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23785

SEARCH LIST.

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

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

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

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>mallaika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
8	4 copies of the Programme of the Bengal Peasants and Workers' Party.	Found in the Office room of the Peasants' and Workers Party, Bengal.		
9	Two copies of Urdu leaflets entitled appeal to Brother and sister labourers.	Do.		
10	Account book for 1927.	Do.		
11	Receipt Book for the Workers' and Peasants' Party Bengal.	Do.		
12	Receipt book for inserting advertisements in "Ganavani".	Do.		
13	Two copies of pamphlets in English entitled Political resolution.	Do.		
14	Payam-i-Mazdoor in Urdu (one copy.)	Do.		
15	Two copies of the Presidential Address in English of the 1st All India Workers' and Peasants' Party.	Do.		
16	Two copies of advertisement contract forms, "Ganavani".	Do.		
17	Two copies of letter papers in Bengali, for the Workers' and Peasants' Party in Bengal.	Do.		
18	One map for the Presidency of Bengal.	Do.		
19	4 copies of the Annual Conference of the Peasants' and Workers' Party, Bengal, at Bhatpara, 1928, and also entitled A Call to Action.	Do.		

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

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

44	One copy of English pamphlet "What the students of other Community have done (Russia) what our student should do (India), by a friend.	Found in the office room of Peasants' and Workers' Party, Bengal.
45	Six files containing paper cuttings from different papers.	Do.
46	Two copies of New Masses.	Do,
47	Two copies of Masses of India.	Do.
48	One book containing paper cuttings on Russian Affairs, etc.	Do.
49	A cover addressen to Muzaffar Ahmed, c/o Peasants' and Workers' Party, Bengal, 37, Harrison Road, Calcutta, from Workers' Educational Institute, P. O. Box 24, Station E Brooklyn 4.	Do.
	(a) With contains a typed matter in five pages entitled Press Service of the League against Imperialism and for National Independence.	Do.
	(b) Four copies of the Marxist, Vol. I to IV.	Do.
	(c) One copy of Religion and Communism National dialects of Proletarian Internationals and parties.	Do.
	(d) One copy of stenographer's report of the Siligman.	Do.
50	Four pages of manuscript writing in English, entitled The Bengal Peasants and Workers' Party Principles and Programme.	Do.
51	Four files of correspondence of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bengal, signed by search witnesses and by Mr. A. Halim, in charge of "Ganavani."	Do.

IA

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

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

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

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

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95	One letter from M.C. Joshi to Warden.	As in Page No. 1.		
96	One manuscript writing in English entitled To All Workers.	Do.		
97	10 pages of typed matter purporting to be on Communist matter, without the first page.	Do.		
98	One red banner bearing the title The Workers of the World Unite.	Found in the office room of P. & W. Party Bengal.		
99	One signboard bearing writings "Workers and Pesants Party Bengal" both in English and Bengali.	Found hung on the outside wall of the room of Peasants' and Workers' Party Bengal.		
100	One signboard entitled "Ganavani Karjalaya."	Do.		
111	One small red flag. Received a copy of this- Sd. M. Ahmad.	Found in the office room of Peasants' and Workers' Party, Bengal.		

X

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

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

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

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

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

P. 436.
SEARCH LIST.

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

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

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

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	<p>Calcutta, with one typed letter by General Secy. dated 6. 3. 1928, re. Annual General Meeting.</p>			
4	<p>One envelope to Dharani Kanta Goswami, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, with 2 pages letter written in English addressed to Radharaman Mitra and D. K. Goswami, dated 23. 11. 28, by Gopal Ch. Basak.</p>			
5	<p>One envelope to Dharani K. Goswami, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, with a Bengali letter written by Girindra Bhattacharjee, dated 23. 1. 25, P. O. Bhaluka (?)</p>			
6	<p>*One envelope to Dharani K. Goswami, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, with 3 pages letter by Gopal Ch. Basak, dated 1. 11. 28.</p>			
7	<p>One envelope to Dharani K. Goswami, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, with one Bengali letter by M. Singh, from Susung, Mymensingh, dated 20. 3. 28.</p>			
8	<p>One envelope to Labour Secretary, B. P. C. C. with one English letter by N. K. Chakravarty, dated 25-12-28.</p>			
9	<p>One envelope to Dharani Kanta</p>			

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

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>mulatika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
21	One post card to Dharani Goswami, 2/r European Asylum Lane, by Jiban Kristo Maity, dated 14-3-28, Shibpur.	Found in the inside right pocket of the worn coat of S. M. Samsul—which was in the vain.		
22	One white printed card to Com. Ashutosh Roy, 1/1/-F Radhanath Mallik Lane, by Muzaffar Ahmed, dated 11-11-28, re-meeting, etc.			
23	(a) Two slips with address Bir Singh, Zemindar Villa Pandra, P. O. Bilga, Jullandhar, Punjab. (b) P. B. Ghatairaj Napur 88 Dhurum-tola Street.			

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

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

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

(Sd) ILLEGIBLE.

(Sd.) D. N. BHATTACHARJEE, o/c. N. D. P. P.
Police-Officers conducting the search.

Date 20-3-29 Place No. 2/1 European Asylum Lane.

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

Signature of witness with date

Signature by the accused (optional)

P. 437.

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

P. 438.

5 copies of Urdu posters.

P. 439.

10 copies of Hindi posters.

P. 440.

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

MANIFESTO

Of The Workers' and Peasants' Party of India.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DOWN WITH THE SIMON COMMISSION !

LONG LIVE THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY !

Central Committee

of The Workers' and Peasants' Party of India.

P. 442.

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

P. 443.

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

P. 444.

A register containing cutting of Newspapers articles on Russia.

P. 445.

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

P. 446.

A file containing the following documents amongst others:

P. 446 (1)

(3 COPIES)

Telegraphic Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL

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

To

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

Comrades.

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

Yours fraternally
General Secretary.

P. 446. (2)

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

P. 447.

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

P. 447. (1)

Telegraphic Address : "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

The Workers' and Peasants Party of Bengal

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

THE SUPERINTENDENT OF POST OFFICES,
South Calcutta Division.

Sir,

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

Berlin, den 22. 5. 1828

Muzaffar Ahmad
Bengal Peasants Workers Party
2/1 European Asylum Lane

Calcutta (India)

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

MitGruss

Max Ziese, Berlin SW. 48
Wilhelmstrasse 131.

This I take to mean:—

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

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

Yours faithfully
MUZAFFAR AHMAD

P. 447. (2).

Rejected
D. S. Prati.

Telegraphic Address : "GANAVANI", Calcutta.

The Workers' and Peasants Party of Bengal

Organ : 2/1. European Asylum Lane,
GANAVANI Calcutta February 20, 1928.
(Bengali Weekly)

Sir,

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

Yours faithfully
MUZAFFAR AHMAD.

No. P. 62

The Director General of Post & Telegraph.

No. P. 63.

The Post Master, Amherst Street.

Telegraphic Address : "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

The Workers' and Peasants Party of Bengal

Organ : 2/1 European Asylum Lane,
GANAVANI Calcutta February 20, 1928.
(Bengali Weekly)

No. P61

To

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

Sir,

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

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

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

Yours faithfully

MUZAFFAR AHMAD

The copy forwarded to

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

P. 447. (3)

A Postal registration receipt No. 011 D/ 3.3.28 addressed to S. V. Ghatge B. A. 751, Girgaon Road, Bombay No. 4.

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

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

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

A postal registration receipt No. 411, addressed to The Editor Labour Monthly, 16t, Buckingham Palace Road, London S. W. 1.

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

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

P. 447. (4)

Change of address

Old No. 141/26

No. 83/27

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

Muzaffar Ahmad.

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

Identified by me
(Sd)/- Illegible.

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

Chief Presy.
Magistrate.

Chief Presy Magistrate
11 April, 1927.

S-67. 1925.

Seal of the
Chief Presidency Magistrate,
Calcutta.

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

No. 119/28.

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

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

Muzaffar Ahmad.

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

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

Muzaffar Ahmad,

Identified by

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

13 June, 1928.

Seal of the
Chief Presidency Magistrate,
Calcutta.

P. 447 (5)

Bauern und Arbeiter aller Lander, vereiniget Euch.

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

Farmers and workers of the world, unite!

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

No. 41F. 21. V.29.

Dear Friend,

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

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

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

Waiting for your prompt reply, I am

With hearty greetings, Yours,

(DOMBAL)

P 447 (6)

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

MOSCOW, SVERDLOV PLACE

Address for telegrams: Wokszag, Moscow.

Moscow, May, 2-1926.

Editorial Board, "Langal"

37 Harrison Rd., Calcutta, India.

Gentlemen:

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

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

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

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

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

Very truly yours,

O. D. KAMENEVA

A. N. Voznecienski,

President. Member of Administrative Board.

Encl: 6 copies of our Prospectus.
5 copies of our Weekly News Bulletin.
25 Photographs.

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

P 447 (7)

The 15th April, 1926.

Dear Sir,

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

Yours sincerely,

Editor in Charge

(Muzaffar Ahmad)

Jt. Secretary of the

(Shamsuddin Husain)

B. P. W. P.

P. 447. (8)

Dear Sir,

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

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

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

With fraternal greetings,

To A. N. Voznecienski.

Ussr Scr

Sverdlov place Moscow.

P. 447. (9)

Dear Comrade,

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

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

With fraternal greetings,

Sd/- SHAMSUDDIN HUSAIN

MUZAFFAR AHMAD

To The Manager

Eastern & Colonial Dept.

Kristintern

P. 447. (10)

To the Chief Editor of "Langal"

37, Harrison Road.

CALCUTTA.

Dear Comrade,-

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

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

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

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

We remain,

With fraternal peasant greetings.

VOZNECIENSKI

ORLOFF

P. 447. (11)

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

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

No. 203

To

The Editor of "Langal"
37 Harrison Road
CALCUTTA INDIA

Comrade,

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

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

With comradely greetings.

Yours very sincerely.

MANAGER OF ESTERN &

A. VOZNECIENSKY

COLONIAL DEPARTMENT:

Ghulam Ambia Khan Luhani.

REFERENT ON INDIA:

March 11th, 1926.

P. 447. (12)

MY DEAR COMRADE,

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

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

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

P. 447. (13)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

P. 448.

A file containing the following documents amongst others:—

P. 448. (1)

(Br. Indfa.)

The 4th. August, 1927.

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

Dear Sirs,

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

Yours faithfully,
Editor, "Ganvani".

(Br. India.)

The 4th. August, 1927.

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

Dear Comrade,

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

Yours fraternally
Editor, Ganvani.

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

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

Dear Comrade,

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

With greetings.

Yours fraternally
Editor, Ganavani.

P/ 448. (2)

Telegraphic Address: "GANAVANI". Calcutta.

**THE
Peasants' & Workers' Party of Bengal.**

ORGAN: 2-1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE
GANAVANI

(BENGALI WEEKLY)

Calcutta 12 1 1938.

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

Dear Comrade,

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

Fraternally yours
Publicity Secretary.

P. 448. (3)

THE
Peasants' & Workers' Party of Bengal.

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

37, HARRISON ROAD.
CALCUTTA
7-7-1927

Farmer and Peasants' International Correspondent.

Sir,

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

Yours faithfully
MAHMUD.

P. 448. (4)

H E T

Peasants' & Workers' Party of Bengal.

ORGAN:
GANAVANI
(**BENGALI WEEKLY**)

37, HARRISON ROAD.
CALCUTTA
23-6-1927

The Communist Book-shop.

16 King Street, London. W. C. 2.

Dear Sirs,

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

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

Yours faithfully

M. AHMAD.

Editor "Ganavani."

P. 448. (5)

THE
PEASANTS' & WORKERS' PARTY OF BENGAL.

ORGAN
GANAVANI
(Bengali weekly)

37. ^EHARRISON ROAD.
CALCUTTA.
23, 6. 1927.

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

Dear Comrade,

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

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

Will you be pleased to contribute articles to Ganavani ?

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

With greetings,

Yours fraternally
M. Ahmad
for General Secretary.

P. 448. (6)

THE
Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal.

ORGAN
GANAVANI
(Bengali weekly)

37, HARRISON ROAD,
CALCUTTA.

23. 6. 27.

Com. R. Page Arnot.

Director of Research,

Labour Research Department,

162, Buckingham Palace Road.

London, S. W. I.

Dear Comrade,

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

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

With best wishes.

Yours fraternally,

Muzaffar Ahmad

Editor, "Ganavani".

P. 448. (7)

THE
Peasants' & Workers' Party of Bengal

ORGAN
GANAVANI
(Bengali Weekly)

37, HARRISON ROAD,
CALCUTTA.

The 12th May, 1927.

To

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

Dear Comrade,

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

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

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

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

With best greetings.

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

P. 448 (8)

NATIONAL MINORITY MOVEMENT

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

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

Room 14, First Floor,

Reference.....

38, GREAT ORMOND STREET,

(Please quote when replying)

LONDON, W. C. 1

14th March, 1927.

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

Dear Comrade,

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

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

With best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

Harry Pollitt,

Honorary General Secretary.

P. 449.

The Workers' & Peasants' Party, Bombay.

17, DWARKADAS MANSIONS,

SANDHURST ROAD,

BOMBAY, 4.

MY DEAR MUZAFFAR,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yours fraternally,

S. V. GHATE.

5/4/28.

P. S.

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

S.V.G.

P. 450.

TAGORE

Bei Agnes Smedley

Holsteinische Strasse 36

Berlin-Wilmersdorf

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

Muzaffarahmad

P. 451.

A poster in Gurmukhi.

P. 452.

Weekly Organ KRANTI KARI (Hindi) (JHANSI)

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

ALLAHABAD.

Ref. No.....

Allahabad, 26 Jan. 192 .

My dear Comrade Muzaffar,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

With greetings.

Fraternally,

P. C. Joshi.

Do send Kantsky's Class-Struggle.

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

Superscription on the envelope:-

Muzaffar Ahmad
2/1 European Asylum Lane
Calcutta.

P. 453.

Berlin, 19th September 1928.

Muzaffar A h m a d .

General Secretary,

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal

2-1, European Asylum Lane,

CALCUTTA.

Indien.

Dear Friend,

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

Awaiting your answer, I remain

With greetings

Max Ziesse.

Berlin, 19th September 1928.

To the

Post-Office Government

CALCUTTA.

Indien.

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

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

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

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

I remain

Max Ziese,

Berlin S. W. 48

Wilhelmstrasse 131/132.

Muzaffar Ahmad

General Secaetary

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal

2-1, European Asylum Lane

C A L C U T T A

Indien.

P. 454.

"The Real Situation in Russia" by Leon Trotsky—Trans-
lated by Max Eastman.

P. 455.

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

P. 456.

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

P. 457.

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

P. 458.

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

P. 459.

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

P. 460.

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

P. 461.

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

P. 462.

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

P. 463.

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

Miss Agnes Smedley,
Berlin-Wilmersdorf Germany.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Miss Agnes Smedly,
Berlin Wilmersdorf,
Germany.

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

Mr. Sohan Singh Josh,
Kirti Office,
Amritsar.

by

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

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

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

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

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

P. 464

To All Workers.

A DEADLY ATTACK UPON YOU!

Government's "Trade Disputes Bill."

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

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

The Bill says :

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

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

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

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

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

Comrades ! Think what this means !

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

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

Is this what you want ?

Comrades Join us to protest against this monstrous Bill !

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

A General Strike for the freedom of the workers.

Down with the Trade Disputes Bill !

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

For the :

Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bengal. Muzaffar Ahmad Secy.

Bengal Jute Workers' Association Kali Das Bhattacharjee, Secy.

Bengal Scavengers'
Union.
Bengal Textile Workers'
Union.

Dharani Kanta
Goswani.
Manindra Kumar Sinha, Secy.

P. 465.

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

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

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

A.C. Gupta, President of the workers' and peasants' party of Bengal, proposed a drafts committee to consider and prepare resolution to go before the Conference, which was elected unanimously as follows: Bombay: S. V. Ghatge, K. N. Joglekar, B. F. Bradley, S. S. Mirajkar. Punjab: Bhag Singh, Sohan Singh, F.D. Mansur. U. P.: L. N. Kadam, P. C. Joshi, Gourishankar sharma, Balwanta Singh. Bengal: D. K. Goswami, Muzaffar Ahmad, P. Spratt, H.K. Sarkar.

The proceedings closed at 6. 30 p. m.

The business of the second day began at 1 p.m. Kazi Nazrul Islam first sang a march song of his own composition. The political resolution, a draft of which was circulated in English, Bengali and Urdu, was moved in English by P. Spratt, and seconded in Urdu by F. D. Mansur. Amendments were moved as follows:--

(1) by Bhagwati Charan that to the account given in the draft of the concessions made by the Nehru Report be added that it proposes to pay all foreign State debts. This was accepted without discussion.

(2) by K. N. Joglekar, that the clauses forbidding the entry of Party members into the Independence for India League be deleted. There spoke for this: the mover, and D. R. Thengdi and S. Kumarananda. Against: Muzaffar Ahmad, S. S. Mirajkar, S. V. Ghate, H. K. Sarkar, P. C. Joshi, A. B. Banerji, and others. The mover then proposed that it be made subject to N. E. C. decision in individual cases. This was rejected as unnecessary. The resolution was finally accepted unanimously. (see app. E for final form).

The short statement on the Principles and Policy of the Party, and English draft of which was circulated, was moved in English by H. K. Sarkar, and seconded in Urdu by M. Abdur Razzak Khan. A formal amendment was moved by G. C. Basak that a word "outside" be omitted from the draft, (p. line). This was accepted. The statement was adopted unanimously after a few more speeches in support. (see app. F)

The resolution on the Trade Union Movement, an English draft of which was circulated, was moved in English by D. K. Goswami, and seconded in Hindi by L.N. Kadam. B. F. Bardley proposed two additions, one to the section on the International relations of the Trade Union movement, urging that everything possible be done to cut off connection with and to destroy the influence of the I.L.C.; the other to add a short programme of demands of general validity for most classes of workers. These were accepted. There spoke on the resolution also K. N. Joglekar, D. R. Thengdi, R.S. Nimbekar, S. Kumarananda, who dealt with the Trade Union work which had been done in Bombay in the course of the year. The resolution was accepted unanimously. (see app. G. for final text.)

The session closed at 6-30 p.m. with a peasants' song by Kazi Nazrul Islam.

The third session began at midday. The Secretary of the Reception Committee read the following telegram which had just been received from the League against Imperialism: "In name League against Imperialism we send heartiest fraternal greetings

your first All-India Conference. Hope your deliberations will result establishing strong organisation India's working masses for struggle against Imperialism and attainment national social liberty. Call upon you protest expulsion Johnstone American Trade Unionist sent attend your conference as our fraternal delegate. Long live Indian workers and peasants. Long live Independent India. Signed for International secretariat, Muenzenberg, Chattopadhyaya."

A fraternal message was also later received from the Executive Committee of the Communist International, which sent its greetings to the workers and peasants of India, now carrying on an heroic struggle against Imperialist oppression and feudal reaction upon one of the most important sectors of the world front.

Muzaffar Ahmad moved, and S.V. Ghate seconded, a resolution (see app. H.) proposing the formation of All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party. D.R. Thengdi and H.K. Sarkar also spoke, and the resolution was carried unanimously.

It was moved from the chair that the Party affiliate to the League against Imperialism (see app. J). This was carried unanimously.

A resolution (see app. K) was moved by S. S. Mirajkar and seconded by S. Kumarananda condemning the Trade Disputes Bill and pledging the Party to work for a general strike of protest if it is passed. R. S. Nimbkar also spoke, and the resolution was carried unanimously.

A resolution expressing sympathy with the strikers of Bauria was moved by G. Chakravarty and seconded by R. Mitra. S. N. Chatterji moved an amendment, which was accepted, condemning the action of certain labour leaders in encouraging blacklegs. (see app. L).

At this point B.G. Kasle, a schoolboy and son of Bombay millworker, gave a short speech in Hindi, expressing the solidarity on the working-class youth with the adult workers.

The draft of the Constitution of the All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party, which had been prepared by a small sub-committee, was read out by B.F. Bradley, and discussed point by point. An amendment was moved by D.K. Goswami, that the General Secretary of the Party should be directly elected by the Annual Congress. This was supported by G. Chakravarty, K. D. Bhattacharya, M.K. Sinha, A. Roy, and opposed by H.K. Sarkar, K.N. Joglekar, A. B. Banerji, R.S. Nimbkar.

The discussion was adjourned to the following day, and the session closed at 4-15 p.m.

The delegates and visitors then proceeded to Shraddananda Park, where a procession of workers was formed which marched with banners etc. to the Congress nagar, shouting slogans : Down with the Simon Commission, Down with Imperialism, Down with Dominion Status, Down with the Nehru Report, Long live the Independent Soviet Republic of India. A short meeting was held near the Congress nagar, at which Sohan Singh and R. Mitra spoke.

On the fourth day, the proceedings began at 1. p. m. at 121: Lower Circular Road, Calcutta. A. Das read out a manifesto from the Young Comrades League of Bengal to the Conference.

H. K. Sarkar moved, and D. K. Goswami seconded, a resolution embodying the proposals of the Party for the organisation of peasants. S. N. Chatterji moved a small amendment to the proposed demands, reducing the proportion suggested to go to the landlord from the peasants' produce. G. Chakravarty supported, and A. C. Gupta opposed. The amendment was carried by a majority, and the resolution passed unanimously. (see app. N)

The president moved a resolution (see app. O) protesting against the detention of three comrades under Regulation III of 1818. S. M. Shamsul Huda supported, and the resolution was passed unanimously.

The president also moved resolutions, of sympathy with Dr. B. N. Mukherji (see app. P), of protest against the continued imprisonment of certain political convicts after their terms have expired (see app. Q), and of protest against the recent sentences on Trade Union leaders (see app. R)

The remaining clauses of the proposed Constitution of the All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party were read out and accepted without further discussion, the whole being referred to the National Executive Committee for final drafting, (see app. M for draft)

The election of the National Executive Committee was then taken. It was proposed by B. F. Bradley on behalf of the drafts committee that four members be taken from each Provincial Party, except that of U. P. which should send two. Objection was taken to this, and it was agreed that there should be four from each. During the nominations dispute arose, and adjournment was moved and carried at 3. 15 p. m.

On resumption at 3. 45 p. m. the President moved resolutions of protest, against the continued detention of two comrades after conviction on flimsy charges (see app. S) and against the preparations for war by the Government against the Soviet Republics. (see app. U) These were carried unanimously.

Election was resumed. The members from Bombay, U. P. and Panjab were nominated by representatives from those Provinces and elected unopposed. Conflict again occurred over the election of the Bengal members, and some of the Bengal delegates walked out. Misunderstanding had been created by outside influences, which were jealous of the growth of the Party, and made an organised attempt to wreck it. The dispute was eventually settled and the National Executive Committee elected as follows:

Bombay: K. N. Joglekar, R. S. Nimbkar, S. A. Dange, S. V. Ghatge.

Punjab: Sohan Singh, Bhag Singh, F. D. Mansur, M. A. Majid.

U. P.: P. C. Joshi, D. N. Kadam, Dr. B. N. Mukherji, Gourishankar Sharma.

Bengal: Muzaffar Ahmad, D. K. Goswami, H. K. Sarkar, G. K. Chakravarty.

The session closed at 5. 45. P. m.

APPENDICES.

Appendix A. (Chairman's speech.)

B. (President's address.)

C. Resolution on arrest of Comrade Johnstone.

This Conference condemns the action of the Government in arresting comrade J. W. Johnstone, the fraternal delegate from the League against Imperialism and for National Independence, to the All-India Trade Union Congress and to this Conference. It considers that this arbitrary attack on the part of the Government is a denial of the right of the oppressed and exploited masses, in particular the working class, to organise for their emancipation. It sees in it an expression of the fear of Imperialism for the militant alliance of the oppressed classes of the imperialist countries and the oppressed peoples of the colonial countries, for which the League against Imperialism stands.

This Conference expresses its warmest fraternal greetings to comrade Johnstone, and assures him of its complete solidarity and agreement with the League against Imperialism.

Appendix D. Resolution on the arrest of three comrades of Punjab.

This Conference regrets the absence of its members Abdul Majid, Kedarnath Saighal and Ramchandra Kapur of Lahore, who on the eve of their departure for this Conference were arrested by the police and detained, and expresses its wholehearted sympathy with them.

Appendix E. (Political Resolution.)

F. (Principles and Policy.)

G. (Trade Union Movement.)

H. Resolution for formation of All-India Party.

This Conference of delegates from the Workers' and Peasants' Parties of Bombay, Punjab, United Provinces, and Bengal resolves that the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India be established with these parties as its provincial branches and other provincial committees and branches to be formed with the approval of the National Executive Committee.

APPENDIX J.

Affiliation to the League against Imperialism.

Resolved that the General Secretary of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India apply for affiliation to the League against imperialism and for National Independence.

APPENDIX K.

Trade Disputes Bill.

This Conference condemns the Trade Disputes Bill as a measure intended to stifle the Trade Union Movement. It also condemns the attitude adopted towards it by many leaders of the Trade Union movement who have supported it and obscured the dangers to the working class of the proposals to establish conciliation machinery, and have welcomed the Bill as a whole, as a measure to suppress the growing militancy of the workers.

This Conference considers that the only way to prevent the operation of this drastic measure is to wage a vigorous campaign for the declaration of a one-day general strike of protest on the day the Bill is passed, and a further general strike if it is not rescinded with the following demands: (1) Trade Disputes Act to be rescinded.

(2) Freedom of all workers to organise, and affiliate to the Trade Union Congress.

(3) Minimum wage of Rs. 30.

(4) Universal eight hour day.

APPENDIX L.

The Bauria Strike.

This Conference expresses its sympathy and admiration for the five months struggle of 17000 jute workers of Bauria, and assures them of its wholehearted support, and strongly condemns the mean tactics pursued by the employers to break the strike with the help of some reactionary Trade Unionists and the police.

APPENDIX M.

(Constitution.)

APPENDIX N.

Resolution on Peasants.

Resolved that the Party should forthwith proceed to organise the peasants of India with a view to enable them to take their proper share in the political social and economic emancipation movement of the country, on the following lines:

(By the word "peasant" is meant one who does agricultural work with his own hand, and whose acreage does not exceed 60 bighas of land (20 acres). Field labourers, small artisans and menials in the villages and fishermen are also to be organised along with the peasants.)

Trained workers, preferably with a working knowledge of the art of healing, should be sent to the peasant centres, if possible with magic lantern slides and pictorial posters, for organising peasants' Unions and picking up local men for continued work.

Peasants may pay a subscription fixed by their Unions under the direction of the Provincial Executive when they become members of Unions.

The peasants' cause is indissolubly connected with that of the industrial workers through the bond of common exploitation. The fact is also to be noticed that the industrial workers of India are generally recruited from among those of the peasantry who have been ousted from their land by zemindars of money-lenders or both.

The demands set forth here may be enforced by organised mass action, e. g. non-payment of taxes, peasants strikes, etc.

Immediate demands: (1) Abolition of Permanent Settlement of Bengal and elsewhere, and of all intermediate tenures, ryotwari system, talukdari of Oudh, and the like, without any compensation.

(2) Grant of permanent right in land to actual peasants at a fixed rent.

(3) Fixing the maximum scale of rental for all arable land in proportion to the produce, so that in no case should the scale fixed exceed 10 % of the value of the actual produce.

(4) Legislation embodying the following:

(1) Right of free transfer of land without any Nazrana to the landlord.

(2) Stopping the transfer of land to non-agricultural people.

(3) Fixing the rate of interest on loans at 7 per cent per annum in the maximum.

(4) No decree for an amount of interest exceeding that of the principal.

(5) Exemption from sale or attachment of a peasant's land required for the maintenance of his family, on account of liabilities in the form of arrears of rent, agricultural loans, etc.

(6) Realisation of abwabs and illegal cesses to be declared a cognisable offence.

(7) Introduction of immoral women in the fairs (Hats and Melas) to be made a cognisable offence.

(8) Reservation of sufficient pasture land for the village.

(9) Maintenance of stud bulls by local bodies.

(5) State aid to peasants by means of cheap credit on cooperative basis for the purchase of modern machinery of agriculture and irrigation and for intensive cultivation.

(6) Abolition of the Achiar system (Nisambattai of the Punjab, kud of Maharashtra, and Barga of Bengal) but until that is achieved the peasant should give only 25% of the produce to the owner of the land provided that the latter supplies him with seed etc., 20% of the produce in case of non-supply.

(7) All navigable rivers to be declared free fisheries, and fixity of tenure and rent for other fisheries.

Political demands: (1) Universal adult suffrage on non-communal basis. (2) Village police to be paid from provincial revenues

Social demands: Free compulsory primary education at State expense. Ultimate demands: (1) Abolition of landlordism in any form whatsoever without any compensation.

(2) Abolition of all indirect taxes on necessities of life,

(3) Establishment of peasant proprietorship in land.

(4) Institution of graduated income tax on agricultural incomes above Rs2000 per year, subject to the abolition of all other taxes, direct or indirect.

Appendix O. State Prisoners.

This conference emphatically condemns the action of the Government in continuing the detention of comrades Santa Singh, Gajjan Singh, Dasandha Singh, under Regulation III of 1818, and congratulates these heroic fighters for Indian freedom.

Appendix P. Dr. Biswanath Mukherji

This Conference sympathises with Dr. Biswanath Mukherji, the President of the workers' and Peasants' Party of U. P. in his sufferings at the hands of hired ruffians of zemindars, and congratulates him on his fight for the interests of the peasants against their oppressors.

Appendix Q. Life-term Prisoners.

This Conference congratulates those heroic fighters for Indian freedom who are undergoing imprisonment, and emphatically condemns the Government for not liberating those who were sentenced to transportation, and who have completed the customary twelve years.

Appendix R. Sentences upon Trade Unionists.

This Conference emphatically condemns the action of the Government in getting the conviction of Shibnath Banerji, Singaravelu, Mukunda Lal Sircar and others, on very flimsy charges, and in spite of the fact that Shibnath Banerji was acquitted once before on the same charge, and Singaravelu and Sircar were found not guilty by the assessors.

This Conference considers these actions of the Government as deliberate and systematic attempts to suppress the rising working class movement.

Appendix S. Akbar Khan and Fazl-i-Ilahi.

This Conference condemns the action of the Government in convicting Muhammad Akbar Khan to 10 years (including 7 years for conspiracy while in prison), and talik Fazl-i-Ilahi Qurban to 3 years merely on the ground that they were students in the Eastern University at Moscow, and demands that they be immediately released.

Appendix T. (Statement re. number of Delegates etc.)

U. War Preparations.

This Conference protests against the policy of encirclement and preparation for war pursued with increasing vigour by the British Government against the U. S. S. R., and warns the working class against the disastrous consequences, economic and political, to India and to the Workers' Republic, if this war is actually launched.

This Conference calls upon all organisations to conduct a country-wide propaganda, to protest against the war policy, and to prepare for direct action by the workers in the event of war.

P. 466.

Red banner bearing the title "The Workers of the World Unite".

P. 467.

A Star of India File headed "First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference, containing the following 7 documents amongst others.

P. 467. (1)

Telegraphic Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

**The First All-India
Workers' & Peasants' Party Conference
2-1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA**

Ref. No. ~~—————~~

December 12, 1928.

Comrade Sohan Singh Josh, the president elect of the First All-India workers' and peasants' party Conference and many others will arrive Howrah Station to-morrow morning at 7-30 A. M. by the Panjab Mail. Comrade P. O. Joshi, the General Secretary of the newly formed Workers' and peasants' Party of U. P. has already arrived Calcutta to attend the conference. Comrades N. Abdul Majeed, Kedarnath Saighal and Ramchandra Kapur were to arrive Calcutta to-morrow morning from Lahore, but, they along with others had been arrested and detained at Lahore by the Police. This news has thrown a gloom on comrades in Calcutta. The president and other comrades who will be coming to Calcutta to attend the conference will be staying at 121, Lower Circular Road, oppsite to the Campbell Medical School Hospital. Delegates', Visitors' and reception committee tickets are being issued at the office of the committee at 2/1, European Asylum Lane.

Assistant Secretary,
RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

P. 467. (2)

Telegraphic Address : 'GANAVANI' Calcutta.

**First All-India
Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference
(RECEPTION COMMITTEE.)**

2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.
10th December, 1928.

Dear Comrade,

I beg to inform you that there will be held at the ALBERT-HALL, Calcutta, on December 21, 22 and 23rd next, the "First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference". Comrade Sohan Singh Josh of Amritsar, the General Secretary of the "workers' and Peasants' Party of Punjab" will preside.

This will be the first conference of its kind in the history of the country, when a definitely political policy is discussed and laid down from the point of view of the masses, and an All-India political organisation is established representing their needs and interests. It will constitute, we believe, an important event in the history of the Labour Movement, and will assist greatly in strengthening the ideas and consciousness of the workers, to correspond with the rapid advance which they are now making in organisation and militancy.

you are invited to send two representatives to watch the proceeding so that your organisation may be made aware of the principles and policy of the "Workers' and Peasants' Party", which is now a rapidly growing influence in labour and political affairs.

If you decide to send representatives, please apply to the undersigned for Complimentary Tickets.

Yours fraternally,
DHARANI KANTA GOSWAMI
Secretary,
Reception Committee.

To

The Secretary,

P. 467 (3)

Telegraphic Address, "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

FIRST ALL-INDIA
Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference
(Reception Committee)

2-1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

10th December, 1928.

Dear Comrade,

I beg to inform you that there will be held at the ALBERT HALL, Calcutta, on December 21, 22 and 23 next, the "First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference. Comrade Sohan Singh Josh of Amritsar, the General Secretary of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Punjab, will preside.

This will be the first conference of its kind in the history of the the country, when a definitely political policy is discussed and laid down from the point of view of the masses, and an All-India political organisation is established representing their needs and interests. It will constitute, we believe, an important event in the politics of the country, and will serve to strengthen greatly the growing mass movement against imperialism.

I beg to invite you, as a sympathiser and well-wisher of the cause of the masses, to be present on this occasion and to watch the proceedings.

Yours fraternally
DHARANI KANTA GOSWAMI
SECRETARY,
Reception Committee.

P. 467 (4)

Telegraphic Address : "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

THE FIRST ALL-INDIA
Workers & Peasants Party Conference

2-1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA.

Ref. No.....

Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bengal & other provinces with branches.
(Delegation capacity determined in accordance with the resolution
passed in a meeting of the committee for general
management of R. C. held on the
24th November.)

1. Names.	Delegation.
1. Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bengal, Cal.	10 actual peasants
2. Do. Mymensingh Branch.	Do.
3. Do. Atia (Mymensingh Branch)	Do.
4. Do. Dacca.	Do.
5. Do. Narsinghdi. (Dacca).	Do.
6. Do. Ghuni (24 Parganas).	Do.
and from individual capacity 50 from Bengal Party.	50
	<hr/>
	110
7. Kirti Party Calcutta.	10
8. Workers' & Peasants' Party of the Punjab	12
9. Workers' & Peasants' of Party of U. P.	20
10. Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bombay	10
	<hr/>
	52

Affiliated Unions.

(at the rate of 5 delegates per 1000 members.)

Names.	Approximate Delegations.
1. Bengal Jute Workers' Association (including branches).	(membership approximately Calculation 8000) 40
2. Bengal Textile Workers' Union. (" " 2000)
(a) Dacca branch }	
(b) Matiaburze }	10

Names.	Delegation.
	B. F. 212.
3. Scavengers Union of Cengal. (membership apporximately Calculation 7000)	
(a) Dacca branch	35
(b) Mymensingh	
4. Transport Workers' Union of Bengal („ „ 1000)	5
5. Bengal Paper Mills Workers' Union. („ „ 1000)	5
6. Angus Engineering Workers' Union. („ „ 1000)	5
7. Bengal Glass Workers' Union. („ „ 1000)	5
8. Young Comrades League. Calcutta.	
Do. Susang, (Mymensingh).	50
50. New individual members to be enlisted on or before 15th December.	50
Total	367
Visitors and members of the Reception committee & Fraternal Delegates.	
Members of the R. C.	100
Invited Guests.	100
Visitors.	433
	1000

P. 467. (5)

Protest against War Preparations.

This Conference protests against the Policy of encirclement and preparation for war pursued with increased vigour by the British Govt. against the U. S. S. R. and warns the working class against the disastrous consequences Economic and Political to India, and also the workers Republic, and throughout the world.

This Conference calls upon all organisations to conduct a country wide propaganda and protests against the War Policy and to prepare for direct action by the workers in the event of a war.

Moved by—From the Chair.

P. 467. (6)

Telegraphic Address : "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

THE FIRST ALL-INDIA

Workers' & Peasants' Party Conference

2-1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA.

