Road
Santosh Kumar Mitra 3/1 Akrur
Dutt's Lane
Illegible, C/o Labor Federation
Jamshedpur.
Dharani Kanta Goswami
Gopendra Chakraberty
Tara Singh Virdi C/o Labor
Federation Jamshedpur,
Jyotish Chandra Ghose
Chinsura.

Provincial Organisers.

1. Dr. Hari Singh Chakwalia—Punjab *H. S. Chakwalia.*
2. Sardar Tara Singh Bhindi—Bihar.
3. —Bokbay
Or Mr Singarpure
4. K. Kameswar Rao—Madras
5. P. C. Joshi—U. P.
6. Gopal Ch. Basak—Bengal.

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 4-30 a. m. to 10-40 a. m. 20th March 1929.
2. Name and residence of persons whose house is searched.—Manindra Sinha S/o Late Kali Kumar Sinha of 96 Paharpur Rd.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search,
 - (1) Moni Mohan Chandra of 72/5 Garden Reach Rd.
 - (2) Prafulla Kumar Bhattacharjee of 72/6 Garden Reach Rd.
 - 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 copy of Act XVI of 1926, Indian Trade Union Act.	Found in the left upper pocket of the Punjabi of Manindra Sinha.	1. Manindra Sinha son of L. Kali Kumar Sinha.	
2.	One post card (printed) in Bengali to Manindra Sinha at 7-R Garden Reach Rd. issued by Muzaffar Ahmad Secretary National Bharatiya Krasako Sramik Dul Bangya Pradeshik Shukha dated 2nd March 1929, for subscription with postal seal of Garden Reach dated 17th March 1929.	Found in the same pocket of Manindra Sinha.	2. Sachindra Sinha son of Khagendra Sinha.	
3.	One note book containing Abdul Bari and some other names and	Ditto.	3. M. Nath son of Manindra Sinha (out missing together.	

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.
4	One tin signboard with writing "Tarun Bandhu Dal" in Bengali and four flags printed on the two corners.	Found nailed to the eastern wall, of the room occupied by Manindra Sinha.		
5	One Urdu printed poster (printed in red ink) notifying the date 21st, 22nd and 23rd December regarding the Peasants and workers conference.	Found hung up on a nail on the western wall of the room of Manindra Sinha.		
6	<p>(a) One pocket book containing some instructions regarding storage cells wireless telegraphy and some other writings.</p> <p>(b) One slip of paper with addresses 56 Nim Tala St. 6 Kalachand Sannyal Lane and, Nirmala Bala Debi, c/o Bholanath Sanyal of village Jhowdangi district Burdwan.</p> <p>(c) A slip containing some account in the name of Tyag Bahadur Lame.</p> <p>(d) One slip containing the address 33 college St. post graduate Mess</p>	<p>Found in the upper left pocket of the coat of Manindra Sinha; coat was hanging on the northern side wall of room.</p> <p>(b) This slip was found inside the pocket (6 a of the list).</p> <p>Found inside the pocket book (6 a of the search list.)</p> <p>Found inside the tin (6 a of the search list).</p>		

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| <p>and Krishna Sircar 70 Kasaripara.</p> <p>(e) One slip containing notes regarding Banglara Katha and Ananda Bazar and dates 11-1-29, 12-1-29 and 15-1-29.</p> <p>(f) One post card written Bengal addressed to Upendra Nath Sanyal c/o Manindra Kumer Sinha Bengali Textile Worker a Union Metiabruj with postal seal Garden Reach dated 19th January 1929.</p> <p>7. (a) One printed leaflet containing the Principles and Policy of workers and Peasants' Party published by Dharani Kanta Goswami of 2/1 European Asylum Lane.</p> <p>(b) One pamphlet in English with the heading Political Resolution printed and published by Dharani Kanta Goswami of 2/1 European Asylum Lane.</p> <p>(c) One address of welcome by P. Dinda (Bar-at-law) chairman of the Reception Committee of the First All India Workers' and Peasants' Conference D/- 21-12-28.</p> <p>8. One copy of "My fellow Traveller" (in English) by maxim in Gorki.</p> <p>9. (a) One slip contg. the name of Santosh Mitra of 3/1 Akrur Dutt Lane Calcutta.</p> | <p>Found inside the same pocket book item No. 6 of the search list.</p> <p>Found inside the same pocket book item No. 6 of the search list.</p> <p>Found inside the same pocket of the same coat as No. 6 a of search list.</p> <p>Found inside the same pocket of the coat of 6a. of the such list.</p> <p>Found inside the left lower same pocket of the same coat of 6a, of the list.</p> <p>Found inside the left lower pocket of the overcoat of Mannidra Sinha hanging up on the northern wall.</p> |
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BRANCH OF INDIA SOCIETY'S
 BRANCH LIBRARY
 KOLKATA

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.
10.	<p>(b) One Draft letter addressed to Secretary Trade Union Registration Office Bengal Govt. Secretariat by the Secretary.</p> <p>One closed envelope addressed to Secy. Trade Union Federation 34 Bow Bazar Street opened in presence of the witness and found it contg. a letter addressed by the acting Secy. Garden Reach Workers Union to the Secy. Trade Union Federation at 34 Bow Bazar Street.</p>	<p>Found inside the left lower pocket of the overcoat of Manindra Sinha hanging up on the northern wall.</p> <p>Found inside the left lower pocket of a over coat vide item No 9-A.</p>		
11.	<p>One printed copy of Amendment to Resolution in 43rd Indian National Congress moved by Mr. Subhas Chandr Bose (Bengal).</p>	<p>Found in the right lower pocket of the coat of Manindra Sinha hanging up on the northern wall of his room.</p>		
12.	<p>One copy in Bengali of Rajnaitik Prastab printed and published by Dharani Kanta Goswami of 2/1 European Asylum Lane.</p>	<p>Found on the top a suit case on the northern side of the room.</p>		

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| 13. | One leaflet in Bengal Titled "Kaliak-taya Birat Sramik Sammilan issued by Kiran Chandra Mitra D/- 30th Dec. 1928. | Found on the top a suit case on the side of the room. |
| 14. | One letter cover addressed to Bhola Nath Sanyal at 7 Garden Reach T. U. Union with posal seal Garden Reach D/- 29th Jan. 1929 contg. three letters in Bengali one from mother, another from grandmother and another from "Ni" | Found on the northern side of the floor by the side of the suit-case mentioned in item No. 12. |
| 15. | One copy of Physics with a name Akhaya Kumar Shaha 3rd year class Dacca Hall 1929. | Found inside the suit case of Manindra Sinha. |
| | (a) Six post cards marked a, b, c, d, e, f all signed by the witnesses. | Ditto. |
| | (b) One sheet of paper written in Bengali commencing with word, Bip-lab O Bindroher nawtai and ending Hridai O Kepe othe signed by witnesses. | Ditto. |
| | (c) One Bengali handbill of Sarbanjanin Bandhu Kuthe Netrakona with a letter in Bengali from Jogendra Chandra Ghose Susang Rajbari D/- 20th Kartik 1335 B. S. | Ditto. |
| | (d) One letter written by Manindra Sinha. | Ditto. |
| 16. | Three blank forms of Workers and Peasants' Party of Bengal. | This No. 17 to 20 of this page found inside the aforesaid suit case. |
| 17. | One copy of the Resolution of the subject committee of 43rd sessions Indian National Congress Calcutta, December 1928. | |

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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>malatika</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.
18.	Resolution of Indian National Congress 43rd sessions.			
19.	One pamphlet of all India T. U. Congress 9th Session 1928 Jheria containing the address of the chairman of the Reception Committee and also the Presidential address by Mr. Dard of the same session.			
20.	Price list No. 89 of Wilhelm—H. Schwiacker's (Hamburg) of arms and ammunions.			
21.	Travellers' cheques of Thomas Cook and Ltd.—two books—one from No. H. 524501 to 524550 but from H 524516 blank and another from No. H 520701 to 520750 but from H 520726 blank and also two counterfoils of the similar book—one from No. H. 134829 to 134840 and the other from No. G. 789576 to G. 789600.	This No. 21 to 25 all found inside the suit case mentioned above.		
22.	Six post cards marked a,b,c,d,e,f, all signed by witnesses (all written in Bengali).			

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 23. | One copy of Sacco and Venzettee by Dharani Kanti Goswami. | |
| 24. | One letter without the name of the writer of the Bengal Jute Workers Association Bhatpara with a cover to Manindra Kumar Sinha. Bengal Textile Workers Union. | |
| 25. | One Note book of Bejoy Kumar Sanyal containing miscellaneous writings. | |
| 26. | One membership receipt in the name of Manindra Sinha No. 10008 of Bharat Rastriya Mahasha. | All found with the iron file hanging up in the southern wall of the room of Manindra Sinha. |
| 27. | A leaflet headed "Resolution and Independence printed at Bani Press. | |
| 28. | One Post Card letter by Bhupendra Ch. Lahiri to Manindra Nath Sinha signed by witnesses. | |
| 29. | One Post Card letter by Muzaffar Ahmad to Pyare Mohan Das of 123 Baitakh Khana Road. | |
| 30. | Two receipts for the membership of the Reception Committee of the 1st All-India Workers and Peasants' Party conference issued—one to Chandra Sinha and the other to Manindra Sinha and a delegate ticket for B. C. Sinha. | |
| 31. | One receipt of Bharat Rastriya Mahasabha No. 39102 in the name of Shachindra Chandra Sinha. | Found in an iron file hanging on the Southern side of the room. |

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is found.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mattaka</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.
32.	<p>(a) Two copies of printed leaflet in the name of Syed Ali B. C. Pleader Mymensingh.</p> <p>(b) Seventy-five handbills regarding Labour Meeting for 30th December 1928 in Bengali (50), in Hindi (24) in Urdu (1).</p> <p>(c) One leaflet of Sanagra Bharatiya Krishak O Sranic Dal Sammilan.</p> <p>(d) Ninety copies of the weekly Ganavani of different dates majoritty of which are eaten up by white ants.</p>	All found in the South Western Corner. wall almirah of the room of Manindra Sinha.		

(Sd.) ILLEGIBLE.
Signature with date of
the person whose property,
is seized is 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 signature of witnesses and Police officers.
Permanent marks, such as cuts, etc., must not be made.

(Sd.) ILLEGIBLE, 20-3-29.
Police-officers conducting the search.

(Sd.) P. K. B. 20-3-29.
(Sd.) ILLEGIBLE, 20-3-29.
Signature of witness with date

Signature by the accused (optional)

P. 150.

Rejected

An Urdu Poster issued by the Reception Committee of All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference and published at 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

P. 151.

Rejected

To the Secretary,
Trade Union Registrare Office,
Bengal Government Secretariat.

Sir,

I am directed by my Committee to apply for registration of this Union. I shall be obliged if you will send me the necessary forms and instructions.

Yours faithfully,
Secretary.

P. 152.

Rejected

One Cheque Book (Counter-foils only) Thomas Cook & Sons.

P. 153.

Rejected

One Cheque Book (Counter-foils only) Thomas Cook & Sons.

P. 154.

Rejected

One Cheque Book—Thomas Cook and Sons.

P. 155.

Rejected

One Cheque Book—Thomas Cook and Sons.

P. 156
 +
 P. 157. Rejected

SEARCH LIST.

Details of Property seized by Police-officers acting under the provisions of section 108 or 165, Criminal Procedure Code.

1. Date and hour of search—20th March 1929, from 5-30 a.m. to 9 a.m.
2. Name and residence of persons whose house is searched—Narendra Nath Chatterjee, Proprietor of the Popular Printing Works of 2 Ram Hari Ghose Lane.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search, {
 - (1) Nando Lal Shah of late Radha Kisan Shah of 28 B Central Avenue.
 - (2) Budhu Lal Mistry, son of Late Mahadeo Mistry of 16 Robert St.
 - and so on

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where articles seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>ma talika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
	(1) 3 Copies young Comrades League. Statement of Programme and Policy Printed by N. Sen at the Popular Printing Works at 2 Ram Hari Ghose Lane and published by the same from the office of the Young Comrades League of 78/1 Harrison Road Calcutta. (2) 2 proof sheets 2 proof sheets. (3) One typed copy one typed copy. (4) One copy Workers and Peasant's party Principles and Policy. These submitted to the first All	Found in the Press room facing North at No. 2 Ram Hari Ghose Lane ground Floor.	Narendra Nath Chatterjee son of Mathura Nath Chatterjee 38 Main Sower Road Bollygunj.	

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>mullalika</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.
II	<p>India Workers and Peasant's Party Conference December 1928 in 8 Pages.</p> <p>(5) Printed copies (one in 14 Pages and one in 12 Pages) of Political Resolution submitted to the first All-India Workers and Peasant's Party conference December, 1928 Printed and Published by Dharani Kanta Gussami 2/1 European Asylum lane at the popular Printing Works 2 Ram Hari Ghoses Lane Calcutta.</p> <p>(6) Two proof sheets of Communist Literature.</p> <p>(7) One copy of the Worker's and Peasant Party of Bengal constitution 1928 Printed at Zinat Fine Printing at 38 European Asylum Lane Calcutta.</p> <p>(8) One copy Draft Resolution of the Indian Youth Congress 1928 name of the Printing Press not mentioned.</p>			

Signature with date of
the person whose property,
is seized is 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.) KAZI HIFAZUDDIN S. I.

(Sd.) ILLEGIBLE.

Signature of witness with date.

Signature by the accused (optional)

YOUNG COMRADES LEAGUE

STATEMENT OF PROGRAMME & POLICY.

1. **What is the Youth Movement ?** The Youth Movement has now been active in Bengal for some time, and has received much support and advice from its elders, but it has hitherto failed to establish itself. It has failed (a) to reach and establish contact with the masses (b) to conduct any campaign for the real needs and grievances of the youth (c) to break away from the ideas of the "elder statesmen" of the Congress, who in practice control most of the organisations, and to develop any new ideas of its own. A youth organisation is required which shall overcome these defects and shall do some real work on the basis of modern and correct social conceptions.

A Youth Movement has its main functions (a) to combat the reactionary ideas which become crystallised in organisations run mainly by middle-aged or old men. The Indian National Movement is in its thinking many years out-of-date. It is the duty of the organised Youth to introduce to it ideas, policies and methods suitable to present conditions (b) to educate and prepare the youth for the political and social work of the future. (c) to defend the special interests and needs of the younger generation. A youth organisation which does these things is entitled to the position of a genuine representative and leader of the youth.

2. **Our Grievances.** We are called upon to defend the rising generation in this country from many evils and abuses. A civilised country takes special care of its youth. Our Government leaves them practically without protection to nature and the play of economic forces. Many matters require attention, among which the chief are :

(a) **Unemployment.** The effects of unemployment fall especially hard upon the youth, whether with school or college education, or forced to earn a living from childhood. It is not only physically and morally harmful to the unemployed but also reacts to the detriment of the conditions of those at work. Unemployment is a necessary concomitant of capitalism, and is especially severe in so ill-balanced an economic system as our own; nevertheless much can be done to minimise its evils. In England and other European countries the unemployed are supported by the State. Why not here ?

(b) **Education.** The educational system of India is acknowledged to be most defective. Immense numbers of growing boys

and girls receive no education at all. Even those who do, are trained by obsolete mechanical methods in useless subjects. Remember what Russia has done. A population which ten years ago was as backward as that of India, is expected in three years more to contain no illiterate persons, old or young. Education is compulsory up to 14, and for town workers, part-time literary and vocational education up to 18. We do not want any longer to be educated in political subservience, or to be trained merely as clerks to our imperialist bosses. And our education must be universal.

(c) Working conditions. Young men and women before reaching maturity need special safeguards in their work. Yet boys and girls are made to work just as long hours as adults for far less pay. In Russia youths up to 16 work only 4 hours, and up to 18 only 6 hours per day. The rest of the time is spent in school. We need also the limitation of hours, proper pay, and other conditions improved for young workers.

(d) Social customs. For the physical and mental health both of the individual and of society, it is essential that many ancient and harmful customs be abandoned. It is the function of youth to see that both in theory and in practice the customs of early marriage, purdah, untouchability, etc., are abolished.

For these and many other elementary demands the youth of this country has to fight. We do not need words but deeds. Active efforts, organisation, agitation must be undertaken on a great scale, and we appeal to all those young men and women who know the difficulties and trials for the young of modern life, to come forward and join us.

3. What is the Remedy? We propose to create among the youth a mass movement and agitation for the redress of many grievances. Some reforms may be won by the pressure of the organised masses. But we know that there is no ultimate solution under the present system. This is an exploiting system, which by its very nature cannot allow decent and proper conditions for all. While pressing for redress of our immediate wrongs, we shall never forget that greater than all these are our ultimate objects. We have to work for complete independence and for the emancipation of the masses from their position of economic and political subjection—complete independence of the country from the foreign exploitation which is the root of almost all our present ills, and the complete emancipation of the masses, without which independence is both unreal and unattainable.

There are only two ways in which India can proceed, and everybody must choose between them. Either we can join the capitalists and landlords, with their exploitation, swindling and

jobbery, and help to fight against and suppress the movement of the masses, and therefore inevitably ally ourselves with imperialism; or we may join the masses and fight with them for the independence of the country from imperialist and capitalist exploitation. From these two we must choose, and the young workers, peasants and oppressed and poverty-stricken of all kinds cannot but choose the path of independence and complete emancipation.

4. **The Ideas of To-day.** In addition to fighting for its own grievances and participating in the general struggle for freedom, the youth has a further important function. Youth is open-minded, it is free from the prejudices of the past, it can form and assimilate ideas suitable to the circumstances of to-day. It can see clearly the faults which prevented the past generations from succeeding, and it has the energy to remedy them. Our country and our national movement are in the hands of old men, who are still in many cases living mentally in previous centuries, but whom the people still follow because of a harmful tradition of respect for the old and well-established.

Youth, growing up in the twentieth century, in the "epoch of wars and revolutions," can discard these relics of the past. It brings with it, in opposition to the mentality of our older leadership,

(a) a true appreciation of our position in the world. It abandons the old seclusion of Indian nationalism, and its rejection of all modern thought and scientific progress. It recognises that the struggle of India is but part of a worldwide struggle for freedom, and that it cannot remain isolated from the movements of other countries. It sees that India must learn to use theoretical and practical weapons which are found to be effective elsewhere. And it sees that the ultimate goal of the struggle of India for national freedom must be international.

(b) a realistic revolutionism. It breaks away both from the timid nineteenth-century constitution-mongering of the dominant school in the nationalist movement, and from the romantic impossibilist revolutionary policy of the minority. Revolution is no longer the dream of a few isolated intellectuals, scorned by all political realists; it is an actuality, already taking place all over the world, and requiring scientific study and practical organisation.

(c) class-struggle as the main-spring of historical development, and the rise and organisation of the masses as the key to our problems. Denounced or ignored by the blindness of class-interest of our old leaders, the class-struggle is to the realistic mind of youth an overwhelming fact. Before the rising organisation of the masses, our older leaders have hesitated between a policy of ignoring or opposing it, and one of exploiting it for the wrong ends. The youth

sees in the class-conscious organisation of the masses the only force which can break through the obstacles to our national progress, and the only guarantee of a united peaceful future for the people of the whole world. The youth will throw itself into the struggle on the side of the masses.

(d) abandonment of the traditional attitude of heroworship. Our movement has always paid exaggerated devotion to its leaders, and has often suffered heavily as a result. The youth will rid itself of this dangerous relic of bourgeois ideas, and will base its policies and actions upon principles rather than upon personalities.

(e) an active intolerance of the divisions and hostilities among ourselves, based upon ancient usages and customs having no reality or value at the present day. The traditional method of dealing with communalism has proved to be useless. It is absurd to intensify communal consciousness as a means of bringing about inter-communal unity.

Youth ignores communal divisions, and bases its policy upon the identity of the real interests of all the masses.

5. What we shall do. The young Comrade's League has been established to carry on the propaganda of these ideas and to form and lead a real movement of the exploited youth for the solution of its grievances and for the attainment of independence and freedom.

We appeal to all the young people of Bengal to join and help us in these great tasks. All around us we see poverty, misery, ignorance, unemployment, famine, destitution, insanitary housing, preventable disease, high infant mortality. We see the enormous wealth of our country monopolised and controlled by an unholy combination of our own and foreign zemindars and capitalists. They juggle with the nation's livelihood—with its very life. By the present system of legalised robbery they take from us the fruits of our labour, to drain it away to foreign countries or to spend it in riot and extravagance. At their whim we are evicted from our dwellings or dismissed from the possibility of obtaining our livelihood. If we resist we are met with the lock-out, the black-list, the lying capitalist press, the inequality of justice, the terrorism of the police force or the capitalists' or landlords' hired thugs. At their decree we are marched off to foreign lands to fight to the death against our comrades with whom we have no quarrel; if we resist we are condemned as traitors. Above all, dominating our whole life, the embodiment and protector of capitalism and landlordism, the framework and backbone of the whole system, the instrument of foreign rule, stands the state.

The whole vast machine of exploitation and oppression, controlled by a small cliqué of imperialist magnates, to whom the

millions of ordinary people or but instruments in their schemes of world conquest and spoliation, is a menace to the future of humanity, which must be fought and overcome by the people. Even now it is planning and preparing a new great war of conquest, against our comrades and friends of the Soviet Republics. In this war, which may now break out at any time, many thousands of the young men of India will be used as cannon-fodder. We must warn in time the nation, and especially the youth against the danger of this coming war, and appeal to all to resolve that no Indian shall disgrace himself or his country by taking part in it, directly or indirectly.

In war or in peace, Imperialism is incompatible with civilisation, with proper human relationships, with decent standards of life. We call upon all young people who feel that their lives and those of others round them are not what they should be, who are exploited or cast out to starve by an iniquitous economic system, who are denied the proper education which is the birthright of all human beings; we call upon all who want peace and not war, who want independence and not slavery, civilisation not Imperialism, freedom not exploitation:—Join the Young Comrades' League and fight for them!

6. Our programme of practical work for the immediate future is as follows:

- (a) to launch by means of public meetings and other propaganda a campaign for the following chief demands:
 - (1) a living wage for all wage earners.
 - (2) limitation of hours for young workers (6-hour day up to eighteen)
 - (3) state support for the unemployed
 - (4) universal primary education; compulsory physical and military training in schools; improved facilities for technical education.
 - (5) abolition of the practices of early marriage, untouchability, purdah etc.
- (b) to establish study-circles in economic and political subjects.
- (c) to organise public meetings and debates and to publish material relating to our economic, political and social problems.
- (d) to co-operative with the Trade Union movement in the organisation of young workers, and to initiate the organisation on similar lines of the youth of the villages.

- (e) To establish solidarity among the various youth organisations and to initiate united work for common objects.
- (f) to publish and distribute an organ for the youth.
- (g) to recruit new members.
- (h) to study youth movements, the working and other conditions of young workers, and other political and economic questions, to collect data and form a Library.

P. 159.

Rejected

Proof copy in duplicate of the pamphlet.

Young Comrades League mention at P. 158.

P. 160.

Rejected

Young Comrades' League

Statement of Programme and Policy.

(1) *What is the Youth Movement ?* The Youth movement has been active in Bengal for some time, and has received much support and advice from its elders, but it has hitherto failed to establish itself. It has failed (a) to reach and establish contact with the masses (b) to conduct any campaign for the real needs and grievances of the youth (c) to break away from the ideas of the "elder statement" of the Congress, who in practice control most of the organisations, and to develop any new ideas of its own. A youth organisation is required which shall overcome these defects and shall do some real work on the basis of modern and correct social conceptions.

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- (a) Unemployment. The effects of unemployment fall especially hard upon the youth, whether with school or college education, or forced to earn a living from childhood. It is not only physically and morally harmful to the unemployed but also reacts to the detriment of the conditions of those at work. Unemployment is a necessary concomitant of capitalism, and is especially severe in so ill-balanced an economic system as our own; nevertheless much can be done to minimise its evils. In England and other European countries the unemployed are supported by the State. Why not here?
- (b) Education. The educational system of India is acknowledged to be most defective. Immense numbers of growing boys and girls receive no education at all. Even those who do, are trained by obsolete mechanical methods in useless subjects. Remember what Russia has done. A population which ten years ago was as backward as that of India, is expected in three years more to contain no illiterate persons, old or young. Education is compulsory up to 14, and for town workers, part-time literary and vocational education up to 18. We do not want any longer to be educated in political subservience, or to be trained merely as clerks to our imperialist bosses. And our education must be universal.
- (c) Working conditions. Young men and women before reaching maturity need special safeguards in their work. Yet boys and girls are made to work just as long hours as adults for far less pay. In Russia youths up to 16 work only 4 hours, and up to 18 only 6 hours per day. The rest of the time is spent in school. We need also the limitation of hours, proper pay, and other conditions improved for young workers.
- (d) Social customs. For the physical and mental health both of the individual and of society, it is essential that many ancient and harmful customs be abandoned. It is the function of youth to see that both in theory and in practice the customs of early marriage, purdah, untouchability, etc. are abolished.

For these and many other elementary demands the youth of this country has to fight. We do not need words, but deeds. Active efforts, organisation, agitation, must be undertaken on a great scale, and we appeal to all those young men and women who know the difficulties and trials for the young of modern life, to come forward and join us.

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There are only two ways in which India can proceed, and everybody must choose between them. Either we can join the capitalists and landlords, with their exploitation, swindling and jobbery and help to fight against and suppress the movement of the masses, and therefore inevitably ally ourselves with imperialism; or we may join the masses, and fight with them for the independence of the country from imperialist and capitalist exploitation. From these two we must choose, and the young workers, peasants and oppressed and poverty-stricken of all kinds cannot but choose the path of independence and complete emancipation.

(1) *The Ideas of Today.* In addition to fighting for its own grievances and participating in the general struggle for freedom, the youth has a further important function. Youth is open-minded, it is free from the prejudices of the past, it can form and assimilate ideas suitable to the circumstances of today. It can see clearly the faults which have prevented the past generations from succeeding, and it has the energy to remedy them. Our country and our national movement are in the hands of old men who are still in many cases living mentally in previous centuries, but whom the people still follow because of a harmful tradition of respect for the old and well-established.

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effective elsewhere. And it sees that the ultimate goal of the struggle of India for national freedom must be international.

- (b) A realistic revolutionism. It breaks away both from the timid nineteenth-century constitution-mongering of the dominant school in the nationalist movement, and from the remantic impossibilist revolutionary policy of the minority. Revolution is no longer the dream of a few isolated intellectuals, scorned by all political realists; it is an actuality, already taking place all over the world, and requiring scientific study and practical organisation.
- (c) Class-struggle as the main-spring of historical development and the rise and organisation of the masses as the key to our problems. Denounced or ignored by the blindness or class-interest of our old leaders, the class-struggle is to the realistic mind of youth an overwhelming fact. Before the rising organisation of the masses, our older leaders have hesitated between a policy of ignoring or opposing it, and one of exploiting it for the wrong ends. The Youth sees in the class-conscious organisation of the masses the only force which can break through the obstacles to our national progress, and the only guarantee of a united peaceful future for the people of the whole world. The youth will throw itself into the struggle on the side of the masses.
- (d) Abandonment of the traditional attitude of hero-worship. Our movement has always paid exaggerated devotion to its leaders, and has often suffered heavily as a result. The youth will rid itself of this dangerous relic of bourgeois ideas, and will base its policies and actions upon principles rather than upon personalities.
- (e) An active intolerance of the divisions and hostilities among ourselves, based upon ancient usages and customs having no reality or value at the present day. The traditional method of dealing with communalism has proved to be useless. It is absurd to intensify communal consciousness as a means of bringing about inter-communal unity. Youth ignores communal divisions, and bases its policy upon the identity of the real interests of all the masses.