Ref. No. _____

Invitation letters issued to the following Parties on 8. 11. 28. :—

1. The Socialist Party of India.
2. The Profintern (Moscow).
3. The workers' Party of U. S. A.
4. Perhinpoen Indonesian, Batavia, Java.
5. The Krestintern (Moscow).
6. The Communist Party of Germany.
7. The League Against Imperialism.
8. Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

P. 467. (7)

Telegraphic Address : "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

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

2-1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

The 1st November, 1928.

Dear Comrade,

I wish to inform you that there will be held in Calcutta on December 21-23 next, the first All India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference. It will be the first Conference of its kind ever held in India, and intended to establish the All India Workers' and Peasants' Party by a fusion of the existing provincial Parties in Bengal, Bombay, Pnnjab and U. P. with some groups and Unions in other parts of the country. The Conference will also decide the general policy of the Party, specially in relation to recent developments both in the Trade Union movement and in the national movement.

It has been decided to ask Comrade Sohan Singh Josh of Amritsar, the director of "Kirti" to preside.

You will see that the Conference is very important one, and we therefore desire that you will send a fraternal delegate who will express the international nature of our movement and will give us the benefit of his knowledge and experience and will also convey to you some account of the movement in this country.

Yours Fraternaly.

1. Letters sent to

The Executive Committee, Communist International,
Moscow.

2. The Secretary,
Workers' Welfare League of India,
162, Buckingham Palace Road.
3. Communist Party of Great Britain.
4. National Minority Movement.
5. Indian Seamen's Union.
6. Labour Research Department,

P. 468.

A Royal Crown file headed "Reception Committee of the First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party and Conference-File for letters only," containing the following four Documents amongst others.

P. 468. (1)

C. 3. POSTS TELEGRAPHS. No.

Received here at H. M. 03852.

CALCUTTA

18 Dec. 28

S.T.D.

O PG AMRITSAR H 18 12 GANAVANI CALCUTTA.
COMING WITH OTHERS BY CALCUTTA MAIL-
SOHAN SINGH JOSH.

P. 468. (2)

THE WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY, BOMBAY.

17 Dwarkadas Mansions,
Sandhurst Road,
Bombay, 4.

To
The Secretary,

Reception Committee.

All India Workers' & Peasants' Conference.

Dear Comrade,

Herewith, I have pleasure in forwarding to you the

names of the Delegates that will represent our Party at the Conference.

1. K. N. Joglekar.
2. D. B. Purandore.
3. S. V. Ghate.
4. C. G. Shah.
5. S. S. Mirajkar.
6. R. S. Nimbkar.
7. B. F. Bradley.
8. S. A. Dange.
9. P. Spratt.

Yours fraternally,

S. V. GHATE

Hon. Secretary.

P. 468. (3)

Dear Comrade Mozaffer,

I duly received all your letters and pamphlets that you were so kind to send me. Mr. Joshi and myself will now tour throughout the whole province and bring into existence a strong party of the peasants and workers here. I regret I could not reply to some of your letters and acknowledge receipt of book-lets that you have sent to me. I am trying to reach Calcutta by the first week of December and want to stay with you in order to have an idea of the method of work that you have adopted. Will you not move a resolution about my assault in your All-India session at Calcutta? You must know the landlords who were ready to attempt upon my life were doing so simply thinking that our Kisan organisation were not affiliated to any All-India body; so by moving a resolution about me in the All-India session you will be giving such land-lords a challenge that our organisations at Gorakhpur do not stand alone, but have the support of the entire organisations of the country at their back.

Today I have received certain copies of urdu pamphlets from your place which I have got stuck to the walls of buildings standing in the prominent parts of the town.

Hoping to hear from you soon.

To
Comrade Muzaffar Ahmed,
Peasants and Workers Party,
Bengal, N. P. 2/1, European
Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Yours in true comradeship,
Biswanath Mukerjee, President,
Divisional Kisan and
Mazdur Sabha, Gorakhpur.
Dated Gorakhpur, the 22nd.
November 1928.

P. 468 (4)

YOUNG COMRADES' LEAGUE.

37, Harrison Road.
Calcutta, 11. 12. 1928.

To

The Secretary,
First All India Workers' & Peasants'
Party Conference.

Dear Comrade,

In response to your invitation to send 50 delegates to the Conference, I beg to send the names of the following comrades as delegates

- (1) Robindra Chakravarty.
- (2) Narendra Chakravarty.
- (3) A. Roy.
- (4) P. Mukherjee.
- (5) Abdul Halim.
- (6) N. Sen Gupta.
- (7) P. Spratt.
- (8) N. Bhattacharjee.
- (9) J. Deb.
- (10) N. Singh.
- (11) Ranajit Burman.
- (12) Manindra Sen Gupta.
- (13) Amitar Bhanmik.
- (14) Sunity Dey.
- (15) S. N. Chatterjee.
- (16) R. Hazra.
- (17) Sontosh Dey.
- (18) G. Chakravarty.
- (19) P. Ganguly.
- (20) Bidhu Roy.
- (21) Giriga Mukherjee.
- (22) Narayan Lahiri.
- (23) Amrita Prasad Chanta.
- (24) Haranath Banerjee.
- (25) Sachindra Singh.
- (26) B. Bhaumik.

- (27) Ram Raghob Lahiri.
- (28) Sāchinandan Chatterjee.
- (29) Shamapada Banerjee.
- (30) Niren Sen Gupta.
- (31) Ashutosh Chatterjee.
- (32) Shamapada Bhattacharjee.
- (33) Atul Dutta.
- (34) Ashutosh Das.
- (35) Dwarika Das Behari.
- (36) Sudhir Ch. Raha.
- (37) Motilal Behari.
- (39) Nisha Nath Sarkar.
- (40) Jagat Bandhū Roy.
- (41) Upendra Sanyal.
- (42) Benoy Ghosal.
- (43) G. Sarma.
- (44) Anantu Lahiri.
- (45) D. K. Goswami.
- (46) S. Dey.
- (47) Nalini Sur.
- (48) Sanjib Mukerjee.
- (49) Brajendra Das.
- (50) T. Sen.

Fraternally yours

N. S. Gupta.

P. 469.

Rejected

DAKESWARI COTTON MILL'S WORKERS UNION.

HEAD OFFICE:—61, Nawabpur, Dacca.

Dated 23. 11. 1928.

Your Ref.....

Our Ref.....

Com

Radharaman Mitra

Calcutta.

Dear Comrade:

I think you can remember me. I have got to make myself interested in our firm (Book selling and publishing) wherefrom I get the energy (economic help), to work in this centre.

Today I beg to approach you for favour of your help in my this interest.

Our firm has got some text books which I am charged with, to push that it may be introduced in Corporation schools. I had some acquaintance with Mr. K. P. Chatterji, Education Officer and he has spoken highly of some of the books, a copy of his remark on one of the books I am sending herewith.

I hope every help from you in trying to introduce some of the books in the Corporation primary schools.

Kindly let me know when the meetings of the Corporation School teachers' to meet to discuss about their text books- and let me know if you think my presence there will be most necessary— if so you will kindly inform me when I should meet you.

I think you know that I have started our "Vanguard Literature Co. at Calcutta and have published two books styled "Hell Found by Com. S. S. Dange and "Krishakekatha" by Com. Aftab Ally. Will you kindly inform me what help I can expect from you in selling out these both during, Trade Union Congress, N. Congress and Party Conference period.

Anticipating a sharp reply.

With greetings-

Yours fraternally,
Gopal Ch. Basak.

66 Z2,5W-7-N23
93.5.1
22725

P. 470.

Dakeswari Cotton Mill's workers Union.

Head Office: 61 Nawabpur, Dacca.

Your Ref.....

Our Ref.....

Dated 1st Nov. 28.

COM. DHARANI KANTA GOSWAMI,

Labour Secretary,

Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bengal Cal.

Dear Comrade,

I have written you so many letters without getting any reply. I see Comrade Kali Sen have totally forgotten his words with us otherwise we would have at least received a few lines from him these days. I think you have come to know that Dacca is going to be made the sit of the government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, i.e. it will a capital—we see all arrangements being made from now. I had a programme that 3 or 4 of you will come to this place—we will organise a Centre at N'ganj, then Ashu, you and I start for Chittagong and have some work done there.

As you are silent and didn't respond to our call, you have and are loosing the chance of getting some money for the coming Conferencce, from places like Narsingdi, Bhaisak-bazar and others. You know the jute market is becoming dumped, so it will be harder for our contributors to pay a good sum as the day is passing by and as the market price of Jute is falling.

However try to come now even. Please come with Spratt also.

Both the Chakravarty Comrades, two Kali Babu and you should come.

What have you done regarding Bengal Textile Workers' Union's affiliation with B.T.U.F. and A.I.T.U.C.?

I am at present hard up regarding money matters, so also Debendra Babu and others and it is becoming even difficult to continue the office rents even. So, please do come to meet the situation—making reorganisation of everything. My family situation is also becoming more complicated. Father is suffering and other difficulties also have made their sudden appearance.

What best greetings,

Yours fraternally,
GOPAL.

P. S.—I am also suffering from slight fever.

I send a copy of the resolution being adopted in an executive meeting of our Party meeting. Padma doesn't meet us in our office—don't know why—he, one day met me in the street and informed, he will help us in some works but sorry we haven't met anymore.

WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL DACCA Br.

Head Office:— 61 Nawabpur, Dacca.

Your Ref.....

Our Ref.....

Dated 22-10-1928.

COM. DHARANI KANTA Goswami (Labour Secretary) Calcutta,

Dear Comrade,

Every day I was expecting either some news from Comrade Kali Babu or his arrival at Dacca with other Comrades. Yesterday I was thinking of attending steamer at N'ganj as our Premkumar Chandra informed that Nirode has the possibility of coming to Dacca. However we found that he has not come here.

Please inform when our Comrades from Calcutta coming to our place. I went to Dhamgaur the other day and arranged a general meeting (of course the meeting was not well attended), However we are asked to see them by tomorrow at N'ganj and not Dhanegaur such is the situation. In the workers have passed a resolution electing a representative to the enlarged Executive committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal. The copy of the resolution is attached herewith. The full accounts of the Bengal Textile Workers' Union (Dhamgaur) had long been prepared but as our auditor Mr. Suren Sen has not come from Calcutta, it is not audited. We hope he will reach N'ganj by today mail. I will go to N'ganj tomorrow both to meet Mr. Sen and the Dakeswari Workers. I think you have heard from Com. Kali Sen about the Jute workers—I was asked by some Jute workers on the day before yesterday about that meeting and I had to ask him to wait for another week.—so, I think you should try to send our Comrades at the earliest possible time—and if they reach there within this Puja holiday, I will be also able to devote my times, as my press is also closed on this occasion for 12 days.

This much today. Please inform me also about Com. A. Roy.

With best greetings,

Yours in Comradeship,

GOPAL Ch. Basak.

P.S.—Some two or three Scavengers are coming to us now regularly. I hope to hold a meeting in their busties in a few days.

G. C. B.

Address on the envelope:-

Com. Dharani Kanta Goswami,

Labour Secretary,

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal,

2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

P. 471.

Dear Comrade:

I forgot to take from you Hindi notices to Scavengers, one on behalf of the office, and one from you—please write it and send atonce for printing. We require another Hindi appeal (pamphlet), to Jute Workers also. Please do send it atonce.

As regards Atia, you must come atonce. With Spratt, I am waiting for your letter asking me to be present at Mymn for starting thither.

Another thing, you have asked your man at Mymensingh to pay up my money Rs. 125/- (who took it for starting Dying & Bleaching).

Do instruct us as regards Comrades League. We expect to send every now & then to Mym & Jamalpur our men for organising Study Circles.

I was told that we have got a branch at Jamalpur, is it so ?

I again remind you to send the membership appeals for printing.

Quader wrote something to Halim, without reply—he enquires why.

Nothing more at present. More when we hear from you.

With best love and regards.

Gopal.

I come to know Dr. Das Gupta has not come this time ask her to come here first train.

I was invited in the E. B. Railway Employees Conference and I joined it. There I pushed forward our circular for propaganda against Trade Dispute Bill.

A resolution protesting against the bill was passed but Mr. I. B. Sen pointed out to me that he can't enumerate the line of action which we proposed in our circular, from that Conference as the rules and regulation didn't allow it. However he has given suggestion to the Council of the said Association for change of rule. I am sending you Chairman's address (most reactionary) President's address and rules and regulations. Nandulal Sing is the Secretary for Dacca Branch.

Tomorrow we are going to hold public meeting to denounce Trade Dispute Bill and suggest General Strike.

With best love,

Yours
Gopal

Address on envelope :—

Mr. Dharani Goswami,
2-1, European Asylum Lane,
CALCUTTA.

P. 472.

SEARCH LIST.

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

1. Date and hour of search—20-3-29. from 6 a.m. to 7-30 p.m.
2. Name and residence of person whose house is searched—Spratt, Mozaffar, Ajudhya Prasad and Shamsul Huda of 2/1 European Asylum Lane.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search, { (1) S. Ahmed of 3/1 Taltolla Lane.
(2) Habibor Rahman of 3/1 Taltolla Lane.
and so on

Serial Nos (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>Matalika</i> and, the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
1 (A)	1 file containing some miscellaneous papers and book, etc., etc.	In one trunk of Mr. P. Spratt.		
2 (B)	1 file containing Do.			
3 (C)	1 file containg Do.			
4 (D)	7 files containing Do.			
5 (E)	1 file Do. Do.			
6 (F)	1 file Do. Do.			
7 (G)	1 file Do. Do.			

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.
8 (H) 9 (I) 10 (J) 11 (K)	1 file containing some miscellaneous papers and book, etc., etc. 1 file Do. Do. 4 sheets of manuscript and printed matter. 7 sheets of manuscript matters.			(Sd) F. Roxburgh. All papers inside the files have been initialled by the Search witnesses and Mr. P. Spratt.

II

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

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

(Sd.) ILLEGIBLE, S. I.
*Police-officer conducting the search.
Date 23-3-29 Place Calcutta.*

(Sd.) S. AHMED. 20-3-29.
(Sd.) H. RAHMAN 20-3-20.

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

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SEARCH LIST.

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

1. Date and hour of search 20th March 1929 from 6 a. m. to 7-30 p. m.
2. Name and residence of persons whose house is searched:—Muzaffar Ahmed, Ajodhya Prasad, P. Spratt and Shamsul Huda of 2/1 European Asylum Lane.
3. Name and residence of witnesses to search.
 - (1) Ganendra Bhusan Mukherji, 1/1F European Asylum Lane.
 - (2) Gosta Behary Shaw of 30 Doctor's Lane.
 - and so on

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where articles seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc. of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mattalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is, observed, such as the remains of burnt paper etc.
1	One catalogue of Books-styled Book of the day of the Kamala Book Depot, 15 College Square.	Found in the room of Mr. Spratt, Ajodhya and others.		
2	One catalogue of Books of Com. Brothers of 15 College Square. Some manuscript writing at the back.			
3	A small slip of paper with manuscript of English and Hindi writing			
4	A Booklet entitled the Coming of Socialism by Lucien.			
5	One cover addressed to Muzaffar, Ahmed, containing of letter dated 14-3-29, from S. V. Ghate of Bombay, received by Post on 18-3-29.			
6	One printed book of Index numbers of Indian Prices 1861-1926 on cover in the name of Spratt.			

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.
7	One slip of manuscript writing of Urdu and English.			
8	One letter dated 10-3-29 from Gopal Bysak of 61 Nawabpur Dacca, to Comrade Muzaffar Ahmed.			
9	One lady's photo with manuscript writing—Mrs. Spratt in front and on the back some manuscript writings B. M. B. P. M. etc.			
✓ 10	One book entitled. Through the Russian Revolution, by Albert Rlys. Williams with rubber stamp mark of the Executive Committee of Workers and Peasants' Party of Bengal in two pages.			
11	One copy of Magazine Kirti for March 1929, Vol. II No. 3.			
12	One booklet in Hindi entitled Sradhanjali by Ramdhain ojha bearing the name of Chiranjilall Shroff.			
13	A booklet entitled Nicolai, Lenin by Karl Radek.			
14	One copy of Modern India, by R. Palme Dutt, bearing the name of Muzaffar Ahmed on cover.			
15	One copy of book on defence of Communism, by Ralph Fox, bearing the name of P. Spratt.			

III

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| 16 | 6 copies of pamphlet containing a thesis of the Trade Union movement printed at the Saaga: Press, 11 Wellesley St. | |
| ✓ 17 | One copy of My Reminiscences of the Russian Revolution with rubber stamp mark. The Workers and Peasants Party of Bengal, with manuscript writing on newspaper cover (A. P. Varma 2/1 European Asylum Lane). | |
| 18 | A Hindi book entitled Communism Kattai, by Radha Mohan Gokulji. | |
| ✓ 19 | One copy of Anarchism and Socialism by George Plichanoff bearing the rubber stamp mark of the Worker and Peasants Party (Executive Committee) Bengal. | |
| 20 | One copy of magazine entitled Labour Vol. VIII for January 29 No. 12. | |
| 21 | One printed book (The History of Trade Unionism 1666-1920, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb bearing rubber the stamp mark of the Workers and Peasants Party (Executive Committee) Bengal with stamp of the book Coy. Calcutta. | |
| 22 | One copy of Social Revolution, by Karl Kantsky. | |
| ✓ 23 | One copy of "Karl Marx" and Freidrich Engels, D. Riazanov, bearing the rubber stamp mark of the Workers and Peasants Party (Executive Committee) Bengal with manuscript writing of P. Spratt. | |
| 24 | 10 typewritten pages bearing 2-12-28 addressed to the All-Indian Conference of Workers and Peasants Parties from the Executive Committee of the Communist International. | |

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>matalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
25	One copy of India, Burma and Ceylon Information for Travellers and Residents, bearing the name of Dharani Kanta Goswami.			
26	One Booklet "Hundred Percent Indian" by C. G. Shah, bearing name of A. P. Shreostiv (?)			
27	One copy of Arm and Hammer pamphlet No. 10 entitled The Soviet Revolution, by Olive M. Johnson, bears the Book Coy, Calcutta.			
28	Manuscript article in Hindi in the handwriting of Ajodhya Prasad as stated by him in, 40 pages, entitled Socialism ka Sorup written on the back of the letter paper Workers' Protection League 26, Dixon Lane, Calcutta.			
✓ 29	One copy of Imperialism, The State and Revolution, by Nikolai Lenin with the rubber stamp mark of the Executive Committee, (The Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bengal.)			
29A	Found in the above book No. 29. One copy of printed notice issued by Swamy Nidyanenda of Bihar Province Kisan Sabha.			

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| 30 | One post card written in Hindi addressed to S. S- Mirajkar 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, re-directed to 2/3 Khandke Buildings, Dadar, Bombay, bearing Post seals of Park St. dated 28 12. 28. |
| 31 | One cover addressed to Mozaffar Ahmed of 2/1 European Asylum Lane, containing a letter dated 6. 3. 28. in 2 pages from Mr. P. Spratt, written from Bombay with Postal seal Park Street, dated 10. 3. 28. |
| 32 | One copy of Bengalee Booklet entitled Avinata Sanhita by Biralchandra Mondol. |
| 33 | One slip of paper containing some figures and letters beginning with "242-1. BXKT 1. any more" etc. |
| 34 | One blank letter cover. |
| 35 | One copy of Sat Sri Akal The Gurdwara Reform Movement and the Sikhs Awakening. |
| 36 | A cover addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed, containing a letter dated 14. 2. 29. written by S. V. Ghate and Usmani from Bombay bearing post seal 18. 2. 29. |
| 37 | One post card dated 15. 2. 29. Written by Kasle B. G. to S. M. Shamasan Huda, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Delivered from Park St. P. O. on 18. 2. 29. |
| 38 | One Telegram No. 01487, dated 18. 2. 29, from Majid of Lahore, to Muzaffar Ahmed, Secretary, Workers' and Peasants' Party, Calcutta. |
| 39 | One letter dated 12. 1. 29, from F. D. Mansur written in the letter Paper form of Kirti, Amritsar in a cover addressed to Mozaffar Ahmed, delivered from Park St. P. O. on 16. 1. 29. |

Serial No (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>mallalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
40	Two typewritten sheets showing the programme of Demands of the Indian Seamen's Union. One correction in manuscript—balance on 1st page.			
42	One letter dated 30/1/29, from Kishori Lal Ghosh to Muzaffar Ahmed 2/1 European Asylum Lane (in two pages).			
42	9 Copies of subscription Form of the Young Liberator, Bombay.			
43	One cash memo No. 29134 of the Book Coy for Books.			
44	One letter dated 12.3.28 from Baraikhal written by B. Roy.			
45	One letter dated 10.3.28 written by S. V. Ghate of Bombay to Muzaffar.			
46	One letter dated 5.3.29 from N. S. Gupta, Secretary, Young Comrades' League 78/1 Harrison Road, addressed to the Secy. Workers' & Peasants' Party, India, Bengal Provincial Branch with cover.			
47	One copy of Bengali booklet entitled Sacco and Venzetty by Dharam Kanta Goswami.			
48	One copy of Studies in Rural Economic by P. R. Venkatar Subrahmanyam, bearing the name of P. Spratt.			

- 49 One letter dated 8. 8. 28 from Jaya Bai of Madras addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed in 4 pages
- 50 One typewritten article under heading sufferings of the Peasants of Atia in 4 pages.
- 51 One cash memb. dated 15-1-29 of Book Coy. No. 22828 in the name of Ahmed showing sale of Books--One Marks Capital, one Russian Revolution.
- 52 One printed appeal of the Workers and Peasants' Party Bombay, to All the Trade Unions and their Executive Committee.
- 53 7 typewritten sheets beginning with Give me Liberty or Give me death-programme ending with Make up in quality what you lack in quantity.
- 54 One slip of paper with pencil writings, containing the name of the Book Marxian Economic Hand Book and Glossary.
- 55 One copy of newspaper "Workers' Life" in six pages, dated February 1, 1929.
- 56 One letter dated 30-1-29 from Kishore Swarup of Meerut to Muzaffar Ahmed of 2/1 European Asylum Lane with cover bearing Postal seal of Meerut Kachari 31-1-29.
- 57 One copy of Sunday Worker, dated 1. 5. 28, pages 1, 2, 11, 12.
- 58 2 copies of Magazine in Tamil, entitled "The Thalilahe", dated 15. 6. 28 and 22. 6. 28.
- 59 One copy of Mazur, dated Nov. 1927.

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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>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.
60	One copy of Bengali booklet <i>Krisshaker Katha</i> .			
61	One copy of book <i>Resurrection</i> .			
62	One manuscript sheet under heading instructions for new members at Ondal, Ranigunj and Asonsol.			
63	3 typewritten sheets containing 24 items of writing beginning with the Ideal of the Party is attainment of Swaraj and ending with Required by the Workers and "peasants"			
64	5 copies of the <i>Labour Monthly</i> for April 1925, July 1928, Dec. 1928, Jany. 1929, Feby. 1929.			
65	One copy of "Ten Days that Shook the World", by John Reed.			
66	4 copies of the booklet entitled <i>The Communist Party of India Annual Report for 1927</i> .			
67	One copy of the <i>Golden Treasury</i> , bearing the name S. F. Pratt, and some manuscript writings on 1st page.			
68	One copy of the book <i>The living Age</i> , dated 26. 4. 24.			
69	One copy of <i>Sunday Worker</i> , dated 13, 5. 28, pages 1-4 and 9-12.			

- 70 25 pages of manuscript writing beginning with Dear Magt and ending with entitled to.
- ✓ 71 One printed pamphlet entitled an open letter to Right Hon'ble J. A. MacDonald, by M. N. Roy. 11 pages.
- 72 One sheet catalogue of Labour Books of International Publishers.
- 73 One receipt dated 23. 12. 27, signed M. Dutta of Sri Gourangya Press for printing manifesto given to Muzaffar Ahmed.
- 74 A bill No. 813 dated 29. 6. 27 in the name of Muzaffar Ahmed, 37 Harrison Road for 2 books.
- 75 One slip with pencil writing—Brijmohan Lal Varma, B., A. L. L. B. Chindwara, C. P.
- 76 One letter dated 7. 3. 29 from Sohan Singh, Amritsar to Muzaffar Ahmed, with cover delivered from Park St P. O. on 10. 3. 29.
- 77 Two copy Hundered Percent Indian, by C. G. Shah.
- 78 One copy of Kirti, dated Jany. 1929.
- ✓ 79 One copy of the War and Agriculture, by Nagendranath Ganguly.
- 80 One copy of Bengali booklet Sacco and Venzetti.
- 90 One copy of booklet entitled Coöperative Movement in the Punjab.
- 91 One copy Land Revenue Settlement, by V. K. Ramanyachariar
- 92 4 pages manuscript writings beginning with (Main Questions ending with Exploit Indian masses.)

X

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial)	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>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.
93	One copy of the Young Liberator for September, 1928.			
94	One copy of Worker's life, dated 7-12-28 6 pages.			
95	One copy of Sunday Worker, dated 2-12-28, 10 pages.			
96	One copy of B. N. Ry. Time Table, bearing the time of A. R. Khan, from 1st October, 1927.			
97	One copy of magazine Saroj for Agrahyan 1925 Sambut.			
98	One printed form with letter heading The Class Workers' Union, Bengal, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Head Office, Calcutta.			
99	Two copies of telegrams Nos. 3, 306 respectively, dated 2-9-28, from Ghate of Bambay to Ganavani, Calcutta.			
100	Two copies of Chingari dated 13-3-29.			
101	One post card, dated Bombay, 14-1-29 from R. B. Mantri to Com. Mazaffar Ahmed, bearing postal seal Bombay G.P.O., dated 14-1-29.			
102	Three copies of group photo, containing photos of Muzaflar Ahmed, Nalini Gupta, Dange and Osmani and others in a cover.			

- 103 One copy of Bombay's answer to Lord Birkenhead.
- 104 Three pages manuscript writings in Hindi.
- 105 Two typewritten sheets with manuscript writing at the end, ending with "opposition of this huge loss" under heading "Though the crisis mobilise".
- 106 One letter dated 6. 8. 28 in 2 pages, written by S. V. Ghate of Bombay to Muzaffar Ahmed, delivered from Park St. P. O. on 8. 8. 28 (with cover).
- 107 One printed notice of Goswami with pencil writings at the back containing the name of Satyabrata Chakarvarty, I, Main Hostel Berhampur.
- 109 One printed letter form of Transport Workers' Union in Hindi with some pencil and ink writings at the back.
- 110 One pencil sketch of a man in Fetters.
- 111 15 printed membership forms of Transport Workers' Union of Bengal receipted by the members.
- 112 One copy of India and the next War, by Miss Agnes Smedley.
- 112 Two copies of a letter (Type-written) signed by S. M. Shamsul Huda, dated 5-1-29, addressed to the Manager, Messrs— from the Transport Workers' Union, Bengal.
- 113 The draft, in manuscript, of the above (No. 112).
- 114 Two type written letters from the Transport Workers' Union Bengal, showing the resolutions passed in the Meeting of the Union held on 1-10-28.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where articles seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>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.
115	Draft of a letter of the Transport Workers' Union of Bengal in 2 pages, dated 10-2-29 addressed to the Editor.			
116	One sheet of Banglar Katha dated 8-10-28 bearing pencil writing (red) cal. 308.			
117	Two copies of the Great French Revolution, Vol. I by Peter Kropotkin bearing the name P. Spratt.			
118	One membership form of Transport Workers' Union of Bengal, containing some writings in ink and pencil bearing names Abdul Razak and others.			
119	39 copies of magazine "Socialist" 3 copies, dated 9-2-24, 3 copies dated 23-7-24, 2 copies dated 29-7-24, 2 copies dated 6-8-24, 2 copies dated 13-8-24, 2 copies dated 20-8-24, 2 copies dated, 27-8-24, 2 copies dated 3-9-24, 2 copies dated 17-9-24, 2 copies, 24-9-24, 2 copies dated 21-10-24, 2 copies, dated 8-10-24 3 copies dated 15-10-24, 2 copies dated 22-10-24, 2 copies dated 29-10-24, 1 copy dated 5-11-24, 2 copies, dated 12-11-24, 2 copies dated 19-11-24 and one copy dated 27-12-24.			
120	16 Copies of Ganabani, one copy of dates 13-10-28, 4-10-28, 27-9-28, 6-9-28, 30-8-28, 23-8-28, 16-8-28, 9-8-28, 2-8-28,			

- 26-7-28, 19-7-28, 12-7-28, 5-7-28, 28-6-28,
21-6-28, 14-6-28.
- ✓ 121 One copy Hindi Magazine entitled
Chitramoy Jagat, dated June 1928.
- ✓ 121 One copy "What are Indian States" by
B. S. Pathik, bearing the name of
P. S. Pratt.
- ✓ 123 One copy "Russia in Revolution, by
Daniel De'Lion, bearing the name of
P. Spratt.
- ✓ 124 Two copies of Young Liberator for
November 1928 and Sept. 1928.
- ✓ 125 One copy of the Lesson of Black
Friday, by Gerald Gould, bearing the
name of P. Spratt.
- ✓ 126 One copy of Special Resolution by Karl
Kantsky
- ✓ 127 One copy Ireland in Rebellion, by Sylvain
Brolly bearing the name of P. Spratt.
- ✓ 128 One copy of booklet entitled Scientific
Socialism by Wm. Pual.
- 129 Two copies of an appeal to the young,
by P. Kropotkin.
- 130 One copy of the Religion of Capital by
Paul Laforgue.
- 131 One copy of Life of Barrister Savarkar
by Chitra Gupta, bearing the name of
P. S. Pratt.
- 132 One copy of the Manifesto of the
Communist Party, by K. M. F. Engels.
- 133 One copy of Monopoly or How Labour
is Robbed, by William Morris.
- 134 One copy "Memoirs of a Revolutionary"
by Upendranath Banerji, bearing the name
of P. Spratt.

AIX

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS - Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>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.
135	One copy of "Hell Found" by S. A. Dange, presented by the author to Comrade Spratt.			
136	One copy of the report of all Parties Conference, bearing the name of P. Spratt.			
137	One copy of New Tactics, Social Conflict by Laidler and Thomas bearing the name of P. Spratt.			
✓ 138	One copy of Modern India, by N. W. Rutherford, bearing the name of P. Spratt.			
139	One copy of Fiery Particles, by C. E. Montague, bearing the name of P. Spratt.			
✓ 140	One copy of the Directory of Trade Unions, edited by R. R. Bakhale.			
141	One copy of Gandhi us Lenin by S. A. Dange.			
142	One copy of God and the State, by Michael Baknein.			
143	One copy of Germany in Revolution, by L. E. Matthali, bearing the name of P. Spratt.			
144	One copy of Lawless Lands, by Hem Ch. Nag, bearing the name of P. Spratt.			

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| 145 | 2 copies of rules and regulations in Hindi of Bombay Girmi Kamgar Union. |
| 146 | One copy of pamphlet printed (India in the Labour World, by Saklatvala. |
| 147 | A copy of booklet The New Russia, bearing the name of P. Spratt. |
| 148 | One copy of booklet "Communism", by R. Palme Dutt. |
| 149 | One copy of the Struggle for the Freedom of Religious Worship in Jaito published by Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee Amritsar, 1924. |
| 150 | One copy of the Rights of Labour, by John Kuskin. |
| 151 | One copy of Scientific Socialism, by Wm. Paul. |
| 152 | One copy of Magazine Kamkari in Maharatti, dated 12 Dec. 1926 and 5 other copies, dated 27-2-27, dated 12-12-26, dated 7-2-27, dated 12-12-26; 12 12-26. |
| 153 | 3 copies of Notices of Central Labour Board in Hindi, with manuscript writing on one copy. |
| 154 | One copy of the Principles of Socialism, by Mary Agnes Hamilton. |
| 155 | One copy of Poems by Stevenson. |
| 156 | One copy of Exploitation in India, by Thomas Johnston, M. P. |
| 157 | One copy of Amritsar and Our Duty to India by Horniman, bearing the name of P. Spratt. |
| 158 | One copy of Swami Vivekananda, by Dr. Bhupendranath Dutt, bearing name of P. Spratt. |
| 159 | One copy of The Aims of Labour, by Henderson, bearing the name of P. Spratt. |

LXX

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articleseized*.	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>matalika</i> , and the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
160	1 copy of Soviet Russia, by Jawahar Lal Nehru, bearing the name of P. Spratt.			
✓ 161	One copy of Logic of Socialism, by August Clossens.			
162	One copy of the Working Class, by Karl Kautsky.			
163	One copy of the Irish Labour Movement by W. P. Ryan, bearing the name of P. Spratt.			
164	One copy of Poems Vol. II, by Stevenson.			
165	One copy of Principles of Socialism by Mary Agnes Hamilton.			
✓ 166	One copy of a booklet in English Sacco and Vanzetti, bearing the name of P. Spratt.			
✓ 167	One copy of Wage, Labour and Capital, by Karl Marx.			
168	One copy of Britain's Record in India, by Woolcott bearing the name of P. Spratt.			
✓ 169	One copy of India and its Government by Fenner Brockway bearing the name of P. Spratt.			
1170	One copy of The Pressure upon Constitution and Law, by Hency Kumar Sarkar, bearing the name, of P. Spratt.			

- 171 One copy of a Short History of Ireland by C. Maxwell, bearing the name of P. Spratt.
- 172 One copy of Hindi book Bolshevism by Binayuk Sitaram Shorbate bearing the name of P. Spratt.
- 173 One copy of Hell Found, by S. A. Dange, bearing the name of P. Spratt.
- 174 One copy of Social Revolution, by Karl Kantsky.
- 175 One copy of the Struggle for Power in India, by Burnard Houghton.
- 176 One copy of the Russian Experiment, by K. T. Shah.
- 177 One copy of the printed report on the International Congress against Imperialism, held at Brussels in February 27, by Jahar Lal Nehru, bearing the name of P. Spratt.
- 178 One copy of Journal of the Indian Economic Society— Edited by K. N. Joglekar, B.A. for March 1924.
- 179 One letter dated nil, from Sudhir of Young Comrades' League, 37 Harrison Road, to Muzaffar Ahmed.
- 180 One counterfoil receipt book from No. 101 to 200 of the Transport Workers' Union of Bengal.
- 181 One copy of Sedition Committee Report, bearing the name of Azizul Huq.
- 182 One sheet of paper with manuscript writings being the agreement of 19 Gang Sardars to form an Union called the Bengal Transport Workers' Union, containing the thumb impression marks of them.

IIIX

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>Mallika</i> and, the exact circumstances under which all articles have been found. A note should also be made in case anything unusual is observed, such as the remains of burnt paper, etc.
183	One sheet containing manuscript Bengalee writing beginning with Amar Katha Gulo and ending in Kara Hayoche with the name of Balmakund, Shawl Merchant, Sukapotty mor Punjull Katra on the back of the letter.			
184	8 copies of Sunday Worker, dated 29-4-28, 13-5-28, 20-5-28, 27-5-28, June 3-28, June 10-28, 17 June 28, 29 June 28.			
185	One letter dated 27-3-28, by R. Chander—Sikhora Sharma, from Tanali Guntor—District addressed to Shamiji.			
✓ 186	One copy of British Imperialism in Malys prepared by Labour Research Dept.			
✓ 187	One copy of British Imperialism in East Africa, prepared by Labour Research Dept.			
✓ 188	One copy of Karl Marx, by Howe J. Loaky.			
✓ 189	One copy of Red money by Labour Research Dept.			
190	A typed Brief in 28 pages in the suit of Qaimuddin Sildor and 2 others of Mymensingh, vs. the Secretary of State for India.			
191	8 copies of Urdu Pamphlet under heading Rajnaitik Pristab.			

192	5 copies of printed pamphlet showing the statement of programme and policy of Young Comrades' League.	
193	7 copies of Urdu pamphlet showing the constitution of Kirti Party, Punjab.	
194	One copy of Report of the Working of Bengal Peasants and Workers Party for 1927-28, in Bengalee, with some manuscript writing at the back of the 1st page.	
195	One copy, printed report of the Executive Committee of the Peasants and Workers' Party of Bengal, for 1927-28; in English.	
196	Two copies of Address of Welcome by P. Dinda.	
197	One file containing correspondence papers miscellaneous, etc. signed by witnesses and Mr. Spratt.	
198	Do.	
199	Do.	
200	5 copies of the Spar. dated March 3, 10, May 27, Feby. 27, Feby. 10.	Found in the in the verandah front of the room of Mr. Spratt.
201	5 copies of Bengalee pamphlet, entitled appeal to the Young Communists by Dharani Goswami.	Do.
202	11 copies of Bengali Booklet entitled Sacco and Vanzetti.	Do.
203	7 copies of poster in Urdu with the figure of a man sounding bugle.	Do.