(5) *What we shall do.* The Young Comrades' League has been established to carry on the propaganda of these ideas and to form and lead a real movement of the exploited youth for the solution of its grievances and for the attainment of independence and freedom.

We appeal to all the young people of Bengal to join and help us in these great tasks. All around us we see poverty, misery, ignorance, unemployment, famine, destitution, insanitary housing, preventable disease, high infant mortality. We see the enormous wealth of our country monopolised and controlled by an unholy combination of our own and foreign zemindars and capitalists. They juggle with the nation's livelihood—with its very life. By the present system of legalised robbery they take from us the fruits of our labour, to drain it away to foreign countries or to spend it in riot and extravagance. At their whim we are victed from our dwellings or dismissed from the possibility of obtaining our livelihood. If we resist we are met with the lock-out the blacklist, the lying capitalist press, the inequality of justice, the terrorism of the police force or the capitalists' or landlords' hired thugs. At their decree we are marched off to foreign lands to fight to the death against our comrades with whom we have no quarrel, if we resist we are condemned as traitors. Above all, dominating our whole life, the embodiment and protector of capitalism and landlordism, the framework and backbone of the whole system, the instrument of foreign rule, stands the state.

The whole vast machine of exploitation and oppression, controlled by a small clique of imperialist magnates, to whom the millions of ordinary people are but instruments in their schemes of world conquest and spoliation, is a menace to the future of humanity which must be fought and overcome by the people. Even now it is planning and preparing a new great war of conquest, against our comrades and friends of the Soviet Republics. In this war, which may now break out at any time, many thousands of the young men of India will be used as cannonfodder. We must warn in time the nation, and especially the youth, against the danger of this coming war, and appeal to all to resolve that no Indian shall disgrace himself or his country by taking part in it, directly or indirectly.

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- (ii) limitation of hours for young workers (6-hour day up to eighteen)
- (iii) state support for the unemployed
- (iv) universal primary education compulsory physical and military training in schools; improved facilities for technical education.

abolition of the practices of early marriage, untouchability etc.

- (b) to establish study-circles in economic and political subjects.
- (c) to organise public meetings and debates and to publish material relating to our economic, political and social problems.
- (d) to cooperate with the Trade Union movement in the organisation of young workers, and to initiate the organisation on similar lines of the youth of the villages.
- (e) To establish solidarity among the various youth organisations, and to initiate united work for common objects,
- (f) to publish and distribute an organ for the youth.
- (g) to recruit new members.
- (h) to study youth movements, the working and other conditions of young workers, and other political and economic questions, to collect data and form a library.

Workers' & Peasants Party Principles & Policy.

Thesis submitted to the First All-India workers' and Peasants' Party Conference. December 1928.

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

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

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

The policy of the Party consequently also assumes a complete acceptance of industrialism, and denies both the possibility and the desirability of abandoning it. Modern machine and other technique is rapidly invading and conquering production in all fields in all countries. It is the dominant economic system, and to destroy it without also destroying the bulk of the human race is impossible. Moreover, while capable of doing great mischief while used primarily for profit-making,

it is capable of equally great good when socially controlled. The Workers' and Peasants' party is thus in no way opposed to industrialism, and on the contrary regards the attempts which are made to introduce of bolster up hand industry and individual production in opposition to it, as in general reactionary not only economically it also politically.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The strength of imperialism is however overestimated. The whole world system of capitalism has for years past been in a condition of recurrent crisis. That this condition is not yet overcome is shown by the continuance of partial economic crises in Europe and especially Britain, by the preparations, both technical and diplomatic, for war, between European capitalism and the Soviet republics, between Great Britain and the U.S.A. and in the Pacific region, and by the continued growth of revolutionary movements,

especially in Europe and China. British imperialism in particular is passing through a period of specially acute crisis, from which its permanent recovery is extremely improbable.

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

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

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

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

These sections are. (1) The industrial working class, whose attempts merely to achieve improvements, in standards of wages, and to regulate hours and other conditions, have been fiercely resisted, and have developed a semi-revolutionary character. The working class is already the best organised and most militant section, and is rapidly acquiring the political consciousness necessary to enable it to exercise the function of leadership in the mass struggle. The working class generally has shown itself to be, of all oppressed and exploited classes, that most capable of undertaking patient and determined organised work, and of pursuing a vigorous and decisive policy. Its position also gives it great strategic advantages for action. Its numerical strength in India, though relatively small, is greater than that of the Chinese working.

POLITICAL RESOLUTION.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Rejected

class, which played and is playing a decisive leading part in the Chinese revolution, and is on a par with that of the Russian working class. It cannot therefore be considered insufficient to allow it to fulfil effectively its leading part in the mass movement.

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

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

In any circumstances however, it can not take a leading part in the movement. Individuals from the middle classes can take a lead only after abandoning the ideas and special interests of their class, and identifying themselves with the working class. It is only the workers which as a class can lead such a composite movement, in the sense that the leading demands and slogans must

arise from the needs of the workers, their interests must take precedence, where they conflict, of those of other sections, and their mass action must be the greatest driving force. The conception that the petty bourgeoisie, because of their greater education etc., can lead a mass movement against imperialism is without historical justification. The bulk of this class is unorganisable and vacillating, and can only follow at the rear of any movement.

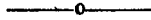
The line of action of the Party is to develop to the fullest extent the organisation and consciousness of the masses in a revolutionary direction. With the workers this is to be carried out by increasing by all means the strength and solidarity of the Trade Union movement on the basis of forward economic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

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

In addition to the special organs, Unions etc. of the various sections of the movement, the organ, of the movement as a whole the workers and Peasants Party, must be built up. The sectional organisations should be affiliated to it, and its members should work as members and leaders of the different section, giving them thereby a united and correct policy.

The whole movement, united and led by the Workers' and Peasants' party demands complete independence from imperialism,

and a democratic organisation of the country, including universal suffrage etc. It also demands adequate provision for the economic needs of the population of producers, by legislation for industrial protection, minimum wage rate, limitation of hours, etc. universal education, and nationalisation, without compensation, of the chief



Rejected

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS OF THE INDIAN YOUTH CONGRESS, 1928.

1. The Indian Youth Congress mourns the sad and untimely demise of Lala Lajpat Rai, under tragic circumstances and expresses its warm appreciation of his manifold services to the country.

2. This Congress records its sense of profound sorrow at the death of Pandit Gopabandhu Dass ; and of Dr. K. D. Shastri, President of the Madras session of the Youth Congress.

3. This Congress tenders its fraternal greetings to the youth and to the Organisations of the world, and expresses its determination to co-operate with them in bringing into existence a new world-order.

4. It is the considered opinion of this Congress that complete in-dependence should be the nation's immediate objective, and calls upon the Youth of the country to strive for its attainment.

5. (a) This Congress calls upon the Youth of India to aggressively combat the forces of communalism, as detrimental to the best interest of the nation, by all means available to them.

(b) This congress further declares religion to be a matter of personal and private conviction which should not [a] be ridden by priestcraft or antiquated codes ; or [b] invade public life or even private relations ; and never be a bar between persons classes and communities.

6. This Congress emphatically declares its opinion that all antiquated social and religious customs like child-marriage, enforced widow-hood, purdah system, dowry, caste system, untouchability, inequality of the sexes and such other reactionary forces which sap the vitality of the nation should be abolished ; and calls upon the youth to rebel against them.

7. (a) This Congress calls upon the youth of the country to take up the vow of encouraging Swadeshi in its purest form, by personal example and propaganda, even at a sacrifice.

(b) As a protest against the oppression and exploitation of India by Great Britain, this Congress urges Young India to make an effective boycott of British goods.

8. (a) This Congress declares that Imperialism, the overthrow of which is the supreme task before India, is international in its action and should be combated on an international scale. This Congress, therefore, welcomes the efforts which are being made to associate together the peoples oppressed by Imperialism all over the world.

(b) This Congress emphatically condemns the recent cowardly assaults on eminent Indian leaders, and calls upon young India to take up this new challenge of British Imperialism.

(c) This Congress condemns as barbarous the methods of detention without trial and the policy of ruthless oppression adopted by Government, as illustrated by the incarceration of Indian patriots and unjustifiable deportation of fraternal delegates from abroad, and exclusion of patriotic Indians from their own country.

9. This Congress declares that the cause of labour, in factories and fields, is the cause of Youth; and firmly believes that the economic organisation of the country should be consistent with the principles of liberty and justice.

10. This Congress resolves to observe the 10th of May as a national Commemoration day in honour of those heroic martyrs who began, on that date in 1857, the war of Indian Independence, miscalled the Sepoy Mutiny.

11. This Congress urges on a Physical Renaissance for both the sexes in India, through the development of the spirit of adventure, out-door games organised physical exercises, camping, practising of a craft, festivals educative tours, ambulance and volunteer corps; always with a view to the future usefulness to the country and humanity at large.

12. This Congress records its opinion that education should be nationalised; be made free and compulsory at least in the primary stages; and that it should be imparted through the medium of the vernaculars.

SEARCH LIST.

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

1. Date and hour of search, 20th March 1929 from 4-15 a.m. to 6-40 a.m.
2. Name and residence of persons whose is searched Bengal Trade Union Federation 34 Bowbazar St.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search, { (1) Rajendra Lal Roy—Manager, City, Furnishing Co. Ltd. at 34 Bow Bazar St.
(2) Ram Das Shao—32 Kaplitalla 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>Muttika</i> and, the exact circumstance under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case a thing usual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
1.	<p>(a) One letter written by W. Lancelo and Travers addressed to the chairman All-India Press employee's conference Calcutta dated 27th March 1926.</p> <p>(b) One letter dated 20th February 1926 written by S. D. Hasan addressed to Professor Sanjib Chowdhury M. A., B. L.,</p> <p>(c) One letter of Secretary, International Federation of Trade unions of 31 Tesselschaerdestraat, Amsterdam</p>	<p>Found on the wall shelf inside the Northern room of the Bengal Trade Union Federation. The padlock of the room, door was broken open.</p>		<p>Received one Carbon Copy of the search—tist.</p> <p>RAJENDRA LAL ROY, 20th March, 1929.</p> <p>Copy Received from K. L. Roy. I. B. SARKAR, 20th March, 1929.</p>

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.
	<p>the Secretary, Press employee's Association.</p> <p>(2) One file containing (a) Press reports of the International Federation of Trade unions—(1) dated 14th February 1929. (2) 30th June 1927 (3) 30th June 1927. (4) 3rd June 1926. (5) 10th June 1926, (6) 6th May 1926. (7) 28th February 1926. (8) 15th April 1926. (9) 19th August 1926. (10) 25th March 1926. (11) 1st April 1926. (12) 22nd April 1926. (13) 29th April 1926 (14) 20th May 1926. (15) 13th May 1926. (16) 24th June 1926. (17) 2nd September 1926. (18) 17th June 1926.</p> <p>(b) One typed letter of Joshi dated 31st March 1926. in the letter paper of All-India Trade Union Congress.</p> <p>(c) One brief report of the Balkan Trade Union Conference convened at Sofia on April 9th and 10th by the International Federation of Trade Union.</p>	<p>Found on the small shelf inside the room. (Northern).</p>		

- (3) Two bundles of Press Reports of the International Federation of Trade Unions—Amsterdam—1927 and 1928.
- (4) One file containing 47 miscellaneous papers.
- (5) (a) One Press Report of the International Federation of Trade Union Amsterdam dated 7th February 1929.
- (b) One Press Report of the International Federation of Trade Union dated 29th November 1928.
- (c) One Press Report of the International Federation of Trade Union. Dated 22nd November 1928.
- (6) One Visitor Book of the Press Employee's Association.
- (7) One copy of Ganabani dated 12th July 1928.
- (8) One placard containing "We are merely pelots in our own country. Life is unbearable without Swaraj."
- (9) Thirty two (32) paper black and white flags.
- (10) One Photo of Saklatvala Communist.

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 signature of witnesses and Police-officers.
Permanent marks, such as cuts, etc., must not be made.*

(Sd.) S. N. MUKHERJI

(Sd.) RAJINDRA LAL ROY,
20-3-29.

Signature of witness with date.

P. 167.

NATIONAL MINORITY MOVEMENT

Hon. Chairman: TOM MANN Hon. General Secretary HARRY POLLITT
Gen. Organising Secretary: GEORGE HARDY National Treasurer:
GEO. FLETCHER
¶ Address all communications to Gen. Secretary
TELEPHONE : MUSEUM 6708

National Industrial Sections:
Miners' Minority Movement
Transport Workers Minority
Movement
Metal Workers' Minority
Movement
Filling Worker Minority
Movement
Gen. Workers' Section
Printers' Section

Reference..... Room 14, First Floor,
(Please quote when replying) 38 GREAT ORMOND STREET,
LONDON. W. C. 1

The Secretary,
Bengal Trades Union Federation,
34, Bow Bazar Street,
Calcutta.

Wednesday,
3rd August,
1 9 2 7 .

Dear Comrade,

I am instructed by my Executive Committee to send to the Second Session of the All India Press Employees' Conference the best wishes of the *Minority Movement for the Success of the Conference*, and the hope that the result of your deliberations will be the strengthening of the organisation of the workers employed by the press.

All good wishes,

Yours fraternally,

Sd. HARRY POLLITT.

Honorary General Secretary.

P. 168.

TELEPHONES. MUSEUM 9496 & 9578

Labour's Sunday Newspaper

SUNDAY WORKER

Proprietors WORKERS' PUBLICATIONS LIMITED

254 GRAY'S INN ROAD

LONDON

W. C.

1

The Hon. Secretary,
All India Press Employees' Conference,
34 Bowbazar Street,
CALCUTTA.

5th August 1927.

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the "SUNDAY WORKER" the militant newspaper that fights for the Indian workers in their struggle against British imperialism, I beg to send your Conference greetings.

We hope that as a result of your Conference, Indian workers will be strengthened in their organisation to stand up and fight the enemy, which we are fighting here in Britain too. It is only by international contacts such as that between the workers of Britain and India that it is possible to realise the sense of unity to destroy imperialism and to make for the final emancipation of the Indian masses.

With all good wishes.

Yours fraternally,

Sd. W. PAUL,
EDITOR.

P. 169, Rejected

2

iti Press, Meerut.

Search List. Ch. Dharam Vir Singh, M. L. C.

I (A. W. Robertson, Supdt. of Police) in execution of the search warrant herewith attached proceeded to the Taga Boarding House along with S. I. S. Jagat Perakash and Mardan Singh, and L. Narain Das S/O L. Teja Mal Rais of B. I. Bazar & Sheikh Mohammad Ibrahim S/O Hajinur Mohd. of Lalkurti Bazar search witnesses. The room under the control of Ch. Dharam Vir Singh was pointed out. Ch. Dharam Vir Singh was not found present. B. Krishna Chandra Sharma S/O Ch. Kalyan Singh of V. Seed P. S. Nagal, Distt. Saharanpur on behalf of Ch. Dharam Vir Singh searched me, the two sub-inspectors and the above two witnesses. As the key of the room was not available hence the door was forced open. I conducted the search in accordance with the law in the presence of the witnesses and B. Krishna Chandra. The following things were found inside the room and taken into custody. I and the witnesses initialled all things so taken. They have also been numbered by me. All these things so taken after being put into a cover which being sealed and signed will be sent to the district Magistrate.

Details of the things taken.

1. A Book entitled 'A Call to Action'. 'Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bengal 2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.
2. A Book entitled 'Peshawar to Moscow' by Shaukat Usmani.
3. A book entitled 'First Report of the servants of People Society Lahore.
4. A Book entitled 'Vichitra Jivan' by Kalisharan.
5. A pamphlet entitled Servants of the People Society Lahore, Anniversay Celebrations.
6. A Book entitled 'Report of the Servants of the People Society for the year 1927—1928.
7. A Pamphlet entitled 'The Commonwealth of India Bill'
8. A Book entitled 'Presidential Speech (Khatabah Sadarat) of L. Kedarnath Sehgal.
9. A Book entitled 'Pratham Rajputana Prantiya Achhotodhar Sammelan by Ch. Bihari Lal.
10. Blank Receipt Book for Delhi Provincial Conference.
11. A Blank Receipt Book for the Delhi Provincial Political Conference.

12. The same as above. (11)

13. A letter Written by Ch. Dharam Vir Singh on 1-6-28 to Mr. Panna Lal.

14. to 21 that is 8 typed pages entitled 'The Village Worker's Training Class.

22 to 31 that is 10 pages manuscripts in Hindi being notes for young men etc.

32 to 42 that is 11 pages manuscripts in Hindi being similar notes.

43 to 69 that is 27 Money orders Acknowledgments. Receipts.

70 to 79 being receipts from the post office.

80 to 85 that is six cards being addressed to Ch. Dharam Vir Singh.

86 to 88 that is three being acknowledgments of registered articles.

A. W. Robertson
Superintendent of Police,
Meerut.

20th March, 1929.

S. Mohamed Ibrahim.
Narain Dass
K. C. Sharma
20. 3. 29.

P. 171.

A book entitled "A CALL TO ACTION" being the Resolutions, Theses and Report Presented to the Third Annual Conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal. Bhatpara, March - 1928.

Published by Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal 2/1. European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, 1928.

P. 172. ^{referred} T. P. 198 T

Kedar Nath Saigal's presidential speech in Urdu delivered by him at the Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference held in Meerut in October, 1928.

P. 173 Rejected.

P. 174.

Rejected

In compliance with search warrant issued by the District Magistrate of Meerut dated 15. 3. 29, the house of Ram Saran Vidyarthi son of Lala Ram Narain Viasb resident of Anandmath, Sadar Bazar, Meerut was searched in the presence of Lala Kalyan Singh son of Lala Udey Ram Viasb resident of Lalkurti and Sheik Rafiuddin son of Sheik Najamuddin of Lalkurti, witnesses and Ram Saran the owner of the house.

The Police party and the witnesses were duly searched before entering the house.

The following paper etc. were recovered from the study room of the above Ram Charan. All papers etc. have been signed by me and the witnesses and sealed by me on the spot.

1. Post card addressed to Ram Saran (in Hindi) dated 29-2-29 from Shakti Asram sent by Professor Dharmindra Nath.
2. Letter from the office of Provincial Congress Committee, Delhi addressed to Ram Saran Dass dated 16. 1. 29 relating to re-election of Congress Committee members, Delhi (Urdu).
3. Printed National Week programme for the 43rd. Indian Congress (English).
4. Booklet in Hindi entitled Muzdur Kisan Samalan, Meerut (5 pages).
5. A piece of paper with a note about the working Committee of the Meerut Congress Committee on which names of different subjects shown.
6. A printed form of draft with the heading Department Branch.
7. A blank post card addressed to Bishambar Dyal of Raisina, Delhi, (1, Wilson Square) Picture of engine.

8. Telegram dated 27. 1. 29 from Ranikhet sent by Manowhar Lal to Gowri Datt.
9. Telegram dated 26. 1. 29 from Parshi Shah to Gowri Datt sent from Ranikhet.
10. Post card sent from the office of Provincial Congress, Delhi, dated 13. 3. 29 addressed to Lala Ram Saran Dass sent by Secretary (Urdu).
11. Letter from S. D. O. Upadhya, Civil Hotel, Simla dated 5. 9. 29 addressed to Poona and Ramojee.
12. Chit (receipt) from the office of the Provincial Congress Delhi for receipt of Rs. 2/- for membership fee dated 4. 2. 29.
13. Supplement to Young India regarding Lalajee's Memorial Fund dated 14. 2. 29.
14. Copies of Magazines entitled Volunteer 14 copies in all.
15. Letter (typed in English) from J. N. Panday to Punda dated 27. 12. 28 from Almorah mentioning his presence in Lahore at the time Mr. Saunders was murdered.
16. Letter in English addressed to Upadhya dated Allahabad 4. 1. 29 sent by I. C. Joshi.
17. Hindi pamphlet Delhi Pranti Raj Niket Summellan dated 13th, 14th & 15th October 1928.
18. English letter from Vahi addressed to Ramajee, dated 23. 2. 26.
19. Notice (in English) what am I. 42 pages, all pages signed by witnesses.
20. Hindi letter addressed to Harihar Nath from Ulgu Rai Komar Ashram dated 9. 2. 29.
21. Hindi book meri German Jatyara.
22. English correspondence (typed) reply to an open letter to Moti Lal Nehru addressed to Rughbir Sahai sent by P. N. Upadhya dated 8. 10. 26 (5 pages).
23. Two typed sheets heading "the elections and the Lalajee", dated nil, incomplete.
24. The copy of "Forward" annual number Reg. C. 1183 of 1928.

25. A photo group of 4 men.
26. A group photograph of 34 men.

F. MacLeod,
Dy. S. P., 20. 3. 29.
R. S. Vidyarthi,
d/ 20. 3. 29.
Kalyan Singh, 20. 3. 29.
Sundar Singh,
Insp., C. I. D.
dated 20. 3. 29.
Rafiuddin, 20. 3. 29.
Gyadaya
Reader.

P. 175.

A Hindi pamphlet containing resolutions passed at the Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference at Meerut in October, 1928 under the presidentship of Kedarnath Sehgal.

P. 176. *Rejected*

A Hindi pamphlet containing resolutions passed at the Delhi Provincial Political Conference held in Meerut in October, 1928, under the presidentship of Jawahar Lal Nehru.

P. 177 & 178 } (Rejected)
P. 178.

SEARCH LIST.

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

1. Date and hour of search 20th March 1929, 5 a.m. to 10 a.m.
2. Name and residence of person whose is search—Saraswati Press at Ramanath Majumder street, manager, Mahendra Dutt.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search, { (1) Gagan Chandra Bhattacharjee at 105 Amherst street,
(2) Yusuf at 106 Amherst street,
and so on

I.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial,	Description of articles seized*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Daily account book at Saraswati Press. 2. Bill Register of Saraswati Press. 3. One letter copy book Saraswati Press. 4. One Allowance Ack Register Saraswati Press. 5. One order Book Saraswati Press. 6. One Pay Roll for Compositor Saraswati Press. 7. Rise of the Christian Power in India, Volume 2. 8. One Biplab Pathe Russiar Rupantar. 9. One Gandhi Mahatma the Martyred Man. 	<p>All the items excepting items Nos. 10 and 11 have been recovered from the office room of Saraswati Press on the ground floor at No. 1 Ramanath Majumdar St. Items 10 and 11 have been produced from Saraswati Library at 9 Ramnath Majumdar Street by Phanindra Nath Das Gupta of Saraswati Press as required by me.</p>	<p>Baroda Kant Bhawinik s/o Kali Kumar Bhawinik of village Ghamarcher P. S. Humna Distt. Comilla accountant of the Saraswati Press with other employees of the press.</p>	<p>Item No. 7 ret'd. under orders of D.C.D.D. Sd. S.N. Roy 20-3-29.</p> <p>In item No. 13 one page of Swadhinta number 13 is printed.</p>

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collative serial.)	Description of article 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>mullaka</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.
	10. One Mitchell O Biplave Ireland, by Manoranjan Gupta. 11. What the Students of other countries have done (Russia). 12. A letter in Bengalee by Manoranjan Gupta, dated 3-6-25. (8 pages). 13. A Bengalee Manuscript "Bharte Ingrez Banik, by Arun Ch. Guha. 14. Three printed letter heads and one envelope of Sree Saraswati Press of 1 Ramnath Majumdar st. 15. A letter in Bengali, by Arun dated 1-12-25 (2 pages). 16. One sealed packet containing printed forms. 17. One Remington Typewriter (old) No. 34155.			

11

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

N. B.—This form must be signed by witnesses.
 * Articles seized, numbered and labelled should be attested by signatures of witnesses and Police-officers:
 Permanent marks, such as cuts, must not be made.
 (Sd.) ILLEGIBLE.
Police-officer conducting the search.
 Date 20-3-29. Place 1 Ramanath Majendra St.

(Sd.) YUSUF,
(Signed in Urdu.)
 20-3-29.
 (Sd.) GAGAN CH. CHARTERJI. 20-3-29.
Signature of witness with date.
Signature by the accused optional.

SEARCH LIST.

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

1. Date and hour of search, 20-3-29 from 5 a.m. to 10 -30 a.m. Supplementary Search List as per item No. 16 of the Original Search List.
2. Name and residence of person whose house is searched Saraswati Press at Ramanath Majumdar Street.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search, { (1) Yacoob, 106 Amherst Street.
(2) Gajan Chandra Bhattacharji, 105 Amherst Street.
and so on

1.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>Mallika</i> and, the exact circumstance under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case a-ying usual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
	1. Maharaja Lakshman Sen by Narendra Nath Roy. Pages 65 to 72 with the title and presentat on page. 2. One Receipt of all India Congress Committee. 3. One Receipt of Young Comrades' League. 4. One handbill, re: the boycott of Simon Commission. 5. One handbill, re: Mahila Sabha. 6. One handbill, re: Jagaran. 7. One receipt of General collection fund of B. P. C. C. (English). 8. One Receipt of All-Bengal Youths Committee.	Taken from files of the office of the Saraswati Press. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do.	Barada Kanta Bhawnik and others Press employees. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do.	The property as per items 1 to 38 of the supplementary search list were taken charge of packed and sealed in a cover by me and by the manager B. Mahendra Nath Dutt on 20-3-29. They were found in the files of the Saraswati Press. The cover so sealed and packed was opened in presence of search witness Gajan Chandra Bhattacharji and Manager Babu Mahendra Nath Dutt and list made out.

	As in page No. 1	As in page No. 1	As in page No. 1
9. One handbill of Bharat Seva Kishan Sangha.	Do.	Do.	
10. One handbill re : boycott of Simon Commission.	Do.	Do.	
11. One receipt of Swarup Kuthi Yubak Samiti.	Do.	Do.	
12. One copy of Biplab of 20-1-29.	Do.	Do.	
13. Last memo of Khadi Pratishthan.	Do.	Do.	
14. One appeal to the Labourers of Garden Reach Workshop and I. G. N. & Co	Do.	Do.	
15. One receipt of the Bengal Metal Workers' Union.	Do.	Do.	
16. One receipt of General collection fund of B. P. C. C.	Do.	Do.	
17. One cover of Cow Conference Association.	Do.	Do.	
18. One receipt of Bharat Sevashram Sangha.	Do.	Do.	
19. One handbill re : Bonfire of foreign cloths at Shradhanand Park.	Do.	Do.	
20. One notice re : the boycott of foreign cloths and arrest of Mr. Gandhi.	Do.	Do.	
21. One letter paper of Transport Workers' Union of Bengal.	Do.	Do.	
22. All-India Congress Committee nomination papers.	Do.	Do.	
23. All-India National Congress Committee Volunteers Application.	Do.	Do.	
24. Pages 117 to 124 of Pradhiner Mukti.	Do.	Do.	
25. One receipt of All-Bengal Government Office Workers Union.	Do.	Do.	
26. One welcome address to Purna Chandra Das.	Do.	Do.	
27. A Call to Action.	Do.	Do.	

III

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.
	28. Simon Commission in Calcutta, and Hartal.	Do.	Do.	
	29 One Photo of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.	Do.	Do.	
	30. Application form of Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal.	Do.	Do.	
	31. One welcome address to Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru.	Do.	Do.	
	32. One Poster of Calcutta Congress.	Do.	Do.	
	33. One farewell address to Satya Ranjan Bakshi.	Do.	Do.	
	34. One appeal to the Sisters of India.	Do.	Do.	
	35. One appeal to the Labourers : Trade Dispute Bill.	Do.	Do.	
	36. Nikhil Bangiya Chhatra Sammillani.	Do.	Do.	
	37. One Chhatra Sangha.	Do.	Do.	
	38. One copy of Swadhinata of 7-2-29.	Do.	Do.	

(Sd.) M. DUTT.
Signature with date of
the person whose property,
is seized is present at the
27-3-29. search.