Serial No. (Each article to be given a separate or collective serial.)	Description of articles seized.*	Description of place where article seized was found.	Name, father's name, residence, etc., of person or persons ordinarily occupying the house in which an article is seized.	REMARKS—Here should be noted the serial number in complainant's <i>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.
204	One Portable Juventa Typewriter in a case— not in working order.			
205	One copy of consignment memo. No. 128 of Book Coy.			
206	One Bill No. G. P. 5606, dated 12-4-28, of Sree Gouranga Press in the name of Md. Muzaffar Ahmed.			
207	3 receipts of Saraswati Press, given to Editor, Ganabani, No. 2170, 2151 and 2186.			
208	4 copies of the National Research and Publicity Institute Leaflets.			
209	One Deposit Book of the Bengal Central Bank of India in the name of Mozaffar Ahmed with 4 pages written.			
210	One cheque book of Bengal Central Bank. Ltd, in the name of Muzaffar Ahmed with two written counterfoils.			
211	One Pass Book No. 145, in the name of Muzaffar Ahmed of 37 Harrison Road in Bengal Central Bank, Ltd. with entries in 2 pages.			
212	One letter dated 21-6-27 by S. V. Ghate of Bombay to Muzaffar.	Items No. 205 to 215 found a steel box, the key of which was produced by Abdul Halim in the room of Mr. Spratt.		

- 213 A cash memo. dated 21-3-27, by the Book Coy. in the name of Muzaffar Ahmed, No. 1023.
- 214 One receipt for Rs. 43-14 from Thomas Cook & Son, Ltd., dated 5. 6. 28 to P. Spratt.
- 215 One challan No. 890, dated 6-6-28 of Sri Saraswati Press in the name of Muzaffar Ahmed.
- 216 A list of 11 books signed by Muzaffar Ahmed with a challan of the Book Coy. dated 11-9-26 showing the sale of the books.
- 217 One letter dated 28-5-28 from E. I. Railway Union, Ondal, by Mr. P. Spratt to Muzaffar.
- 218 One receipt for Registered Book Post No. 661.
- 219 One T. M. O. receipt for Rs. 50/- No. 4720, dated 4-5-27.
- 220 One notice for remittance from Netherland India—Civil Bank, dated 13-12-28.
- 221 One cash memo. of the Book Company, No. 26568, dated 5-6-28.
- 222 One cash Memo. No. 26564, dated 5-6-28, of the Book Coy.

Found in a steel box, the key of which was produced by Abdul Halim in the room of Mr. Spratt.

1133

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>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.
223	One receipted voucher No. S. P. 5593, dated 4-4-28 of Sri Gouranga Press.			
224	One cash memo. of the Mohammad Publishing Coy. No. 1950, dated 8-6-28.			(Sd.) F. ROXBURGH.
225	Two receipted bills of Saraswati Press Nos. 2115, dated 16-6-26 and No. 2116, dated 16-6-26, respectively.			

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

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

(Sd) ILLEGIBLE,

Police-Officers conducting the search,
Date 20-3-29 Place No. 1/1B European Asylum Lane.

(Sd.) GYANENDRA BHUSAN MUKHERJI.
(Sd.) GHASTS BEHARI SHAW.

Signature of witness with date.

Signature by the accused (optional)

P. 474.

The Workers' & Peasants' Party, Bombay.

17, DWARKADAS MANSIONS.

Sandhurst Road,

BOMBAY, 4.

My dear Muzaffar,

I received your letter which I showed to Nimbkar. He is accordingly issuing notices about the meeting to be held in Amritsar. I think he may alter the date of the meeting to somewhere the first week of April, instead of the end of March, as there is a General meeting of the G. I. P. Union which is an important one for our party here.

Every attempt is being made by our enemies to break the splendid solidarity that has been in evidence among the mill workers but so far such attempts have not met with any response.

The oil strike is still continuing.

Bradley has gone on tour and is expected somewhere at the end of this month. Usmani has been doing excellent work here since his arrival.

With greetings,

14th March.

Yours fraternally,

S. V. Ghatge.

Superscription on the envelope:—

Muzaffar Ahmad, Esq.

2/r European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

P. 475.

DAKESWARI COTTON MILL'S WORKERS UNION.

Head Office:—61, Nawabpur, Dacca.

Dated 10/3/1929.

Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad.

.....

Dear Comrade:

I am pained to learn about some disciplinary measures taken by you on Com. Chakravarty. I cannot understand what's the matter with you all at Calcutta. Did we not call ourselves Comrades? then why these uncomradely actions? There's no denying that personal feeling is playing rampant, for if it had been questions of discipline many other comrades would have been taken to task—as many have not paid their subscription—(so I understand).

Quader has started for Calcutta—you can know from him how we quarrelled on different matters but not of this sort. I know that you have no liking for Comrade Chakravarty and if I am not mistaken I remember you expressed before me more than once your suspicion regarding his capacity and then a few days back you wrote me about him, wondering at his behaviour in submitting some 60,000—membership list of Jute workers—(which you were sure that it was not so.) From all these I deduced that there was some fatal misunderstanding which wouldn't be healthy to the growth of our Party and so I was thinking and trying to analyse the situation.

Here at Dacca I have sent some men to Dakeswari. I am also trying to reorganise the Party and now this blow. I am at a loss where these will lead to. What are all these misunderstandings from Social-Democratic mania or personal ambitions. If you have taken Chakravarty as your comrade, you should have considered how he can pay the subscription as he is not earning anything for himself—or if you thought he could have managed to get it from anywhere as on principle he should pay, then you could have informed me at least, and at any cost I would have managed it.

However I think, that there is yet time that we do not split. No doubt there are opportunist and Social Democrat element in our Party but they are not Comrades Chakravarty and Goswami and neither Kalidas Bhatt. As regards me I can say I have come to know some of them and we will manage to clear them out when we have made the Party stand on a strong footing.

With greeting,

Yours fraternally,
Gopal Basak.

P. 476.

A photograph with some amounts written on the back.

P. 477.

"Kirti" (Urdu) No. 3, Vol. 2 for March, 1929.

P. 478.

**To the All-Indian Conference of Workers'
and Peasants' Parties.**

The Communist International supporting everywhere the revolutionary movement of the toilers and the oppressed, through your organisation, albeit not part of our international body, send its greetings to the workers and peasants of India now waging a heroic struggle against imperialist oppression and feudal reaction upon one of the most important sections of the world front. The victorious progress of this struggle demands in our opinion, above all, the creation of an *independent class party of the proletariat*, the uniting and raising of the isolated actions of the peasants to the highest political level, and the formation of a real revolutionary bloc of workers and peasants, under the leadership of the proletariat not in the *form of a united workers' and peasants' party*, but on the basis of co-operation in deeds between the mass organisations of the proletariat on the one hand, and peasant leagues and committees on the other, for the overthrow of the imperialists and the destruction of the political and economic basis of colonial exploitation and slavery. The growing influence of the workers and peasants' parties, and particularly the attendance of thousands of peasants at your provincial conferences, proves that the understanding of the necessity for this militant bloc is penetrating among ever larger masses of toilers.

Your Conference is taking place at a moment which may become the turning point in the history of the national revolution. The furious preparations of the British bourgeoisie for a new imperialistic slaughter, and the intensification of all forms of colonial plunder and terror, place the peoples of India in a position from which there is no other way out, but open and determined fight for the overthrow of the alien yoke. The revolutionary crisis in the country is maturing. In the strike movements various detachment of the working class (particularly the textile workers of Bombay) begin to come out as an independent force, conscious of the irreconcilability of its interests with imperialism and the chaffering bourgeoisie, and of its historic role as the champion of the national revolution. More painfully, and slowly, but with equal certainty, the oppressed, ruined and disunited peasantry is entering the path of organised struggle. Growing unemployment, ruin and hopelessness stir also the town petty bourgeoisie to revolutionary activity. The pent-up discontent of the masses, the despair, and the sublime hatred for the oppressors, is already breaking forth to transform these isolated and defensive actions into an aggressive fight against British imperialism and its native allies, that is the fundamental task before your Conference.

The main obstacle to the victorious organised struggle against British imperialism and its feudal allies—in the period of increasing terrorism and bloody repression—is the influence of opportunist bourgeois nationalism. Each day brings and will bring fresh proof of the treachery of the bourgeoisie, of its bringing before imperialism, of its intention to bargain and to come to terms with the latter behind the backs of the toilers of India and at their expense. Lately this treachery has assumed the character of the most cynical toying with the slogan of “independence” which the Swarajists now throw out to deceive the masses, now tucked away in their pocket (the Motilal Nehru Report), in order to penetrate into the Simon Commission through the back stairs, and now raise again in a distorted shape, simultaneously with the “dominion status” slogan. However crude and downright dishonesty this game may be, the penal regime and bloody repression of any exposing criticism, particularly Communist criticism, create a state of things under which the fraud of bourgeois nationalism still keep its hold on a considerable section of the toilers. The struggle against this fraud compels you not only to determined and relentless exposure of the bourgeois treachery, exposure, but also through systematic everyday actively to bring home this exposure to the masses of the workers and peasants. The experience of the last movement in Bardoli showed how great the danger is still that not only the bourgeoisie, but even the usurers, who buy out the peasants’ lands find themselves able to subordinate the movement of the peasants and to utilise it for their own ends.

No declarations of readiness to combat opportunism have any revolutionary worth if there is no practical and actual proof of the wagging of this struggle among the masses, and of the overcoming of the bourgeois influence is persistent every day work.

The greatest danger to the organisation of the masses, to the creation of a revolutionary bloc of the proletariat and the peasantry and to the proletarian leadership in this bloc, consists not only in bourgeois nationalism as such, but comes from the organisations and groups of "*prominent*" *petty-bourgeois intellectuals actually influenced by the former the "Independence League."* The wavering and oscillating petty-bourgeois intellectuals of India are either tied up with the system of landlordism and usury and preach a return to obsolete forms of precapitalist exploitation idealised by them, or they reflect the interests of capitalist exploitation being the agents of the bourgeoisie within the national movement. In either case they deny the importance of the class struggle, and whilst claiming to be "at the head" of the workers' and peasants' movement, they are fit in reality only to behead it. The better elements alone of the petty-bourgeoisie intellectuals with a revolutionary frame of mind may rise to the proletarian class viewpoint, and become a positive factor in the national-revolutionary struggle.

The "Independence League" at least in its present shape in fact assists official Swarajism in its nefarious play with the slogans of "independence" and "dominion status" Duly appreciating the very fact of the organisation of this League as proof that at the present time one cannot approach the masses without demanding independence and the overthrow of imperialism, your Conference at the same time cannot fail to disassociate itself from the confusion and twaddle which characterises the advertised League platform with its lavish promises.

The masses must realise that all the talk of the organisers of the League in their platform about "nationalisation" and "socialisation" is an empty sound if in the same breath they recommend FOR THE PRESENT "impartial board for arbitration with a view to making strikes and lockouts unnecessary" (platform of the Bengal Independence League).

There cannot be a shadow of confidence in the verbal promises of the League generally, when in reality some of its leaders (the chairman of the Bengal branch of the League, S. C. Bose) continue to play the part of blacking organisers (betrayal of the last strike in Jamshedpur). The masses want from the political leaders of the petty-bourgeoisie not words but revolutionary deeds. The more determined and outspoken your criticism, the sooner the

League will either expose itself as the Left-wing of bourgeois nationalism, or having shaken off the politicians at the head, will join, for a certain period and within certain limits, the national-revolutionary camp (retaining, however, even in this case their incorrigible half-heartedness, chronic wavering, and inevitable confusion in the whole of their politics and tactics).

The experience of all revolutions shows that the peasantry is inevitably deceived and defeated if it acts without the alliance and the leadership of the proletariat. In explaining to the peasantry the need for the workers' and peasants' bloc it is not difficult at the same time to explain to them, upon the grounds of the severe experience of the Indian revolution, the need for the leadership of the proletariat in the bloc. The Indian proletariat has demonstrated to all the toilers that it represents the most revolutionary force in the country; it has shown that it will stop at nothing in this struggle neither in the town nor in the village, that it marches and will march, in the front rank of the fight against British imperialism, feudalism, and the reformist bourgeoisie. The proletariat is helping and will help the peasantry which has been thrust by imperialism into a singular condition of humiliation, disunion and barbaric exploitation, shrouded in the falsehoods of religion, caste and nationalism, to organise its force and to break shackles of slavery, bondage, land hunger, and imperialist and feudal oppression. The leadership of the proletariat, as the more concentrated, united, enlightened and hardened section of the toilers in this struggle, will secure the victory to the *workers' and peasants' bloc*. It is extremely important to demonstrate to the peasants in deeds and practice the significance of fighting alliance with the proletariat in their everyday struggle, already now.

The organisation of the workers' and peasants' bloc is based upon the common interest of the workers, peasants, and the town poor, in the fight against imperialism and feudal reaction. *Nevertheless, it does not eliminate the class differences, and therefore, it does not imply by any means the fusion of the workers and peasants into one PARTY.* In the Great October Revolution the proletariat gained the following of the peasantry of all the nations which inhabited the former tsarist Russia just because it was organised into the independent Bolshevik Party, armed with the Marxian-Leninist theory, irreconcilable to petty-bourgeois waverings, disciplined, self-sacrificing, capable of screening itself underground from the blows of the tsarist terror, at the same time never ceasing to take advantage of all the legal possibilities. The Indian proletariat, we feel sure, will follow this path.

The Indian proletariat will be the champion of the national-revolutionary fight and lead with to victory the peasantry, the town poor, and all the toilers, if it organises and consolidates its vanguard—the Communist Party, which will educate the working masses in

the spirit of a clear and unmistakable class policy, in the realisation of the need for tremendous sacrifices in order to overthrow imperialism and bourgeoisie. The existing (only on paper) Communist Party of India, since it does not show any signs of revolutionary life, has no grounds to consider and even to call itself Communist, although there are individual Communists among its members. Under the conditions of imperialist terror, by the feeble organisation of the Indian workers and the bullying of the reformist trade union bureaucrats, the task of building a genuine Communist Party will be considerably facilitated if at the same time broad revolutionary organisations of the workers are formed with the active participation of Communists, or a broad Left wing created in the trade union movement upon the platform of consistent class struggle.

We expect that your Conference will raise the question of participating in the building of such broad revolutionary mass organisation of the workers. These can be built only in the irreconcilable everyday struggle against imperialism and the bourgeoisie, as well as against reformism and the petty-bourgeois groups under the cloak of Socialism. The heroic steadfastness of the Indian proletariat in the strikes, the rapidity with which it gathers its forces although as yet only locally, the persistent endeavours to promote strike leaders from its own ranks,—leaves no room for doubt that the elements for revolutionary mass organisations of the workers have matured.

We are convinced that your Conference will discuss, and severely condemn the grave opportunistic blunders committed by the representative of the workers' and peasants' parties in the leadership of the strike movement, particularly in connection with the heroic struggle of the textile workers of Bombay. The source of these mistakes is the insufficiently clear stand against the reformist blacklegs (Joshi) the relentless exposure of whom is an indispensable condition for every victorious strike (and for strengthening the organisation of the proletariat in the course of its development). Having yielded to the demand of the trade union bureaucrats at the commencement of the strike to refrain from exposing to the working masses the reformist treachery, the members of the workers' and peasants' parties had thus disarmed themselves also for the further struggle. Surrender to the reformists led inevitably to surrender to the employers, to the signing of the demands which were dictated by the chairman of the Arbitration Commission, the Fluncky of the Anglo-Indian bourgeoisie, a surrender all the more inadmissible since, as partial strikes which subsequently broke out proved the workers refused to give up the fight in spite of all their hardships. Only by learning from the severe lessons of the past struggle the working class will promote from its midst a consistent class leadership for the imminent, even more decisive strikes of the textile workers, railwaymen, miners,

and metal workers. With the growing intensity of, the revolutionary activity of the proletariat on one hand, and the bloody onslaught of imperialism against the workers' organisation on the other (the Trades Disputes Bill), the preparation and organisation of the general strike become the most urgent task of the current struggle. The Indian workers who performed wonders of endurance during the defensive fights in the fights of 1928, will show similar wonders of valour in the forthcoming aggressive fights.

In the work among the peasants the task is to pass from general slogans and to draw in the peasants to the real revolutionary struggle in the defence of the everyday interests of the masses. Your organisations cannot afford to wave aside even seemingly backward manifestations of the anger of the peasantry. You must endeavour in every manifestation of this kind to discover its revolutionary substance and to transfer it to a higher level of class-consciousness. In view of the tremendous variety of forms of land tenure in India, and the multitude of forms pre-capitalist and semi-feudal bondage, the best way to embrace the peasant-movement in the various districts and localities is to organise from below peasant leagues led wherever possible by agricultural labourers and poor peasantry proved in the fight. It is necessary, not only in words, but in deeds, to endeavour to raise the isolated actions of the peasants to the level of an agrarian revolution. Under the slogans of abolition of every form and vestige of feudalism and semi-feudalism, of confiscation of the land of Zemindars, usurers, priests and its transfer to the use of the toiling peasantry while securing in the first place the interest of the poor peasants, the agrarian revolution has been and remains the pivot of the national-revolutionary struggle in India.

In purging the leading bodies of your organisations from suspicious and unreliable elements, you will, of course, above all, be guided by the criterion of loyalty and devotion to the cause of the workers and peasants, remembering that the petty-bourgeoisie, not to speak of the bourgeois intellectuals, are closely tied up with the system of big landownership so that they must by all means combat the developing agrarian revolution.

Concerning organisational forms, your Conference will have to discuss the question of *separating the workers' organisations from the peasants' organisations*, so that the former be ensured a clear cut and consistent class development, and the latter the full embracing of the struggling peasantry. Provincial workers' and peasants' parties, after an appropriate distribution of their branches and members upon this class basis, are bound to develop in the future in revolutionary mass organisations of the workers on the one hand, into peasant leagues, and committees on the other, which in turn will strive to gain the leadership inside existing peasant

bodies or will build new peasant organisations. The periodical conferences and meetings of these mass organisations, called from time to time, should constitute one of the forms expressing the militant bloc of the worker and peasant masses. If your Conference accepts this point of view, it will put before itself the question of forming a Committee for the coordination of the activities of the local workers' and peasants' organisations, having in mind chiefly their independent revolutionary development upon the class basis.

The Indian toilers, in their hard struggle, are nearing the fulfilment of their great historic task. The proletariat now organising its forces can rely on the support of the peasantry, of the poor of the towns, and of all the oppressed and exploited of India for whom there is no salvation except as the result of the triumphant revolution. It can rely upon the support of the proletarians of all lands and of the oppressed peoples throughout all the world. We appeal to your Conference to wage a determined fight against waverings and backslidings to criticise grave opportunistic blunders, to work out the revolutionary tactics for the forthcoming fights, to pass to such forms of organisation which, as international revolutionary experience has proved, open the possibility for winning the masses to the cause of the Revolution.

Down with British imperialism !

Long live the revolutionary fight of the workers and peasants of India !

Long live the revolutionary rising of the colonies!

Long live emancipated Soviet India !

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

P. 479.

DWARKADAS Mns.

Bombay 4.

6 - 3 - 28.

Dear Muzaffar,

I received your letter today, on returning from Delhi. I have every hope of being able to leave Bombay for Calcutta this week, in consequence of a resolution of the E.C. of the T.U.C. whereby Kishorilal and myself are to inquire into the Bengal Unions and report on their existence or otherwise. My travelling expenses will be paid, so, apart from work here, there is no obstacle. Thanks for your invitation to the Peasants' and Workers' Party Conference.

With Dange I attended the T.U.C.E.C. meeting. We succeeded for the time in stopping the attempt to affiliate to the I.F.T.U. Purcell, Joshi etc. were very keen on it. Nothing was done about the "Council of Action", except to refuse money to it. Some money, 300 Rs. I think, was granted to one Saboo, to organise coolies in the Assam Tea Plantations. Do you know him? The other buisness was not of great interest, except the decision that the Workers' Welfare League of India is no longer necessary, as the British T.U.C. is now in direct touch with the Indian T.U.C. This is regrettable, and Dange and Thengdi opposed it.

I found our comrades at Delhi in a state of some confusion. I am afraid there is far more intrigue than work going on there.

That very undesirable person Begerhotta has turned up again, and begun causing mischief. But I shall tell you more about it when I see you. There is a Workers' and Peasants' Sangha or something at Meerut. You have probably seen that it has invited Chamanlal and Jinnah to preside over its conferences! Why the conferences are separate I don't know.

We heard dreadful stories at Delhi of the activities of Mukundalal. Giri and co., maintain that he has simply caused a small split in the Kharagpur branch of the Union. I should like to hear what has really happened, but from the accounts in the Press, it is clear that he has done nothing useful. He is expected here soon, I believe.

I have nothing to say, as I expect to see you this week.

Yours,

P. Spratt.

Superscription on the envelope:—

Mr. Mazaffar Ahmad,
2/1 European Asylum Lane,
CALCUTTA.

P. 480.

*Rejected as?
D 98/100*

THE WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY, BOMBAY.

17, Dwarkadas Mansions,
Sandhurst Road,
Bombay, 4.

My dear Muzaffar,

I have received your letter of the 11th instant, today when the situation has almost been normal. All these days the Girni Kamgar Union was working in full swing, and it is to the credit of the Party that the situation was fully under control of the union, in the Mill area. There was no communal rioting of any serious nature, and the union was issuing handbills every morning, telling the workers that there should be no communal difference in the union, which had both communities for as its members. As far as the Mill workers are concerned, they have behaved very splendidly, inspite of provocation from the Hindu Mahasabha or the Khilafat. The Mills have been working all the while, during these turbulent days, while we had shifted our headquarters day and night at the Naga Sajaji Wadi and were touring the Mill workers area. The Govt. has been provoking the workers, by wantonly breaking open their houses and snatching away sticks from them and their houses, while the Pathans have been allowed to carry their big sticks. Any way, the danger seems to be over, and the response of the worker to the Party's call to keep peace, has been very commendable.

We are in a similar position as you are, but you know we have been getting on as usual. Com. Bradley is quite well.

With greetings.

Yours,
S. V. Ghate.
14/2/29.

Dear Muzaffar,

I have already told the editor of Spark that it could only be my ghost to witness the death frenzy of Lenin in Moscow. I was in prison and that he also knows now. The mistake was due to the graphically dealing with the frenzy of the people in Moscow when Lenin died.

I hope you are alright.

B. C. to Spratt and Ajodhya Prasad. Is Halim there?
Usmani.

Superscription on the envelope:—

Muzaffar Ahmad, Esq.,

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

P. 481.

POSTS TELEGRAPHS. No.

Received here at H. M. 18 Feb. 29.
01487.

O KI LAHORE 18 13 MUZAFFAR AHMAD SECY
WORKERS PEASANTTS PARTY CALCUTTA.
ATTEND NARJAWAN CONFERENCE WITH
SPRATT=MAJID=

P. 482.

BOMBAY.

10/3/28.

My dear Muzaffar,

I have sent the papers to you by registered insured post. I hope you have received them by now. They could not be sent earlier for obvious reasons.

Dange has sent his manuscript one to you and the last section to Basak directly. I had received a letter from his.

The Scavengers' union must be congratulated on its success. We know that the Swarajists are not going to do anything unless forced to and a success of that section of workers, means a great triumph—though the increase in their wages can hardly be considered to be substantial.

Sircar had wired us calling Nimbkar to Lilluah—I think it is a matter within your jurisdiction and you should attend to it if you think it necessary.

Spratt may leave for Calcutta in a day or two. I shall let you know when he leaves.

Yours affly
S. V. GHATE.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR NEW MEMBERS AT ONDAL, RANIGANGE AND ASANSOL.

The new members will meet to form themselves into one or more branches as will be decided in consultation between them and Dharani and Kali. Each branch must elect a secretary, and fix upon a place of meeting, where its members shall arrange to meet regularly—weekly or fortnightly. The work of the branch for the present will be (1) self-instruction and education. The Party will send such literature as it can, and "Ganavani," so that a more thorough knowledge of Party principles and policy can be obtained. (2) Work within the E.I. Railway Union: the Party branch must see that the Union branches at Ondal and Asansol are kept working—meeting regularly and collecting subscriptions &c. and a systematic propaganda of our views must be made among the men. When elections to E.I.R.E.C. or other committees are made, one of our men should stand, and get the post if possible. (3) Work with other workers: perhaps after some little time, some comrades must get in touch with workers, e.g. in Burn's pottery works at Ranigunge, Burn's iron works at Asansol, collieries etc. One of these should be tackled first, and only when substantial progress has been made should they go on to another. They should try (1) to get the best workers into our Party (2) to establish a Union there, under the leadership if possible of men with our ideas. (4) Circulation of "Ganavani", "Kirti", and our future Hindi paper. These should all be pushed to the utmost, among workers especially, but among outsiders also.

The secretaries, or if necessary, other specially appointed comrades should see to these departments. Other work will follow later, in correspondence with the Party centre, (e.g. Peasant work, Congress. Commission and Const. Ass. agitation.)

P. 484.

Memo.

'Phone 235 Barabazar,
71/1, Mirzapur Street,
Calcutta.

From

SRI GOURANGA PRESS,

General Printers.

Received from Mr. Mozaffar Ahmad Rs. 53 (fifty three) only
for printing of Manifesto.

(Sd.) (Illegible.)

23-12-27.

P. 485.

Telegrams: "KIRTI"

Telephone: "714".

" K I R T I ".

THE ONLY LABOUR ORGAN IN URDU

The best
medium
for adver-
tisements.

Commands widest circulation

Amritsar 7th March 1929.
(India).

Dear Comrade,

I am very sorry that I could not reply to your letters earlier. I hope you will kindly excuse me for this negligence. The Truth is that I was very much busy with the 2nd session of the Naujwan Bharat Sabha about which you might have read in the Tribune.

The Editor of the Kirti has been arrested under section 124 A. He is out on bail now. The police have taken away some of the registers and papers and have not returned them up till now thus embarrassing us very much.

The Punjab is doing well, we hope you, along with comrade Spratt will be alright. I am safe up till now. We have never heard anything from our Bombay Comrades.

Hoping to hear from you soon.

Yours Fraternally
SOHAN SINGH.

General Secretary.

The Punjab Workers & Peasants Party, Punjab.

Superscription on the envelope:—

To

M. Muzaffar Ahmad

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

P. 486.

Main questions.

- Q. What is class?
A. A section of the people whose economic condition is equal or A section of people whose means of living are equal example:—working class, capitalist class Landlords class, Peasant class, Hand crafts, Shopkeepers, Clereks.

Additional questions.

- Q. Have you seen any strike?
A. Yes. A. B. C.
Q. Who were the parties in A. strike.
A. (1) workers.
(2) owner and manager.
Q. What were their points.
A. Reduction of wages and turning out some people illegally.
Q. (1) Why owners whats to deduct their wages and turn out some workers?
(2) Why workers were not agree to supports formers schem?
A. Former wants to exploit them more as at present. While latter want to improve their condition.

Q. Is there any section in the strike which was not effected but struck work with others.

A. Yes. So and so.

Q. Why they have sempthy workers and not with owners.

A. Because their interest and workers interest is the same.

Explanation.

So it is understood that workers class is one and owners deferent.

Similar other question, takes examples of war, political movement and so on.

Q. What is class struggle?

A. Struggle between two or more classes is class struggle.

Examples.

Great war, noncopration movement. Swaraj movement. Working class movement.

Q. Who were the parties in great war?

A. (1) Germany Turkey, Austria. etc., Poland.

(2) English, French, Aemrica etc.

Q. Why the great war broke out.

A. Because Germany whanted market from latter one (here general cause of the war to be explained.)

Q. Germany as a nation wanted market or some p. class.

A. Capitalist class.

Q. From whome?

A. English and others.

Q. if market were given that case England as a nation will loose or particular class?

A. Capitalist.

Q. Then who were the chief party in great war?

A. (1) German caplelst class and other cple.

(2) English and other caples.

Q. Who are party in Swaraj now?

A. India and English.

- Q. If India will gain Swaraj who will gain in India.
- A. Indias caplist and intellectual.
- Q. Whose interest will suffer.
- A. British caplesit and intellectual.
- Q. Then who are the party in Swaraj movement.
- A. (1) Indian Caplelst and intel. British Caplist and intells.
- Q. What was the great war ?
- A. A class struggle between E.C. and G. C.
- Q. What is swaraj movement.
- A. A class struggle between I.C. & I. & B.C. & I.
- Q. What was the A. Strike.
- A. A class struggle between workers and owner.

- Q. What is political struggle ?
- A. A class struggle between two classes.

POLITICS AND WORKING CLASS

(Specially India).

- Q. Can Indian Caplist lead Revolution.
- A. No, because I. & B. capital malgumated.
- Q. To explain who ownes A. Concern ?
- A. Indian Caplist.
- Q. is it pure Indian ?
- A. No some share belonging to Europeans also.
- Q. Who owned Tata ? so called noted Industry.
- A. Mostly Indians but some English also.
- Q. Who ownes B. Concern ?
- A. English C.
- Q. is it pure English concern.
- A. No some Indians.
- Q. do you know any concern which is pure Indian ?

- A. Not aware particular of all.
- Q. but as much you know what are they ?
- Q. is the burgosie struggle is for revolution or reward.
- A. Nearly all mix.
- A. Indian burgosie all struggle are for rewards
- Q. Can Indian Caplist stands alone ?
- A. No very difficut but impossible.
- Q. Supposing they stand alone. Will they loose or gain ?
- A. loose.
- Q. So is it possible for them to lead revolution ?
- A. No it is too late now.
- Q. What is the main object British Caplilist in India ?
- A. To exploit Indian masses.

P. 487.

POSTS TELEGRAPHS. No.

Received here at.....H.....M.

00003

Calcutta
2 SEP. 28
G. T. D.

X YL BOMBAY 1 14 GANAVANI CALCUTTA.

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS PREVENT DEPARTURE
MUZAFFAR SPRATT WANTED HERE IMMEDIATELY
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P-487. POSTS TELEGRAPHS. No.

Received here at.....H.....M.

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CALCUTTA.
2 SEP. 28.
G. T. D.

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ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL START BRING MORE
COPIES DANGES BOOK - GHATE.

P. 488.

THE WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY, BOMBAY.

17, Dwarkadas Mansions,

Sandhurst Road,

Bombay, 4.

6th August 1928.

My dear Muzaffar,

I got your telegram, in time but sorry I could not write earlier. Your letter has just been received, but not the copies of "A Call to Action". I hope the parcel will be delivered.

The strike situation here has changed, owing to the nefarious plans of the owners, who have determined to open the mills by batches. But the workers have displayed splendid solidarity, and today when the first batch of the 11 mills were opened - not one worker even went near a mill. Apart from that, even the few scabs that were going all these days, have stayed away. We are carrying on a programme of intense picketing during this fortnight, i. e. till the 20th instant, and each one of us has undertaken to supervise the mills, to see that people are not victimised, or in any way terrorised by the Police, into submission. The Police want to break the strike, but we will see that their attempts are frustrated.

I think we can go over to Calcutta at the end of this month - not earlier than 20th instant. If you send the money by the 20th, I will wire to you the definite date, we can start from here. By the 20th, we shall have gauged our strength, since the last of the mills will be opened according to the owners' schedule. So, I think you should put off this meeting till the 1st week of September.

Tell Spratt, that he is long overdue here.

Dange is going to Amritsar for the W. & P. Conference, of which he is elected president in the next month of course.

Halim can expect his T. T. there, early.

The Bardoli peasants have been betrayed by the Gandhian gang.

With greetings to all Comrades,

Yours fraternally,

S. V. Ghatge.

(You must advertise in your paper that "Hell Found" can be had from "Advance Literature Co" 97, Girgaon Rd, Bombay 4).

Superscription on the envelope:—

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

P. 489.

*Rejected on 1.
D. S. Speck.*

TRANSPORT WORKERS' UNION OF BENGAL

Temporary Head Office,
2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

5 Jan. 1929.

To the Manager,
Messrs.

Dear Sir,

At a meeting of the members of the above Union, who are your employees, the following demands were agreed to:

1 hour recess each day for meals.

8 hour day.

hours over 8 to be paid at proportionate rates.

Official religious holidays should be allowed without victimisation to both Hindu and Muhammadan workers. inc

increase of pay of Rs. 6 per gang per shift.

workers should be paid for work done at the end of the same week.

I am instructed to forward the above demands for your early and favourable consideration. A further mass meeting of the members of the Union will be called at an early date to consider your reply.

Yours faithfully,
General Secretary.
S. M. Shamsulhuda.

P. 490.

*Rejected cert!
Dopshalt*

TRANSPORT WORKERS' UNION OF BENGAL.

Temporary Head Office,

2/1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA.

4. 1. 28.

To the Manager,
Messrs.

Dear Sir,

At a mass meeting of the members of the above Union the following demands were agreed to

1 hour recess per day for meals

8 hour day.

Hours worked over 8 to be paid at proportionate rates.

Official Religious holidays should be allowed without victimisation to both Hindu and Mohamadan workers.

Increase of pay per shift of Rs. 6/-/-.

Workers should be paid for work done at the end of the same week.

I am instructed to forward the above demands for your early and favourable consideration,—a further mass meeting of the members of the union will be called at an early date to consider your reply.

Yours faithfully,

Transport Workers' Union of Bengal.

TEMPORARY HEAD OFFICE.

2/1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA.

January 1, 1928.

A meeting of the Transport Workers' Union of Bengal was held at the Kaliday Park at 5 P.M. today, with Mr. S.M. Shamsul huda in the Chair. The following resolutions were passed.

1. This meeting of the Transport Workers of Calcutta, in unison with all reputable working class organisation in country, resolves to boycott the Simon Commission, which is an instrument of Imperialism, designed only to perpetuate Imperialist rule in India. It condemns the action of certain Labour leaders who are trying to lead deputation on behalf of workers before the Commission, and declares that these persons and organisations are in no way representatives of the working class, and in particular of the Transport Workers.

2. This meeting of the Transport workers protests against the policy of the National Congress and the All-Parties Conference in adopting the Nehru Report and the basis of dominion Status for the government of India. It considers that these proposals are the beginning of a compromise between the upper classes of India and the British Imperialist as they will mean continuation of oppression of workers and peasants by capitalism and landlordism, and will bring about no improvement in the position of the poor. It condemns the proposals of the Nehru Report in the following particulars:

- (1) it safeguards British capital and exploitation in India.
- (2) it guarantees to pay foreign State debts.
- (3) it leaves the power of control politically in the hands of the Governors appointed by the imperialist British Government.
- (4) it leaves the army in the control of British Imperialist officers.
- (5) it guarantees property rights.
- (6) it continues the barbarous rule of the Princes over the 7 crore State subjects. This meeting therefore declared that the aim of working class is and remain complete independence from imperialist exploitation and rule, and the establishment of workers' socialist state.

(3) This meeting of the Transport Workers' Union of Calcutta condemns the Government's Trade Disputes Bill, and declares that all its provisions are reactionary and objectionable. It condemns the proposal to introduce conciliation machinery as harmful to the workers' cause and likely to prejudice their freedom to strike. It also condemns the proposal to prevent all strikes on railways, postal services, etc., and to prevent all sympathetic and political strikes.

This meeting therefore considers that the Trade Disputes Bill is a reactionary attack upon the rights of the working class which must be resisted by the most powerful means in the possession of the workers, namely the General strike. It congratulates the Trade Union Congress & All India Workers' & Peasants' Party Conference upon their decision to carry out a one day general strike of protest against the Bill if it is passed, and pledges itself to carry out this programme and to assist in the campaign of propaganda among the workers for a General Strike.

This meeting protests emphatically against the arrest and deputation by Government of comrade J. W. Johnstone, the fraternal delegate of the League Against Imperialism to the All India Trade Union Congress, and the All India Workers and Peasants Party Conference, who was in India for the purpose of expressing to the Indian Workers the solidarity of the workers of other countries and calls the attention of all workers to this latest expression of the completely capitalistic and reactionary nature of the Government, which seeks to deprive the working class movement of all freedom of action and expression.

General Secretary Transport Workers Union of Bengal.

P. 492.

"Chitramaya Jagat"—Special Russian number.
Vol 19 June, 1928.

P. 493.

*Rejected as P.
D. Appeal.*

We, the following gang-sardars engaged on flats of I.G.N. and Ry. Co. Ltd., R. S. N. Co. Ltd. and Andrew yule & Co. under the sub contract of Messrs. Pal Chaudhri, Yusin Chaudhri and Guni Babu, do hereby agree this fifth day of November 1928 to form a union together with the majority of the rank and file of workers who work under us, to fight for the betterment of the working and leaving condition and the increment of wages and to ractify other grievances whatever may arise and in whatever way decided by the opinion of the majority of the members of the union which will be styled as the "Bengal Transport Workers' Union". We shall not in any way betray the cause of other workers. We shall not desert the union when workers will be fighting to ameleorate their conditions. If any one of us breaks any of these conditions he will be legally made liable to pay a compensation amounting to the sum of Rs. 100/- (Rupees one hundred only) to the union.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Shaikh Jumman.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Shaikh Afzal Husain

(Left hand thumb impression)

Shaikh Riazuddin

(Left hand thumb impression)

Shaikh Abdul

(Left hand thumb impression)

Shaikh Yousuf

(Left hand thumb impression)

Nisarul Haq.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Fazle Haq.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Amiruddin.

(Left hand thumb Impression)

Abdul Gafor.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Abdur Razzak.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Shaikh Basheer.

(Left hand thumb impression]

Shaikh Qorban.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Jamruddin.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Siraj.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Illegible in Hindi.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Naziruddin.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Habib alias Salim.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Liaqat.

(Left hand thumb impression)

Abdussattar in Hindi.

P. 494.

One page of Bengali manuscript containing note on some lecture. On the back is written "Balmukund".

Shawi Merchant,

Suta Party.

New Punjabi Katra

P. 495.

7 copies in Urdu of aims and objects, rules and regulations of Kirti Kisan Party, Punjab, August, 1928.

P. 496.

The Peasants' & Workers' Party of Bengal Report of the Executive Committee, 1927-28, (Vide P. 52.)

P. 497.

7 copies of Urdu posters regarding the Second Punjab Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha Conference to be held on 22nd, 23rd & 24th February.

P. 498

Md. Muzaffar Ahmed

No. G. P. 5606

2/1 European Asylum Lane

71/1, Mirzapur Street.

College Square, East.

Calcutta, 12.4.1928

Dr. to Sri Gouranga Press

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Voucher No.

E. & O. E.,

M. N. BISWAS.

P. 499.

A/c No..... Shipping and Forwarding Dept.
P. Spratt. Esq. Reference Accounts.
Calcutta, 5-6-1928.

To Thos. Cook & Son, Ltd.
(Incorporated in England)
Bankers, Passenger and Forwarding Agents.
To charges on 4 packages In Store with our Bombay office.

To our Bombay office bill No. S. 4197.			
Rendered on 19. 5. 28.	Rs.	43	14
Rs. Forty three and annas fourteen only.			
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Thos. Cook & Son. Ltd			
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May. 1928			
Calcutta.			

P. 500.

No. 890 Date 6. 6. 28.

Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed.
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Please Receive from
SREE SARASWATY PRESS
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1. Ramanath Mazumdar St., Calcutta.
The following articles in good order.

1500 Pla cards Royal	
2000 Hand bills $\frac{1}{2}$ D/crown	

Please retain this

S. GANGA
Signature.

P. 501.

E. I. R. Union

Oudal.

28/5/28

Dear Muzaffar,

The workshopmen struck here this morning. That is all we have to report. Except that we are well and what not.

But we want one or two more men. Nirod said he could come in a day or two, so send him if you can. Or Halim. And send some of the Bengali "literature" with him.

Do you want me to write anything for Ganavani? or Dharani? If so please say what, and how long, and I shall do my best. We are, at the moment, in a better place than we had at Chengail, and perhaps I shall be able to do some writing.

Yours.

P. Spratt.

Dear Muzaffar.

Remember the case of 28th of the Scavengers. Instruct Pyari to conduct the same if the Scavengers are alright. Have 3/4 Rupees from Nirod and manage it anyhow. Whenever you require me, wire at once to me, in the above address. Send ~~some~~ a few copies of our party programme, this years report, and other important papers, necessary for propagnda. We are getting nice response from the young men here. Of course these young men all factory workers.

Yours

DHARANI

P. 502.

COPIED.

Nederlandsch Indische Handelsbank.

(Netherlands India Commercial Bank.)

All Letters to be addressed Telephone No. 2786
and Remittances made payable Post box No. 2338.
to Netherlands India Commercial Telegraphic address;
Bank. CALCUTTA. "HANDELBANK."

The Manager, Calcutta, 13th December 1928.

P. Spratt Esq

2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

In accordance with your application of date we herewith beg to inform you having despatched at your risk and without any responsibility on our part, an urgent telegram to our office in Bombay to pay Rs 500/- to Mr. B. F. Bradley Appollo Chambers Tulloch Street Fort.

The cost of the T. T. (including ~~excluding~~ message a Rs. 1/8/- is at the rate of exchange a Rs 1/- Comm: Rs. 502-8-0. for which amount we duly received your cheque. ~~we have debited your account.~~ cash

Please send us Rs. _____, being cost of cable, We have debited your account with. and oblige.

Yours faithfully,

NEDERLANDSCH INDISCHE HANDELSBANK

(Netherlands India Commercial Bank)

Sd/- Illegible.

Accountant.

P. 503.

Md. Muzaffar Ahmed.

No. G. P. 4593

2/1 European Asylum

71/1, Mirzapur Street

Lane.

College square, East.

Calcutta, 4-4-1928.

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M. N. Biswas.

for Sri Gouranga Press.

6/4/28.

P. 504.

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P. 505.

The Editor Ganavani.....Dr.

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Manager.

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S. Ganguly.
16. 6. 28.

Second page.

The Secy. Bengal Peasant & workers' party Dr.

To SREE SARASWATY PRESS.

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P. 506.

A book entitled "LENIN" by Valerin Marcu, translated by E.W. Dickes.—1928.

P. 507.

"GANDHI Vs LENIN" by S. A. Dange, Published by Liberty Literature Co., Bombay No. 2.

P. 508.

Report of Third Annual Conference of the National Minority Movement August 28th, 29th, 1926.

P. 509.

"THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION" edited by Andrew Rothstein. Published for The Information Department of the Russian Trade Delegation by The Labour Publishing Company Ltd., 38, Great Ormond Street, London.

P. 510.

"Elementary Course of Communist Party Training" with a preface by T. B.—Published by The Communist Party of Great Britain, 16, King Street, W. C. 2.

P. 511.

"Trade Unions in Soviet Russia"—

Their development and present position—by A. Lozovsky, (Member of the Executive Committee of the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions).

P. 512.

"Sunday Worker" No. 203, d/ 27-1-29.

P. 513.

16 Copies of "Ganavani".

only T. Rejected

P. 514.

150 copies of

THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY

OF

BENGAL.

CONSTITUTION

1928

Central Office :

2-1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE,

CALCUTTA.

THE
Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal

CONSTITUTION.

1. Name: The name of the Party is the **Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal**. It will be styled in Bengali as **Bangiya Krishak-O-Shramik Dal**.

N. B. This Party shall be the integral part of the **Workers' and Peasants' Party of India** which is yet to be formed,

2. Object: The object of the Party is the attainment of **Complete Independence** from **British Imperialism** and thorough democratisation of India based on economic and social emancipation and political freedom of men and women.

3. Means: The rallying the People to **Mass Action** will be the principal means for the attainment and realisation of the above objects.

4. Extent: The activities of the Party will extend to the entire province of Bengal and the Bengali speaking districts of Assam and Bihar and Orissa.

5. Membership: (a) The membership of the Party shall be of two kinds.

(1) Individual and (2) Affiliated.

(b) Any person not below the age of 18 years who will subscribe to the object, constitution and programme of the party may be taken in as an individual member of of the party subject to the approval of the Executive Committee. Every individual member, except students and women will have to become a member of some workers' or peasants' union within two months of his becoming a member of the Party.

(c) The Executive Committee of the Party shall have power to affiliate with it any workers' or peasants' union which is in sympathy with the object and programme of the Party. The Party shall undertake the work of giving the members of affiliated unions class-conscious education in trade unionism and politics, and shall assist the work of the unions by advice and propaganda.

6. Subscription. (a) Each individual member of the Party shall pay in advance an annual subscription of Rupee one. In the case of the individual being a worker or a peasant the subscription will be Four Annas annually. The Executive Committee may exempt any body from subscription if it thinks so desirable.

(b) Affiliated organisations shall have to pay annually at the rate of One Pice per member with a minimum of Rs. 5/- No organisation shall be compelled to pay more than Rs. 50/- annually.

MANAGEMENT

7. (a) The work of the Party shall be conducted in the following way :—

There shall be held an **Annual Conference** of the Party. This Conference or the Congress of the proposed—“Workers' and Peasants' Party of India”—shall direct and control the policy and programme of the Party.

(b) The Annual Conference of the Party shall be held with all individual members and affiliated societies so long as the membership of the Party does not reach a sufficient number. With the growth of members the Conference shall be held with individual members and delegates of the affiliated unions.

(c) **Special Conference :** In case of emergency the Enlarged Executive Committee or the Executive Committee shall have power to summon a special Conference, one third of the members of the Enlarged Executive Committee or two thirds of the members of the Executive Committee agreeing such a Special Conference may be convened.

(d) **Enlarged Executive Committee :** There shall be an Enlarged Executive Committee of the Party. This Committee shall be constituted within one month after the Annual Conference or meeting of the Party. The members of this Committee shall be elected from amongst the individual and affiliated members, the affiliated unions and branches of the Party electing one representative for every 1000 members, provided that every affiliated union or branch shall in any event elect one representative.

(e) If between two annual election there is vacancy in the Enlarged Executive Committee of the representatives of any affiliated unions or if any new union is affiliated the affiliated union concerned shall elect some of its members to fill up the vacancy or to represent it thereon as the case may be ; and if there is a vacancy of representative of the individual members the Enlarged Executive Committee shall fill up the vacancy by nominating a member from amongst the individual members.

(f) The work of the Party shall be conducted under the guidance of the Enlarged Executive Committee which shall meet every three months.

(g) Whenever required the Executive Committee on its own motion may, or if requisitioned in writing either jointly or separately by one fifth of the members of the Enlarged Executive Committee

must, convene a meeting of the Enlarged Executive Committee. Fifteen members of the Enlarged Executive Committee shall form a quorum for the purpose of a meeting.

(h) **Executive Committee :** There shall be an Executive Committee of the Party elected every year from amongst the individual and affiliated members, residing in or near Calcutta during the Party's annual conference.

(i) If between two elections there is any vacancy in the Executive Committee the Committee shall itself fill up the vacancy from among the individual or affiliated members.

(j) The Executive Committee shall be entrusted to carry out the programme of work of the Party and it shall be responsible to the Enlarged Executive Committee for its work. The Executive Committee shall submit an annual report of its work duly passed by the Enlarged Executive Committee to the Annual Conference of the Party.

(k) For facilitation of works there shall be different groups in the Executive Committee. The members of the Executive Committee shall not exceed twenty and five members of it shall form a quorum for the purpose of a meeting. The Executive Committee shall meet at least once per month.

(l) The member of the Executive Committee shall automatically be considered as members of the Enlarged Executive Committee.

(m) **Office Bearers:** The Executive Committee shall elect from its members one Chairman, two Vice-Chairmen, one General Secretary, two or more Group or Sectional Secretaries and one Treasurer.

BRANCHES

8. (a) A branch of the Party shall be established under the supervision of the Executive Committee in any town or village where there are twelve members.
- (b) The branch shall elect a secretary, chairman, treasurer and branch committee.
- (c) The branch secretary shall receive instructions from the Executive Committee and shall report on branch activities etc, to the Executive Committee, at least monthly.
- (d) Branches of affiliated unions shall be affiliated to the local branches of the Party and shall be represented on its committee.

- (e) The Secretary and Treasurer of the branch shall collect subscriptions from the members. Funds collected shall be allocated as decided upon between the branch Committee and the Executive Committee.
- (f) The branch committee shall subject to the direction of the Executive Committee, supervise and direct all Party work and propaganda within its area.

RULES

- 9. (a) The Enlarged Executive Committee shall have power to frame general rules for carrying out the programme of the Party.
- (b) Every member of the Executive Committee and the Enlarged Executive Committee shall have to raise some subscription for the Party.
- (c) Any member of the Executive Committee who fails to attend four successive meetings shall automatically cease to be a member.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1928.

CHAIRMAN.

- 1. Atul Chandra Gupta, M. A. B. L.

VICE CHAIRMAN.

- 2. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta, M. A. D. L.

GENERAL SECRETARY.

- 3. Muzaffar Ahmad.

SECTIONAL SECRETARY (*Labour*).

- 4. Dharani Kanta Goswami.

MEMBERS.

- 5. Kalidas Bhattacharya.
- 6. Nikhil Roy.
- 7. Gopendra Chakravarty.

8. M. Abdur Razzak Khan.
9. Abdul Halim.
10. Aftab Ali.
11. Nirod Kanta Chakravarty.
12. Pyari Mohan Das.
13. Sudhindra Nath Chakravarty.

*Printed at Zinat Fine Printery, at 28, European
Asylum Lane, Calcutta.*

P. 515.

Two copies of "Political Resolution" (vide P. 56).

P. 516.

"Pyame Mazdoor" Vol: I, No. 2, dated 10-3-29.

P. 517.
4 Copies of
THE
Workers' and Peasants' Party
OF BENGAL.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE

BHATPARA 1928.

A. Call to Action

CENTRAL OFFICE:
2-1, EUROPEAN ALYLUM LANE,
CALCUTTA.

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal

PRELIMINARY REPORT OF ANNUAL CONFERENCE

In order to bring its views, aims and methods before the public better than can be done by newspaper reports, the Workers' and Peasants' Party has decided to publish this short account of its preliminary recent Annual Conference. The Conference was held at Bhatpara on March 31 and April 1; which the President, Atul Chandra Gupta, M.A., B.L. in the Chair. The subject most discussed was organisation of the Party, but an effort was made to state the political position of the Party more definitely and to outline more clearly its policy and tactics in regard to various special questions. Thus in addition to the Executive Committee's resolution on the Political Situation, there were passed detailed resolutions on the Trade Union Movement, Youth, and the Peasantry.

The Political Resolution attempts a systematic account of the position of India at the present day, in regard both to its relations with the outer world, and to its internal affairs. The disturbed condition of the world under the reign of universal imperialism and the probability of war, especially between Britain and Russia, in the near future, are pointed out. The decline in the political and economic power of Britain forces the British imperialists to cling ever more tightly to India and to exploit her more intensely. The idea of India's attaining a tolerable position by agreement with Britain is ridiculous. Nevertheless Britain in order to maintain her power in India must come to a compromise with larger sections of the Indian upper classes, including now a large part of the industrial capitalists, hitherto the leaders of the nationalist movement and the congress. The capitalist representatives of the nation have almost ceased to fight, except in their own interest. They are not in favour of complete independence, nor democratic forms of government, nor the increased well-being of the people. The result has been that the Congress movement almost collapsed. It is only now rising again, with a new outlook and different aims.

A survey of the different sections of Indian society reveals a number of class conflicts which divide the nation more and more into two camps. The working class, the peasants, and a large part of the middle class are slowly beginning to revolt against the capitalist class, the landlords, the State rulers, the bureaucracy and the Government. The former fight for national freedom, the latter oppose. The two great movements, for national independence and for the economic emancipation of the masses, are becoming one.

In the light of this analysis, current events are surveyed. Thus, on the Statutory Commission and its landing in India, the resolution says:

“The collapse of the Non-operation movement was not at first realised, and expectation of its resumption and triumph continued for some time. But years went by, the policy of the Council Parties became more and more compromising, and no effort was made to revive a mass movement. Hope of progress along the old lines gradually faded, and at the same time the class conflict within the country and the Congress made itself increasingly felt. At first the reaction on the part of Congress supporters was growing indifference, but later it developed into a vague but increasingly acute discontent. The lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie who had been drawn into the Non-co-operation movement were becoming impatient for a forward move. This tendency has been assisted by various factors—prolonged economic stagnation, the growth of a war-atmosphere (preparations on the frontiers, failure to disarm, despatch of troops to China, etc.), disappointment at the complete failure of the British Labour Government to do what had been expected of a party pledged to self-determination and a fight against Imperialism, the Chinese and Japanese events, continued provocation by Imperialism (the Exchange question, the Bengal detentions and other repressive measures), Saklatvala's propaganda, Miss Mayo's book and its alleged official patronage, all have had their effect. A new policy is being sought, and a national feeling is once again arising, with a partial abandonment of the old ideas. The rise in various provinces of an organised Youth Movement after the absorption of the previous generation of the organised Youth in Congress agitation and subsequent stagnation, is symptomatic of the process. The increasing organisation and militancy of the workers, as shown in numerous recent strikes, adds to the volume of protest against the existing order.

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

The appointment of the Statutory Commission without Indian members rendered a policy of conciliation by the bourgeois

leaders for a time impossible. So great was the general indignation that even the most compromising groups among the bourgeois nationalists have been forced to support the policy of Boycott, conditional or absolute.

The result has been to further exposure of the bourgeoisie, and to strengthen them temporarily as the national leaders. It has further hampered a serious campaign of mass opposition on the basis of the Boycott agitation. Nevertheless the public feeling has developed very strongly, in spite of all efforts to accentuate the communal divisions, so that the Congress and even the Liberal and others groups have had to go farther in the direction of mass opposition than they at first wished (the Independence Resolution and the agreement by the Benares meeting to an All-India hartal). The masses too are entering the movement to a certain extent. (In Bombay three Unions took formal decisions to strike, and more than thirty thousand workers actually struck and demonstrated. Many workers took part in other places.)"

The conduct of the leaders of the Congress and the other Parties since the leading of the Commission has been far from satisfactory to many sections. Yet, out of fear of destroying "unity", adverse comment has been suppressed, and little or no criticism has appeared in the Press or elsewhere. We do not think that this state of things is healthy, or that "unity", based on abandonment of principle is desirable. Accordingly in discussing the All-Parties Conference, the resolution proceeds:

"Nevertheless the desertion of the majority of the bourgeois leaders, both within the Congress and without, is certain and is already taking place. They have partially abandoned the policy of abstention from the legislatures. Many, e.g. in the Assembly debate, openly appeal for Indian membership of the Commission, and admit the right of Imperialism to the last word in deciding the future of India. Boycott of principle was abandoned by the Assembly resolution which merely declared unacceptable the "present constitution and scheme of the Commission". The decision to draft a Constitution by the All-Parties' Conference is an admission of the right of the British Government to decide whether it shall be granted or not. Otherwise a statement of rights and a programme of action are all that are required of the All-Parties' Conference. The formula which it has accepted, "Full responsible government" and the apologetic plea that "Dominion status is a step towards Independence," mark the collapse of the Congress programme of complete independence. The quibbling over the communal differences show that no fundamental change in the nature of the government is ought, and the petty sectional interests of to-day

are allowed excessive importance. The decision, not to advocate the alteration of the despotic regime prevailing in the Indian States, means that the fight which the nationalist movement must carry on against feudal oppression is to be shirked. The almost unanimous opinion in favour of a second chamber based on some restricted franchise shows the reactionary and unrepresentative nature of the conference, and effectually disposes of the pretence that mass support is to be sought to enforce the demands. The almost entirely bourgeois composition of the conference determines its intentions and policy. The participation of the Trade Union Congress is of no significance, as it is rightly believed to be under bourgeois control. How seriously the inclusion of the Trade Union Congress is taken is shown by the decision not to admit the right of strike among the "rights of workers and peasants."

Nevertheless we agree that some Congress leaders are honestly mistaken in their compromise with the non-Congress Parties, and we appeal to them to give up their incorrect policy:

"Those Congress leaders who have agreed to the All-Parties Conference decisions have clearly shown that their advocacy of complete independence is insincere. The plea of Unity put forward to justify this action is entirely specious. Unity is possible only on the basis of a common principle. Those who want complete independence cannot compromise with those who are opposed to it. The sacrifice of complete independence for the sake of unity with the bourgeois parties is a betrayal of the immense majority of the population for the favour of a minute reactionary minority. Even the agreement of the bourgeois majority to many democratic principles, embodied in the All-Parties Conference decisions, is no adequate gain to weigh against the abandonment of the forward policy implied in the principle of the complete independence, and those who have agreed to this bargain are guilty of a serious tactical mistake, if no more."

The results of this policy are manifestly harmful, and the movement is being once more let down by the sterility and wrong policy of its leadership, due, not to lack of intelligence, but to its class interests. The masses must be aroused, but the bourgeoisie are afraid of arousing them. In the All-Parties Conference the proceedings have been notable only for their timidity and dullness. Outside, an equally painful absence of leadership has been shown:

"The agitation in the country of the Congress leaders, led by Bengal, is confined to the Boycott of British goods. This is a reformist weapon, intended to extort a compromise—alone it can do no more—from the Government. The bourgeois class is demonstrating once more its inability any longer to lead the national movement.

The middle classes, to whom the Boycott propaganda is directed, are reacting to it only in a half-hearted manner. Confidence in the majority of the bourgeois leaders has not been restored by their verbal radicalism over the Commission, and the masses generally are unwilling to be exploited for what they now know to be only the compromising ends of the bourgeoisie. There is a grave danger that the mass protest and indignation caused by the Commission will be allowed to die away in disappointment. Nothing but a militant and uncompromising practical lead will restore it to life and enable it to grow."

The Workers' and Peasants' Party claims to give that lead:

"The policy of the Party must be to carry forward the campaign for the boycott of the Commission to the utmost extent in spite of any sabotage. Strikes and hartal must be encouraged, and the masses brought into the movement by associating their demands with the national slogans. The campaign must demand *complete national independence*, and a *constituent assembly* elected by universal adult suffrage, which will decide finally the relation of India to the Empire and solve the pressing economic problems of the masses. No genuine leader of the people can but support such demands, which are clearly the minimum requirements of a nation demanding freedom.

The slogan of the Boycott of British goods may be supported as a means of arousing enthusiasm, but only as a subsidiary to the slogan of a Constituent Assembly. As opposed to the programme of the All-Parties Conference the Party must demand on behalf of the masses Complete Independence, and the establishment of democracy—Universal adult suffrage, freedom of speech etc., the abolition of the Native States and the landlord system, and the guarantee of the economic, political & social rights which the workers and peasants as classes require."

We contend that the call for a "Constituent Assembly" is the only practically useful lead which has been given since the Hartal was decided upon. The country is ready for this measure. The Commission, the Boycott and the Hartals have aroused the feeling of the public as it has not been aroused for years.

This feeling can be given expression through a really popular constituent assembly. The immense power of the masses, all their vaguely felt grievance and protest against the present system, can be concentrated and clarified by this means. If the mass campaign for complete independence which Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar and others propose, is devoted not to mere emotionalism, but to the practical work of rousing and organising the masses in preparation for a constituent assembly, to be called at some fixed and early date, than India will have made a big and valuable step forward.

OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE CONGRESS.

Our position in relation to the National Congress should be clear from what has been said above. Nevertheless, as many indulge in propaganda against us, saying that we are opposed to the Congress, a little more attention may be devoted to this point.

Our Manifesto to the Indian National Congress, Madras 1927, said:

"The programme of bourgeois nationalism (defence of the interests of the landowning and capitalist classes) has failed to stir the enthusiasm of the nation. The people must assert itself and move towards freedom in spite of the timidity of the bourgeoisie. The National Congress must be liberated from the influence of their spokesmen. Those willing to fight honestly and courageously for freedom must become the leaders of the people. The National Congress, if it wishes to conduct the struggle for national liberation must become the party of the people, representing not the fortunate few of the electorate, but the unfranchised majority. Council chambers present too restricted a field of operation for the party of the people, which must find much wider spheres of action."

Again in our Annual Report for 1927-28, it is remarked:

"On the other hand we must be careful not to oppose the National Congress without sufficient definition of our opinions, or we shall enable our opponents to claim that we are anti-Congress, or even anti-national, and that we stand merely for the sectional claims of labour. Recent developments in the policy of the Congress leaders, their action in connection with the Scavengers' strike (recruiting blacklegs) etc., show that there is a tendency to mobilise nationalist sentiment against us in a Fascist manner. It is unnecessary to say that this development may become an extremely dangerous one for us and for the movement. We must maintain our alliance with as large a stratum as possible of the middle class, and can ally with any section, whatever its social basis, which fights against imperialism. The basis of our opposition to the Swaraj Party is not that it is bourgeois, but that it is not whole-heartedly for national independence."

And finally, the political resolution passed at Bhatpara contains the following passage:

"We must endeavour to make the Congress adopt a programme of mass demands and to support them in its current propaganda. We and our sympathisers must become members of the provincial and All-Indian Congress Committees, and take active part in such work as leads towards the development of mass movement. We must support the Congress while it fights Imperialism, but must

not hesitate to criticise the compromising tendencies of Congress leaders however prominent. The alliance of the Party with the petty-bourgeois "left" of the Congress must be consolidated, on the basis of direct action for complete independence, against the compromising bourgeois leadership."

These passages should make it clear that we are not opposed to the Congress. Like a great many others, we are not satisfied with the present Congress policy, but, unlike many other, we know what is wrong with Congress policy and our object is to change it.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

The resolution on this subject passed at our recent conference, begins:

"The Trade Union movement, which must in the future play a very important part in the political struggle of the country, it yet in a very backward condition. To remedy this is one of the most important tasks before the party, and demands a large part of its attention and energy.

The chief weaknesses of the movement are:—

(1) Insufficient organisation, resulting particularly in the lack of provision for the effective participation of the members in the work, and determination of policy.

(2) The tendency to restrict the organisation to narrow bounds, of locality, trade or craft, & its result in the prevalence of rival and overlapping unions.

(3) Absence of a militant policy; paying excessive attention to minor grievances, and neglecting the important questions, wages, etc.

(4) Fear of politics.

(5) Unbusiness-like methods, which reduce efficiency and open the door to corruption.

The Trade Union movement has not yet learnt to avoid the mistakes committed by older movements. In particular the British Trade union movement, universally taken as a model, illustrates the necessity of participation in politics, and the dangers of sectarianism and insularity on the part of unions.

The chief root of the faulty organisation and policy of the movement is its domination by leaders drawn from the middle classes, who may have little or no knowledge of Trade Unionism

or politics, and who in some cases act as conscious agents of capitalism. They have shaped the movement to their ends, and imbued it with their outlook."

Everybody knows that this is the state of things in the Trade Unions, which consequently, instead of being, as in China, a tremendous and active force fighting for national freedom, are held, quite rightly, in contempt by almost all politicians. We are setting ourselves to alter this state of things.

YOUTH.

The resolution on the Youth Movement passed by the Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference, contains the following account of the political future before the Youth of India. and the paths which they can follow :

"The Youth is the only section of society able to free itself from the obsolete ideas of the older nationalist movement, and it is therefore upon the youth that the responsibility rests of forming and educating the new mass nationalist movement. The efforts of the old bourgeois school to retain its control over the Congress, the Trade Union movement, etc., can only be defeated by the new, more vigorous ideas developed by the youth.

In the conflict now developing in India, there are only two sides. Increasingly the upper classes, including a large section of the bourgeoisie, fight on the side of Imperialism against the rising mass movement. Any effort to find a middle course must necessarily fail. All experience of movements based on the middle classes proved that they must take sides, either with the bourgeoisie or with the working class. Fascism, a movement mainly of the middle classes, always and everywhere serves the interest of capitalism. Indian Fascism can only serve the cause of Imperialism, since Imperialism and Indian capitalism are in ever closer alliance. By striking at the working class organisations, Fascism would destroy the only force which can free India from Imperialism.

The rising generation is faced with two lines of action. It may pursue the path of traditional "pure" nationalism, which will inevitably lead to the defence of capitalism, and hence of Imperialism and of political and social reaction. Or it may take the side of the historically progressive mass movement, assist it in its difficulties, and advance the cause of national independence, democracy, and economic and cultural progress.

The youth of all India is now awakening to consciousness on a great scale. It is essential that the Workers' and Peasants'

Party should attract to its banner the newly organising forces of the youth. It must take energetic measures to draw as large a proportion as possible to the side of the masses, and to give them its scientific social outlook and energetic radical policy."

We ask all intelligent persons to consider the account given above of our aims and policy, and to decide whether it is not scientifically sound, and the only policy capable of achieving what all desire to achieve—national independence, and relief from the poverty and oppression which keep nine-tenths of our population in misery.

CALCUTTA:

The 6th April, 1928.

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

P. 518.

A pamphlet entitled "Sacco & Venzetti"—

The exploiter vs. the exploited. Printed by D. S. Sakhalkar at the Lokasevak Press, Khatar Building, Bombay. Published by Shantatram S. Mirajkar, Secretary, The Workers' & Peasants' Party Bombay at 17 Dwarkadass Mansion, Bombay 4.

P. 519.

250 copies of "Ganavani"

P. 520.

3 copies of Langal, dated 25th March, 8th April, and 15th April 1926.

P. 521.

A pamphlet entitled "What the Students of other Country
have done" (Russia)—

"What our student should do (India)—

A Friend.

P. 522.

Two copies of "New Masses".

P. 523.

A CALL TO ACTION

BEING THE

**Resolutions, theses and Report presented
to the Third Annual Conference
of the Workers' and Peasants'
Party of Bengal.**

BHATPARA, MARCH-1928.

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL

2-1, European Asylum Lane. Calcutta,

1928.

ANNAS 8.

A CALL TO ACTION

BEING THE

RESOLUTIONS, THESES AND REPORT PRESENTED TO

THE THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY

OF BENGAL

BHATPARA, MARCH, 1928.

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL

2-1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

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2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta by MUZAFFAR AHMAD.

PREFACE.

This report is published by the Executive Committee, in the hope that it will prove valuable to some of these many who are striving towards a more practical and more effective political policy than has hitherto been offered to us. Although far more study is required, particularly of the question of the peasantry, the resolutions* here given represent, in the opinion of the committee, a real attempt to found a political policy upon a thorough examination of the situation with which the policy has to deal. We do not attempt to conceal our sentiment in favour of national independence, and in favour of the poverty-stricken masses, but the study of the whole position has been carried out, so far as possible, in an objective manner, and the conclusions drawn therefore deserve more attention than any based on mere sentiment or on concealed class interest.

Much of what is contained in the resolutions may appear to be trite, but it is thought worthy of repetition, as the guiding thread throughout is the unfamiliar one of class interests and class struggle as the chief determinants of political events. But in addition to the analysis of the situation and the present and future lines of development, we want to draw attention to the lead given for the immediate future by the resolutions. The general policy is the development of mass movement, based on the economic and social needs of the masses, for which a suggested programme is given in the appendix. The chief battle cry put forward for the immediate future is that of a Constituent Assembly.

We contend that the call for a Constituent Assembly is the only practically useful lead which has been given since the Hartal on the arrival of the Commission was decided upon. The country is ready for this measure. The Commission and the Hartal have aroused the feeling of the public as it has not been aroused for years. It would be criminal to waste this opportunity, as we fear it is being wasted. The feeling of the public can be given expression to by a really popular Constituent Assembly. The immense power of the masses, their vaguely felt grievance and protest against the present system, can be concentrated and clarified by this means. If the mass campaign for complete independence which Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar and others propose, is devoted, not to mere emotionalism, but to the practical work of rousing and organising the masses in preparation for a Constituent Assembly and a real struggle for their wants, then India will have taken a really valuable step towards freedom.

* The five main resolutions were originally drafted by a joint Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Parties of Bengal and Bombay. All except that on the Peasantry have since been substantially altered.

Finally we wish to emphasise a point which causes some misunderstanding, though it is dealt with clearly in several passages of the Report and Resolutions, namely, our relations with the Congress and the bourgeois nationalist. For our criticism of the Congress and our support of the workers and peasants against the capitalists and landlords, we are accused of being anti-nationalist and of splitting the national forces. As is shown in the general resolution, we are not responsible for this split; we merely recognise the fact that it has occurred, and that it has a profound bearing upon the national movement. The split has been going on for many years. It took a decisive turn six years ago at Bardoli. Since then even that section of the Indian capitalist class which is associated with the Congress is in the main opposed to national independence. We conclude that the capitalist as a class are no longer capable of acting as the leaders of the national struggle for freedom, and that their interests and demands are no longer adequate to represent the whole nation. But the leaders of the Congress are still in the main class-conscious adherents of the capitalist class. We have therefore to oppose and expose their policy, with the object of removing them from their position of Congress leaders. But at the same time we build up our own organisation. The masses cannot wait until the Congress changes its policy and personnel so as to take up sincerely the work of organising and leading them. Nevertheless we are always willing to work with the Congress, even while criticising its leaders, for the attainment of common objects.

We propose to conduct in our organ "Ganavani" a discussion of the policy laid down in this volume. We invite contributions and criticism from those who are interested.

Executive Committee.

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A CALL TO ACTION

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL.

THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

The Conference took place on Saturday March 31st and Sunday April 1st at Bhatpara, in a pandal erected near their central office by comrades of the Bengal Jute Workers' Association. The President, Atul Chandra Gupta M. A., B. L. was in the chair, and in all about 80 members attended, including representatives from Dacca and from the Mymensingh Branch, and from the Bengal Jute Workers' Association, which is affiliated to the Party. 100 to 150 visitors also attended. Messages were received from a member of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay, the President and Secretary of the Bengal Trade Union Federation, and Mr. Atul Chandra Sen of Dacca, regretting their inability to be present.

On the first day the proceedings began at 3 p. m. when Comrade A. Roy on behalf of the Executive Committee read the Report, copies of which in Bengali and English were circulated.

The President then made a short introductory speech in Bengali, and the resolution on the general political situation was read and seconded. On the second day the general resolution was rendered in Hindi, and the remaining resolutions were moved and discussed.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

The President gave a short speech in Bengali, in which he remarked that the prospects for our work now are brighter than a year ago. We have a larger and more active membership, and the political situation gives more scope for a militant and energetic policy. He warned particularly the "intellectuals" in the Party against neglecting the fundamental work of organising the workers and peasants. Whatever our theory and policy may be, without that work the Party cannot maintain its existence.

The circumstances of India render our work peculiarly difficult. We have to wage an effective fight against both our own exploiters and the foreign Government, and these two, though usually in alliance, are not necessarily or always so. We have to pursue a policy and conduct much of our work in the economic sphere, but at the same time if we keep aloof from politics our movement will have no value at all. Many labour leaders by doing this achieve the favour of the Government, and labour leaders generally are therefore looked upon with suspicion by many. Our

movement, while fighting for economic demands, must be a political one, and for the present our political work must be done to a large extent in connection with and within the Congress, which we must aim to capture.

GENERAL POLITICAL SITUATION.

Introduction :—An examination and analysis of the present situation of India, which is necessary for the formulation of a correct party policy, requires to take into account many factors. It is necessary to give a brief description of the world economic and political situation in its bearing upon India, the general situation of Imperialism and the colonial countries, the British Empire generally and in particular the position of India within it. In more detail it will be necessary to discuss the economic strength and political organisation of the chief forces and groups with India the British bourgeoisie, the various groups of Indians, Natives States, land-owning interests, financial, commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, middle classes, peasants, working class. In the light of this analysis current political events must be surveyed and Party policy in different spheres laid down.

The International Position :—(2) *Stabilisation*—The period of the struggle by the capitalist states for stability after the war is now coming to an end, a new and relatively stable position has been achieved. At no time has complete freedom from war or revolution on an important scale been actually reached, but the tendency is in this direction, and the conditions are preparing for a new plunge, as in 1914, into international chaos. (2) *Prospect of War* :—The chief features of the new situation are, the relative progress of capitalism in the backward countries and the U. S. A., and the recession of capitalist prosperity in the older countries. Exploitation of labour and unemployment have generally increased greatly, political reaction in an extreme form is triumphant, the pressure of international competition is greatly increased, armaments are larger than ever before, and war is manifestly to occur in the near future.

The Soviet Republics not only add greatly to the strength of the movements for emancipation all over the world but prove the possibility of socialistic reconstruction of society by the working masses alone. They constitute a menace to the stability of Imperialism and capitalist exploitation, and the capitalist world, especially Britain, prepares to attack and destroy this menace. Only the unstable state of international relationship in Europe and the class situation in Britain have prevented the consummation before this time of the policy of attack on Russia. The danger of

war against the workers' Republics is increasing and demands the attention of the masses. Simultaneously are developing between capitalist countries a number of conflicts of which the most dangerous is that between Britain and U. S. A. (3) *Strengthening of the Revolutionary Labour Movement.* At the same time, the labour movement in the capitalist countries is increasing in strength (The Norwegian Labour Government, recent victories in the German Elections, the British Miners, etc.). (4) *Colonial Question:*—The economic and political development in the colonial countries has given rise to movements of revolt against the imperialist powers led, e.g. in Egypt and China by the native bourgeois class which has come into existence as a by-product of industrial development. In China the movement was later taken up by the masses whose condition under the increased exploitation became intolerable. The movement acquired a mass character, and once again showed that the only real leadership for a movement of colonial freedom is the working class. The treachery and desertion of the bourgeoisie, in alliance with Imperialism, has brought the movement to a temporary halt, but it will inevitably be resumed. In Java the movement was from the first of a mass character. The British Empire generally, and India particularly, is experiencing the same development. The search for profits for British Interests has intensified. More Capital is invested in India, particularly since 1914, and this tendency still prevails, though in recent years it has been hampered by the decreasing surplus of British Capital available for external investment. Increased accumulation is, therefore even more urgently necessary, and attempts are being made to exploit Indian Agriculture more intensely and more efficiently. (The Agriculture Commission). There is a general tendency to increase land revenue and assessments. Attempts are made to usurp the exploiting function of the money-lenders (Co-operative Banks), to consolidate holdings with a view to more efficient cultivation (Bombay Small Holdings Bills) and to increase the production of raw materials for industry (Sukkur Barrage Scheme).