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

(Sd.) ILLEGIBLE, 27-3-29.
Police-officers conducting the search.

(Sd.) S.N. ROY, S.I. 27-3-29.
(Sd.) GAGAN CHANDRA BHATTACHARJI
27-3-29. Signature of witness with date

Signature by the accused (optional)

P. 180.

Register of Bills concerning the Saraswati Press, containing
following entries amongst others:—

(a)	Order No. 1791 dated 23. 3. 27.	Muzaffar Ahmad, 37 Harrison Road, 2000 hand-bills.
(b)	2254 „ 30.5. 28.	„ 100 visiting cards.
(c)	1862 „ 29.6. 27.	„ Indian Communist Party. 500 letter heads.
(d)	2262 „ 2.6. 28.	Editor of "Ganavani" 2500 Playcards and hand-bills.
(e)	2269 „ 5.6. 28.	„ 2000 hand-bills.
(f)	2272 „ 6.6. 28.	Secretary, Bengal Textile Workers' Union. 3000 letter heads.
(g)	2290 „ 16.6. 28.	Secretary, Bengal Tex- tile Workers' Union 1000 hand-bills.
(h)	2302 „ 20.6. 28.	Secretary, Bengal Textile Workers, Asso. 2000 Receipt books.
(i)	2291 „ 16.6. 28.	Editor, "Ganavani" 3000 Raping covers.
(j)	2298 „ 18.6. 28.	„ Second Issue of - Ganavani.
(k)	2322 „ 27.6. 28.	„ 1200 copies of 3rd issue of the paper.
(l)	2346 „ 10.7. 28.	„ 5000 copies of Issue Ganavani.
(m)	2358 „ 13.7. 28.	Muzaffar Ahmad 2000 Hand-bills.
(n)	2416 „ 14.8. 28.	Muzaffar Ahmad 100 Visiting cards and 2000 Hand-bills for Ganavani.
(o)	2453 „ 27.8. 28.	„ 1000 Hand-bills.
(p)	2523 „ 19.9. 28.	„ 1000 Hand-bills.
(q)	2557 „ 28.9. 28.	„ 500 copies of letter heads of the My- mensingh Branch of the Peasants' & Workers' Party.

- (r) Order No. 2730 dated 7.11.28. Muzaffar Ahmad
300 copies of Peasants' and Workers' Conf. agenda.
- (s) " 2780 " 21.11.28. " 4000 Receipts.
- (t) " 2489 " 7.9.28. Young Comrades' League. Statement of Programme and Policy, Young Comrades' League.
- (u) " 2417 " 14.8.28. " 1000 letter heads, 1000 receipts and 1000 application forms
- (v) " 2805 " 30.11.28. Reception Committee, All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference. 100 copies of visiting cards.
- (w) " 2316 " 3.12.28. Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Conference, 1000 copies of handbills in English and 1000 in Bengali.

P. 181.

Order Book of the Saraswati Press containing the following as amongst others:—

- (a) Kishori Lal Ghosh, Bill No. 337, dated 30.9.1928.
- (b) Muzaffar Ahmad, Bills Nos. 2207, 2229, 2252 and 2285, all of 1928.
- (c) Secretary, Young Comrades' League, Bill No. 2208, dated 16.8.1928.
- (d) Secretary of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, Bills Nos. 2231, 2284, 2286, 2357 and 2365, all of 1928.

Search list of the office of the Workers and Peasants' Party,
Meerut.

Today in the execution of a search warrant issued by the District Magistrate, Meerut, on the 15th March 1929, I, Sayed Rafiq Ahmad, Deputy Superintendent of Police, along with Abid Hussain Khan, Sub-Inspector. Sardhna, Abdul Rehman Khan, Sub-Inspector Sadr Bazar, Sakhawat ali, Head Constable No. 28 of C. I. D., Shabir Hussain, Constable No. 217 Civil, Mohd. Ismail, Constable Armed Police No. 93 and Jawahir Lal s/o B. Kirpa Ram, Hafiz Hafizul Din s/o Hafiz Aziz-ul Din of sadr Bazar, Meerut, the witnesses to the search, surrounded the office, (mentioned in the warrant), situated on the road leading to the Kotwali from the Budhava Gate in the compound of the temple Kanthi Mata. As the door of the office was locked, so it was forced open in the presence of the above mentioned witnesses while the owner of the building was absent. The search was made and the articles and papers mentioned in the attached list were recovered, taken possession of and the list was prepared. The signatures of the attesting witnesses were taken on the list as well as on the recovered articles etc. and all the articles were placed in a wooden box and sealed in the presence of the witnesses. The bag containing badges, etc., has been sealed and the sign board has been kept aside. The seal has been taken into my possession and the matting has been entrusted to Chandni s/o Durga Datt, an employee of the temple. There is nothing left in the office.

Rafiq Ahmad.

Dy. S. Police

Meerut.

20/3/29.

Jawahir Lal.

Abdul Rahman.

S. I. Sadr.

Abid Hussain

Khan.

20. 3. 29.

Hafiz Hafiz Din.

List of the papers recovered from the office of the "Workers and Peasants' Party", Meerut.

- (1) Daily "Bande Matram", Lahore, dated 3. 12. 27 of Saturday with title page, 12 pages, beginning with title page and ending with the advertisement of gramophone.
- (2) "Bande Matram" Lahore, dated 3. 2. 28. beginning with the decision of the Marwari Association in favour of the strike and ending with the advertisement of Zambuk. 4 pages.
- (3) Cutting from an English paper, having the picture of Sir Henry Norris Chairman of the Arsenal F. C. and

on the other side is printed "This book will tell you".

- (4) Piece of paper having printed on it "Meerut" in English "Conference Dist" in English, "Saemelan" in Nagri and "Singh" in English.
- (5) Bande Matram, Lahore, dated 10. 1. 28. having the following on its title page "Madras Congress Subjects Committee was a play of boys. Opinion of Mahatma Gandhi", ending with the pictures of Indian children.
- (6) "Bir Hindu" Meerut, dated 5th and 12th Dec. 1927, beginning with "the cultivation of sugar cane in danger" and ending with "Hindu Gazette Hardwar in the field".
- (7) A page of some paper beginning with "The Voice of the new prophet" and ending with "Hindu Muslim Union and Swarjya".
- (8) Bande Matram, dated 16. 11. 27, having on its title page "Abdul Aziz was hanged in Delhi" ending with the advertisement of the Dhariwal Mills Pajab. 12 pages.
- (9) "Bir Hindu", dated 21. 11. 27, beginning with "Now the liberal party has come to its senses" ending with "Commercial agency Meerut", 8 pages.
- (10) Bande Matram, dated 15. 11. 27 beginning with "Will the Viceroy resign if the Indians will not be taken in the Commission", ending with the advertisement of "Quaker Oats". 14 pages.
- (11) "Bande Matram", dated 21. 2. 28 having the pictures of Maharaja Nabha and Tikka Sahib on its title page ending with the advertisement of Cocogem.
- (12) Three notices in Nagri "8 months work of the Mazdoor Ashram Meerut". On the back of these two some Urdu is written.
- (13) Bande Matram, dated 15. 1. 27, beginning with cartoons and ending with the advertisement of Narain Dass & Co.
- (14) Title page of the Bande Matram, Sunday edition, dated 15. 1. 28 and ending with "Manager Ayurvedic." 4 pages.
- (15) "Bir Hindu" dated 10. 5. 26, beginning with the "opinion of the late Swarajist leader C. R. Dass regarding the Calcutta disturbances" and ending with the advertisement of "The Royal Homeopathic institute". 4 pages.
- (16) "Bir Hindu", dated 16. 1. 27 beginning with the widow remarriage question has brought to blows the Samajists and the Sanatanists and ending with the "advertisement of Amrit Dhara", 8 pages.
- (17) "Amrita Bazar Patrika", dated 15. 11. 27, beginning with

- formulation of world opinion and ending with the picture of football. 12 pages.
- (18) 8 posters of "Bande Matram" "national week and the inhabitants of Meerut". On the back of one of these Nagri and Urdu is written.
 - (19) Envelope having an address of P. Achhe Lal and 6 paged letter beginning with "Om & Pt. Achhe Lal Ji" and ending with "Bring your lota with you and attend this while clad in khaddar". This letter is written on the form of Mazdoor Kisan Sammelan, Meerut. 6 pages.
 - (20) A typed letter in English, dated 23. 8. 26 on the printed form of the Mazdoor Ashram.
 - (21) A letter in Nagri beginning with "Sri Manji" One leaf.
 - (22) A manuscript in English beginning with "This meeting of the labour Union" and ending with "prestige of the company" is written.
 - (23) Nagri book "Gauon Ki Katha". 8 pages.
 - (24) Book of Songs "Gao Varlap". 8 pages.
 - (25) "Sudharak" dated 6. 1. 28, beginning with "Shahado" and ending with "Manager the Imperial Homeopathic Medical Hall Sait Bazar, Meerut. 12 pages.
 - (26) Nagri manuscript on the form of Mazdoor Kisan Sammelan Meerut, no date and no signatures on these 26 leaves. These leaves are written on one side.
 - (27) On the printed form of Mazdoor Ashram Meerut having Bande Matram printed on it, in Nagri beginning with "Sri Man Sanpat" and ending with "articles be made ready". There are in all 6 pages out of which only 2½ pages are written, the rest are blank.
 - (28) On the printed form of "Mazdoor" Katek Kisan Sangh is written in Nagri, beginning with "The Mazdoors and Kisans of the Dist" and in the end "Sees" is written. Six pages.
 - (29) On the form of the Mazdoor Ashram in the beginning "Shri man Panditji" and in the end "Chalai Jawe" is written in Nagri, Two pages.
 - (30) On the form of the "Mazdoor" Meerut beginning with "Shri Editor Sahib" and ending with "may succeed" is written in Urdu; dated 1-3-28 and the initials can not be read.
 - (31) On the form of the Mazdoor Ashram Meerut beginning with "Bande Matram" and in the second letter beginning with "Sri Sampadak Ji Bande Matram" and ending with "will be helped". In two pieces.

- (32) On the printed form of Mazdoor Ashram beginning with "Shri man Editor Sahib Rozana Akhbar" and ending with "by which the country may progress" in Urdu. Two leaves.
- (33) On the form of the Mazdoor paper, beginning and ending with "Sammelan" in Nagri. One leaf.
- (34) On the form of the Mazdoor Akhbar the word Akhbar is struck off and Kisan Sangh is written. There are 4 leaves in Nagri, written on one side only, ending with "upon one leaf.....he does this, on 2nd..... might do, on the 3rd.....might not take part and on the 4th.....is not given.
- (35) On the form of the Mazdoor Akhbar, Meerut in Urdu the following is written in the end of the 1st page "Janab Bhai Sahib" and on the end of the 2nd page "there was a Majority of Kisans and Mazdoors in the conference". One leaf.
- (36) A piece of paper having the address of village Shardhna in Urdu on it.
- (37) A brown paper written in pencil, beginning with "Jagan Nath Prashad" and ending with No. 63 Mangat Rai.
- (38) A list written in pencil in Urdu of 10 pages. The front page contains the names of bungalows, beginning with No. 23 Babu Lal and ending with No. 1316 Hira Lal.
- (39) On the form of the Mazdoor Ashram, Meerut, a letter in Nagri. One leaf.
- (40) A poster in Nagri beginning with Bande Matram having some names on its back and that of L. Mahaubir Prashad. One leaf.
- (41) A paper in Urdu beginning with "5th April 1928, there will be held a public meeting in the town Hall, Meerut, at 7-30 P.M. and ending with should not dare to do so". One leaf written in pencil.
- (42) A paper in Urdu over the signatures of B. Gauri Shanker, Secretary beginning with "from the office of the Mazdoor Kisan Sangh" and ending with "make it successful".
- (43) A copy in Urdu of 36 pages beginning with "under the presidency of Pt. Ram Asre Prashad resolutions were passed at Garh Muktesar" and ending with "Shrimati Chatra Devi of Sultanpore. There are some blank pages.
- (44) Bande Matram, dated 10-1-28, beginning with "Bomb in the court room" and ending "is the key to success". 4 pages.

- (45) Bande Matram. 4 pages, dated 17-11-27, beginning with "Abdul Rashid being hanged" and ending with "the advertisement of National oil engine and Gas engine".
- (46) A letter in Urdu in 2 pieces beginning with "Shriman Editor Sahib" and ending with "Make the conference successful".
- (47) Bande Matram, dated 17-11-27 beginning with "who is responsible for the fresh disturbances in Delhi", ending with the advertisement of "scale and wheel".
- (48) Newspaper "Arjan". 4 pages, dated 30-12-27, beginning with Hindu Muslim Unity".
- (48) A. A typed letter dated 16-3-28, from P.M. Piyari Birla House Delhi to the Secretary Mazdoor Kisan Sabha.
- (49) Register bound red, having the names of the Kisan Sangh Sabaha on 28 pages. Some pages are written in Hindi.
- (50) A bound register from 1-3-26 to 31-12-27. There is an account of items on two paper only.
- (51) On the form of the Mazdoor Kisan Sabha a letter dated 1-3-28 in Urdu from Chaudhri Kehar Singh to the Secretary Mazdoor Kisan Sabha.
- (52) List of the names of the members of the Mazdoor Ashram, No. 1 being Balwant Singh and No. 21 being Bashamber Sahai. One leaf.
- (53) 3 copies of a book "A Call to Action".
- (54) A bundle of posters entitled "National week" in Urdu and Hindi.
- (55) Forms printed in English of "Workers' and Pesants' Party of Bengal, Calcutta". Two of these have been filled in by Brahma Nand and Ram Sarup.
- (56) White paper on which is written in pencil beginning with "Cow Sammelian" and ending with "Atar Sen and Piarı Lall.
- (57) 4 receipt books of Mazdoor Ashram, Meerut, out of which only 16 are used and the rest are blank.
- (58) Book in Urdu 'Swarg Darbar' 4 pages.
- (59) Bill of Messrs. Baldeo Sahai & Sons to Secretary, Mazdoor Kisan Sabha, Meerut for Rs. 37/-.
- (60) Typed invitations from Kamta Prashad, President, Reception Committee to nil on the printed from of the Mazdoor Kisan Samelian, Meerut. Two leaves.
- (61) A few posters of the Mazdoor Ashram, Meerut, (Nagri).
- (62) A few blank forms of subscription in Nagri.
- (63) Form filled in by Tara Chand.