In the Political sphere, the British Empire is in a very serious position. It is threatened with the formal secession of the white Dependencies, and with freedom movements in the colonial countries, South Africa, Egypt, East Africa, Iraq, etc. Its industrial and financial supremacy is lost and its position still is declining, especially in comparison with the U. S. A. This critical situation leads the British Bourgeoisie to seek support within the Colonies, to secure its hold upon them, particularly in the event of war, which almost led to the separation of India on the last occasion. This political necessity, combined with economic developments, dictates the fundamental line of Imperialist political policy within India—the extension of the alliance with the Indian Upper Classes (Feudal

Rulers, Landlords, etc.) to the Bourgeoisie as a whole. This is the essence of the Reformed Constitution and the other Policies of Indianisation of Services, etc. which go with it.

The position of the British Bourgeoisie in India:—The British bourgeoisie as a whole derive wealth from India in four main ways : by selling British goods, by buying or producing cheap raw materials, by taxation, and by investment of Capital in Indian industries. Though the monopoly of India as a Market is lost, British goods still occupy the most important place, and in other respects British Capital is predominant. The direct holding of Capital from Britain in the big companies, usually registered in London, gives British Capital a practical monopoly of Railways, shipping, Banking and the Jute and Tea industries. London interests are also predominant in Coal and Steel and Engineering. Local British Companies, mainly in Bengal, have strong interests in Electric Power, Dock and Transport, Flour Mills, Rice Mills, Timber and Construction Companies, etc. Indian Capital is predominant only in cotton among the large industries (The Tata Steel Firm is now partly British and American, but owns small firms in all branches of Industry and controls most retail distribution, etc. Of the capital invested in Joint Stock Companies, over 80 per cent. probably 85 per cent. is British, and in these companies, British influence is extending. There is of course much unregistered Indian capital in small and private firms. The penetration of other foreign capital is not yet important but is likely to grow (Sir Dorab Tata's American Tour).

The central financial institution is largely under Government control, with participation of British and Indian industrial and financial representatives. The new scheme will probably not alter this position. The Indian bourgeoisie have been pressing for popular control, *i. e.* greater representation of their interests, but have been foiled up to the present. They have been especially anxious to achieve this control, since the exchange rate controversy, when the strongest (textile) section of the Indian bourgeoisie, with the small companies with business conducted in rupees, were defeated, and the Government and financial interests (British mainly,) with the big firms doing their business largely in London in sterling, were benefited.

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

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

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

Nevertheless the support of these section of the population is not sufficient, and especially after the great agitation of 1917-22, further means have been adopted not so much to gain support as to weaken opposition. There has, throughout the period of Imperialist control, been a systematic encouragement of differences of religion, community, castes, etc., and it has been a settled policy to perpetuate religious and customary evils which retard physical, intellectual and social development. The mass of the people is moreover kept illiterate, and severe restrictions are placed upon the education given to the middle classes in schools and Universities. Specific cases of the encouragement of difference among Indians are the development of the Non-Brahmin movement in South India (Madras and Maharashtra) against the chief political and intellectual leaders, who are Brahmins. The depressed classes representatives have been won over to support Imperialism against the caste Hindus, even to the extent of opposing Boycott of the Commission. Even certain parts of the labour movement are in the same position. These movements have all a genuine basis in the oppression of these sections by the higher classes, but Imperialism has been enabled to make use of them to perpetuate its own existence and therefore to secure the continuance of the evils against which these movements protest.

The most important case of this policy of fomentation of differences is that of the Hindu-Muslim divergence. While partly

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

At the same time the policy of Imperialism has been one of continued suppression of efforts to extend the basis of the National movement to include the masses. The men returning from Russia with radical or communist ideas have been practically all imprisoned and victimised. Others with similar ideas have been treated in the same way, e. g. in the Cownpore conspiracy case. There is a continuous series of prosecutions in different parts of the country of writers and speakers, for "inciting" the masses to hatred against the Government. Finally there is maintained a vigorous censorship of mails, especially foreign, and wholesale proscription and seizure of literature with a radical tendency.

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

LANDOWNERS, NATIVE STATES, ETC.

Nearly one fourth of the population of India is included in the Native States, which constitute on the whole the most economically and culturally backward, and politically reactionary section of the country. In practically no case is there any important industrial development, and even communication is poor. Almost all States are under a complete despotism, only a few being tempered by some rudiments of democracy. The rule is in practice often harsh and arbitrary to an intolerable degree, and outbreaks of opposition by peasants often occur. Almost all rulers of Native States are active or passive supporters of Imperialism.

A large part of British India is also under the dominance of big landholders, zemindars, etc., who in some cases wield powers approximating to those of the States rulers. In many

districts forced labour and other feudal dues are still exacted from peasants, and arbitrary expropriation of peasants' holdings is common. Rents are forced up usually to the maximum possible limit, often many times higher than the Government tax assessments.

The Princes and the big Zemindars of the eastern (and to a smaller extent the Western) Provinces are the chief owners of the land of the country, and the chief obstacle to the economic advance and prosperity of its main occupation, agriculture.

The Chamber of Princes and the various Zemindars' Conferences, the organs of these sections, are practically without exception loyal to Imperialism and for long represented its chief support within the country. It is a part of the policy of Imperialism to maintain the Native States and to some extent the Zemindary system, as a stronghold of reaction and political backwardness within the country. Political advance within the States is discouraged, suppression of opposition movements supported. Similarly in British India, the landlords in their own interests suppress peasants' movements or capture and lead them for their own purposes.

The Indian Bourgeoisie:—As shown previously the Indian Bourgeoisie is in a position of subordination to British capital, and is relatively weak and backward. It is partly allied with British Capital in industry and finance, especially in Northern India but even in Bombay, to a less extent. And it is partly independent, chiefly in Bombay, but also to an extent which is politically important, in Bengal. In general its development is blocked by the competition of the established large scale British industries and British control of finances and tariff policy. In Bombay the Indian interests, more compact and independent, have long ago developed an attitude of constitutional and co-operative opposition. Only where their interests are seriously threatened, e. g. over the ratio, will they seriously oppose. In North India the bourgeoisie is more divided. A section is practically loyalist while other, especially in Bengal, where the pressure of British supremacy is most felt, is still in vigorous, though constitutional, opposition, and constitutes the strength in that province of the Swaraj Party and the Congress. Bengal is now almost the only province in which the bourgeoisie takes direct part in the Congress.

The political organisation of the Indian Bourgeoisie is weak. Apart from the Chambers of Commerce etc., which seek no popular support, there are several political parties, mainly the product of successive splits from the Congress. Of these the Liberal Party, primarily an industrialists' party, alone has achieved permanence

and membership outside the Councils. The Independents, etc., are all shifting and unstable groups, their evolution determined by personal and other minor motives. Nevertheless their members are individually influential in their constituencies and in humanitarian, religious and other organisations, and own important organs of the Press.

None of the Bourgeois parties, in any case, has attempted or achieved a mass membership, except the Congress. Even Congress membership has near been more than a formality, though at the period of its greatest activity a large proportion of members were active. There has never been close organisation or discipline. Subscription is low. Since 1922, when the Swaraj Party was formed to enter the Councils, the Congress has split into successive fractions, and steadily lost ground.

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

The Petty Bourgeoisie:—Consists of various sections, but a large part of it suffers more or less abutely from poverty. The pressure of exploitation and the retarded economic development of the country lead to an excess of supply over demand of small retail businesses of all kinds, and of small industrial undertakings. For similar reasons there is intense competition among the clerical and professional classes. These sections suffer from unemployment

and undercutting due to the competition especially of small landowners who attempt to supplement their incomes from urban occupations. The stagnation of industry in recent years has intensified this position, and all but the upper grade of even the learned professions are in a position of economic insecurity. Technical education for industry is scanty, and in most firms European technicians are largely employed, while the reservation of a large part of the services for Europeans is a standing grievance.

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

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

Though as a whole vague and vacillating in its policy, the petty bourgeoisie has split into these two main sections. The class difference within the Congress membership has been accentuated, the upper strata following the bourgeoisie and its Council Policy, the lower falling into indifference or a radical policy. This growing difference is widely felt within the Congress, but is often misunderstood, being attributed to a conflict between Youth and Age, etc.

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

Peasants:—The peasants, which form the bulk of the nation; are notoriously in a condition of great poverty and backwardness. The land of the country, from which the peasants derive their living is in the hands of three, main agencies, the big landlords, including the State rulers, the Government, and religious institutions, all of which demand their quota from the cultivators. All suffer from the gradually increasing demands of the Government for direct taxes, as well as from indirect taxation, e.g. on salt and other imported goods. The excessive payments for irrigation water, often unnecessary and excessive in amount, are a similar burden in certain parts. Rents to landlords and intermediaries, of whom there may be several strata, are perhaps the heaviest burden which the peasants have to bear, and many suffer also from insecurity of tenure, and from forced labour, etc. The class of money-lenders and village shop-keepers, often identified with the landlord, by entangling the peasants in debts at high rates of interest, add to their misery and economic insecurity. Exaction for religious purposes and the support of a priest class constitute a further heavy burden.

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

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

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

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

Workers:—

The main mass of workers outside agriculture, in the cotton, jute railway, docks, marine, building, metal and other minor industries, in all 30 million persons, with dependents, live in extreme poverty and bad conditions. Wages are low—Rs. 10 to Rs. 40/- for most; hours are long, 10 per day being usual. Housing conditions are almost universally bad, sanitation defective and death rate high; illiteracy and general ignorance is the rule. Insecurity of employment, victimisation and arbitrary expulsion, by jobbers, and excessive fines, etc. render the life of the workers of his class intensely miserable. While in some industries, competition and mismanagement render profits apparently low, there is reason to suspect hidden profits, and in many cases high profits are acknowledged year after year, (Jute, Tea, etc.). Workers are taught by experience that there is no difference between European and Indian employers, who equally profit during disputes by the use of state forces, the law and the police. The number and importance of strikes is increasing and a sharp class struggle is developing in Indian industry.

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

Some sections of workers are achieving emancipation from this influence, and others at times force their leaders to act in a militant manner. The increasing pressure from the employers

(cotton, railways) in the past two or three years has led to a considerable increase in military and class-consciousness and in actual organisation. The position of the workers forces them into active struggle, in which class-consciousness and the need for organised action are clearly shown, and these effects are being made manifest. Political consciousness also is growing (three unions' decision for one day strike on the landing of the Commission).

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

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

The Imperialists and their allies control the political life of the country, restraining it within such narrow bounds that the exploited masses cannot find expression except in direct action, through strikes or no-tax campaigns. The alliance of exploiters is opposed to National freedom, democratic institutions and the

expression of opinion, or the development of indigeous culture, and even such elementary physical necessities as adequate sanitation, elementary education, and a tolerable standard of life.

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

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

It is, therefore, essential that working class organisations, the trade unions and T. U. C., fight and obtain freedom form bourgeois control, under which most of them now exist. They must also obtain freedom from the reactionary and confused ideas which the bourgeoisie cultivate among them. These things require an independent workers' political party to educate, organise, and lead the workers in their struggle.

Under the leadership of the industrail workers, the movement of the masses can go forward to abolish foreign exploitation, to establish democracy, and those elementary per-requisites of life which 95 per cent. of the populations of India still lack. By means of strikes, demonstrations, hartals and the more laborious means of organisation and education, the class-consciousness and the solidarity of the masses will be raised to the level necessary, before its task can be achieved.

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

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

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

Present Political situation:—The collapse of the Non-Co-operation movement was not at first realised and expectation of its resumption and triumph continued for some time. But years went by, the policy of the Council Parties became more and more compromising and no effort was made to revive a mass movement. Hope of progress along the old lines gradually faded, and at the same time the class conflict within the country and the Congress made itself increasingly felt. At first reaction on the part of Congress, supporters was growing indifference, but later it developed into a vague but increasingly acute discontent. The lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie who had been drawn into the N.C.O. movement were becoming impatient for a forward move. This tendency has been assisted by various factors—prolonged economic stagnation, the growth of a war-atmosphere (preparations on the frontiers, failure to disarm, despatch of troops to China, etc.), disappointment at the complete failure of the British Labour Government to do what had been expected of a party pledged to self-determination and a fight against Imperialism, the Chinese and Javanese events, continued provocation by Imperialism (the Exchange question, the Bengal detentions and other repressive measures). Saklatvala's propaganda,

Miss Mayo's book and its alleged official patronage, all have had their effect. A new policy is being sought, and a national feeling is once again arising, with a partial abandonment of the old ideas. The rise in various provinces of an organised Youth Movement after the absorption of the previous generation of the organised Youth in Congress agitation and subsequent stagnation, is symptomatic of the process. The increasing organisation and militancy of the workers, as shown in numerous recent strikes, adds to the volume of protest against the existing order.

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

The appointment of the Statutory Commission without Indian members rendered a policy of conciliation by the bourgeois leaders for a time impossible. So great was the general indignation that even the most compromising groups among the bourgeois nationalists have been forced to support the policy of Boycott, conditional or absolute.

The result has been to prevent a further exposure of the bourgeoisie, and to strengthen them temporarily as the national leaders. It has further hampered a serious campaign of mass opposition on the basis of the Boycott agitation. Nevertheless public feeling has developed very strongly, in spite of all efforts to accentuate the communal divisions, so that the Congress and even the Liberal and other groups have had to go further in the direction of mass opposition than they at first wished (the Independence Resolution and the agreement by the Benares meeting to an All-India hartal). The masses too are entering the movement to a certain extent. In Bombay three Unions took formal decisions to strike, and more than thirty thousand workers actually struck and demonstrated. Many workers took part in other places).

Nevertheless the desertion of the majority of the bourgeois leaders, both within the Congress and without, is certain, and is already taking place. They have partially abandoned the policy of a abstention from the legislatures. Many, e. g. in the Assembly debate, openly appeal for Indian membership of the Commission, and admit the right of Imperialism to the last word in deciding the

future of India. Boycott on principle was abandoned by the Assembly resolution which merely declared unacceptable the "present constitution and scheme of the Commission". The decision to draft a Constitution by the All-Parties' Conference is an admission of the right of the British Government to decide whether it shall be granted or not. Otherwise a statement of rights and a programme of action are all that are required of the All-Parties' Conference. The formula which it has accepted, "Full responsible Government" and the apologetic plea that "Dominion Status is a step towards Independence" mark the collapse of the Congress programme of complete independence. The quibbling over the communal differences show that no fundamental change in the nature of the Government is sought, and the petty sectional interests of to-day are allowed excessive importance. The decision not to advocate the alteration of the despotic regime prevailing in the Indian States, means that that fight which the nationalist movement must carry on against feudal oppression is to be shirked. The almost unanimous opinion in favour of a second chamber based on some restricted franchise show the reactionary and unrepresentative nature of the conference, and effectually disposes, of the pretence that mass support is to be sought to enforce the demands. The almost entirely bourgeois composition of the conference determines its intentions and policy. The participation of the Trade Union Congress is of no significance, as it is rightly believed to be under bourgeois control. How seriously the inclusion of the Trade Union Congress is taken is shown by the decision not to admit the right of strike among the "rights of workers and peasants".

Those Congress leaders who have agreed to the All-Parties Conference decisions have clearly shown that their advocacy of complete independence is insincere. The plea of Unity put forward to justify this action is entirely specious. Unity is possible only on the basis of a common principle. Those who want complete independence cannot compromise with those who are opposed to it. The sacrifice of complete independence for the sake of unity with the bourgeois parties is a betrayal of the immense majority of the population for the favour of a minute reactionary minority. Even the agreement of the bourgeois majority to many democratic principles, embodied in the All-Parties Conference decisions, is no adequate gain to weight against the abandonment of the forward policy implied in the principle of complete independence, and those who have agreed to this bargain are guilty of a serious tactical mistake, if not more.

The agitation in the country of the Congress leaders, led by Bengal, is confined to the Boycott of British goods. This is a reformist weapon, intended to extort a compromise—alone it can do no more—from the Government. The bourgeois class is demonstrating once more its inability any longer to lead the national movement.

The middle classes, to whom the Boycott propaganda is directed, are reacting to it only in a half-hearted manner. Confidence in the majority of the bourgeois leaders has not yet been restored by their verbal radicalism over the Commission, and the masses generally are unwilling to be exploited for what they now know to be only the compromising ends of the bourgeoisie. There is a grave danger that the mass protest and indignation caused by the Commission will be allowed to die away in disappointment. Nothing but a militant and uncompromising practical lead will restore it to life and enable it to grow. It is the task of the Workers and Peasants Party to supply that lead.

Tasks of the party:—The fundamental work before the Party is to organise the working class and give it sufficient political education to enable it to come forward as the leading section of the mass movement which is now rising in India. It is the duty of all who are concerned with obtaining national freedom, establishing democracy within the country, and rescuing the population generally from its poverty, ignorance and social backwardness, to assist in this work. The chief immediate task for the Party is, by putting forward its correct, consistent and uncompromising policy, in contrast to the unhistoric, vacillating and timid policy of the present leaders, to gather together all fighting progressive forces from all sections, and thereby to establish its own organisation, which will enable it to carry out its ultimate function. A strong, conscious and well-disciplined Workers' and Peasants' Party is the most pressing need of the present.

The policy of the Party must be to carry forward the campaign for the boycott of the Commission to the utmost extent in spite of any sabotage. Strikes and hartals must be encouraged, and the masses brought into the movement by associating their demands with the national slogans. The campaign must demand complete national independence, and must work for the calling of a Constituent Assembly elected by universal adult suffrage which will concentrate and express authoritatively the diverse demands and scattered struggles of the masses. The Constituent Assembly, which can give the masses the united and militant lead which the All-Parties Conference failed to give, will be the nation's real answer to the British Government and the Simon Commission, and will constitute a definite step forward in the struggle of the masses for complete independence and the satisfaction of their pressing economic needs.

The slogan of the Boycott of British goods may be supported as a means of arousing enthusiasm, but only as a subsidiary to the slogan of a Constituent Assembly. As opposed to the programme of the All-Parties Conference, the Party must demand on behalf of the masses Complete Independence, and the establishment of democracy—Universal adult suffrage, freedom of speech, etc., the abolition of the Native States and the landlord system, and the

guarantee of the economic, political and social rights which the workers and peasants as classes require.

The Party must also carry on propaganda in relation to International affairs. The League against Imperialism must be supported, and its propaganda for the alliance of the revolutionary Labour movement and the colonial revolutionary movements be assisted. Solidarity must be encouraged with the Russian and Chinese revolutions, particularly in view of the danger of war. And a definite campaign must be conducted against war, especially among the peasants, who supply the soldiers, and among the workers, who supply the materials and transport. The slogan must be advanced of non-co-operation with the Government and the war machine in the event of war.

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

(1) We must endeavour to make the Congress adopt a programme of mass demands and to support them in its current propaganda. We and our sympathisers must become members of the provincial and All-India Congress Committees, and take active part in such work as leads towards the development of mass movement. We must support the Congress while it fights Imperialism, but must not hesitate to criticise the compromising tendencies of Congress leaders, however prominent. The alliance of the Party with the petty-bourgeois left of the Congress must be consolidated, on the basis of direct action for complete independence, as against the compromising bourgeois leadership.

(2) We must conduct propaganda among the youth that they may assist us in our work. The ideas of youth are sufficiently fluid and free from obsolete prejudices to enable us to enlist them on the side of the masses. We must assist in the establishment of a youth organisation with an advanced programme of demands and action, which shall broaden the social basis of the existing, primarily middle-class, youth movement.

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

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

Secondly, Peasants. The masses of the peasants require organisation almost from the beginning. We must take advantage of Congress and Youth Association work in rural areas, and such occasions of peasant disturbance as protests against increase of land assessment, to bring about organisation of peasants on sound lines. We must also undertake visits by our own members to villages, and induce our members and sympathisers among Trade Unionists, especially railwaymen and migratory workers, to do such work.

The programme of demands for peasants, which will differ somewhat from province to province and district to district, will contain the following items:—

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

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

PARTY.—Most important of all, we require a party, with a large membership, efficiently organised, disciplined, and active. It should have propaganda organs in Bengali and English and an agitational organ in Hindi. Each branch of the Party should have its sub-committees for various classes of work, Trade Union, Peasants, Youth, Congress, Training.

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

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

YOUTH.

An analysis of the situation of India at the present time reveals that the Nationalist movement is undergoing a rapid change. The old movement, based upon the sectional interests of the capitalist class and its conflict with imperialism, is almost played out. The partial satisfaction of its needs and the new policy of alliance with Indian capitalism which Imperialism has adopted, have deprived it of almost all inclination to revolt against Imperialism domination. At the same time the interests and sentiments of other strata of the population are forcing them to take up the struggle for freedom. The masses are becoming less amenable for use by the bourgeoisie for the peaceful extortion of concessions, and are tending to come forward on the political field as an independent force, acting in their own interests. The nationalist movement is being rapidly transformed from a movement of the wealthy and educated to a mass movement of the workers, peasantry, and lower middle classes.

Imperialism denies to the masses of India the elementary rights of personal and national freedom, democratic institutions, the free development by society of its own material resources and culture, and even a tolerable standard of life. The Indian bourgeoisie, who claim to be the protagonists of the whole people, have ceased to fight for these elementary necessities. Only when the masses themselves take in hand their own struggle will success be in sight.

The urgent need of the present, for the interests of the whole population, and its future economic and social development, is the organisation and education of the mass nationalist movement, now slowly and hesitatingly making appearance on the political field.

The most serious obstacle to its progress is the absence of a clear outlook and system of ideas corresponding to its needs and the circumstances of the time. Organisations of all kinds are still dominated by bourgeois interests and bourgeois mentality and timidity.

The Youth is the only section of society able to free itself from the obsolete ideas of the older nationalist movement, and it is therefore upon the youth that the responsibility rests of forming and educating the new mass nationalist movement. The efforts of the old bourgeois school to retain its control over the Congress, the Trade Union movement, etc., can only be defeated by the new, more vigorous ideas developed by the youth.

In the conflict now developing in India, there are only two sides. Increasingly the upper classes, including a large section of the bourgeoisie, fight on the side of Imperialism against the rising mass movement. Any effort to find a middle course must necessarily fail. All experience of movements based on the middle classes proved that they must take sides, either with the bourgeoisie or with the working class. Fascism, a movement mainly of the middle classes, always and everywhere serves the interests of capitalism. Indian Fascism can only serve the cause of Imperialism, since Imperialism and Indian capitalism are in ever closer alliance. By striking at the working class organisations Fascism would destroy the only force which can free India from Imperialism.

The rising generation is faced with two lines of action. It may pursue the path of traditional pure nationalism, which will inevitably lead it to the defence of capitalism, and hence of Imperialism and of political and social reaction. Or it may take the side of the historically progressive mass movement, assist it in its difficulties, and advance the cause of national independence, democracy, and economic and cultural progress.

The youth of all India is now awakening to consciousness on a great scale. It is essential that the Workers' and Peasants' Party should attract to its banner the newly organising forces of the youth. It must take energetic measures to draw as large a proportion as possible to the side of the masses, and to give them its scientific social outlook and energetic radical policy.

There must be established an Independent Youth organisation which shall have as its main functions to draw the youth into the political struggle, and to broaden the social basis of the traditional youth organisations by recruiting working class and peasant youth. It shall undertake the following tasks:- (1) participation in the political nationalist movement. (2) advance the cause of trade unionism among young workers, and study their working conditions. (3) fight for the redress of the special grievances of the youth,

especially the unemployed. (4) political study and self preparation. (5) conduct of education in political and economic subjects among workers, villages and students. (6) act as a centre within the existing general youth organisations for the propaganda of radical ideas and the advancement of a sound policy.

The Party must appoint a sub-committee to work with the youth organisation.

RESOLUTION ON THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

The Trade Union movement, which must in the future play a very important part in the political struggle of the country, is yet in a very backward condition. To remedy this is one of the most important tasks before the Party, and demands a large part of its attention and energy.

The chief weaknesses of the movement are :—

- (1) Insufficient organisation, resulting particularly in the lack of provision for the effective participation of the members in the work, and determination of policy.
- (2) The tendency to restrict the organisation to narrow bounds, of locality, trade or craft, and its result in the prevalence of rival and overlapping unions.
- (3) Absence of a militant policy; paying excessive attention to minor grievances, and neglecting the important questions, wages, etc.
- (4) Fear of politics.
- (5) Unbusiness-like methods, which reduce efficiency and open the door to corruption.

The Trade Union movement has not yet learnt to avoid the mistakes committed by older movements. In particular the British Trade Union movement, universally taken as a model, illustrates the necessity of participation in politics, and the dangers of sectarianism and insularity on the part of unions.

The chief root of the faulty organisation and policy of the movement is its domination by leaders drawn from the middle classes, who may have little or no knowledge of Trade Unionism or politics, and who in some cases act as conscious agents of capitalism. They have shaped the movement to their ends, and imbued it with their outlook.

Groser cases of exploitation of the movement by un-principled leaders have already called forth many protest from the workers,

and there has grown up in some cases a dangerous distrust of "outsiders" of all kinds, and even of Trade Unionism itself. Even the best-intentioned among the older leaders have to confess to a relative failure to organise at any rate the great mass of lower-paid labour. The defects of a non-militant leadership have been very clearly shown recently in the B. N. Railway strike, and the Bombay textile strikes. In neither cases did the leaders attempt even to maintain the already demnable economic conditions of the workers, in spite of the magnificent stand which they were making.

The workers are ready for the sound and militant lead which the Workers and Peasants' Party alone can give.

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

One Union for one Industry.—In many Industries we find a number of trade unions catering for one trade. This multiplicity of Unions means overlapping of work and finance; this spells inefficiency. The fact that we find members of one Union working whole members of another in the same trade are in dispute is to be deplored since this means weakness and defeat. This question must be vigorously dealt with and amalgamation must be advocated and achieved. There must be one Trade Union for Railwaymen, one for Textile workers, etc. Party members must always oppose the formation of splitting or rival unions, except where they only union existing is controlled by Government or by employers.

T. U. C. and Trades Councils.—The Trade Union Congress must be made the co-ordinating body linking up the activities and struggle of the workers throughout India, and in this sphere the members of the Party must play an active part. All Unions must affiliate to the Trade Union Congress, and to its Provincial Committees where they exist.

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

The party considers that propaganda and preparatory work for the formation of Trade Councils in Howrah and Calcutta, with the participation of all Unions and branches, should be begun at once.

100% Trade Unionism. The only way to bring any improved conditions from the employer is by the organised power of the workers and by their being prepared to use their power. Therefore, 100 per cent. organisations must be our Slogan. The Council set up by the T. U. C. for this purpose must get to work and members of the Party should use every effort to achieve this.

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

Factory Committees :—Workers in factories, etc. should elect Factory committee from among themselves. Representatives should be elected from Departments which would form the Committee. They should look after the interests of the workers, take complaints to the employers, inspect T. U. cards, and assist in bringing about 100 per cent. Trade Unionism.

Youth. :—Vigorous work must be carried on among the youth. They must be organised in the Trade Union movement on the same footing as older members and have the same rights of voting, etc.

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

- (1) Eight hour day ; (Two weeks holiday with pay per year).
- (2) Abolition of child labour.
- (3) Abolition of system of fines.
- (4) Minimum living wage.

- (5) State support for unemployed, old age pensions, Maternity benefit, sickness benefits.
- (6) Improvement of laws regarding workmen's compensation and employers' liability.
- (7) Installation of modern safety appliances in factories, mines, etc.
- (1) Abolition of the system of sardars.

Immediate Demands for Individual Industries :—It is necessary for the Party to work out a programme of immediate demands for individual industries, such as one for miners, one for Railway men, Textile, etc., with slogan that will rally the workers of those particular industries around the Party in their struggle for better conditions.

RESOLUTION ON PEASANTS.

Three fourths of the population of India, or to be more precise, 221 millions out of a total of 320 are dependent on agriculture. Thus the very numerical strength of the peasants and their importance in the total production of social wealth and the basic, vital necessities of life must compel on our part a predominant attention to their needs and their position and part in the general National struggle for freedom.

Every section of public thought and organisation, including pro-government investigators repeat without a mistake, like a school lesson the fact that the peasantry in India is poverty-stricken and debt-ridden. A general analysis of the causes of peasant poverty and starvation reveals that the peasant is exploited by Government's high taxation and rent, the money-lender's exploitation and the exactions of the landowner. On the top of all this is the excessive subdivision into uneconomic fragments of land, and the merchants-trader's machine-manufactured goods entering the village, ruining the handicrafts and making hundreds into wage-earners. The money-lenders taking possession of land on failure to pay debts or the huge interest is creating landless-labourers, slaves of an absentee landlord. Matched against this poverty, and land-hunger, meagre strips of a few feet, worked upon by a primitive plough and rickety bullock stand the huge unbounded estates of the Talukdars, Zamindars and Rajahs of Bengal, Bihar and U. P. exacting tributes and high rent from their tenants and spending their loot in the cities of the land or elsewhere. Such idlers living on the incomes derived from the peasants toil are a Crore in the 22 Crores dependent on agriculture, but they hold more than 70 per cent. of the whole land in their possession and their levy on the peasantry amounts

to the huge figure of 190 Crores. In Bengal alone the landlords pay 2½ Crores in revenue but they make more than 13 Crores on mere idling and holding the scrap-paper of title to the land. Where the landlords are absent, as in Ryotwari, the Government takes almost whatever the peasant produces in rent. And apart from this, he is saddled with indirect taxation, which he does not see but feels. The effect of all this that a handful of five per cent. of the whole people own nearly 30 per cent. of the wealth of the land, while 60 per cent. of the people, mostly poor peasants and workers get only 30 per cent. of the wealth i. e., half of what they ought to have. No wonder, the result is that the bitterness in social relations, the class-cleavage between the excessively rich and the excessively poor is growing and the inevitable contradictions between their interests is becoming clearer.

Recognizing, where this class-cleavage would lead to and partly dictated by the needs of their own position, the Government has started taking stock of the potential resources of the peasantry and accentuating re-construction of Indian agriculture in the capitalist basis. This would temporarily raise the productive power of the individual peasant and thus make him a better consumer of industrial products and help the British heavy industries to their feet again. But, it would again embitter the class-struggle more by creating peasant unemployment and the expropriation of the poor peasants of his holdings. The Reserve Bank will replace the village money-lender and the Consolidation Bills will create rich farmers but the grip of the state, allied with rich Zamindars and farmers will be more thorough in its exploitation and will aggravate the struggle.

The Workers' and Peasants' Party therefore unequivocally stands for giving land to the peasants-cultivator, eliminating all idlers living on the tributes from the peasants. Uneconomic holdings must be made economic, not by capitalist consolidation and looting the poorest peasant but by adding to the share of the poor holder from the big limitless stretches of the absentee landlords. The Party stands for allowing none to exploit him by way of interest on debts or tributes or free labour. He must be absolved from all compulsory obligation including highrent and the heavy load on his produce. He must be under obligations to none but the State, representing his own interests and himself.

Therefore to achieve this ultimate aim in view, and to widen the outlook and develop capacities of class-conscious resistance on the part of the peasantry, the Party adopts the following programme of immediate needs.

- (1) Elimination of all mid-agencies between the peasant and the State.

- (2) Direct representation of the peasant on the State apparatus through an adult universal franchise, working through peasant Panchayats.
- (3) Immediate provisions of land from big estates.
- (4) Substantial reduction in rent.
- (5) Review of the debt and interest obligations through peasants-courts with a view to their extinction.
- (6) State credit to the peasants.

The Party makes it clear that the above are merely immediate demands, which are ultimately to lead to a Swaraj of unexploited and free peasant and worker, each working his own destiny, unhampered by Zamindars or money-lenders or an Imperialist Government or a capitalist investor. The Party is willing to co-operate with every organisation working for the realisation of the above demands, with a view to ultimately secure a social reconstruction to emancipate the peasant. All the same, it does not countenance the reversion to mediaeval forms of labour or addition of work to the peasants life, but is radical, scientific and advance guard in political, social and economic matters.

THE LILLOAH WORKERS.

This conference expresses its sympathy with the relatives of those were killed and the wounded in the outrage at Bamungachhi on Wednesday.

It protests against the action, taken by the Government forces, and European Staff, which has now become a regular practice in strikes, of shooting upon strikers with the object of disheartening and defeating them.

It congratulates the E. I. Railwaymen now locked out, and those on strike in sympathy with them, both on the railway and in other works, and promises them the full support of the Party.

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF INDIA.

This Conference endorses the action of the Executive Committee in attempting, in agreement with Parties and groups in other parts of India, to establish the "Workers' and Peasants' Party of India," and appoints comrades (1) Muzaffar Ahmad (2) Dharani Kanta Goswami (3) A. Roy (4) Abdul Halim to form a sub-

committee to represent the Party in making arrangements to form the united Party and to hold an All-India Conference in December next.

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM.

This Conference welcomes the formation of the "League Against Imperialism" and approves of its work for the alliance of the revolutionary working class of the imperialist countries and the revolutionary nationalist movements in the subject countries. It urges the formation of a centre for conducting the propaganda of the League in India, and protests against the proscription of the publications of the League by Government.

WORKERS' WELFARE LEAGUE OF INDIA, LONDON.

This Conference congratulates the Workers Welfare League of India upon the service it has rendered for years past to the masses of India, and deplors the action of the Executive Council of the All-India Trades Union Congress in breaking off relations with it.

WORKERS' DEFENCE CORPS.

In view of the fact that it is the general practice with the capitalists to try to break strikes by violence, this conference urges upon the T. U. Movement, the necessities of organising disciplined Workers' Defence Corps for conducting strikes, demonstrations etc., in an effective manner.

ORGANISATION.

If the Workers' and Peasant's Party is to fulfil its role, to form correctly and carry out successfully its decisions, it must pay for more attention than hitherto to organisation. The political effect of the Party, and its ability to carry out its main function, that of leadership, depends very largely on its state of organisation. Thoroughly organised, even if numerically weak, the Party can become a power to be reckoned with in the industrial and political world. Without this condition energy will be wasted, and the movement which the Party attempts to lead will remain chaotic and ineffective.

(1) The Party must be on such a basis that decision can be easily transmitted, correctly understood and quickly put into effect.

(2) It must be able to remain constantly in touch with the masses; and to ascertain quickly all their trends of thought and action.

(3) It must be able to participate actively in the every day struggle of the masses, to show them the value of the Party, and to rally them to itself.

(4) It must be able to receive, train and organise in its ranks those who agree with its policy and want to help it.

PLAN OF ORGANISATION.

Subject to alteration upon the establishment of the All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party, the following should be the plan of organisation:—

(1) There shall be an Enlarged Executive Committee representing all branches and affiliated bodies, and an Executive Committee consisting of members resident within a short distance from the Central Office.

(2) Branches should be set up in Towns, Districts, Subdivisions and Villages under the direction of the Executive Committee.

(3) Groups set up in Factories, Railways, Mines, etc. should work on Factory Committees.

(4) Fractions or Groups should be set up in Trade Union Branches, Management Committees, Executive Committees etc. and also in Provincial Congress Committees. This applies to the T.U.C. and A.I.C.C.

(5) A definite Youth Organisation should be brought into being to work in the existing Youth movement, Trade Unions and Congress Committees, etc.

(6) A Women's Section must be set up to work among women and organise them where possible in Trade Unions, and in special women's organisations.

OPERATION OF ORGANISATION.

1. Study Circles must be started forthwith in order that members may understand and correctly apply party policy. The Study Circle should be begun under the leadership of a member approved by the Branch or E.C. as capable. He must submit a report at the end of the course of study on the work of the group and the progress of each individual.

2. It is essential that all Committees, Branches, and Fractions should meet regularly and keep up to date with current events.

The Executive Committee must meet at least every two weeks and Branches and Fractions or Groups every week.

3. The entire Branch Membership shall be grouped in accordance with their special party work, *e. g.* in Trade Union Groups, Congress groups, Peasants groups, etc. Each member must belong to at least one group. Each group shall appoint a group leader, who shall be responsible to the Central or Branch Committee according to size.

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

5. **Branch Committees** :—The branch Committee shall co-ordinate the entire work of the own or village and be responsible to the Executive Committee to which it must report all work, and receive instructions on general lines of policy, which it should convey to the groups.

6. **Executive Committee**:—This Committee shall coordinate the whole party activity. It conveys instructions on policy to the Branches, groups, etc. and must receive report regularly from Branches groups, etc. on work done, future meetings or organisations, election of officers, etc. The Executive Committee shall have power to deal with all problems, and to issue manifestoes and leads in the name of the workers' and Peasants' Party.

7. **Committees elected**:—Branch Committees and office bearers shall be the Chairman, Secretary, Executive Members and Treasurer, who shall be elected by the whole branch membership and with group leaders shall constitute the E. C. of branch.

8. **The Executive Committee**:—This Committee shall be elected by an annual meeting of representatives, elected by party Branches and groups affiliated organisations.

Reporting:—It is essential that group and fraction leaders report after each meeting of their group or fraction, or more often,

if necessary, on work, done future work difficulties, new developments etc.,. The reports should go to Branch Committee and thence to the E. C. The correct formulation of policy and concentration of energy by the Branchwhole party, depends upon accurate and complete knowledge of the statuation, obtainable only form such reports.

Training :—New members admitted to the Party as individuals should be incorporated in study circles as soon as possible. The E. C. should prepare an outline syllabus suitable for a short course of such study.

Fraction:—Should be set up in all existing Trade Unions, Congress Committees, Youth Organisations, Peasants' Unions and Branches of same.

Groups:—Branch Committees and E, C. must divide work into suitable groups, which shall co-ordinate the work of fractions, study groups, etc.

Meetings:—In order to push forward work, and maintain contact, Party meeting of all kinds must take place for more regularly and frequently than hitherto. All committees and groups should meet weekly at a fixed time and place.

Membership:—The basis of individual membership shall be the acceptance of the Party programme, the payment of dues, and the performance of organised work. Admission should be subject to the approval of the E. C.

Affiliated bodies:—Particular attention must be paid to affiliated unions and Peasants' associations. Affiliation to the Party must be made a reality to the members of the Union. Branches of of the Union should be affiliated to the local branch of the Party and close relations established. Party members, must undertake the political education of the affiliated members, and must assist the organisation especially at periods of struggle. Fraction building within the affiliated body must be carried on vigorously, as the only guarantee for the hold of the Party policy upon the organisation is the existence within it of a strong fractions of Party members.

Discipline:—It is essential for Party work that individuals should observe the requirements of a Party discipline. Decisions once taken by the appropriate organ of the Party, must be obeyed.

THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF BENGAL

CONSTITUTION.

1928.

1. NAME :—The name of the Party is the *Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal*. It will be styled in Bengali as *Bangiya Krishak-O-Shramic Dal*.

N. B.—This party shall be the integral part of the *Workers' and Peasants' Party of India* which is yet to be formed.

2. OBJECT :—The object of the Party is the attainment of *Complete Independence from British Imperialism* and thorough democratisation of India based on economic and social emancipation and political freedom of men and women.

3. MEANS :—The rallying the People to Mass Action will be the principal means for the attainment and realisation of the above objects.

4. EXTENT :—The activities of the Party will extend to the entire province of Bengal and the Bengali speaking districts of Assam and Bihar & Orissa.

5. MEMBERSHIP :—(a) The membership of the Party shall be of two kinds.

(1) Individual and (2) Affiliated.

(b) Any person not below the age of 18 years who will subscribe to the object, constitution and programme of the party may be taken in as an individual member of the party subject to the approval of the Executive Committee. Every individual member, except students and women will have to become a member of some workers' or peasants' union within two months of this becoming a member of the Party.

(c) The Executive Committee of the Party shall have power to affiliate with it any workers' or peasants' union which is in sympathy with the object and programme of the Party. The Party shall undertake the work of giving the members of affiliated unions class-conscious education in trade unionism and politics, and shall assist the work of the unions by advice and propaganda.

6. SUBSCRIPTION :—(a) Each individual member of the Party shall pay in advance an annual subscription of Rupee One.

In the case of the individual being a worker or a peasant the subscription will be Four Annas annually. The Executive Committee may exempt any body from subscription if it thinks so desirable.

(b) Affiliated organisations shall have to pay annually at the rate of One Pice per member with a minimum of Rs. 5/- No organisation shall be compelled to pay more than Rs. 50/- annually.

MANAGEMENT.

7. (a) The work of the Party shall be conducted in the following way :—

There shall be held an *Annual Conference* of the Party. This Conference or the Congress of the proposed "Workers' and Peasants' Party of India" shall direct and control the policy and programme of the Party.

(b) The Annual Conference of the Party shall be held with all individual members and affiliated societies so long as the membership of the Party does not reach a sufficient number. With the growth of members the Conference shall be held with individual members and delegates of the affiliated unions.

(c) **SPECIAL CONFERENCE** :—In case of emergency the Enlarged Executive Committee or the Executive Committee shall have power to summon a special Conference, one third of the members of the Enlarged Executive Committee or two-thirds of the members of the Executive Committee agreeing such a Special Conference may be convened.

(d) **ENLARGED EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE** :—There shall be an Enlarged Executive Committee of the Party. This Committee shall be constituted within one month after the Annual Conference or meeting of the Party. The members of this Committee shall be elected from amongst the individual and affiliated members, the affiliated unions and branches of the Party electing one representative for every 1000 members, provided that every affiliated union or branch shall in any event elect one representative.

(e) If between two annual elections there is vacancy in the Enlarged Executive Committee of the representatives of any affiliated union or if any new union is affiliated the affiliated union concerned shall elect some of its members to fill up the vacancy or to represent it thereon as the case may be and if there is a vacancy of representative of the individual members the Enlarged Executive Committee shall fill up the vacancy by nominating a member from amongst the individual members.

(f) The work of the Party shall be conducted under the guidance of the Enlarged Executive Committee which shall meet every three months.

(g) Whenever required the Executive Committee on its own motion may, or if requisitioned in writing either jointly or separately by one fifth of the members of the Enlarged Executive Committee must, convene a meeting of the Enlarged Executive Committee. Fifteen members of the Enlarged Executive Committee shall form a quorum for the purpose of a meeting.

(h) **Executive Committee:**—There shall be an Executive Committee of the Party elected every year from amongst the individual and affiliated members, residing in or near Calcutta during the Party's annual conference.

(i) If between two elections there is any vacancy in the Executive Committee the Committee shall itself fill up the vacancy from among the individual or affiliated members.

(j) The Executive Committee shall be entrusted to carry out the programme of work of the Party and it shall be responsible to the Enlarged Executive Committee for its work. The Executive Committee shall submit an annual report of its work duly passed by the Enlarged Executive Committee to the Annual Conference of the Party.

(k) For facilitation of works there shall be different groups in the Executive Committee. The members of the Executive Committee shall not exceed twenty and five members of it shall form a quorum for the purpose of a meeting. The Executive Committee shall meet at least once per month.

(l) The member of the Executive Committee shall automatically be considered as members of the Enlarged Executive Committee.

(m) **office Bearers:**—The Executive Committee shall elect from its members one Chairman, two Vice-Chairmen, one General Secretary, two or more Group or Sectional Secretaries and one Treasurer.

BRANCHES.

8. (a) A branch of the Party shall be established under the supervision of the Executive Committee in any town or village where there are twelve members.

(b) The branch shall elect a secretary, chairman, treasurer and branch committee.

(c) The branch secretary shall receive instructions from the Executive Committee and shall report on branch activities etc., to the Executive Committee, at least monthly.

(d) Branches of affiliated unions shall be affiliated to the local branch of the Party and shall be represented on its committee.

(e) The Secretary and Treasurer of the branch shall collect subscriptions from the members. Funds collected shall be allocated as decided upon between the Branch Committee and the Executive Committee.

(f) The branch committee shall subject to the direction of the Executive Committee, supervise and direct all Party work and propaganda within its area.

RULES

9. (a) The Enlarged Executive Committee shall have power to frame general rules for carrying out the programme of the Party.

(b) Every member of the Executive Committee and the Enlarged Executive Committee shall have to raise some subscription for the Party.

(c) Any member of the Executive Committee who fails to attend four successive meetings shall automatically cease to be a member.

The Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal.

Report of The Executive Committee, 1927-1928.

History of the Party :—The Executive Committee, in presenting its report of work done to the Party Conference has thought fit to deal with the whole history of the Party from its formation, since no report has previously been issued.

The original motive of the formation of the Party as a group within the National Congress, was dissatisfaction at the stagnation of the Congress, and the apparent inability of its leaders to originate any fruitful policy, and at the same time indignation at the way in which the Congress and the Swaraj Party were dominated and used for their own ends entirely by the landlord and capitalist classes.

The Party came into existence as the "Labour Swaraj Party of the Indian National Congress," on 1st November 1925, and a provisional constitution and statement of policy were issued over the signature of Quazi Nazrul Islam. The statement declared that, all other means for attaining independence having failed, the Party will seek to achieve Swaraj and the salvation of the country by the organisation of Labour and Peasantry, who form eighty per cent of the population, so that they may wrest freedom from the hands of vested interests by their own might and for their own interests. The Party would fight for the economic interests of workers and peasants and would support candidates for legislatures who would put these items in their programmes. It proposed also to send its

own members into the legislatures, and to co-operate when possible with other organisations engaged in National service. Party members were allowed to be members of the Swaraj Party.

The chief among those who were identified with the foundation and early work of the Party were Comrade Shamsuddin Husain, of Birbhum, who has since died, Comrade Hemanta Kumar Sarkar, who has left Bengal, Comrade Qutbuddin Ahmad, who has left the Party, and Comrade Quazi Nazrul Islam, who is politically inactive.

An All-Bengal Tenants' Conference was held on 6 February 1926 at Krishnagar, under the Presidentship of Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta, M. A., D. L. Many representatives of peasants and tenants were present, and several members of the Labour Swaraj Party. It was decided forthwith to form the "Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal," in which the Labour Swaraj Party was merged, and a committee was elected with Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen as Chairman and Comrades Hemanta Kumar Sarkar and Qutbuddin Ahmad as secretaries respectively of the peasants' and workers' sub-committees. A constitution was approved and published, embodying the main points of policy of the Labour Swaraj Party.

The second conference of the Party was held in Calcutta on 19 and 20 February 1927 under the presidency of Comrade Atul Chandra Gupta M. A., B. L., when an address of welcome was given to Comrade S. Saklatwala, M. P. About 40 members were present, and about 300 visitors. A new programme of demands and organisation was adopted.

Organisation and work :—During 1926 the membership remained at about 40, and was confined to Calcutta, except for the branch at Mymensingh. (The "Mymensingh Peasants' and Workers' Party" had been in existence for some time before the formation of the Labour Swaraj Party, and on the formation of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party it entered as a branch). The national movement was still in a state of apathy and disorganisation, and funds being short and the political level of the membership low, the Party was able to make little progress.

In 1927 conditions generally improved. New life began to appear, if slowly, in the Labour and political movements, and the Party was able to effect a certain amount of substantial work.

(1) In the labour field: (a) The Party conducted propaganda among the Jute workers, in conjunction with the "Bengal Jute Workers' Association." The President Vice-President and General Secretary of the Association are Party members, and it affiliated to the Party in October 1927. Re-organisation and extension of the work of the Association are now being carried on.

(b) Party members are engaged in re-establishing the "Dakeswari Cotton Mill Workers' Union" at Dacca.

(c) Party members are reorganising according to Trade Union principles the "Bengal Glass Workers' Union."

(d) In January 1928 under the auspices of the Party was formed the "Scavengers' Union of Bengal," begun at Calcutta, with branches already formed at Howrah and Dacca, an one in process of formation at Mymensingh. A successful strike was fought by the Calcutta Scavengers in March.

(e) Party members have established the "Workers' Protection League," which has contested in court many cases under the Indian Workmen's Compensation Act.

(f) In December 1927, Party members rendered assistance in organisation and propaganda in the strike of dock-workers at Calcutta.

(g) Some Party members went to study the situation at Kharagpur during the dispute of October and November 1927, but in the absence of close contact with the men, and with inadequate resources, were unable to take any useful action. In the conflict which developed between the leaders, both sides seemed to be adopting wrong tactics, for improper motives, and the men, in spite of their great fight, achieved only a very partial success.

(h) In the prolonged conflict between the two rival Trade Union Federations, the Party has seen no reason to take up a position on either side. It is, however, in favour of strengthening the association of Bengal Trade Unions, and now that the dispute has apparently ceased, it will urge all unions with which it is connected to affiliate.

(2) In regard to peasants: A new branch of the Party has been formed recently to cover Atia and Tangail, and it is making rapid progress. (In the Tangail sub-division of the Mymensingh District, the Government, in agreement with the zamindars has declared "Protected Forest" an area of 104 square miles, covering 104 villages, and a population of over one lakh. The villagers have been prevented from cutting trees, grazing cattle, fishing, etc., and even from carrying goods or driving carts along roads. The object of the policy is to cause the area to revert to forest, which owing to its timber etc. will be more profitable. Cultivation is already declining, disease increasing, and if the policy is allowed to continue, the area will be depopulated within a short time.)

Nevertheless the Peasants' and other sub-committees of the Party have not worked, while the workers' sub-committee has acted

only in an unorganised manner. As the work of the Party extends, the efficient operation of the Central Office and its departments will become essential, and they should be put a sound footing at once.

During the year the individual membership increased, and is now 125, consisting of peasants and intellectuals in about equal proportions, with a few workers. A branch of the Party is to be established shortly at Dacca. The affiliated membership, including branch membership, is over 10,000. The numbers, social composition, activity and political education of the members are far from satisfactory, but some progress has been made in all these respects.

Relations with other organisations:—A few of our members were able to attend as delegates the Delhi and Cawnpore Sessions of the All-India Trade Union Congress (March and November 1927) and in agreement with comrades from Bombay and the Punjab were able to press our point of view with some success. Two of our members are in the Executive Council of the Trade Union Congress.

Three of our members were elected in 1927 to the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, and two to the All India Congress Committee. At the Madras Session of the Congress (December 1927) with comrades from Madras, Bombay, Ajmer-Merwara and the Punjab, we formed a fraction which was able to give effective expression to our views in the subjects committee.

At the Dacca Young Men's Conference in August 1927, one of our members was elected to preside over the Workers' and Peasants' section.

Publications:—On 16 December 1925 the "Langal" (Plough) was started as a Bengali weekly paper, the organ of the Labour Swaraj Party. Qutbuddin Ahmad provided all the initial expenses and Quazi Nazrul Islam conducted it. Fifteen issues were published, the last on 15th April 1926. It was stopped owing to financial embarrassment. It reappeared under the name "Ganavani" (Voice of the People) the official organ of the Peasants' and Workers' Party, on 12 August, and was edited by Muzaffar Ahmad. Nine numbers appeared, the last on 12 October 1926, when it ceased publication owing to lack of money, and the ill-health of the editor and the manager. Again from 14 April to 27 October 1927, 23 numbers appeared, and publication then ceased for lack of money. The paper was able to run only because of the assistance of many comrades, among whom should be mentioned Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen, who gave Rs. 170, and Comrade Atul Chandra Gupta, who gave Rs. 50. Qutbuddin Ahmad also suffered much loss on account of the paper.

Both papers, which were intended primarily for the student class, intellectuals, etc., were partly propagandist, partly agitational.

At the beginning we had a circulation of about 5000, but after the Hindu-Muḡlim 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 "Krantī" (Revolution) a workers' weekly paper in Mahrattī. 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 "Kirtī" (Worker), a Gurumukhī monthly, and has recently started a monthly Urdu "Kirtī." 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 a Fascist manner. It is unnecessary to say that this development may become an extremely dangerous one for us and for the movement. We must maintain our alliance with as large a stratum as possible of the middle class, and can ally with any section, whatever its social basis, which fights against imperialism. The basis of our opposition to the Swaraj Party is not that it is bourgeois, but that it is not whole-heartedly for national independence. This must be made clear in our propaganda.

Our duty :—Nevertheless our task in the coming year lie mainly in the sphere of organisation. The revival of the nationalist and labour movements will be fruitful only if it is accompanied by the growth of a Party. The increased work required of us will only be possible on the basis of a larger membership and an improved organisation. Our membership must be increased, especially from the working class, study circles must be instituted, and our whole apparatus tightened up. We must pay particular attention to the organisation of groups of our members who are also members of other organisations, Trade Unions and their committees, Peasant Societies and their committees, Congress committees, Youth organisations, etc., so that our policy may be put forward to the members of these bodies in a systematic manner. Finally all Party committees, central or local, branches, groups, fractions etc., must make a point of meeting frequently and regularly and of reporting their activities. Without these things, the Party work, as distinct from the work of the individual members, cannot go on.

Representative Abroad :—In April 1927, the general Secretary of the Party, S. N. Tagore was sent to Europe to study the labour

political and movements. He has studied particularly in Germany. In October 1927 an invitation was received from the Federation of Russian Rural Co-operatives to send a representative to take part in the celebration on the 10th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. As the time was short, and passports are difficult to obtain, comrade Tagore was asked by us to represent us. He was however, not able to do so.

Class Struggle Victims:—Two of our comrades of the Cownpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case, S. A. Dange of Bombay, and Shaukat Usmani of Bikaner, were released in the period under review. Comrade Muhammad Shafique, of N. W. Frontier Province, after suffering three years' imprisonment for conspiracy, and 18 months' detention in his native village, was also released. Comrade Ramchandra Kapur of Lahore, the first editor of "Mihnatkash," was sentenced to six months imprisonment for sedition and was released in February 1928. Comrades P. Spratt of the Labour Research Department, London, and S. S. Mirajkar, Secretary of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay, were prosecuted for the publication of a pamphlet "India and China," but were acquitted. Comrade Malik Fazl-i-Ilahi Qurban of Lahore, was sentenced in August 1927 to five years' imprisonment, reduced on appeal to three, for conspiracy, he having been a student of the Eastern University of Moscow. Comrade D. Campbell of the Communist Party of Great Britain was sentenced in March 1927 to 18 months' imprisonment for being in possession of a counterfeit passport, etc. Comrade Muhammad Akbar Khan is still in prison, having been sentenced in 1921 to three years, and in 1922 to seven more years' imprisonment for conspiracy.

Our Mails:—The Executive Committee desires to make a public protest against the petty persecution suffered by the Party at the hands of the C. I. D. Our mails, especially foreign mails, are not delivered to us properly. They are always late, and often not delivered at all. A registered cover posted to us in Bombay on 11th February has not been delivered yet. A second registered and insured cover posted later was so long delayed before delivery that it was useless for its original purpose. The Federation of Russian Rural Co-operatives sent us two telegrams in September and October 1927. The first was not delivered, and the second arrived too late to be of use. The General Secretary sent us by M.O. from Germany in December last £40 which he had collected for the publication of a paper for Jute workers. It has not yet been delivered. A similar sum sent to Bombay for a Textile workers' paper has also not been received. All periodicals sent from abroad, whether proscribed or not, are withheld (except the "Press Reports" of the I. F. T. U.) Our protests to the authorities are met with promises of "inquiry",

and a denial of our assertion that the C. I. D. interferes. We have our own ocular evidence to prove that the C. I. D. officers habitually search the mails. In some cases ignorant persons are employed at this work, who indiscriminately carry away all packages addressed to suspects.

Proscription:—Similarly we wish to protest against the practice of proscribing books and periodicals. Proscription has now gone so far that it amounts to nothing short of throttling the intellectual life of the country. Many publications of an objective and theoretical kind are banned; a recent case is that of "The Future of Indian Politics", by Comrade M.N. Roy. Even under the present law such proscription could not be defended in the court. A still clearer case is that of the pamphlet "India and China". The Government has refused to remove the ban from it, although the author has been judged not to be guilty of sedition in writing it. The Press and other defenders of the public have been lacking in their duty in not conducting a more persistent propaganda against this and similar tyrannical practices, which constitute a serious obstacle to the progress of the national movement.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1927-28

President:

- (1) Atul Chand Gupta, M. A., B. L.

Vice-President:

- (2) Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta, M. A., D. L.

General Secretary:

- (3) Saamyendra Nath Tagore, B. A. (Abroad).
- (4) Muhammad Abdur Razzak Khan (Acting).

Sectional Secretary (Labour):

- (5) Dharani Kanta Goswami

Sectional Secretary (Peasant):

Vacant.

Members:

- (7) Pyari Mohan Das
- (6) Muzaffar Ahmad

- (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.	Loan—	Rs.	A. P.
<i>Subscription—</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	... 228	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.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 1928.

Chairman.

1. Atul Chandra Gupta, M.A., B.L.

Vice Chairman

2. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta, M.A., D.L.

General Secretary

3. Muzaffar Anmad.

Sectional Secretary (Lafow).

4. Dharani Kanta Goswami.

MEMBERS.

5. Kalidas Bhattacharya
6. Ashutosh Roy
7. Gopendra Chakravarty
8. M. Abdur Razzak Khan
9. Abdul Halim
10. Aftab Ali
11. Nirod Kanta Chakravarti
12. Pyari Mohan Das
13. Sudhindra Nath Chakravarti.

APPENDIX

The demands formulated in the Second Congress of the
"PEASANTS & WORKERS PARTY OF BENGAL"
held on the 27th February 1927.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS

(A) Political Demands.

- I. Universal adult suffrage.
- II. Removal of all racial and cast distinctions
- III. Complete liberty of the press, of speech and the right of associations.
- IV. Removal of all obstacle in the path of the Trade Unions and guaranteeing to them all the rights which would place them on a footing of equality with the Trade Unions of all progressive countries.

(B) Economic Demands

- I. Abolition of all indirect taxes as far as practicable and fixing the scale of Income Tax on a progressive scale on incomes of Rs. 200/- or over per month.
- II. Abolition of landlordism and nationilisation of land.
- III. Legislation permitting leasing out of agricultural lands direct to the actual peasants.

- IV. Fixing the minimum scale of the rental for all arable land in proportion to the produce so that in no case should the scale fixed exceed ten per cent. of the actual produce.
- V. Starting of State Co-operating Banks for advancing loan to the cultivators on which the maximum rate of interest should be 7 per cent. per annum. This legal rate of interest should also be binding on those who carry on private banking.
- VI. There should be no transfer of land in case of failure of the peasants to pay their debt.
- VII. Measure for educating the agriculturists on the modern scientific methods of agriculture.
- VIII. Reduction of working hours for Industrial Labour to 8 hours per day and five days and half in the week. The women and child workers should have their working hours still more reduced.
- IX. The establishment of National Minimum wage for the industrial workers by statutory measures. This should be 33 per cent. above what is required to satisfy the essential human needs of the workers.
- X. Legislative measures for the institution of old age pensions sickness and unemployment Insurance Funds in every industry.
- XI. The Workmen's Compensation Act which determines the extent of employers' liabilities should be liberally recast and prompt measures should be taken to give due effect to it.
- XII. To compel the employers by means of legislation to introduce the use of those improved appliances invented for securing the workers against dangers incidental to working in the mines and other industries.
- XIII. Payment of weekly wages.

(C) Social Demands.

- I. To drive out illiteracy amongst the masses completely.
- II. Establishment of hospitals and health resorts for the Workers and the peasants and of maternity homes for women workers about to become mothers.
- III. Measures for imparting lessons on sanitation and hygiene to the masses.

- IV. Compel the employers to make proper housing arrangements for the workers and charge rents that may not be beyond their means.
- V. Measures prohibiting the employment of women and child labour on work attended with danger.
- VI. Legislative measures against employment of children below the age of 14.

In view of the fact that the only means for the successful working of this programme is COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE OF INDIA FROM BRITISH IMPERIALISM the "Peasants and Workers' Party" would never hesitate to work in co-operation with all parties who are in agreement with this ideal and ready to work for its realisation.

GANAVANI

(VOICE OF THE PEOPLE)

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auge
tajid
ihate

P. 524.

One pamphlet in Bengali entitled "Political Resolution".

P. 525.

A Star of India File containing the following 4 documents amongst others:—

P. 525. (1)

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P. 525. (2)

A map of Hamburg showing route to International Seamen's Club.

P. 525. (3)

*Rejected and
D & Spratt.*

P. Sptatt.

20. 3. 29.

Calcutta Tramway Workers' Union

Address: 8 Old Post Office St.

Officers. Pres. Dr. B.N. Dutt; V. Ps. S. N. Banerji; B. P. Godbole; & Mahbul Huq, (3) Sec. P. K. Sayd; 7 Asst. Secs. (representing workers, 6 Depots & 1 Workshop). 2 Treasurers (Workers) 35 Committees in all.

Date of foundation 27 Nov. 1927: Howrah Busno asst. Sec., Shop (Nanapur). (these came in late) Belgatchia Rajabagan. Poli Circus Strongest section Kidderpur, Kalighat.

History: Hartal Feb: 3 1928. 47 suspended of which 17 dismissed—who were the leading members of the Union (4 Asst. Secs. & 2 Treasurers etc.)

17 were supported for by turn to the men of the Union.

Provincial question (Hmd V. By.) arose at this time on initiative of employees. Hmd people joined on Feb. 3, & were the cause of the failure.

This has continued, and destroyed union. Union prospered up to.

Ogn. Section Committees (7 Secs.) of 35 members with one who is also Asst. Sec. of Union.

Meetings are held at 7 centres.

No special reps. of grades.

S.G.M. in May 27. -- and also Sp. Exv. meeting.

17th June, 13'may

24 March.

Also Section meetings (none since July).

Cat. 1 E. C. meetings 15 Sept. last. 13 June. now monthly.

Work. Petition formulating grievances sent by workers in Nov. 1st week, 1927. (before union). 20 Nov. Co. reptive refusing. 7 Dec. E. K. S. replied refuting orgn.

11 Dec. Puell & Holesworth meeting. 12 Dec. some concession.

i. e. 8 hrs. work. instead of 10, 11, 12 or so.

Fine fund. for sports, gratuities etc. Formed Committee of higher officials to manage it.

Prov. Fund (est. actually July 1928).

Listen to individual grievances (Previously no one dared etc.)

Conditions in depositing cash with cashiers with less delay (no checking on spot) much time saved.

Leave. Previously 14 days ; pay now full pay (after 1 yr.)

Short cash. Prev. fine of 8 as. Now 4 as. refund within 24 hrs. no fine)

Fines now taken at end of month.

Promised if Co. gets lease fr. Corpn. will give barracks for 50% of men and after more.

No benefit funds.

Pol. Hartal.

On Pay day officers go with acct. books to take subscriptions etc. and recruit. One co-officer stand at pay office to keep them away.

No Pubs: leaflets and const.

Finance. (1) Rate 2/as per month.

(2) -- given.

(3) up to 31 March from member.

464 Rs. 9/9/- (4 months).

Apr. 65/13/-

May. 82/14/-

June. 70/10/-

July. 53/8/-

Aug. 25/10/-

Sept. 21/2/-

Donations for Support of.....
on up to end of Mar.

(for. T. J. C. 80) 93 Rs. 237/-/-

Apr. 124/-/-

May 3/12/- 1026/2/9

June 2/-/-

July 5/-/-

Total loan Rs. 9/-

237/-/-

some ac.

same men.

Exp.	On relief up to 31 March 180	Ap.	My.	Jne.
		54	58	25.
Loan	58/3/-	largely to 57/8 20/-	
clerk kept up to Sept.	at Rs. 20/-			
new clerk on to Rs. 15/-		Relief		
		July	Aug.	Sept.
		9.	2/10/-	
nominal bal of R1 in bal		Relief	328/10/-	
		Loan	129/11/-	
Affln. to B. T. U. F.	fee paid definitely in Feb.			
Members no admitted	1871			
left	155 (for nonpayment of 3 month)			
	(1716)		(31 March)	

P. 525. (4)

*Revised and
D.P.S./alt.*

(Seamen's Union).

A new programme has been drafted and accepted by the E. C. which embodies the principle of demanding concessions from the Steamship Companies. (instead of the policy pursued hitherto, of demanding reforms from the Govt. in regard to recruiting machinery etc.). The principal demands are:

- (1) 50 per cent increment for all.
- (2) 48 hours week at sea (42 in Port).
- (3) Overtime pay.
- (4) Free passage to home ports for seamen left abroad.
- (5) Monthly allotment noted to relatives up to 75 p.c. of pay.
- (6) Accommodation on ships to be improved.
- (7) Pension scheme after 20 years service. Union cards have been printed, with adhesive stamps as receipts, and a yearly subscription system introduced.

A branch office has been opened (for Saloon men) at Park Circus.

P. 526.

A file containing the following 48 documents amongst others.

P. 526. (1).

A score of music headed "The International."

P. 526 (2).

C/o Mr. Sandwell

Apollo Chambers,

Fort, Bombay.

14. 1. 29.

Dear P,

Will you send that along what we spoke about on Howra Station, as I cannot locate any here. I see you are busy with the Jute workers the question of Financial assistance to the Jute strikers will be dealt with at the Managing committee meeting of the Girni Kamgar Union on Wednesday, 16th. I am rather busy. Best wishes.

Yours,

B. F. Bradley.

P. 526. (3).

POSTS TELEGRAPHS.

No. 02083

Received here at ~~—H.—~~ M.
15/12.

O NL BOMBAY 29 22 SPRATT WORKERS PARTY
1/2 EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE CALCUTTA.

SEND REGISTERED POST ARTICLE THOUSAND WORDS
PUBLIC SAFETY BILL-DESAI SPARK BOMBAY 4.

This form must accompany any enquiry respecting this telegram.

Karim Bux Bros. Printers Calcutta—354 (B. 72)—16-6-28 —
40,000 BB.

P. 526. (4).

To Jariwalla mansion, Sandhurst Rd.
Philip Spratt Bombay. 4.
European Asylum Lane, 4-2-29.
Calcutta.

Dear Mr. Spratt,

I am sorry I could not write to you earlier as I have been frightfully busy bringing out "the Spark." And I am afraid for the same reason it will not be possible for me to accede to your request and write a pamphlet on Class struggle to be subsequently translated into Hindi—not for some time to come atleast. Under these circumstances it may not look very graceful on my part to expect an article from you on Public Safety Bill ; but realizing my difficulties you will please pardon me. Did you get our wire and is the article coming along I am banking on it. How do you like the Spark ? We are going to add a few more features next time-space permitting. By the by can you get some one to send us very brief but bright Calcutta notes, not more than a column long ?

I dont know if this is going to be my last letter to you. In that case au revoir. But try to keep the Spark in mind and write something for it from wherever you might be.

Very sincerely yours,
M. G. Desai.

P. 526. (5)

The undersigned requests

Comrade...P. Spratt Esqr.....
to attend the 2nd Sésion of The Punjab Naujawan Bharat Sabha
Conference to be held under the Presidentship of Comrade SOHAN
SINGH JOSH on the 22nd 23rd and 24th February 1929 at Brad-
laugh Hall Lahore.

IHSAN ILLAHIE

G. Secretary R. Committee

Punjab Naujawan Bharat Sabha Conference

LAHORE.

P. 526 (6).

34 Holland Hall,

Allahabad.

My dear Comrade Spratt,

This is again to remind you of the two pamphlets! They can very safely be of 32 P. P.-size the same as A Call to Action. It is a pity Dange has not yet acknowledged my letter nor whether he would write the pamphlet on Bardoli.

You will hear from Muzaffar about our weekly. Could you suggest some foreign contributors? Of course, we cannot afford to pay. Could you write to them yourself, and send me their addresses. We want C. G. Sah to write the pamphlet on 'Workers and Peasants Swaraj.' But you said he is indolent. Could you or the comrade there best known to him write to him about it.

We are penniless, and a good party library is so badly needed. You must have yourself seen how the active workers themselves are unscientific and sentimental. Without a library we cannot recruit new and young members from the university and the demand for our books is really great. How to have a library? Could you write a registered letter to the Labour Research House and British Communist Party to send us one copy each of their publications, free! If this be not at all possible, we will try to send them money by instalments, or still better, we would become their agents and hawk their books. Or at least book orders for them—I assure you the demand here is so great that it will be really good business for them. Please do something on this account.

I am absolutely raw. You comrades ought to make me right!

Fraternally,

P. C. Joshi.

P. S.

Please advertise Kranti Kari prominently in Ganavnni and send to Krishna Gopal, Editor, the name of friends who you think and a specimen copy should be sent and who wd. thereafter accept the V. P. P. 16 P. P.—one anra per copy—Theory and labour news.

P. 526. (7).

Dear Spratt,

Mr. Johnston is now in my place. I am taking him to Bauria by the 2—24 train. If yourself and Mozaffar can go to the station in time, if possible with Huda, it would be very good. You may wait at the Booking Station (B. N. E. Inter Class)

Yours

Sd/-Illegible.

28. 11. 28.

On the reverse the following is written :—

Mr. Philip Spratt,

2/1 European Asylum Lane,

Bengal Peasants' & Workers' Party.

P. 526. (8).

Dear Comrade,

Thanks for your kind letter and the welcome tract. It is really very well done. It is so scientific, impassioned, and yet highly popular. I am translating it into Hindustani. It will be out of the Press by the Calcutta Conf:— I am also translating the Prov. Workers Delegation Report on Soviet Russia. I wish I could also do the same with Purcell and Halls-worth's report but it is not available here. They would be ideal books for propagandists. I am anxiously awaiting your other pamphlet. I hope it will sell more if your name is there on it, so I would keep it there. If however for any reasons you are strong on the point, you will please write to me immediately and I would not have it there.

I am glad you think that of the importance of the Library and I hope you would hurry up with something.

I have been talking to the Railwaymen here. It is so hard to begin. The true base, for the E. I. R. so can only be Calcutta—you alone can give the 'push'. By the way I would suggest a Party Com. to draw a programme of immediate org:— we must concentrate on strategic centres and strategic industries etc.—

The telegram was despatched to Saklatwalla but Bankim Babu did not know which address was given for the expected remittance. It is six days and you have not been able to see Radha Raman Babu nor I presume the latter has been able to see you. I learnt some other matters which I shall tell you when we meet.

I found Gopen Babu there who told me that he had been staying at Bauria for the last 40 or 45 days with an absence of about a week during the whole period. And though I had been to Bauria at least six or seven times, if not more, during the period I know nothing about it. But of this I have no mis. as my limited experience of Gopen Babu, has given me the idea that he is a decent man who talks little and works much and that intrigues and back-intrigues are not in his line.

However, I hope you would come to see me by 12-30 or at any rate send me a line per the bearer of this note letting me know your inability and if possible the cause.

Perhaps Mr. Huda informed you that Johnston has made an appointment with you at 5 P. M. in his hotel, if you can't meet come here.

Yours
K. L. Ghosh.

P. 526. (10).

10/9/28.

My dear Mr. Spratt,

Weeks ago our mutual friend wrote to say, that I should recover from you the loan of Rs. 200/- two hundred given to you from his a/c with me. Will you please make it a point to have it returned to me without delay?

Hoping you are fit and well.

I am,
Yours
B. F. B

On the reverse the following is written:—

Industrial Commission 1917-

Muddiman Committee. 1924.-

Currency Committees.

Rs. 4-2

" " (1893. 1919)

Reports on Working of
Reforms 1927.

2-14

India 1926-7

1925-6

etc.

22-3

1918 perhaps

Press Bill 1928.

P. 526. (11).

2/1, European Asylum Lane,

May 20, 1928

To the Editor, "Forward"

I shall be obliged if you will allow me to make some comment on the revelations of your London correspondent about the "pact" which he says the British Trades Union Congress has agreed to for capturing the All-India Trade Union Congress. I do not know, of course, whether such a pact has actually been drawn up, though I think that is quite possible. But I can say from my personal knowledge that, whether concrete expression of it exists or not, the policy of the official leaders of the British Labour movement is such as your correspondent describes. It is unnecessary to add that the power and influence of that movement are so great that its sinister policy constitutes a serious danger to Indian Labour and to India generally.

The propaganda of Messrs. Purcell and Hallsworth, and of their Indian supporters has always been for a "non-political" trade union movement. There have even been hints, repeated *e. g.* in the May issue of Mr. Ernest Kirk's "Indian Labour Review", of a policy of expulsion of communists and member of the Workers and Peasants Party from the Indian Trade Unions. This would be done as in Britain and elsewhere, not because these people are "disruptive" (quite the contrary is actually the case), but because they stand for the direct political action of the working class against Imperialism.

The British Labour will not contemplate a revolutionary policy, the only possible policy for Indian Labour. But they realise that to advocate "constitutional" political action on the part of Indian Labour is absurd. They are consequently forced to advocate a completely non-political movement, which they do on the plea that all the nationalist parties should be eschewed because they are capitalist. This is of course mere hypocrisy. For on the one hand the British Labour leaders themselves have for long carried on a flirtation with the capitalist Swaraj Party, and even with the British Liberal Party. And on the other hand, Messrs. Purcell and Hallsworth were even more bitter against the Workers and Peasants Party than they were against the bourgeois nationalist.