- (64) Receipt of the Mazdoor Ashram, name illegible,
- (65) Blank form of the labourers' and farmers' Conference, Meerut,
- (66) Blank envelopes and some containing posters etc,
- (67) A letter in Urdu on the form of the Labourer & Farmers' Conference, Meerut dated 6. 4. 28 from Ram Asre to Ch. Dharamvir Singh.
- (68) A letter in Nagri on the form of the Mazdoor Akhbar,
- (69) Two posters in Nagri reg. Khaddar.
- (70) Pamphlet in Nagri having a photo of Charkha.
- (71) Postcard in Nagri from Chiranji Lal Peary Lal to Gauri Shanka Sharma.
- (72) A paper on which in Nagri is written Balwant Singh Pradhan etc.
- (73) A paper on which some accounts are written in Urdu, beginning with "Swamiji" and ending with "Chanchal Gir".
- (74) A list in Urdu having 36 names, beginning with "Ganpat" and ending with "Pohlo".
- (75) Paper in Urdu on which some accounts are entered by Balwant Singh.
- (76) A piece of paper in Urdu beginning with "Sriman Editor Sahib" and ending with "to render help".
- (77) A piece of paper in Urdu beginning with "Editor Sahib" and ending with "Conference".
- (78) Three letters in Urdu on the forms of Mazdoor Sangh, Meerut dated 1. 3. 28.
- (79) A paper having accounts from 1. 3. 26 to 31. 12. 27 beginning with Dr. Ajudhia Prashad.
- (80) English manuscript in pencil over the signatures of Gauri Shankar.
- (81) Nagri manuscript that can not be read.
- (82) A poem in Urdu on the National Week written on the form of Mazdoor Akhbar.
- (83) A piece of paper having poems.
- (84) A letter in Nagri on the form of the Mazdoor Nisan Samelan addressed to Sammelan.
- (85) Bill of the Hindi Pustak agency in Nagri for Rs.1.4.9 only
- (86) Poster, on the back of which some items are entered.
- (87) A piece of paper containing some accounts in Urdu.
- (88) A paper in Urdu having 24 names written in Pencil.
- (89) A bag containing 161 badges both white and yellow.

- (90) Two boards, one containing the name of Mazdoor Ashram and the other that of the Mazdoor kisan Sangh, Meerut.
- (91) A lock.
- (92) Wooden Box.....one,
- (93) China inkstand and a holder,
- (94) Two iron pegs.
- (95) White thread (a little).
- (96) Three packets of tickets, in white, yellow and blue colours.

Rafiq Ahmed
D.S.P. 20.3.29.

Abdul Hassan Khan
20. 3. 29.

Abdul Rahman,
S. 1. Sadar.
Jawahir Lal.

Hafiz Hafiz ul Din.
20. 3.

P. 184. ५T. *Rejected*

"Bir Hindu", Meerut, dated 21. 11. 27 (Urdu) containing an article on the Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference held at Garhmukteshar fair on 7. 11. 27 under the Presidentship of Ch. Dharamvir Singh, M. L. C.

P. 185.

"Amrita Bazar Patrika", dated 15. 11. 27, containing Saklatvala's speech in the Soviet World Congress at Moscow at page 6 and tenth Anniversary of Resolution in Moscow and proceedings of the Youth Conference at page 7.

P. 186.

26 sheets containing resolutions in Hindi passed at the Workers' and Peasants' Conference at Meerut.

P. 187. & T

*Rejected as P.
- D. G. Shankar*

A draft article regarding the Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference held at Nauchandi in Meerut in March, 1928, under the presidency of Shaukat Usmani.

P. 188.

*Rejected as P.
D. G. Shankar.*

A draft notification in Urdu signed by Gauri Shankar Sharma as Secretary of the Workers' and Peasants' Party.

P. 189.

*Rejected as P.
D. G. Shankar.*

A page (in Urdu) containing the proceedings of the Workers' and Peasants' Party held at Garhmukteshar fair on 7th November 1927 under Presidency of Ch. Dharamvir Singh.

P. 190.

A Call to Action, being the Resolutions, Theses, and Report presented to the Third Annual Conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal,—Bhatpara, March—1928, published by Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, 1928.

P. 191.

To

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal,

CALCUTTA.

Dated _____

Dear Comrades,

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

Yours fraternally

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

DECISION OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

date

The Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal

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

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

Signature

Twelve forms one signed by Bramha Nand of Meerut 29-1-29 and second by Ram Sarup of Meerut 19-1-29 and the rest are blanks.

—

P. 192

A sign board bearing "Bande Matram" (in Urdu), Office of Mazdoor and Kisan Sangh, Meerut (Urdu and Hindi).

P. 193.

House Search and recovery list.

The house of Pandit Gauri Shankar Sharma s/o Pandit Maltera Pershad Sharma Brahman of Naya Bazar, Meerut Cantt. was searched in his presence before Ch. Randher Singh, s/o Ch. Harphool Singh, B.A., LL.B., Meerut City and Lala Atma Ram Gargya s/o L. Ganeshi Lal Vaish of Kaisarganj, Meerut City, today on the 20th March 1929. Before entering the house the persons of the police party and witnesses were searched by the said Gaurishankar and every due precaution was taken with respect to the search. The following things were recovered and taken possession of :—

1. One letter from Krishna Chandra Azad to Pt. Gaurishankar Sharma, dated Lahore, the 8th Feby. 1929. Urdu script.
2. One receipt No. 777, dated 6-9-26.
3. One letter in Hindi from Qadamsingh to Pt. Gaurishankar, dated Delhi, 11-12-28.
4. One letter in Hindi from Pooran Chandra Joshi to Gaurishankar, dated 34 Holland Hall Allahabad 5-3-29.
5. One letter in Hindi from Gordhandas Kedarnath to Gaurishankar, dated Hardwar 4-3-29.
6. One Hindi Book "Swarg Darbar", by Gaurishankar.
7. One Hindi pamphlet entitled "Kalwarki Kartoot", by Tolstoy.
8. One Hindi book entitled "Hamore Zamana ki Ghulami", by Tolstoy.
9. Two copies of "The Manifesto of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, to the Indian National Congress", dated Madras Dec. 1927.—English-print.

11. A Hindi Pamphlet entitled "Khoni Nahaq", by Gaurishankar.
12. One photo of Maulvi Mohd. Barkatullah taken out from "Kirti Amritsar", No. of April 1928.
13. A letter in Hindi from U. P. and Delhi Workers' & Peasants' Party, Allahabad, to Gaurishankar, dated Nil.
14. Four glass and 47 other negatives of miscellaneous photographs in one packet.
15. One Urdu copy of "Khune Nahaq", by Gaurishankar.
16. One Urdu copy of Khutabai Sadarab Kaidar Nathu Segal, President, Kisan Mazdoor Conference, Meerut, held on 13, 14, 15, Oct. 1928.
17. One letter from Gaurishankar to the Manager Khadi Prithishtan, Calcutta, in English script in pencil.
18. One Urdu Notice from Baldeo Sahai and Sons, Camp Meerut to Gaurishankar, dated 18-7-28 Registered.
19. One Urdu copy of "Swarg Darbar", by Gaurishankar.
20. One photo of Bhai Hirdey Ram Mandi State.
21. One photo of Bhai Kartar Singhji Sarabha, taken out of Kirti Amritsar, April No. of 28.
22. List in Hindi and Urdu of persons of different names.
23. One copy of enrolment form addressed to the Executive Committee Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, Calcutta, with 39 such copies more.
24. One Urdu letter from Krishna Chandra Azad to Gaurishankar, dated Lahore the 5th February 1929.
25. One Urdu letter from Satyapal to Gaurishankar, dated Lahore, 19-1-29.
26. One Hindi letter from Gaurishankar to Dharambir, dated Meerut 15-3-29.
27. One Urdu poem in pencil entitled "Bharat Mata ki Pukar."
28. One Hindi Notice, dated 25-2-29 from Lachman Swaroop, Mukhtar (Printed).
29. One Urdu letter from Kamta Prasad Jain to Gaurishankar, dated Baraut 24-13-28.

30. One Urdu letter in pencil from Dalel Singh to Gaurishankar, dated 4-8-28.
31. One Hindi pamphlet "Darid Daman", by Swami Ganesha Nand Jatri.
32. Four Urdu diaries for years 1922, 1927, to 1226 and 1928 to 35. respectively.
36. A letter from the General Secretary "labourers and farmers conference, Meerut" to Avasthi, dated 8-10-28 in Urdu.
37. A Hindi letter from Ramsaran to Gaurishanker dated 19. 2. 29, Meerut.
38. One letter in Hindi from "Krantikari Kariale Jhansi" to Gaurishankar, dated 13, 2. 29 (from the Manager).
39. One application in Urdu from Umrao Singh and others to the Secretary, "Mazdoor Kisan Sangh Meerut", dated Nil.
40. Seven copies of resolutions passed at "Labourers' and Farmers' Conference, Meerut" dated 23. 3. 28.
41. One copy of "Bande Matram", dated 19. 3. 29. (Urdu).
42. One copy of "Parivartan", dated 16. 3. 29 (Urdu).
43. Three copies of "Krantikari", dated 28. 2. 29, to 45. (Hindi).
46. Used and unused receipt books for "Mazdoor Ashram, to 51. Meerut" and Mazdoor Kisan Sammelan, Meerut.
52. One Urdu copy of Rules and Regulations of "Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab", Lahore.
53. One Urdu book "Inqalabi Roos", by Mehta Anandkishorji named also as "Bolshevism".
54. Two copies of Kirti, Amritsar, for March and January & 1929.
- 55.
56. Eighty copies of Political Resolutions in Hindi.
57. One letter on two leaves by Poornchandra Joshi to Gaurishankar, dated 34—Holland Hall, Allahabad 2. 11. 28.

58. A letter in Hindi from Pooranchandra Joshi to Gaurishankar, dated 15. 12.
59. One English letter from Muzaffar Ahmied to Gaurishankar, dated Calcutta, 12. 11. 28.
60. An open letter in English by Algoo Rai Shashtri, dated 12. 11. 28.
61. One English typed letter on 2 leaves from Muzaffer Ahmad to Gaurishankar, dated Jan. 14. 1929.
62. One English letter from Muzaffar Ahmād to Gaurishankar, dated 30. 10. 28.
63. English copies of "A Call to Action". (Seven in number).
64. A Register of accounts, etc. "Mazdoor Sangha".
65. A copy of Photograph of "Kumar Ashram Meerut" dated 2. 9. 28.
66. Two copies of "Tyag Bhoomi" for the months of Magh & Phagoon sambat 85.
- 67.
68. Two Khaddar belts and 39 Khaddar badges.
69. Poster on black khaddar with "Mazdoor Kisan Sangha, Meerut", written in white Urdu letters.

All the above things taken possession of were put in a steel box and properly sealed.

Sd/- B. M. Singh.

S. O. Kotwali.

20. 3. 29.

Sd/- R. Singh.

20. 3. 29.

Sd/- Atma Ram Gargya.

20. 3. 29.

(In Vernacular).

Sd/- Gaurishankar Sharma.

(In Vernacular).

Sd/- Illegible.

A. S. P.

20. 3. 29.

P. 194^{1st} T. *Rejected.*

Post card in Hindi, dated 11. 12, 28, from Kadam Singh,
Delhi, to Gauri Shankar.

P. 195.

Post card in Hindi from P. C. Joshi to Gauri Shankar, dated
5.3. 29.

P. 196.

MANIFESTO OF THE
Workers' and Peasants' Party
TO THE
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Madras, December, 1927.

BOYCOTT THE COMMISSION
NO ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES.

A NATIONAL CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY
UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE
COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE

RALLY THE PEOPLE TO MASS ACTION
GENERAL STRIKE AND NON-PAYMENT OF TAXES
LAND TO THE PEASANT
BREAD FOR THE TOILER
EDUCATION FOR ALL

MANIFESTO OF THE
WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY
TO THE
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

The appointment of the Statutory Commission, by the attention it has attracted and the passion it has aroused, is likely to dominate the attention of the Indian public for some time to come. Though in itself only a step in the development of Imperialist policy it is probably destined to be of considerable importance in determining the future lines of political development in India.

It is therefore highly necessary that the National Congress, which claims to speak with the voice of the people of India, and to express their desire for Swaraj, should consider carefully its conduct in relation to this momentous event, and should bear in mind its own representative character.

The vocal section of the nation is practically unanimous in advocating boycott of the Commission, as at present constituted, and there is no doubt that the silent masses will be found eager to support an attitude of boycott. The rally of all sections, including many representatives of the bourgeoisie, (Liberal and Moderate politicians) to the idea of boycott is to be welcomed, and their co-operation on a common platform with the National Congress, if that is possible, is desirable.

But it seems to the workers' and Peasants' Party necessary to utter a warning as to the dangers of such co-operation. The majority of the moderate leaders enter the Boycott campaign with motives different from those which animate the mass of the people and their popular representatives. Their protest is against the personal of the Commission, not against its functions and the imperialist policy which it is designed to carry out. Their participation in the propaganda of boycott will tend to lead India into the futile demand for representation on the Commission (in one form or another, either by actual Indian membership, or in a parallel Indian Commission, in a "Round Table Conference") instead of along the fruitful path of mass protest against, and boycott of, any and every Commission presensible to the British Government.

It is essential that in its desire to retain the support of moderate sections, the Congress should not be led to sacrifice its principles or to modify its campaign.