The proposed assistance to the Indian Unions from British Labour will therefore mean that Indian Labour is artificially held back from its most important line of action, namely its part in the movement for Indian independence. And it would also mean, consequently, that that movement itself would be frustrated. This is of course the fundamental aim of the British Labour leaders in relation to India, since, as you have pointed out, they are definitely and finally committed to an Imperialist policy on all questions, and indeed are recognised part of the Imperialist machinery.

I feel it necessary therefore to justify the attitude on this question of the British Communists and left wing, who have always been in favour of assistance of Indian Labour by British Labour. They advocate this assistance only on the basis of the recognition by British Labour of the right of India to complete Independence, and the right of the Indian workers to organise and fight for it. Carried out in this spirit, the militant alliance of Indian and British labour against Imperialism would be of great benefit. But carried out on the lines proposed by the present British Labour leaders, the alliance of British and Indian Labour will merely constitute another chain binding India to British Imperialism.

May I add a few words on what I believe to be the proper policy for Indian Labour to adopt in the political field. It does not follow from what I have said that Indian Labour must rush into the arms of the Swaraj Party or the Congress. Though for quite different reasons, I agree with Mr. Purcell on this point. Labour must have its own independent political Party. But it can cooperate with other organisations, be they bourgeois or anything else, on the basis of certain principles. And the principle which Labour will put forward in the present stage is militant struggle for complete independence. Labour can have no truck with "Dominion Status" or, what is the same thing, "Full responsible Government". It is for this reason that Labour looks with some suspicion on the Congress as an ally, thinking that it desires labour support for the

attainment of aims such as this, with which labour has no sympathy. Even after the Independence Resolution, I think Labour is quite justified in its attitude, since it is clear that most of those who really control Congress policy do not mean to carry out the resolution, but are still angling for concessions.

Yours etc.

P. 526. (12).

The Workers' & Peasants' Party of Bengal.

2-1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE,

Organ :

Calcutta 26-5-1928.

GANAVANI

(Bengali Weekly).

Dear Comrade Spratt,

Your letter of the 25th instant is to hand. I am glad to know that Ondal struck work. It is published in this morning's papers. I have not seen Nirod as yet. I am just going out to see him. If he is not in a position to go, Halim is prepared to go. But there has arisen difficulties about Scavengers. The matter is going to be complicated daily. A strike is necessary. There is no other way left. We are going to hold a Public Meeting tomorrow. I am sending herewith a leaflet. But it is doubtful whether the citizen will at all attend the meeting. They are callous, "Ganavani" will appear on the 14th June. Please write some things preferably on the "Roll of the Workers' and Peasants' Party". I am sending some literature in a separate packet. I am sending membership forms also. Please enlist members. Annual subscription is As. 4/-/- only for workers. If they are not in a position to pay subscription now it does not matter. Let them become members. We shall see about the subscription later on. I am sending an old set of "Ganavani". Please urge the workers to become members. Please ask Goswami to keep a diary about the whole thing. Tell him that Miss Prohabati Gupta has returned to Calcutta.

There is no letter for you excepting from Thomas Cook's. They have demanded of you Rs. 43/14/- being their storage charges for 4 packages stored with them since 14th June 1927.

Nothing more today.

Yours fraternally

Muzaffar Ahmad.

PUBLIC MEETING.

On Sunday the 27th May 1928 at 6 P. M. at Shradhananda Park, Mirzapur, there will be a Public Meeting where the "Scavengers' Union of Bengal" and representatives of the scavengers of the Calcutta corporation will place before the rate payers and the public of Calcutta the facts relating to the failure on the part of the Calcutta Corporation to give

effect to the terms agreed to by the then Mayor of Calcutta upon which the Scavengers' Strike in March last was called off. At the meeting it will be announced by the scavengers' representatives that the scavengers will go on strike again shortly to enforce the terms of settlement about which the assurance had been given by the then Mayor of Calcutta or to secure better terms.

All are cordially invited to attend the meeting.

PROBHA DAS GUPTA

Chairman,

MUZAFFAR AHMAD

Vice-Chairman,

THE SCAVENGERS' UNION OF BENGAL.

P. 526. (13).

BENGAL TRADES UNION FEDERATION.

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

President: Sj. Mrinal

Kanti Basu.

Office: 34 Bowbazar street.

Secretary: Sj. Kishori

Dated, Calcutta, the, 192

Lal Ghosh.

Dear Spratt,

So you have come down to Chengal with the other conquering-hero I mean Mr. R. Mitra. The British Chamber of Commerce (Bengal) has really, it seems, not been wrong when it suggests that British Foreign office should be approached by the much harrassed government of India on behalf of the lamb-like Chamber so that passports in future may not be issued to stormy petrels like your Stanic self. Otherwise, how could you appear as a meteor on the Chengal scene when the situation was such as to require your presence? I enclose herewith a cutting from the *statesmen* of a letter I wrote in reply to its thundering article on the Moscow school. Please preserve the cutting to be returned to me this afternoon when I meet you, as I am keeping these things in the Federation file for future reference.

I enclose herewith a telegram—and I owe you an apology. The telegram reached me in the dusk of the evening and postman said it

was mine—I signed it, took it to light and without looking at the envelope tore it open. But subsequently I came to realise when it was too late that it was yours directed to my "care". However the mischief is done, but is it really a greater mischief than that it has been known exactly by those of our wives' brothers, who are paid to poke their nose into other people's affairs

Yours truly,

K. L. Ghosh.

P. 526. (14).

B. C. BASAC Proprietor	ALBERT LIBRARY, DACCA Book selling & Publishing Firm. (Estd. in 1900 A. D.)	Dealers in new and Old Law Medical College and school books; English & Ben- gali Prize and Library books.
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Dated the 18. 4. 1928.

Com. Philip Spratt,

Cal.

Dear Comrade,

These days I was busy with Mill Workers and Scavengers. Some trained mistries of Dakeswari Cotton Mills had gone on strike, not in the name of the Union but in their individual capacity for increase in their wages.

As I reached Dacca and came to have a hint of it, I hurried to the situation and found that all had joined work, as after some few hours of their strike the majority of them returned—(only seven Mistries did strike—not the other workers). One Mistry has resigned and left Dacca altogether. However they had been given some increase in their bonus. Yesterday I went to the Managing Director, some mill workers accompanying me, and it is arranged that the Managing Director will meet us, along with his Manager and other directors in a Conference.

So much today of it. I am meeting the Scavengers, individually in different quarters the Municipal authorities are trying their best to apply their tactics.

These days I have eagerly gone through papers but have not found anything particular about Lilua and Howrah, only that the Magistrate is expected to take some steps against Sachinandra.

I hope to be fully informed as regards our Howrah and Lilua brethren—the workers here are also eager to be informed of the situation.

Now as regards Dange's book, did you find any time to go through the proofs and give Nirod Chakravarty as regards printing and binding.

What do you think of simultaneous foreign publication—if you think it is necessary you can send some. I think we should write to Labour monthly and others for advertisement.

Nothing more today. More when I receive your letter.

Yours Comradely

GOPAL Ch. BASAK.

P. 526 (15).

Bengal Trades Union Federation.

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

President : Sj. Mrinal Office : 34, Bowbazar Street.
Kanti Basu.

Dated, Calcutta, the 23. 4. 28.

Secretary : Sj. Kishori Lall Ghosh.

Dear Mr. Spratt.

Heard from Mr. K. C. Mitter who had been to see me this morning that you returned to Calcutta last night. The situation at Chengal is serious. My unavoidable engagements make it impossible for me to leave Calcutta to-day. Bankim Babu and Radha Raman Babu are doing their best. If you can manage to go with Radha Raman Babu it would be very helpful.

Yours

K. L. Ghosh.

P. 526 (16).

2/1 European Asylum Lane

CALCUTTA

1-7-28.

Dear Mr. Ginwalla,

I am sorry I have been prevented by strikes and so on from writing to you sooner.

I see from the Press that Mr. Allison was deported after his release, and was not allowed to take his clothing etc, with him. The clothing in question, as you know, is in my charge, and is deposited at Thos. Cook's in Hornby Road, and their receipt for the four packages is in your possession.

I wanted therefore to ask you what can be done about it. Is it possible to induce the Bombay Government to transport the things? If so, would you mind moving in the matter? In your position, and as Allison's solicitor, you are more likely to be successful than, say, myself. If this cannot be done, I shall have to send them at my own cost.

Moving the Government, whether the result is favourable or otherwise would take some time, I suppose, and so, if you decide to take that course, I should like to get the thing removed from Cook's as soon as possible. I received a fairly heavy bill from them recently, and the next is mounting up, as it were. I am therefore writing to Mr. C. G. Shah (Mr. Lotwalla's secretary) asking him to see you get the thing out, and take charge of them while arrangements are being made.

I am afraid I do not know his address, if in case of success with the Government, you require it.

You will probably hear from Mr. Allison himself soon on the matter. But if not, I can only suggest that they be addressed to C/o Labour Research Dept, 162, Buckingham Palace Road, London S. W. 1. or C/o H. Pollitt, 38 Great Ormond Street London W. C. 1. Either would communicate with him and send them to him.

Will you please inform me if you think it impossible to make the Government take them? I shall have to make inquiries about transport charges etc. and I shall want to do so as soon as possible.

Yours Sincerely

P. 526. (17).

2/1 European Asylum Lane
Calcutta.
29-4-28.

THE EDITOR,

Chitramaya-Jagat.

Dear Sir,

You will remember that I promised some time ago to write an article for your special Russian number, on "Russia and India", which I was to give you by May 1st. I am sorry to say that I have not yet completed it, and my present continuous work in connection with the local strikes will prevent my doing so for several days. I intend, however, to finish it, and I shall send it to you when I have done so. But I wish to ask you not in any way to delay publication on this account. For I am not sure when I shall be able to let you have the article. And I am doubtful if you will consider it worth publishing, since I shall have to write it spasmodically in these very awkward conditions, and I am not at present in possession of the historical and other material necessary if an article is to be produced worthy of inclusion.

I hope you will not be put to serious inconvenience by my omission.

Yours sincerely,
P. SPRATT.

P. 526. (18)

2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.
8-7-28.

THE EDITOR,
Chitramaya-Jagat.

Dear Sir,

I feel that I owe you a very humble apology for not having replied previously to your letter of the 5th May, for not having

sent you an article as I promised. Actually, however, owing to my absence etc. I did not see or hear of your letter until some time in June, when I thought that in any case I was too late for the special number.

I decided however to write some thing, since I had promised to do so, thinking that you might make use of it in some other way. Accordingly I wrote out, in such leisure as I could get, what I had planned in April, and have just now managed to type it and send it to you. I do not know if it is the kind of thing that you would like to publish. You will notice that it is very general ; I have practically no references except my memory to draw upon. But you might like it as a fairly representative statement of the Communist point of view on the questions dealt with.

Although I have no real knowledge of Maharati, I should be very pleased if you could let me have a copy of your special number, and, if you make use of my article, of that also.

You must have noticed the unexpected prolongation of the E. I. Railway dispute, which have occupied a great deal of my time and energy and kept me away from Calcutta for weeks together, and also the numerous other strikes which have called for my presence. I hope therefore you will forgive my inexcusable negligence in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
P. SPRATT.

P. 526. (19)

Dakeswari Cotton Mill's Workers Union.

HEAD OFFICE :—61, NAWABPUR, DACCA.

Dated 15-5-1928.

Your ref.....

BANI PRESS,

72 Nawabpur Dacca.

Our ref.....

Com. P. Spratt,
Calcutta.

Dear Comrade,

Dacca Workshop workers and the jute grower and jute bailers are ready to be formed into respective Unions, I am waiting

all these days for you all here, when I have decided to call those meetings.

Some three of our workers have left the place, so it has become difficult to see to all matters when I have taken the management of a press.

Within two or three days, I am expecting that a conference with authorities of Dakeswari Mill will take place, I don't know what I have to do then, as I not familiar the tactics they will play.

However you will let me know when you will be able to come here. The other day I read that Chakravarty has been arrested and no further news was published in any papers. We are all anxious of it.

You will please let us know what has become the Lilua strike and our comrades.

With best greetings and wishes.

Yours Comradely,

Gopal Ch. Basak.

P. 526. (20).

Revised

Bengal Trades Union Federation.

(PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE OF THE ALL-INDIA TRADES UNION CONGRESS).

President: Sj: Mrinal
Kanti Basu

Office: 34, Bowbazar Street.

Dated, Calcutta the, 8-4-1928.

A Secretary: Sj. Kishori Lall Ghosh.

My dear Spratt,

I am sorry I could not go to you as I promised yesterday. I am however sending Indu with you who would deliver a letter to Mr. K. C. Mitter and another to Mr. Baroda Pain about the enquiry. Committee. You would also let me know by Indu either

verbally or by a note as to whether you start 'this night and if so how many days you would remain.

I am sure you would be ready with the article on May day as also prospectus on the Research affair.

Yours truly,
K. L. Ghosh.

P. 526 (21). *Rejected*

Telegraphic Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

The Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal.

2-1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE,

Calcutta, 11-4-1928.

Organ :
GANAVANI
(Bengali Weekly).

My dear Mr. Spratt,

President of Ishapor ordinance Workers'
Union.

I came to get signatures for certain papers but unfortunately could not find

I leave these paper with Mr. Abdul Halim. I hope, you will kindly sign the same and oblige. I deposit -/8/- annas eight only for necessary postage stamps.

Hoping to be excused for having given you so much trouble.

A. Banerjee
Ishapore.

P. 526 (22).

2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.
26/7/28.

Dear Comrade,

I hope you received the ~~manuscript~~ I sent you last week on the question of the Peasant movement in Atia, and I hope you were able to publish something of it. I forgot to ask you, however, to arrange, if you do publish anything to send me a cutting, of it. You will realise that the "Sunday Worker" is proscribed in India, and it is the therefore hopeless to send the whole copy. Cuttings however, may get through.

Will you please therefore arrange that a cutting of anything published will be sent to me at this address ?

Yours fraternally
P. Spratt.

The Manager

The Sunday Worker

254 Gray's Inn Road

London W. C. 1.

P. 526 (23).

DAKESWARI COTTON MILL'S WORKERS UNION.

Head Office:—61 Nawabpur, Dacca.

Dated 21. 8. 28.

Yours Ref.....

Our Ref I.....

Philip Spratt,
Calcutta.

Dear Comrade,

The next day, as I reached Dacca I attended the Railway Employees Conference and passed a resolution there protesting

against the Trade Dispute Bill, but as regards the law of actions that was proposed by circulars of our Party couldn't be adopted by the Conference, the rules and regulations of which doesn't allow any such things. Mr. I. B. Sen, the President-elect assured me that he was trying to change the rules and regulations and he hoped that its reactionary phase would soon pass. I have a problem here, as regards what I can do with workshop workers. The Employees association has got as members some of the points men and station-menials but no workshop workers, where as in N'ganj and Dacca there are only (nearly) 200 workers in all. However you let us know about it.

Regarding Dakeswari Mill shall I write now to Kishori Babu or to Kishori Babu and Joshi both (?) What do you advise ?

Just you left at Mymensingh, that evening I had talks with many of the students and other workers' on intellectual worker there and at Dacca are very eager to go to Atia.

Here at Dacca I had talks with many people including even some officers of forest dept. regarding Atia, I understand that really there we can find atrocious doings of the foresters, they are really oppressing them. The foresters here argue about it to impress me with their innocence and tell that our report is exagarting.

However, I think we should start for Atia within a week, your presence there will be, I think essentially necessary—what do you think (?)

If possible you will come with one of our Comrades for proceeding thither to.

With best love,

Yours fraternally,

Gopal Ch. Basak

P. 526 (24).

Workers of the world
Unite! you have nothing
to lose but your chains.

THE
Weekly Mehanat Kash

"The Mehanat Kash"
labours for your benefit.
Read and advertise
with profit.

No. _____

Lahore 23rd July 1928.

We will live to

1. Stop all exploitation of man by man;
2. Help the organisation and safeguard the rights and interests of the peasants and workers of India;
3. Support the youth movement;
4. Struggle for women's rights;
5. Fight for India's national freedom; and
6. Promote all movements working for a better social, political and economic order in India.

Dear Comrade Sprate,

Since long I heard nothing from you and I am very anxious at present to have full information about your energies.

We have organised the Workers and Peasant Party in the Punjab. The Conference of which shall take place at Lyalpur in September. Comrade Dange has been appointed as a president and invitation cards are being sent to different parts of the country and I hope that you shall also receive the same shortly and please us by attending the Conference.

With comradely greeting.

Yours.

Ma. Majid

RUSSIA AND INDIA.

feature of Indian Nationalism which has often been commented upon and regretted is its spirit of isolation, its tendency to pay attention to India and India's problem's alone. Partly a result of the policy of Imperialism, as expressed in its educational system and its censorship, it is also an inevitable feature of a bourgeois nationalism such as developed in India. It is a sign of the change which is going on within India itself and its national movement, that close attention is now being paid to the affairs of other countries, especially those of the East, which are, in the current phrase, "awakening". Japan has received its share of notice, as have Turkey, Afghanistan and China. But of all the countries of the East, or indeed of the world, none more deserves study than modern Russia.

It is reasonable to regard Russia, as being in some respects ahead of all other countries, and this alone renders it desirable that more should be known about it. But further, as many writers have pointed out, the conditions of India today, and those of Russia before 1917 present in many ways so close a parallel, that developments in Russia must form an instructive commentary on India's history also. It is unnecessary here to elaborate this point, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, in his recent series of articles in the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" has remarked that the similarity between the two peoples extends to the smallest details of custom and practices, as well as embracing their broad economic structure. Both are backward peasant countries, just escaping from feudalism, though with a considerable growth of large-scale industry. (Many Indians resent the statement that their country is "backward". Nevertheless it is true. As Marx wrote in 1853 (in the "New York Tribune", Quoted by R. P. Dutt in "Modern India") "England has torn down the whole scaffolding of Indian social order, without so far any signs of a rebirth being visible," And to this day it stands. India's ancient civilisation, a civilisation essentially mediaeval based upon a feudal agriculture is gone never to return. But nothing has yet replaced it. The upper classes have imbibed something of Britain's imperialist "culture"; the faint beginnings of the future culture of the working class are to be seen in the industrial areas; but the masses as a whole, slowly but inevitably are relapsing from their old state of civilisation into sheer ignorance and backwardness. India is a colony, that is, in spite of her technical development she is backward, and will become more and more so, until she is free.)

Given then that the two countries are somewhat similarly situated and conditioned, what light does Russian history throw

upon India's present and future problems? In other words, can or will India follow the "Moscow Road" as Mr. Norman Angel has called it, or will she travel some totally different road such as that of Japan, or an altogether new one? This is the question it is proposed here to discuss.

It is important to have a clear idea of the change which has taken place and is still going on in Russia. Many thinkers among the bourgeoisie do not venture to give any general characterisation. Few are so bold as the egregious Mr. Ernest Kirk, who says (*Indian Labour Review*, May 1928) "The Russian Revolution was a freak." Others use the confusing phrase "Awakening of the East" under which to comprehend the Russian Revolution. It is true that a profound change, plausibly called "awakening" is going on throughout the East. And it is true—we have the authority of the notorious "Augur" for it—that Russia is no longer to be regarded as belonging to the aristocratic west, but is numbered with the outcastes of the East. Nevertheless the formula is an inadequate one, and has been and is now the cause and expression of some confusion of thought in India. The "awakening" has affected in turn Japan, Russia, Turkey, Persia, China, and is now coming to India, Java and so on. Such a conception leads to the conclusion that India, when fully "awake", may turn out to have become a second Japan, or to be revelling under the despotism of an Amanullah. The conception in fact is too vague to be of use; it has no political meaning.

In order to conceive the Russian Revolution as a whole in relation to the rest of the world, it has to be realised that that Revolution was only one event in a process embracing not only the East but the west also, affecting indeed every corner of the globe, namely the growth and collapse of Imperialism. In the view of the social theory held by the Russian revolutionaries, which the present writer holds to be correct, this phase in history none other than the culminating and final phase in the development of capitalism, "capitalism in decay" as Lenin described it. The Russian Revolution was simply the first break through of the new forces, the masses of industrial workers supported by the peasants, through the decaying structure of capitalism, to the foundation of a new order, which will in time embrace the whole world. The Russian Revolution, far from being a "freak", was the type of what is to occur everywhere, probably within a fairly short time.

It may be worth while, as this question of imperialism is vital, to halt upon it for a moment. It is astonishing how blind the whole bourgeois world is to the events which are going on around it. Imperialism, in the modern meaning of the term, when it began to obtrude itself upon the attention of Europe in the eighties of last century, was looked upon at first with some misgiving.

But this was soon forgotten, and the world has since come to accept it with hardly a thought. J. A. Hobson almost alone among bourgeois historians and economists has shown some appreciation of the sinister meaning of this development. Even the lesson of the pre-war "armed camp" of Europe, the great war itself, the European Russian and Chinese Revolutions, and the present headlong rush towards a new world-war; even these things have not taught the Western world that the days of capitalism are numbered, and that Imperialism is but its last feverish struggle to rid itself of its internal weaknesses.

See for example R. G. Wells, in his "Outline of History". He regards imperialism as an "idea" originating in Germany, and spreading with some difficulty to France and England. It never reached America at all!

"The influence of her (Germany's) new doctrines of aggressive Imperialism was particularly strong upon the British mind..." "Yet the Imperialist movement in Great Britain never had the authority nor the unanimity it had in Germany. It was not a natural product of any of the three united but diverse British peoples." "Modern imperialism is the natural development of the Great Power system which arose, with the foreign office method of policy, out of the Machiavellian monarchies after the break-up of Christendom". always it finds its strongest support in the military and official castes, and in the enterprising and acquisitive strata of society, in new money, that is, and big business."

the World Historian on the most striking and important historical phenomenon of recent times. He is correct in pointing out that imperialism is not the bad sense. He admits that it "finds support" in the ranks of business.

The real significance of imperialism he misses altogether. He is very typical of the whole thought of his class, and bears striking witness to the cultural as well as the political and economic decay which is underlying the bourgeoisie of Europe.

Contrast Lenin, who in his pamphlet on the subject gives a most profound analysis and estimate of Imperialism.

Imperialism is capitalism (my italics throughout) in that phase of development in which the domination of monopolies and finance-capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired very great importance; in which the division of the world among the big international trusts has begun; in which the partition of all the territories of the earth among the great capitalist powers has been completed". "It is known in general how much monopolist capital has deepened all the inherent contradictions of capitalism.....This keeping of contradictions constitutes the most powerful driving force of the transitional period of history, which began from the time of the definite Victory of finance-capital. Monopolies, oligarchy, the tendency towards domination instead of the tendency towards liberty, the exploitation of an increasing number of

small or weak nations by an extremely small minority of the richest or most powerful nations—all these have given birth to those destructive characteristics of imperialism which oblige us to define it as *parasitic or decaying capitalism*. " " We must define it as *capitalism in transition*, or more precisely, as *dying capitalism*.

I have spend an apparently inordinate amount of space upon this point, because it is essential (and at the same time very difficult, as Mr. Wells demonstrates) to realise these truths, as background to any intelligent discussion of modern Russia and modern India.

Imperialism now dominates the whole world, which is being dragged forward at a terrific pace by it, through one of the great turning points of world history the collapse of world capitalism. And these events are bringing about startling reversal of the previous order of human affairs. In accordance with the dialectical movement of history, the countries which previously led the van of progress will drag in the car. Those which were despised as backward are taking the lead in this great transformation. Russia, a backward country, already lead.

*Foot note: Relatively backward, it should be noticed, Russia, China and India are all more advanced than E. G. Turkey, Afghanistan or Central Africa leads the way. China, still more backward, will probably be the next to follow. India, also a backward country, cannot but take a forward place in this march of progress.

For it is the backward nations which feel the contradictions of imperialism to the full, and it is they consequently who are the first to break away from it. It was backward Russia which suffered most severely, precisely because of her backwardness and subjection to foreign capital, during the first great imperialist war. When other combatants lost men in lakhs she lost them in millions. When others suffered economic dislocation she suffered economic disaster. So with China and India. While Europe and America gain (for the time being) from imperialism, they lose. So it is China and India, not the advanced countries, which must take the plunge first.

This roughly is the conception of Lenin, and all events during the years since he wrote have confirmed his view. Accordingly it is next the turn of China and India to follow Russia along the path which she has taken, the only possible path for a country which seeks to free itself from imperialism. This then in the relation of Russia to India at present, and such is the importance of Russia to India. She is a guide, showing the way along which India must tread.

Before pursuing the discussion, it will be as well to deal with a point which crops up here. Many probably will agree that India

is likely to follow Russia's example, to the extent of breaking away from Imperialism. But that India will go any further after Russia will not seem so obvious. There is the example of Japan, which refused to submit to foreign control, but is far from communist! So too with Turkey and Afghanistan, and so on. It is essential to make this clear.

At the time of the establishment of their political freedom, Japan, Turkey, Afghanistan, etc., were for various reasons only partly or imperfectly subject to imperialism. They were perhaps used as markets, or as sources of materials, but not to an appreciable extent as fields for investment. Their technical progress was therefore very slight. Consequently, unless like the central Asiatic countries they could put themselves in relations with a technically more advanced, but anti-imperialist country, Russia, their emancipation was not complete. They remain within the orbit of capitalism. They are in fact opposed, not to imperialism but merely to other imperialist countries. Their ruling classes are trying - that of Japan has completely succeeded - to become imperialist themselves. Their revolution against foreign control involved fundamentally the overthrow of their feudal regime, by the advance guard of their indigenous capitalism. This was a step in advance for them, and is in each case to be welcomed.

But the case is different in India. Here the overthrow of feudalism was effectively complete decades ago—by 1857. Kemal or Amanullah would be reactionaries in India. This country is now technically fairly advanced, like Russia, and has all the possibilities of a completely successful revolt against imperialism. And not merely the "possibilities". It is not difficult to see, (indeed the Non-Cooperation Movement proved it) that any anti-imperialist revolt in India must become an anti-capitalist revolt, i. e. it must follow the Russian model. China, admittedly is in an intermediate position. But even so, it is questionable if she will be able to establish herself as an independent capitalist country, or if so, how long that regime will last.

On these general grounds then, it is possible to say that India may "follow the Moscow Road". India is now in the full sense within the orbit of imperialism, and if she overcomes imperialism, it can only be done completely following the Russian example.

Nevertheless this argument admits two possible lines of development for India. She may break away from imperialism or she may remain within the system of imperialism. On general grounds the former seems the more probable. Imperialism is still emphatically "decaying" capitalism. Many are deceived by the relative stabilisation which Europe in particular has been able to achieve in the last five years. But there are many indications that all is not well with capitalism, and that a bigger conflict and collapse than

ever before is preparin. But this subject is too complicated to be delt with shortly, with any definite result. What light can be shed on the question by an examination of India's internal conditions and developments?

First it may be noticed that the two main lines of advance indicated here do correspond with the two schools of thought now crystallising out among India nationalists. Apart from the section, now no longer of importance, which looks to some earlier Vedic period of history as the model which India should have in view as its ideal, there are roughly these two realistic schools of thought. The one aims at replacing, more or less completely, the British governing class and bureaucracy by Indian individuals. It conceives it under swaraj as essentially the same India as it is to-day, even to the it of remaining within the British Empire. It looks upon the attainment of tnote: It is to be noticed that practically all of this school have given up they ever hold it, the idea of separation from Britain. Even when they demand dependence" as a few still do, they hardly trouble to conceal that they not mean it. This then practically rules out the possibility of an independ, capitalist India, on the model of Japan etc., and is in agreement with the conclusions previously reached.)

"Swaraj" as a legal process, to be conducted through constitutional channels, the only a gradual transfer of power and place from their present holders to Indian hands. It is the Swaraj of the Bureaucrat, the bourgeois, the "two percent I. C. R. Das' phrase.

The other school, which is only now beginning to take definite form, says that Swaraj must involve a fundamental social transformation of India. Not merely the British bureaucrats and borgeois, but the whole system maintained by them must go. And the attainment of this real Swaraj cannot conform to legal channel the law was laid down by British capitalists, in their own interests, and it cannot countenance a complete subversion of its own basis and principles. This is anti-imperialist Swaraj, the Swaraj of the masses, of the ninety-eight percent".

The two ideas represent the fundamental difference which must occur within any movement of a nationalist or similar type in modern times. It occurred in Russia in the conflict between the the Cadets, allied with the Mensheviks, the Socialist Revolutionaries, etc., and the Bolsheviks; in China in the fight between the "Right" Kuomintang and the Communists; and the clearness with which the conflict is seen is a measure of the advancement of the movement. In India we are still backward in this respect. It is still possible for many in the dominant Party in the Congress to take up an intermediate position between these two, *e. g.* by demanding at the same time a "Round Table conference" and "Complete Independence".

But the confusion is clearing. On the one hand, those who shrink from any important social changes who want mere readjustments, are quite logically becoming cooperators, "responsivists" or what not. And those who really want complete independence are coming to the position of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and the Workers' and Peasants' Party, who openly demand the organisation of the masses and their impregnation with a "revolutionary psychology", and realise that the that the future organisation of India must be "some form of Socialism".

In case it may be thought that the various political policies now before India were grouped rather too thoughtlessly under these two heads, it is best to consider the matter here in a little more detail. Apart from the revolutionary policy under discussion they are roughly: (1) "Gandhism": (2) Terrorism; (3) the liberal-Responsivist policy (nobody will dispute that this group is really one), (4) the Swarajist policy: (5) the Social-Democratic policy, advocated mainly by British parties, the I. L. P. the Trades Union Congress, etc., but also by some Indian labour leaders of the moderate school.

(1) The non-cooperation policy pursued under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi in 1919-22 has much in common with the tactics of the revolutionaries, and can be assimilated to their policy. They will make substantial alterations especially in regard to programme, which will be framed with the needs of the masses primarily in view, but the two are alike in that they are both policies of revolutionary mass-action.

But the later developments of Mr. Gandhi's teaching are a very different thing and the number of its adherents is falling and is probably already negligible. A policy whose slogans are "Back to primitive agriculture" and "self-purification" is not taken very seriously except by political and religious dilettantes, and must die out, as did the very similar movement of the Narodniks in Russia, long before matters came to a head.

(2) Terrorism, the policy of siezing power by means of a secretly prepared armed revolt or coup d'etat, is again hardly a serious one. And like the corresponding Russian policy, that of the older Socialist Revolutionaries, it disappears as the genuine mass political movement grows up.

(3) The Liberal—responsivist policy, as was argued before, cannot result in anything but India's remaining a capitalist country within the British Empire. Indeed now there is hardly any pretence that it is aimed at independence. Its "Swaraj," if it uses the word, means a more favourable compromise with imperialist. The analogy with the closely similar "Cadets" in Russia will be seen. The Cadets assented to the first revolution, against the Czar, but many of them (like the Liberals and the Simon Commission) only wanted to alter the Personnel of the Czardom, and they latter supported Kornilov in his frankly monarchist campaign.

(4) The Swaraj Party's policy, it must be insisted, is in no point different from the last, essentially. There is a small section of the Party which will perhaps eventually break away and come to the side of mass movement. Many members play with the ideas and phrases of the movement, as many of the bourgeois politicians of Russia flirted with Marxism. But the bulk of the Party, while calling for mass action and independence, will take no steps to get those things; and "steps" are essential, as independence will never be given for the asking. They have failed now for six years, and no more proof of their unwillingness is needed. In fact, the risks to the bourgeoisie of "rousing the masses" were so clearly demonstrated by the Non-Co-operation campaign, that they will oppose it. Some recent occurrences show that even the Swaraj Party is turning away from the masses, and moving towards Fascism.* The intransigence of the Swarajists is intended simply to prevent a complete loss of middle class support, such as would follow if it pursued the sensible bourgeois policy of the Liberals. In this the intermediate interests of the smaller bourgeoisie are infected. But it is a universal political experience, which India shows every sign of confirming, that a stable political policy cannot be founded upon the interests of the middle classes. However much they may vacillate in between, they must eventually go one way or the other. Such is inevitably the fate of the Swaraj Party, and however strong it may appear now, its collapse is inevitable, and is being widely predicted.

(5) Finally is to be considered what is called the "Social-Democratic" policy. Its chief features are (1) concentration mainly upon securing economic improvements for the workers through their organisations and through the legislatures. This is clearly the same tendency as the "Economism", the ancestor of Menshevism, against which Lenin fought so vigorously in 1900-1905, and like it, will have the effect of obscuring the revolutionary potentialities of the workers' movement, and reconciling it with imperialism and (2) practical abstention from politics, in the sense of leaving the national struggle to the bourgeois parties with, at worst the hostility, and at best the benevolent neutrality, of the workers. In particular nationalist or revolutionary propaganda within the labour movement is avoided. The similarity to the Menshevik policy is again to be seen. The Mensheviks supported the Cadets during the Kerensky period believing that a long interregnum of bourgeois "democracy" must occur before the coming of socialism. As in Russia the inevitable outcome of this policy is support for the bourgeoisie, and hence in

*Footnote: It is fashionable nowadays to contrast Fascism with Communism as a relatively "constructive" revolutionary movement, and there are many who, deceived by the nationalist fervour of the Italian Fascists, look upon Fascism as a possible national policy for India. Fascism may well develop in India, but it cannot be nationalist. Like all Fascism it can only defend capital, *i.e.* mainly British capital against Indian workers. It ordinarily cannot at the same time attack British capital.

the ultimate for autocracy also. It is to be noticed that the advocates of this policy within the labour movement are in several cases active Swarajists or even Liberals. The Social-Democratic policy here, as elsewhere, is simply a variant of the liberal bourgeois policy.

Thus it can be claimed that there are only two policies now being offered to the people of India, and reasonably so, as there are only two possible. One is that of the two percent, the landlords, capitalists, high-officials, big lawyers etc., and leads inevitably to compromise with imperialism, "Dominion" or some other "Status" within the Empire, and the continued exploitation of the masses. The other is that of the "Ninety-eight per cent," the middle classes workers' and peasants, and leads to a revolutionary struggle for independence and a complete social transformation—the "Moscow Road". Many regret that the class conflict should arise in India at this stage, and advocate that its solution should be postponed until Swaraj is obtained. Merely from a study of Indian condition it is clear that postponement is impossible. As in Russia, the overthrow of the autocracy of the Czar immediately developed into the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, because, in spite of their differences, the Czar and the bourgeoisie were too closely bound together. The class conflict, and the problem of obtaining Swaraj are at bottom the same question, and will be solved together.

It can be admitted then, that there are in fact only two fundamentally different political policies now being offered to India, and that there are only two theoretically possible ones. But before the subjects can be left it should be established that these theoretically possible policies are also practically possible. There are many objections levelled against the revolutionary policy on the score of practicality, which require to be dealt with briefly, and the experience of the Russian Revolution will be of great use in dealing with them.

They fall under a few main heads. The first set are variations on the theme that India is a backward country. As has been shown before, this is precisely why such a policy can expect rapid success. Given that India has achieved some industrial advance, and that a town proletariat has been created, the fact that the people are illiterate, ignorant, steeped in superstition, and so on, though a grave difficulty, does not in the least constitute a fatal obstacle. Russia was in just this condition. Again the religious convictions of the Indian people give much ground or satisfaction to reactionaries. Religion is a serious obstacle to revolutionary policy especially if it is well organised and the organisation is in the hands of the upper classes. Such was the case in Russia. The orthodox Church was one of the chief supports of the Czardom. In India this is far less definitely the case. And there is no reason to suppose that superstition in India is any

more intense than it was in Russia, or that it is dissolving any less rapidly under the rationalising influence of industrialism. In the past too, superstitious disabilities have not prevented the occurrence of extremely revolutionary mass activities even on the part of the Indian peasants.

Communalism will of course be used to the utmost, as it is being used now against the Labour movement by the opponents of national freedom. And in this respect there is no doubt that India is in worse position than Russia, (But remember the formidable use made by Kornilov Krasnov and others the Cossacks and the Mussulmans against the Revolution.) Communalism, however, strong as it may appear to be, is but a weak weapon to use against the power of real economic interests. The discipline and solidarity of the organised labour movement is the best weapon against communalism, and even now is being employed with success.