First, it must be made clear that the Congress boycotts the Commission, not because of its personal, or any accidental circumstance of its appointment, but on principle. The Congress does not recognise the right of the British Government, or of any Commission appointed by it, whether containing Indian members or not, to determine the nature of the future Government of India. The Indian richer classes, because of their own sectional interests, are unwilling to break the British connection, and are forced to admit Britain's right to political dictatorship in India. The mass of the people, represented in the Congress, whose interests are opposed to those of the richer classes, cannot agree to this position. They stand for complete national independence.

Second, it is necessary that the Boycott campaign should not be confined to the futile and unrepresentative Legislatures. The Congress should bring into the campaign the widest masses of the people, the working class and the peasantry, who alone can supply the strength to make a real boycott effective. It must therefore be made clear that the Boycott is a step towards the attainment of National freedom, and that any improvement in the miserable lot of the mass of the population is dependent upon Swaraj and the cessation of Imperialist exploitation. The masses will willingly take up a campaign designed to lead towards the relief of their pressing economic and social needs, and only in this way can they act.

But such a campaign, which should aim at the eventual Non-Payment of Taxes, and the declaration of a General Strike, will not receive the support of the landowners and commercial and industrial capitalists, whose sectional interests are directly threatened thereby. The experience of the Non-Co-operation movement clearly shows this fact. But the peasants and the working class, who form the great majority of the nation, with the "intellectual" and middle classes, whose fundamental interests are with the masses, cannot hold their hand for fear of frightening the upper strata, who have so often in the past led them astray. The Indian bourgeois class, with its political spokesmen, has again and again proved to be a broken reed. The masses must learn to stand without their support.

A "ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE" ?

It must be said that the Swaraj Party itself cannot be exempted from this charge. Organised as it is solely for Assembly and Council work, in which it represents part of a thin upper crust of less than five per cent of the population, it inevitably tends to voice the views of the upper classes, and with few exceptions its members are to be looked upon as equally guilty with the bourgeois Liberals, Moderates and Responsivists.

The official demand, which the Swaraj Party, supported by other sections, has often made in the Assembly, is for a "Round Table Conference". This idea is superficially more attractive than the demand for Indian membership of the Commission, since, it permits India's representatives to be appointed nominally by India, instead of by the British Government. But it is fundamentally a demand of the same type. A Round Table Conference is essentially an instrument of compromise, and the issue is one which permits of no compromise. India requires strength, and the demand for a Round Table Conference, a demand which appeals merely to those classes which can gain from a possible compromise with Imperialism, in no way adds to India's strength.

Thus there is a serious danger that the Congress will allow itself to be led astray by the clamour of the bourgeois representatives, both within and without, who will attempt to keep the Boycott campaign within the confines of the Councils, and will try to turn it in the direction of pressing for concessions, in regard to membership of the Commission, or the appointment of a supplementary Indian Commission, or a Round Table Conference. Neither of these things must be allowed. The platform of the campaign must be laid down definitely by the Congress, and any who are willing to accept it may then co-operate.

A CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA.

It has been often suggested that the Congress should officially prepare a Draft Constitution, which should be presented to the Government as the minimum demand with which it can be satisfied. It is clearly necessary that the demands of the people must be put forward in an authoritative form by the National Congress, and such sanctions as it is within the power of the people to adopt must then be used to gain those demands. And among the demands to be presented, a constitution drafted by representatives of the Indian people will take an important place.

The detailed working out of the provisions of a Constitution is of minor importance. The broad principles on which it must be based are clear. First, it must declare complete independence for India. No compromise such as "Dominion Status," which would give the appearance of autonomy without removing the reality of exploitation, cannot be accepted by the people as a whole. Second, it must be democratic. Every adult person must be entitled to vote. Third, the paramount need at the present stage is a strong national representative body, which can voice the demands of India as a whole. Provincial or linguistic divisions are for the present comparatively unimportant. Fourth, while protection of minorities is ultimately necessary, there is no place for communal representation. The recent growth of communalism was stimulated by the electorates provided by the Montagu-

Chelmsford Scheme. And in any case there is no danger of the neglect of the rights of sections by a really popular assembly, since the interests of the people are one. Communalism will be got rid of by the united action of the mass of the people, among whom there are no essential differences.

Thus India must demand an absolutely unrestricted National Constituent Assembly, elected by universal adult suffrage, which shall be the supreme organ for expressing the will of the people. Nothing short of that can be accepted. India must become a democratic country.

But, while it is necessary to put forward the demand for a constitution drafted by the representatives of the people, and establishing a Constitution Assembly, such a demand by itself does not more than touch the fringe of the real needs which the masses feel and suffer. It is a necessity, but only a preliminary. It is required to provide the means whereby the needs of the people can be expressed and remedied. And these needs are primarily social and economic.

The National Government must guarantee to the peasants:—

The land belongs to the toiler.

Reduction of land rents.

Exemption from rent for poor peasants.

Protection against the avarice of money-lenders.

Assistance by means of credits to the cultivator.

For the industrial workers there must be guaranteed :

The eight-hour day :

A minimum living wage.

Legislation in regard to working conditions and housing.

State provision for the unemployed.

Public utilities must be the property of the nation. Railways, Telegraphs, Waterways, etc. must be run for the public use.

Workers and peasants must be given full rights of combination and of strike.

There must be free primary education for all,

Freedom of religion and worship, freedom of the press and of speech.

These are the main points of a programme which will unite the overwhelming majority of the people and set them in irresistible

action. 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,

A NATIONAL CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, guaranteeing complete national independence and the democratisation of national life in every respect—this must be the main plank of the Congress platform. The battle to realise this programme must be fought with the slogan "*Land, Bread, and Education*".

The appointment of the Statutory Commission gives us an opportunity to start this battle in right earnest. This insulting demonstration that Imperialism is still in the saddle and intends to remain on our backs, has stirred the nation as it has not been stirred for many years. The reaction of public opinion has been healthy and vigorous. The Congress must seize its chance, place its popular democratic programme before the people, and transform the Boycott of the Statutory Commission, in spite of doubtful friends and timid allies, from a mere parliamentary demonstration into the final nation-wide fight for Swaraj.

CALCUTTA,
The 22nd December, 1927.

Published by Mirzaffar Ahmad, at the office of the Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal at 2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta and printed by S. C. Majumdar, at the Sri Gouranga Press, 71/1, Mirzapur Street, Calcutta.

P. 197.

Letter in Hindi from P. C. Joshi to Gauri Shankar.

P. 198.

Urdu Presidential address of Kedar Nath Saigal at the W. & P. Party Conference, Meerut, in October, 1928.

P. 199.

To

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal,

CALCUTTA.

Dated.....

Dear Comrades,

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

Yours fraternally

1. Name
2. Address
3. Age
4. Occupation
5. Present place of work
6. Member of the Indian National Congress
If so what local organisation of same, and what official position if any

7. Member of Trade Union Name
of Branch and official position if any
8. Member of any other political or economic organisations,
with similar particulars
-

DECISION OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Date.....

This Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal

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

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

Signature

P. 200. २१.

*Rejected as P.
D of G. Shankar.*

Letter in Hindi dated 15. 3. 29, from Gauri Shankar to Dharamvir Singh.

P. 201. २१

Rejected

7 Sheets of resolutions in Hindi, Passed at the W & P. Party Conference, held at Nauchandi on 23. 3. 28. Each sheet contains an endorsement to the following effect by Shaukat Usmani in English:—

Passed unanimously
Shaukat Usmani.
23. 3. 28".

P. 202.

"Krantikari", dated 28. 2. 29 (3 Copies).

P. 203.

A blank receipt book of the Subscription and donation for the First All India Workers' and Peasants' Party, Calcutta. The First 8 Pages bear the Signature of Muzaffar Ahmad for Secretary.

P. 204.

A receipt book for Subscriptions for the Workers' and Peasants' Party, Meerut.

P. 205.

Rules and regulations of Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab.

P. 206.

An Urdu book entitled "Inqilab-i-Rus" (Russian Revolution), by Mehta Anand Kishor ji.

P. 207.

"Kirti" for January and March 1929 in Urdu.

P. 208.

80 Copies of printed resolutions in Hindi.

P. 209.

Letter in Hindi, dated 2. 11. 28, from P. C. Joshi to Gauri Shankar.

P. 210.

Letter in Hindi, dated 15/12/28, from P. C. Joshi to Gauri Shankar.

P. 211.

Tele : Address : GANAVANI", Calcutta.

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL.

2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Organs:

" Ganavani " " Lal Nishan " The 12th November, 1928.

Bengali Weekly). (Hindi Weekly).

Dear Comrade Gourishankar,

Your letter of the 5th November was duly to hand. As I had posted a letter to your address just an hour before it reached me I did not think it necessary to reply to it then and there. I am glad to learn that your are going to begin work quite seriously. I hope comrade Ram Chandra has returned to Meerut by this time. When you pay your visit to villages on propoganda work please do not forget to enlist as many members as you can. This is most important work. Without a regular registered membership a Party cannot hold any position. I sent to you 100 membership forms of the Bengal Party. Please do print some forms like that in Hindi have them filled up when enlisting members. I am sorry that we have not as yet been able to publish manifestoes in Hindi

and Urdu. I hope to get them ready in a weeks' time. The time is very short. Please do your best now. We shall require a report of your Party. A short history of formation and activities will be necessary. Please send the materials to Com. Joshi who will prepare the report.

Please accept greetings from all comrades here.

Yours fraternally,
Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 212.

Tele: Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF INDIA

2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Organs:

"Ganavani" "Lal Nishan" January 14, 1929.
(Bengali Weekly). (Hindi Weekly).

Gourishankar Sharma,
Meerut.

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 reform is 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 the U. S. S. R. as the "Fatherland of the Working Class"; hence the necessity of the defence of the U. S. S. R. against the war danger.

On behalf of the National Executive Committee of the Workers' and peasants' party of India.

Muzaffar Ahmad.

Member in charge of Education and propagand.

P. 213.

Telegraphic Address: "GANAVANI", Calcutta.

THE FIRST ALL-INDIA

WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY CONFERENCE

2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

The 30th October, 1928.

Dear Comrade Gauri Shankar,

I wrote to you one letter and also sent to you per registered post 100 membership forms of the Party, but, unfortunately have not received any acknowledgement from you. Please let me know at once how the work is progressing there at Meerut and elsewhere. Comrade Joshi, I believe, has already left Meerut. Please go on enlisting individual members to the Party as much as you can. In case of the member being on intellectual you must be thoroughly satisfied that he is really ready to accept the Programme and Policy of the Party. In case of workers and peasants no such scrutiny of course, is necessary. You and other comrades there at Meerut promised to raise at least Rs. 250/- for our coming All-India Conference. Please do not forget that. The time at our disposal is very very short. We are trying to draw up a bulletin in Hindi and Urdu for your use. As soon as that is prepared I shall forward the same to you. In the mean time please do not sit idle. Please use the receipt book which I have left with you.

I wrote a letter to Dr. Vishwanath Mukherji proposing to him to amalgamate his Gorakhpur Divisional Mazdoor and Kishan

Sabha with the newly formed "Workers' and Peasants' Party of U. P. and Delhi". Though I have not received any reply from him till now yet I hope that he will gladly consent to it.

Please reply at once. You may write to me in Urdu if you like. My greetings to all comrades there and to your wife.

Your fraternally
MUZAFFAR AHMAD.

P. 214

A CALL TO ACTION

being the
Resolutions, Theses and Report Presented
To the Third Annual Conference
of the Workers' and Peasants'
Party of Bengal.

Bharatpara, March-1928.

PUBLISHED BY

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL

2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta,

1928.

12158 P. 216. *10/2/29*

SEARCH LIST.

Details of Property seized by Police-officers acting under the provisions of section 108 or 165, Criminal Procedure Code.

1. Date and hour of search—20th March 1929, at 4-20 a.m.
2. Name and residence of persons whose house is searched—Sri Gouranga Press.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search, {
 - (1) Uday Ch. Bhattacharji, 105 Amherst, Street.
 - (2) Syed Mausudali 106 Amherst Street.
 - and so on

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where articles seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>ma'latika</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. Mitchel O Biplabi (Ireland, by Monoranjan Gupta. 2. Easter Bidroha O Gurellia Judha, by Prionath Gangopadhaya. 3. Banglar Biplar Prochesta, by Hem-chandra Kanun Guha. 4. Sikher Balidan, by Kumudini Bose. 5. Revolutionaries of Bengal, by Hemanta Kumar Sarkar. 6. From Marks to Lenin, by Morris Hillquit. 7. Modern Hurry and Worry, by Khirod Lal Banhopadhaya. 8. Whither India, by Dharendra Nath Sen.	Found in a room on the 2nd floor. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do.		

II

9. Bisher Banshi by Najirul Islam.	Found in a room room
10. Switzerlander, Swadhinata, by Binoy Krishna Sen.	on the 2nd floor.
11. Swadhin Missor, Published by Swaraswati Library.	Do.
12. Swaraj, by Indu Bhudan Sen.	Do.
13. Mayer Dan, by Giribala Debi.	Do.
14. One group photograph.	Do.
15. A piece of paper containing information Bhupendra P. Neogi, Jt. Secy Reception Committee, Jamalpur D/- 17-12-25.	Do.
16. A Bengali Manuscript entitled Bharoter Mukti, by Suail Ch. Talukdar, (3 pages).	Do.
17. Bengali Manuscript entitled "My-mensaingh Sangbad" (3 pages).	Do.
18. One copy of Rashtra Bani, 1st Chaitra 1335.	Do.
19. A list of Streets with some names and years.	Do.
20. A Call to Action. Workers and Peasants Party of Bengal 3rd Annual Conference Bhatpara. March 1928.	Do.
21. A Bengali Manuscript entitled Anilkumarer Smrite (6 pages) with a Photo attached.	Do.
22. Memoirs of a revolutionary, by Upendra Nath Banerjee.	Do.
23. Charka O Mill, by Satish Chandra Das Gupta.	Do.
24. Switzerlander, Swadinata by Benoy Krishna Sen.	Do.
25. War and Self Determination, by	Do.

III.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is found.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>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.
	26. Hindu Sanghatan, by Narendra Nath Das.	Do.		
	27. Daridrer Katha, by Narayan Das Dey.	Do.		
	28. Are we not our way to the goal, by Hardyal Nag.	Do.		
	29. The Peasants and Workers Party of Bengal Report of the Executive Committee 1927-28.	Do.		
	30. The Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal Annual Conference Bhatpara 1928.	Do.		
	31. Manifesto of the Workers and Peasants Party to the Indian National Congress (Madras December 1927).	Do.		
	32. One copy of Hell Found, by S. A. Dange.	Do.		
	33. Two kinds of embossed papers of Sri Gouranga Press.	Do.		
	34. Two kinds of embossed papers of Ananda Bazar Patrika (one Bengali and one English).	Do.		
	35. A file containing correspondence with Bengal Librarian.	Do.		
	36. A letter dated 21st August 1928, written by Gopal Ch. Basak to Suresh Ch. Mozumdar of Sri Gouranga Press,	Do.		

IV.

acknowledging the receipt of bill No. 5771.
37. Duplicate bill books 5701-5800, 5401 to 5506, 5501 to 5600, 5601-5700.
38. One copy of typewritten letter sent to Principal, Edward College, Patna. (Patna).
39. One Underwood Typewriter Machine (Underwood Standard Typewriter) No. 238626.

As in page No. 1

Do.

Do.

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

00 2 00

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

(Sd.) S. K. ROY.

Police officer conducting the search.

(Sd.) SYED MASUDALI 20-3-29.

Signed in Urdu.

Signature of witness with date.

(Sd.) U.C. BHATTACHARJEE 20-3-29.

Signature by the accused (optional)

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, 21-3-29.
2. Name and residence of person whose house is searched Sri Gouranga Press, 71/1, Mirzapur Street.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search, { (1) Mono Mohan Datta, 26/3A Mirzapur Street. and
(2) Paresh Kanta Ganguly, 22/2A Sri Gopal Mullick Lane,
(3) Mohim Chandra Biswas, 10/A Moti tula Street.

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 burd etc.
	A bill cover in respect of the bill No. 3778, dated 7/8/- August 1928, for Ra. 182-8-0 signed Muzaffar Ahmed.	Produced by Babu Suresh Chandra Majumdar, Manager, Sri Gouranga Press.		

Signature with date of the person whose property, is seized is present at the 21-3-29.

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

search. (Sd.) G. S. ROY Inspector, D. D.
Police-officer conducting the search.
Sd. SURESH CHANDRR Majumdar, Date 21-3-29 Place 71/1 Mirzapur Street.

(Sd.) MOHIM CHANDRA BISWAS.
(Sd.) PARESH KANTA GANGULY.
(Sd.) MONO MOHAN DUTTA.

21. 3. 29

Signature of witness with date.

Signature by the accused (optional)

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A CALL TO ACTION

being the
Resolutions, Theses and Report Presented
to the Third Annual Conference
of the Workers' and Peasants'
Party of Bengal.

Bhatpara, March—1928.

PUBLISHED BY

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL
2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta,
1928.

P. 218.

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 Aural 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. Reorganisation 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, and 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 zemindars 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 on 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. Qutabuddin Ahmad provided all the initial expenses, and Qazi Nazrul Islam conducted it. Fifteen issues were published, the last on 15 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. Qutabuddin Ahmad also suffered much loss on account of the paper.

Both papers, which were intended primarily of 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 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. This must be made clear in our propaganda.

OUR DUTY: Nevertheless our tasks 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 and political movements. He has studied particularly in Germany. In October 1927 an invitation was received from the Federation of Russian Rural Cooperatives to send a representative to take part in the celebrations 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 Cawnpore Bolsheviki 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 "Mihnat-kash," 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 at 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 latter 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 Chandra 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 (Labourer):

- (5) Dharani Kanta Goswami

Sectional Secretary (Peasant):

Vacant.

Members:

- (6) Muzzaffar Ahmad }
 (7) Pyari Mohan Das } In Charge of Publicity Work
 (8) Kalidas Bhattacharya.
 (9) Faizuddin Hosain.
 (10) Quazi Nazrul Islam.
 (11) Abdul Halim.
 (12) Aftab Ali.
 (13) Nirod Kanta Chakraverty
 (14) Nishi Kanta Patra.
 (15) Gopendra Krishna Chakraverty.
 (16) Ramesh Chandra Das Gupta.
 (17) Sanat Kumar Mukherji.

The Statement of Accounts

RECEIPTS			EXPENDITURE		
	Rs.	A. P.		Rs.	A. P.
<i>Subscription—</i>			<i>Loan—</i>		
March 1927 to Feb. 1928	325	6 0	Munshi Pear Muhammad	30	0 0
<i>Donation—</i>			Travelling	246	3 0
Atul Chandra Gupta ...	161	0 0	Printing	128	12 0
Sundries	471	3 9	Postage and Telegrams	118	7 6
<i>Loan—</i>			Stationary	25	2 9
Satish Chandra Bose ...	44	0 0	General	88	4 0
Qutbuddin Ahmad ...	30	0 0	Books Purchased	37	5 0
S. N. Chakravarti ...	50	0 0	House Rent	400	0 0
			Cash in hand	7	7 6
Total	Rs. 1,081	9 9	Total	Rs. 1,081	9 9

The 31st March, 1928.

Published by MUZZAFFAR AHMAD from the office of the Peasants' and Workers Party of Bengal at 2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta and printed by S. C. MAJUMDAR at the Sri Gouranga Press, 71/1, Mirzapur Street, Calcutta.

P. 219.
THE
**WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PART
OF BENGAL**

ANNUAL CONFERENCE

BHATPARA 1928.

A CALL TO ACTION

**Central Office
2-1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM 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 Peasant' Party has decided to publish this short preliminary account of its recent Annual Conference. The Conference was held at Bhatpara on March 31 and April 1, with 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-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 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 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 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 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 the 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 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 for 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 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 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 movements 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 bourgeois 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 and 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 others, 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, 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."

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 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 :

She 6th April, 1928.

Published for the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal by Muzaffur Ahmed 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.

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MANIFESTO OF THE

Workers' and Peasants' Party

TO THE

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Madras, December, 1927.

BOYCOTT THE COMMISSION

NO ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES.

A NATIONAL CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY
UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE

COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE

RALLY THE PEOPLE TO MASS ACTION

GENERAL STRIKE AND NON-PAYMENT OF TAXES

LAND TO THE PEASANT
BREAD FOR THE TOILER
EDUCATION FOR ALL

**MANIFESTO OF THE
WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY
TO THE
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.**

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The appointment of the Statutory Commission, by the attention it has attracted and the passion it has aroused, is likely to dominate the attention of the Indian public for some time to come. Though in itself only a step in the development of Imperialist policy it is probably destined to be of considerable importance in determining the future lines of political development in India.

It is therefore highly necessary that the National Congress, which claims to speak with the voice of the people of India, and to express their desire for Swaraj, should consider carefully its conduct in relation to this momentous event, and should bear in mind its own representative character.

The vocal section of the nation is practically unanimous in advocating boycott of the Commission, as at present constituted, and there is no doubt that the silent masses will be found eager to support an attitude of boycott. The rally of all sections, including many representatives of the bourgeoisie, (Liberal and Moderate politicians) to the idea of boycott is to be welcomed, and their co-operation on a common platform with the National Congress, if that is possible, is desirable.

But it seems to the workers' and Peasants' Party necessary to utter a warning as to the dangers of such co-operation. The majority of the moderate leaders enter the Boycott campaign with motives different from those which animate the mass of the people and their popular representatives. Their protest is against the personal of the Commission, not against its functions and the imperialist policy which it is designed to carry out. Their participation in the propaganda of boycott will tend to lead India into the futile demand for representation on the Commission (in one form or another, either by actual Indian membership, or in a parallel Indian Commission, in a "Round Table Conference") instead of along the fruitful path of mass protest against, and boycott of, any and every Commission presensible to the British Government.

It is essential that in its desire to retain the support of moderate sections, the Congress should not be led to sacrifice its principles or to modify its campaign.

First, it must be made clear that the Congress boycotts the Commission, not because of its personal, or any accidental circumstance of its appointment, but on principle. The Congress does not recognise the right of the British Government, or of any Commission appointed by it, whether containing Indian members or not, to determine the nature of the future Government of India. The Indian richer classes, because of their own sectional interests, are unwilling to break the British connection, and are forced to admit Britain's right to political dictatorship in India. The mass of the people, represented in the Congress, whose interests are opposed to those of the richer classes, cannot agree to this position. They stand for complete national independence.

Second, it is necessary that the Boycott campaign should not be confined to the futile and unrepresentative Legislatures. The Congress should bring into the campaign the widest masses of the people, the working class and the peasantry, who alone can supply the strength to make a real boycott effective. It must therefore be made clear that the Boycott is a step towards the attainment of National freedom, and that any improvement in the miserable lot of the mass of the population is dependent upon Swaraj and the cessation of Imperialist exploitation. The masses will willingly take up a campaign designed to lead towards the relief of their pressing economic and social needs, and only in this way can they act.

But such a campaign, which should aim at the eventual Non-Payment of Taxes, and the declaration of a General Strike, will not receive the support of the landowners and commercial and industrial capitalists, whose sectional interests are directly threatened thereby. The experience of the Non-Co-operation movement clearly shows this fact. But the peasants and the working class, who form the great majority of the nation, with the "intellectual" and middle classes, whose fundamental interests are with the masses, cannot hold their hand for fear of frightening the upper strata, who have so often in the past led them astray. The Indian bourgeois class, with its political spokesmen, has again and again proved to be a broken reed. The masses must learn to stand without their support.

A "ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE" ?

It must be said that the Swaraj Party itself cannot be exempted from this charge. Organised as it is solely for Assembly and Council work, in which it represents part of a thin upper crust of less than five per cent of the population, it inevitably tends to voice the views of the upper classes, and with few exceptions its members are to be looked upon as equally guilty with the bourgeois Liberals, Moderates and Responsivists.

The official demand, which the Swaraj Party, supported by other sections, has often made in the Assembly, is for a "Round Table Conference". This idea is superficially more attractive than the demand for Indian membership of the Commission, since, it permits India's representatives to be appointed nominally by India instead of by the British Government. But it is fundamentally a demand of the same type. A Round Table Conference is essentially an instrument of compromise, and the issue is one which permits of no compromise. India requires strength, and the demand for a Round Table Conference, a demand which appeals merely to those classes which can gain from a possible compromise with Imperialism, in no way adds to India's strength.

Thus there is a serious danger that the Congress will allow itself to be led astray by the clamour of the bourgeois representatives, both within and without, who will attempt to keep the Boycott campaign within the confines of the Councils, and will try to turn it in the direction of pressing for concessions, in regard to membership of the Commission, or the appointment of a supplemental Indian Commission, or a Round Table Conference. Neither of these things must be allowed. The platform of the campaign must be laid down definitely by the Congress, and any who are willing to accept it may then co-operate.

A CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA.

It has been often suggested that the Congress should officially prepare a Draft Constitution, which should be presented to the Government as the minimum demand with which it can be satisfied. It is clearly necessary that the demands of the people must be put forward in an authoritative form by the National Congress, and such sanctions as it is within the power of the people to adopt must then be used to gain those demands. And among the demands to be presented, a constitution drafted by representatives of the Indian people will take an important place.

The detailed working out of the provisions of a Constitution is of minor importance. The broad principles on which it must be based are clear. First, it must declare complete independence for India. No compromise such as "Dominion Status," which would give the appearance of autonomy without removing the reality of exploitation, cannot be accepted by the people as a whole. Second, it must be democratic. Every adult person must be entitled to vote. Third, the paramount need at the present stage is a strong national representative body, which can voice the demands of India as a whole. Provincial or linguistic divisions are for the present comparatively unimportant. Fourth, while protection of minorities is ultimately necessary, there is no place for communal representation. The recent growth of communalism was stimulated by the electorates provided by the Montagu

Chelmsford Scheme. And in any case there is no danger of the neglect of the rights of sections by a really popular assembly, since the interests of the people are one. Communalism will be got rid of by the united action of the mass of the people, among whom there are no essential differences.

Thus India must demand an absolutely unrestricted National Constituent Assembly, elected by universal adult suffrage, which shall be the supreme organ for expressing the will of the people. Nothing short of that can be accepted. India must become a democratic country.

But, while it is necessary to put forward the demand for a constitution drafted by the representatives of the people, and establishing a Constitution Assembly, such a demand by itself does not more than touch the fringe of the real needs which the masses feel and suffer. It is a necessity, but only a preliminary. It is required to provide the means whereby the needs of the people can be expressed and remedied. And these needs are primarily social and economic.

The National Government must guarantee to the peasants:—

The land belongs to the toiler.

Reduction of land rents.

Exemption from rent for poor peasants.

Protection against the avarice of money-lenders.

Assistance by means of credits to the cultivator.

For the industrial workers there must be guaranteed :

The eight-hour day:

A minimum living wage.

Legislation in regard to working conditions and housing.

State provision for the unemployed.

Public utilities must be the property of the nation. Railways, Telegraphs, Waterways, etc. must be run for the public use.

Workers and peasants must be given full rights of combination and of strike.

There must be free primary education for all,

Freedom of religion and worship, freedom of the press and of speech.

These are the main points of a programme which will unite the overwhelming majority of the people and set them in irresistible

action. 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,

A NATIONAL CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, guaranteeing complete national independence and the democratisation of national life in every respect—this must be the main plank of the Congress platform. The battle to realise this programme must be fought with the slogan "*Land, Bread, and Education*".

The appointment of the Statutory Commission gives us an opportunity to start this battle in right earnest. This insulting demonstration that Imperialism is still in the saddle and intends to remain on our backs, has stirred the nation as it has not been stirred for many years. The reaction of public opinion has been healthy and vigorous. The Congress must seize its chance, place its popular democratic programme before the people, and transform the Boycott of the Statutory Commission, in spite of doubtful friends and timid allies, from a mere parliamentary demonstration into the final nation-wide fight for Swaraj.

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