The form of this argument, often met with in the Anglo-Indian Press, perhaps hardly deserves mention. It consists in the statement that India is a peculiar country in which these ideas (or any others disliked by the bureaucracy) will never take root. All countries have this illusion. Communalism, whatever it may do elsewhere, will never grow in America, or Britain, or China, or India, as the case may be. The fact is that Communism or any other policy will flourish in any country whenever the economic and political conditions demand it. Somewhat similar is the view, so admirably expressed by Mr. L. Kirk, that "The Russian Revolution was a freak". Or more fully, that opportunities for revolution such as that which occurred in Russia in 1917 will not occur in any other country. The answer to this really depends upon the general theory of the nature of Imperialism briefly considered before. But whatever views may be held about that, it is undeniable that revolutions do occur, and that revolutionary situations may crop up even in India, especially since, as has been shown, there exists a sharp and growing class struggle in India, and the conditions of the mass of the population are such as preceded revolutionary outbreaks of the type of the French revolution of 1789—and the Russian revolution of 1917. It should be remembered too that in India the national and social revolutions go together. The population as a whole is instinctively disaffected. No such experience is required as Russia had to go through, before she rose to the point of throwing off the Czar and the bourgeoisie.

Of more weight is the view often expressed that the unarmed condition of India will necessarily prevent any action on her part—she must wait until freed by external agency. This consideration, while decisive against any attempt at a sudden forcible coup d'etat does not weigh decisively against a policy of mass action. The overwhelming power of the State can deal easily with terrorist

conspiracies lacking mass support, as the Czar did with the Nihilists and their successors, but it is deprived of its power before mass movement which necessarily sweeps away those masses on whom its power normally rests.

It can now be claimed that this essay has shown (1) that there are only two possible lines of development before India, (2) that only one of these, that which involves a revolutionary policy roughly similar to that adopted in Russia, can possibly lead to the independence of the country; (3) that this latter policy is at any rate not wildly impossible; (4) that already, in spite of the political backwardness of the country (compared with its objective position) these things are being realised, and political organisations and persons are gradually ranging themselves in two camps accordingly. This is the main thesis of the essay. It will not be complete however unless some attempt is made to estimate the relative merits of the two courses, from the point of view of their effects upon the population of India and that of the rest of the world. As to which road should be chosen by any individual, this is a matter of taste, which will be solved primarily according to the chooser's class position. The Special Russian number of "Chitramaya Jagat" gives material which can help in forming a conclusion.

Many sympathetic persons who discuss the Russian Revolution, even many who read the enthusiastic, though obviously truthful accounts of Mr. Phillips Price, John Reed and so on, shrink from the suffering which the events in question evidently inflicted upon all concerned. They feel that revolution must be avoided at any cost, and this is the basis for much of the support given to the timid, contradictory policies of Mensheviks, the I.L.P. and many similar bodies, who propose to achieve socialism and the results of revolution without its pains. This idea is due to an unhistoric conception. The revolutionary historians mentioned, and others also bear emphatic witness that the revolutionaries did not make the revolution; history made it. The revolutionaries were prepared to take advantage of the situation for constructive purposes, and in doing so they were responsible for avoiding and saving an enormous amount of suffering. They were not responsible in fact it is the general arguments put forward in this essay that these things will occur frequently throughout the period in which we are living, the period of Imperialism. And it is the duty of all those who wish to take more than a spectator's interest in them, to prepare themselves and the masses, for the inevitable opportunities for action which will be presented to them.

But secondly, they must consider what is the alternative to revolution? It has been indicated in general terms what that alternative is. It means that India enters and remains within the circle of Imperialism. Slowly no doubt, but more and more,

Indian capital will become an exploiting force in world economics and a determinant in world politics. (cf. Sir Basil Blackett's statement as to the investment of Indian capital and South America, quoted in "India 1926-7" India will become a part of the Imperialist system. Mr. Bernard Shaw has predicted that some centuries hence the capital of the British Empire will be situated at Baghdad. Delhi would have been more in line with present tendencies. India might thus eventually absorb the British as it has done earlier invaders. But this is imagination. For the immediate future what is to be expected? And what even in the circumstances just imagined would be the result? India and imperialist power, or a subordinate partner in an imperialist alliance, providing ever larger and more expensive armies to defeat China, Russia, America, Japan. India's workers and peasants, possibly a little raised above their present position of extreme degradation (though even this is improbable in view of the present situation and prospects of Imperialism in the economic sphere), but still exploited, still ignorant, still toiling to provide for the glories, luxuries, and military follies of their rulers. Even if she were materially benefited, which is extremely doubtful, is this what India wants? Even this, the most favourable possible picture of India's future under imperialism, can recommend itself to nobody. Or India involved in some final catastrophe such as Mr. Wells (in his younger and more sensible days) has so forcibly sketched, when two or three imperialist giants fight each other to the death, and sweep the population of every corner of the world to destruction with them? This, it should be mentioned, is no mere flight of fancy. It is a very serious possibility, as numerous experts on modern armaments have testified. Imperialism is not merely a temporary cause of unpleasantness and suffering, it is a menace to civilisation itself, which every right-thinking man must help to get rid of.

It is clear in any case then, that difficult and dangerous as it may be, the revolutionary path is no worse than the alternative. And apart from these difficulties and dangers, there can by this time be little doubt that the revolution in Russia has thoroughly justified itself. Every year more and more witnesses, and they can not all be bamboozled by propaganda, are describing how under the soviet democracy there is being constructed at a remarkable speed a civilisation which promises to be in all respects superior to any yet known. It pays attention to the basic economic questions first, and yet does more for the true education of the masses than any other system. It achieves a mass-culture, in which the individual is duly subordinated to society, in accordance with modern necessities, and yet does not neglect the claims of the individual for the cultivation of his personality. It defends itself jealously from the attacks of the hostile capitalist world, and yet has for the first

time almost in history, completely overcome the narrowness of national rivalry and hatred. And it is not merely paternal; it is based, not even on the acquiescence, but on the enthusiastic cooperation and self-sacrifice of millions of the common people, it is the first real democracy of modern times.

Consider the basic problems which face India, almost identically the same problems which Russia had to face, and is so triumphantly overcoming lack of sanitation and knowledge of healthy illiteracy and ignorance, the extreme technical backwardness of the basic industry, agriculture, division into multitudes of different races and languages; and a vast population spread over a huge territory, with comparatively little industry and poor communications. These are problems which Russia is solving and is alone in solving. Her methods can be used in India also.

It is indeed the belief of the writer that Russia by its sacrifice, suffering, hard thinking and hard work of the past ten or fifteen years, has conferred an enormous benefit upon mankind. It has shown in practice, which is more valuable than theory, the road which the world must follow if it is to avoid the dangers inherent in a rapidly developing material civilisation, and the rapidly growing ability of mankind to control the forces of nature. And it has provided in doing so, a reasonable assurance that the world will be able to follow that road.

A study of Russia, present and past, and the theories very clearly expounded by its leaders, is accordingly one of the most important things for any politically minded person to undertake. Many lessons, from the period before the revolution, and the period after, are to be learnt from that study, and the writers hope to have shown, if nothing more than this, that these lessons are of very intimate importance and application to India's problems.

P. 526. (26).

Rejected

Telegraphic Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

THE

Peasants' & Workers' Party of Bengal.

Organ :
"GANAVANI"
(Bengali Weekly).

2-1 European Asylum Lane
Calcutta, 9. 1. 1928.

My Spratt,

I was told by Aftab Ali that he left you in Madras on the 4th instant. I wonder that you had been living there for so many days. I am writing to you this letter to Bombay thinking that you have reached there by now. Please do not fail to start for Calcutta at once. This is the finest time for the study of labour condition in Bengal. Please do come direct to Calcutta. You will be able to go to different places, specially to coal and iron fields from here. A friend from Rangoon asked me whether you would be in a position to accept an invitation from there.

I received a few letters from Majeed. He wrote to me that he managed to find out Mr. Chaman Lal in his house with utmost difficulties who informed him that your articles other than books had been sent to Calcutta. In fact I have received nothing as yet. It seems to me that Mr. Chaman Lal had given a bluff to Majeed.

I do not know where to write to you in Bombay. I address, therefore, this letter to the care of Ghate.

With fraternal greetings,
Yours
Muzaffar.

P. 526. (27)

The Workers' and Peasants' Party.

17, Dwarkadas Mansions,
Bombay 26th January 1928.

Comrade. P. Spratt,
Bombay.

Dear Comrade,

I have to invite you to attend the meeting of the Executive Committee of the above Party to be held on Sunday the 29th

instant at 12-30 p. m. at the Congress House to consider the resolutions on the following subjects.

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

With greetings.

Yours fraternally,

S. S. Mirajkar.

Secretary, W. & P. Party.

P. 526. (28)

Workers of the world
Unite! you have nothing
to lose but your chains.

THE
Weekly Mehanat Kash

"The Mehanat Kash"
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No. _____

Lahore 1st February 1928.

We will live to

1. Stop all exploitation of man by man ;
2. Help the organisation and safeguard the rights and interests of the peasants and workers of India;
3. Support the youth movement ;
4. Struggle for women's rights ;
5. Fight for India's national freedom; and
6. Promote all movements working for a better social, political and economic order in India.

Dear Com: Sprate,

Your previous letter was replied to on your Calcutta address, which I can not say that you have yet received or not though Com: Muzaffar had acknowledge its receipt. There in I had written that I had convinced Mr. Chamman Lal to dispatch your article to Calcutta and I succeeded in getting a promise from him to that effect. But the letter of Muzaffar Ahmed that the articles in question have not yet been received by him. I concluded therefore that Chamman Lal has not yet fulfilled his promise in despatching your articles to Calcutta. It would therefore, be proper if you on your way to Calcutta stop here at Lahore for a day or two. This will serve you by getting all your goods from Mr. Chamman Lal. In absence of your visit to Lahore I am affraid that Mr. Chamman Lal would not give any clue of your goods. He already say that he has despatched the goods but as Com; Muzaffar Ahmad has not received them, his lie has been proved.

With comradely greeting to all of you.

Yours.

M. A. Majid.

P. 526. (29)

Dear Dutt,

I am very sorry I did not get the article ready in time for the Feb. issue. I intended to send it by this mail, but have been too busy that week. I can write it by next mail I hope. You may not care to print it, especially as it can only put in the March issue but perhaps you will be able to use it in some other way. I must humbly beg your pardon for delaying it so much. I received your letter during the Congress, about the 28th or so, and began to write at once. But I was staying not at a hotel, where to finish it quickly would have been simple, but with friends, where I could hardly get a moment to myself. Such procedure is desirable in some ways but it is a nuisance in regard to work of this kind.

You can understand the position I am in, I think. I have the misfortune to be something like a public man. Constantly people in the street rush up and say "Ah Mr. Spratt I must have a *long* talk with you"—and many of them try to carry out the threat. If you are staying alone you can be rude to them and send them away, but if with friends it is more difficult, at any rate with their acquaintances.

I am in the further difficulty—a very serious one—of having lost practically all my books and papers. Some, with my typewriter are in the hands of the Bombay Police though I shall get these this week, I think. And the major part, plus the bulk of my clothing is still with Chamanlal, who silently refuses to send them to me. In the end I shall probably have to go to Lahore again, to get them, and that will be a great nuisance. I very much regret having stayed with him, on this ground and on others. It was waste of time, I now feel, as I am convinced that he is of no use from a labour point of view. Though temperamentally extremist with convictions, he is exceedingly lazy. His only consistent aim is the attainment of limelight and other rewards of political activity, such as trips to Geneva. I have a vague recollection of warnings of this type from people who claimed to know him, before I left England. But he is very smooth-tongued, and I am very easily led away. I fear too that he is not the only one who has led me astray. I have said a number of week—still, I did not intend to write you an article on if not actually foolish things, e. g. on Congress platforms. It is due to the same defect, I suppose. I have often said that I have not the moral courage to be rude to Chaman's or my psychological weaknesses to anybody. I have asked Muzaffar Ahmad, of Calcutta, whose knowledge of these things is encyclopaedic, to write one about political persecution etc. He will do so with a little more persuasion from me, I think.

I hope, by the way, that your presence as acting editor does not mean that your brother is out of action again. I have not seen the Monthly for some time—it was again proscribed in May last, as you probably know. In fact, I am getting badly out of touch with events. When in prison I saw the "Times of India" somewhat irregularly, since then I have been so constantly moving that I have not been able to see even the Indian Press properly.

Robin will be getting very angry with me, I am afraid. I must write to him, though I have nothing much to say yet. I spent about ten days in Calcutta, and intended to go back there after Madras, but I am probably stuck now in Bombay for the duration of the textile strike. My short stay in Calcutta was enough to give me some general idea of the T. U. Movement there. It is far weaker than that of Bombay, I think, and suffers far more from bad leadership. The chief people are: Kali Das, who has quite a good union, in its way, in the Jute industry, though the actual membership is very small. He makes the mistake of keeping aloof from the other unions there. Kishorilal Ghosh, who, is an honest man and very intelligent. He "control" only one union, the Press Workers. Kd.....He is rather inclined to be "Statesmanlike" like Joshi, but is improving. He has a perpetual difference with Kali Das though have certain mutual respect. Mrinal Kanti Bose, otherwise similar to him, is not improving. K. C. Roy Chowdhary is self-interested, entirely, and is a loyalist. He controls about three or four nominal unions. You may have seen that his Kankinara Union presented an address recently to the Governor of Bengal. Kishori put up an opposition, but he did not, I think, treat it seriously enough, and let it go through. He does not like displeasing people, and, in any case has to go carefully, to avoid the formation of a majority bloc against him in the Bengal T. U. Federation.

M. Daud is partly humanitarian, partly self-interested, is a moderate, and a communalist. He has the votes of three or four unions also. Aftab ali is an honest young man, with excellent intentions, but is very flighty, and not very intelligent. He is unable to triumph for long against the crafty Daud.

Finally Mukunda Lal Sircar, who also controls about four nominally existent unions. It is difficult to give an objective account of him, as his name arouses such passions in all with whom I have talked about him. I do not know yet what is real motives are, but he appears to have irresistible cravings for money and for dominance. He is moreover a master of intrigue, that is clear. Wherever he interferes, there is a split, a fight and collapse. (He is now talking of founding a rival A. I. Railwaymen's Federation). But generally the fact that his policy is often apparently sound makes it all the more regrettable. Owing perhaps to his habit of

quarrelling with everybody, the blackest rumours are current about him, and probably his political life in Bengal will not last much longer. But I may be mistaken.

The mill strike here is going on fairly, but I cannot at the moment predict developments. You will probably know the result before you get this. Only the two groups of mills with 22,000 men are affected by the new system yet. Joshi argues that as the others will not feel the pinch very hard, they will not stand very firmly, and consequently a general strike is to be avoided. (He has even been persuading the spring Mill's men, who have been offered some compromise terms, to go back). He thinks that the effort to introduce the new working methods will not be carried much further, but that a direct general attack on wages will be made, probably in the spring. Then a general strike is inevitable—though he says it will fail. I don't know what there is in this theory, or if it is nothing but an excuse for doing nothing now.

The Girmi Kamgar Mahamandal is almost equally compromising, and is moreover divided internally. D. R. Mayeker, the secretary, shares Joshi's view, almost, and he is supported by most of the Committee. A. A. Alve, the president, is in favour of explaining to the men the actual state of affairs, but stops short of calling for a general strike. He will instantly plump for it if there is any further provocation, such as another will attempting the new system.

P. 526. (30).

SHANTARAM S. MIRAJKAR,
JOURNALIST.

2/3, Khandke Bldgs.
Ddaar, Bombay No. 14,
Date, 21st February 1928.

My dear Spratt,

I am sorry I could not meet you last night. I am leaving for my native place to meet my sister who is very ill there.

I think you will have already left for Delhi by the time I return to Bombay. I will be back the latest by Friday (24/2/28) next; because on Saturday I have arranged a meeting of the Govt. Dock Workers.

Before you leave Bombay, please meet Mr. F.J. Ginwalla and speak to him about the matter. I hope you will not fail to do so. Please, also, be writing to me and keeping us always informed of what you are doing. Please, also, leave for me a copy of your "Draft Constitution" of T.U.C.

Please return to Bombay as early as you can.

Yours sincerely,

S. S. MIRAJKAR.

P. 526. (31).

E. I. R. DISPUTE.

GANAVANI.

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

First, it must be admitted, in agreement with the "Statesman" that the Lilloah strike was a tactical mistake. In the absence of effective organisation on the line, a strike in a workshop alone must be in a very difficult position. Further retrenchment was in the air and against it, only united action is likely to be successful. (Nevertheless to accuse, as the St. does, the "outsiders" or leader of this mistake, is unjustified. The strike was a spontaneous only, against oppression. Once began outsider tightly held it to be their duty to help it).

But it must be said that the most was not mad of the opportunity. The fund originally in the possession of the Union at Lilloah was substantial, and it was the proper tactic immediately to try to spread the strike so as to stop traffic. The extension of the strike to the other works in Howrah, in so far as it was not spontaneous probably an error. Or, if not, it should have been pursued with more energy. The object was by urging workers in Howrah and neighbourhood to strike in sympathy, to force the authorities to interfere and compel the Agent to agree to some concession. It was done however, in a half-hearted manner. Engineering shops struck, but the numerous jute mills, which were at that time almost at boiling point of discontent, were not called out. All or none.

In any case, this tactic is inferior to the proper one of extending the strike on the line. Either at the beginning, or after the Bangachhi incident, this should have been done with all available forces. Especially the Union Secretary, who has far more influence than any outsider should have done this. Actually he did not leave Lillooah until not merely his original fund, but the second big contribution received from the Russian Unions, was practically exhausted, and the strike already in an almost hopeless position.

Nevertheless, it was correct, even at the late stage at which, it was attempted to spread the strike, and probably the big centre Asansol, and the subsidiary workshop at Ondal, were the best places to begin at. It was however, done even then with insufficient energy. The Union Secretary himself did not go until some weeks later, and only three propagandists were sent in the first place. The almost complete absence of organisation at the places, the depression still felt after the disastrous strike of 1927 and the late stage of the dispute, all rendered the task extremely difficult. At the success obtained showed what could have been done at earlier and more opportune occasions, with more energy and better finances.

The fact that the strikers at Asansol and Ondal have been penalised (up to the present) more than these at Lillooah, is a case of sheer vindictiveness on the part of the authorities, and could hardly have been expected. But in any case it does not alter the fact that the attempt to spread the strike even at that late stage, was justified, and the the Union if it had not done this, could not have claimed that it had done any thing possible for its members.

It is probable that these mistakes would have been avoided if more democratic control had been instituted at the centre. A strike Committee, of strikers, with or without "outsiders" as necessary should have been set up at the beginning, and allowed to work. There is no place for autocracy even benevolent autocracy in the labour movement. A committee, mainly of outsiders, was set up when the strike was about five weeks old, but in fact never functioned.

Minor points of criticism can be made against the attitude of personal devotion which was encouraged, or at any rate, tolerated, throughout the strike. This kind of policy is out of place, as it replaces devotion to the mass, and to the principles of the labour movement, by a mass bourgeois personal ideal, and also in this case tends to encourage false and reactionary ideas of a pseudo-religious type. The danger of this kind of policy has several times been exemplified in Indian Trade Union history, indeed on the E. I. Railway. The exploitation of the religious sentiments of the masses by unscrupulous demagogues is a very serious obstacle to our political progress, and should be avoided by all sincere labour men.

Another question is that of the "Satyagrahis" performed by some of the Union members outside the Howarah Police Court on the occasion of the dismissal of the case against those guilty of the shooting at Bangachhi. A class protest was certainly justified and proper, but the form it took was objectionable. On the one hand Satyagraha is foreign to the labour movement. It is the tactics of middle-class impotence. And on the other hand, the steps actually taken were such as to give the police the chance they were looking for, of striking a little wholesome terror into the men. About twenty arrests were made, and many men, including indispensable union workers, were severely injured.

We cannot lacking as we do, detailed acquaintance with the situation, criticise the internal administration of the strike, though it appears to an outside observer that the sums at the disposal of the Union were rather recklessly spent. In any case this is a minor matter. The main point is that the strategy of the strikes was mismanaged. One of the great lessons of Kharagpur—that the workshop strike only succeeds when supported in the line—was neglected. The line was almost completely unorganised and this alone made success extremely difficult. But even so it was not tackled until all enthusiasm had died down, funds were almost exhausted, public sympathy waning, and the chance of the strike in general diminished almost to zero. It is not our concern to lay blame for this or other mistakes at the door of any individual, or to discuss whether it would have been practical to act in any other way. The question is that these are the lessons which have to be borne in mind for the future. This strike provided a very instructive reputation of an old error in the labor movement which is again cropping up.

Before leaving the subject it is worth while to remark upon one or two other features of this strike. There can be little doubt that the severity of the attacks of the Railway administration and the Government was to some extent due to the active part taken in the strike by the Workers' & Peasants' Party ("The Communists" as the A. I. Press calls us). Incidentally it is nice to notice how the reactionary labour leaders played up to this... Mr. K. C. R.C. Mr. C.F.A., Mrs. Besant, Mr. B.K., Mr. B.S. Rao. All indulged in propaganda exactly on the "Statesman" line against "Moscow Gold" etc. In order to discredit us they have told many lies about us, and at the same time made special efforts to crush the strike. The lesson is obviously just the contrary of that which they wish the workers to draw. If they are so anxious to discredit us, that itself strong evidence for the rightness of our policy. Incidentally it may be remarked that it was the W. & P. members who throughout pressed for the policy of extension of the strike, and who took a large part in carrying it out.

Peasant.	Worker,	Clerk.
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"GANAVANI"
 Official organ of the Workers' and
 Peasants' Party of Bengal.

P. 526. (32).

"SELLING GANAVANI"

The Party's Bengali organ "Ganavani" is at last published again. It is now for the Party to make the best use of it, as a means of spreading its propaganda, and of strengthening its organisation. It is also the duty of the Party to see that the paper is well established, so that it does not again cease publication.

These things necessitate that the circulation of the paper be raised very soon to a far higher level than it has reached in the past. Both for political reasons and from the financial standpoint, the customary circulation of a few thousands is hopelessly inadequate. It is, however, impossible for the Party to support the paper either by obtaining remunerative advertisements, or by spending large sums on distribution. The work of increasing the circulation and revival must fall upon the Party members.

It is the custom in working-class parties in Europe, America and China, for a very large proportion of the members to devote themselves for some hours each week to selling the Party organs. Such a custom could be adopted with advantage here. If the Party could become, from a Party of theorists, a Party of newspaper-boys, it would have the most beneficial effect, not only on the paper's circulation, but on the influence, organisation and efficiency of the Party.

All members connected with Trade Unions must sell the paper among their Union members. But that is not enough. All colleges, and public assemblies of students such as College Square on Saturday evening, should be visited weekly. Every public political or trade Union meeting should be attended by a Party member,

with his stock of papers. Most important of all, the paper should be sold each week to the workers coming out of all possible factories and similar places of work. In towns and villages where there are no such places, the paper can be sold in some public place or even from house to house.

All Party members, but especially those students and others who for lack of time or similar reasons cannot take part in the general propaganda and organising work of the Party, can do this work. The Constitution lays down as a condition of membership the performance of organised work. Here is organised Party work, which every member without exception can do.

At the same time it need not be looked upon as inferior or menial work. It is highly important that it should be done. Further, if carried out regularly, it becomes extremely interesting. The seller e. g. to factory workers, soon gets a regular clientele of readers who stay to converse and argue with him. He acquires a knowledge of workers' life and mentality which is very valuable. He lays the foundation for the organisation of a Trade Union branch or factory committee in that factory.

Remember: (1) That in selling *regularly* is the key to success.

(2) That a regular subscriber to the paper is worth ten "casuals"——he is half-way to becoming a party member.

And be careful: (1) To report results each week, so that supplies for next week may be assured.

(2) To pay in all money received to the "Ganavani" fund.

All members in Calcutta are asked to come to the Office to arrange a "beat" and time suitable to them. A comrade has been put in charge of this work, so that our resources will be used to the best advantage. All in other towns are asked to get supplies from the local secretary or agent, or to write to this office for them. Any sympathisers who are not members, but are willing to do this, will of course be very welcome.

If this is done—— and there is no reason why it should not be done immediately —— we can confidently expect a greatly and progressively increased sale for "Ganavani", and at the same time a larger, more efficient, and better organised Party.

Programme for fraction work.

Programme of demands for trades in question.

Congress: MADRAS. Fraction of 7. A. I. C. C. resolutions.

- (1) Resn. On League Against Imperialism — More or less carried.
- (2) War Danger — Their resn. accepted our point.
- (3) Anniversary of Russian Revolution — Dropped.
- (4) Complete Independence — Carried in other form.
- (5) Boycott of Simon Commission — Dropped hartal and strikes.
- (6) Programme of mass organ — Dropped.
- (7) China — Different.

Created impression ... Spoke for & against.

Successful in one point — keeping face down
No A. I. C. C. meeting since.

Bombay P. C. C. 5009 Rs. to strike.

Simon Hartal. — W. & P. Party did not act officially.

Simply through Congress.

Party issued manifesto & resolutions.

Submerged itself in Congress.

res: of P. C. C. altered resolution, and W. & P. fraction
brought vote of censure still pending.

Allowed them to capture mass meeting.

Benares boycott Assn.

General decision that capturing Congress is hopeless. We
have to be at critical force.

Muzaffar's resn. No Congress office to be accepted by
party members ?

Independence Co-operative Party. Letter to Jawaharlal.

A. P. C. Condemns report and W. C.

Stand for (illegible) and mass movement and Universal.
suffrage.

Calcutta A. I. C. C. Resolution condemning Nehru Report
and W. C. Sympathising with strikers etc.

P. S. & T. D. Bill.

Congress CALCUTTA.

1. Change of creed to Independence.
2. Against War Danger.
3. Anti-Working class legislation and asking working class & Peasants to organise on basis of class struggle.
4. Condemn Bengal Congress Party for attitude on Tenancy Bill.

A. I. Party.

Votes

Bengal Party.
Bombay Party.
Punjab Party.
C. P. & Berar Party.
Gorakhpur Union (W. & P.)
Trichinopoly Party.
All Unions.
All peasants.

Date 20, 21, 22 Dec.

President: SOHAN SINGH.

Rajasthan Seva Dal.
Hindustani Seva Dal.
Other individuals.

Braternal Delegates.

List to be drawn up.

Resolutions:

1. Orgn. plans.
2. Political situation & policy constitution for A. I. Party.
3. Peasant.
4. Trade Union (needs little change).
5. Affiliation to league against Imperialism.
6. All-Parties Conference.
7. Independence League.
8. Minor resolutions.

Preparation: Pamphlet on need for A. I. W. & P. Party

Meetings: Who to write? Danger:

Propaganda in Calcutta in October:

Reception Committee in Bengal (Illegible).

Organisation of Party A. I. E. C. representing the constituent.

Parties: Bombay, Bengal, Punjab Others suggested.

E. C. meets quarterly. Seat of E. C. at Calcutta.

P. Manifesto: details to be decided.

Money: To be arranged. Rs. 1500 required.

Resolutions etc. printed in 5 languages.

P. 526. (33).

WHAT SHALL WE DO WHEN THE SIMON COMMISSION COMES ?

This is now becoming an urgent question for all workers and peasants and everybody else. The bourgeois politicians have decided what they will do. Some will straight forwardly ask it for Dominion Status through the All-Parties Conference and the columns of the Press. Almost all of them, whether they believe in boycott or not, or whether their boycott is conditional or unconditional, agree that they want Dominion Status. And they agree that the way to get it is directly or indirectly to ask the British Government to grant it. A highly ingenious way, suggested by "Forward" 's London Correspondent, is to ask for independence, and then perhaps they will give you Dominion Status; (This may throw much light on the tactics of many eminent Congressmen). In any case, all these methods come to the same thing in the end—some peaceful agreement between the British and Indian capitalists to exploit the masses.

They have decided their line of action. What shall we, the masses, decide? One thing is certain, we must do something. We are tired of being exploited. All over the country we are striking and demonstrating and refusing to pay taxes and so on, all to show that we demand the end of exploitation. And if there is one thing more than another that we learnt from these strikes etc. it is that while the present or any similar Government remains in power, we shall still be exploited. Who beats us if we refuse to work? Who prevents us from picketing against blacklegs? Who shoots us if we try it in spite of their prohibitions? Who wastes all our money by putting us in prison when we have committed no crimes? Who prevents money from coming to our help from Comrades abroad? Who spies upon our organisers, so as to throw them in

prison whenever opportunity occurs? Who evicts us from our quarters during strikes and persuades the landlords to throw our Union office out of his property? Who protects the employer against us by refusing to take our serious complaints against him? We could go on for pages showing up the "impartiality" of the State and its Police and Magistrates and C.I.Ds.

The fact is that we are all realising now that some serious change must be brought about the— system of foreign exploitation must be abolished and the whole system of government which protects and upholds it must be abolished also. That is to say, we aim at complete independence. But we are also coming to realise not merely that some change must be brought about, but that something must be done very soon.

Up to the present we have supported the bourgeois politicians' policy of boycott of the Simon Commission, and have observed hartals and strikes to emphasise it. When Simon Comes again in October, we shall of course do so once more, and more effectively. But that is only demonstrations—it is a "negative policy". A positive policy is required. We must act, and the coming of the Commission gives us an excellent chance to act.

On the last occasion when such a crisis faced the country, we had at any rate the Congress and Mr. Gandhi to look up to, to lead us and give us hope for the future. They failed us. But now we have not even that broken reed to depend on. Who seriously thinks that the Congress (with D. E. Ansari or Pundit Motilal as its president!) will lead the masses to independence? No, the masses must set up their own organ of leadership.

The Annual Conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal in March last passed a resolution on this question in which it said:

"The campaign must demand complete national independence and must work for the calling of a *Constituent Assembly* elected by universal adult suffrage which will concentrate and express authoritatively the diverse demands and scattered struggles of the masses. The Constituent Assembly, which can give the masses the *united and militant lead* which the All-Parties Conference has failed to give, will be the nation's real answer to the British Government and the Simon Commission, and will constitute a definite step forward in the struggle of the masses for complete independence and the satisfaction of their pressing economic needs".

No special wisdom is required to see that their measure of something like it, is what is required. As a first step, we should

try to hold Conferences in all parts of the country, say one for each province, representing all Trade Unions and their branches, Peasant Association, such Congress Committees (local and provincial) as are willing to attend Hindustani Seva Dal and similar organisations, Youth Organisations, W. & P. Parties and branches which will prepare the way for convening the constituent Assembly.

Such conferences should set up permanent Committees representing all the constituent bodies, for the purpose of.

(1) Organising mass demonstrations against Simon and carrying on propaganda, and preparing the masses for a Constituent Assembly,

(2) Support all workers or peasants on strike or in disagreement with employers or landlords or Government— in co-operation with T. Us. & T.U.C.,

(3) promoting the organisation of workers trade unions and peasants organisations,

(4) preparing for general strike by workers, and non-payment of taxes by peasants, as political weapons for securing independence.

These are the main tasks of the masses at present. All workers who have been on strike in recent months, and many others also, know that it is of no use to go on striking alone—mass support is required. Our employers are in league with all other employers, either directly or through Millowners' Association, Chambers of Commerce, Clubs or what not. And all employers have the Government behind them. We must have our solidarity and organisation also. We all know that only the strength of the masses, exerted in direct action, will emancipate us from the domination of employers and employers' Governments once for all. Everyone knows this, yet nothing is done. It is no good to wait for the Congress, or the All-Parties Conference— they will do nothing. Let us get to work now, and prepare a real "answer to Simon and Birkenhead".

Complete Independence.

The workers' and Peasants' Party stands for Complete Independence. Why? It is important to make clear that the Party has much more than sentimental reasons for this—unlike the Congress, which frivolously* passed a resolution for Complete Independence, obviously without realising what it meant. Thus the resolution logically demanded, as will be argued later, that the Congress creed should also be changed to exclude all those who do not wish to work for Complete Independence. But this was not done. The workers' and Peasants' Party on the other hand, in saying that it works for complete independence, seriously means what it says, and unlike the Congress, realises and accepts fully all the implications of that policy.

Many have argued, especially since the Congress passed the resolution, that since "Dominion Status", the avowed aim of the Liberals, the Swaraj Party, and many others, involves among other things the right of separation, it is as good as complete independence. Whether it actually involves the right of separation or not seems to be doubtful—the statesman denies it—but it is in any case a matter of minor importance. What is important is that it shows either a complete confusion or a deliberate deception on the part of those who advance the argument. "Dominion Status" or "Swaraj within the Empire" etc. etc. are treated as being but a step removed from complete independence. The Amrita Bazar Patrika says so quite clearly, arguing that as these objects are so near together, united action on the part of their respective advocates is possible. Actually nothing could be farther from the truth.

"Dominion Status" is an aim which is put forward as one which India can attain by constitutional and peaceful means. Even the Swarajists advocate a "Round Table Conference" *i.e.* agreement with Imperialism, as the way in which is to be established (*plus* a little pressure—not so much as to be dangerous from the masses cf. Bardoli). Now is it seriously to be supposed that imperialism will voluntarily grant to India a status which is "equivalent to" or even only "one step removed from" Independence? Or that if she did, India would be allowed to take "that steps"? (of. Egypt) This one question should be enough to convince anybody of the falsity of this position.

(*Footnote: Perhaps it was not so frivolous. Of Forward's London Correspondent July 1st 1928. "Even those who think that Dominion Status should be the goal of India will not find it difficult to see that if India by her own efforts wanted to secure Independence, Britain might conceivably come forward to discuss Dominion Status."

What then is "Dominion Status"? The phrase is in the air nowadays. The Liberals, the Swarajists, the Home rulers, the Responsivists, all want it. Even many British statesmen have spoken approvingly of it. The Labour Party is more or less pledged to it. It will therefore quite possibly be realized, sooner or later. It is as well to be clear as to its real nature.

It would be labourious to discuss the positions of the various British Dominions, and it would be unnecessary. The words of British statesmen and newspapers in connection with India are quite clear enough. Though they do not at all use the expression "Dominion Status", it is evident that the important, ruling section of British capitalism is practically united on the question. And the British official labour leaders are at one with them. They are unanimous that India must remain within the British Empire. That is really the vital point, for it can only mean that India is to remain under the exploitation of British capital. The other matters or comparatively unimportant. They speak of the "progressive realisation of responsible government", "the gradual extension of democracy" from its present small beginnings, etc. Even those who speak of "Dominion Status" do not want it now. It is an end to be gradually arrived at. This is the sole basis of their quarrel with Swarajists and others. Why do they insist upon gradualness? Because Indians are "politically immature", they need training in "parliamentary methods", they must acquire a "sense of responsibility" etc. etc. Though at first sight the merest political clap-trap, it is easily translated into realistic terms. All it means is that as and when the Indian bourgeoisie is willing to defend the interests of British capital, it can be entrusted with a larger share of the work of administration and legislation. "Dominion Status" is but a more advanced stage in this process of Indianisation, when, subject to the final control of the British armed forces, India will be ruled (largely) by Indians, for the profit of British capital.

It needs no discussion here to show that this is the policy of British Imperialism over since the time of the war. Industries have been rapidly established; British capital invested on a large scale, and Indian capitalism for the first time "recognised" as a "junior partner". British and Indian interests are already inextricably mixed; Tata's, the premier "Indian" firm, is an example, where both British and Indian capital participate, in close relations with the Government, with arrangements to provide munitions in war time, etc. The Indian capitalists and their henchmen are being quickly taught by this means and others, to defend the interests of British capital.

That is not to say that "Dominion Status" is to be granted to the Indian bourgeoisie immediately. It is still little more than

a bait, held out to entice them along the constitutional path. And the important point to notice is that all, even the Swarajists, are being slowly but surely dragged along that path. At present certain sections are still too "unruly" to be granted the privilege of fighting the battles of British capitalism against the Indian masses. Why, some of them support even such unconstitutional actions as the Bardoli Stayagrah ! * They must be taught better ; hence the gradualness, the "progressive realisation" of "responsible government"

It is clear that however "free" India might be in theory under "Dominion Status" it is not a freedom which will have any relation to the Indian masses we want to be free from the exploitation of British capital. "Dominion Status" or any other status within the British Empire will not give that. Therefore we cannot remain within the Empire. We must have complete independence, which means for us independence from the exploitation of British capital.

Now this is a serious policy. It is obvious that there is no question of getting it peacefully, or by agreement with Britain. British capitalists are not going to be expropriated to the extent of a thousand million pounds (not to speak of many other losses they must suffer), without fighting for it. And they will fight, as every Indian ought to know, with the utmost determination and ruthlessness.

Is this what the Congress contemplates when it demands "Complete Independence" ? The question has only to be asked. Nevertheless there are many in the Congress who sincerely desire independence, and have the logic and courage to face the implications of their desire. It was they who forced the leaders of the Congress, in many cases against their will, to vote for independence. But it must be asked, how long can this deceit go on ? Can there be unity between the those who really want independence, and are prepared to fight for it, and those who really want a compromise,

(* FOOTNOTES: It is interesting even in this case, to notice how the Swarajists show the cloven hoof. The Bardoli Stayagraha, in itself an immense and genuine mass movement, is being kept by the leaders in harmless channels, and indeed provides very clear case of exploitation of a mass movement by the bourgeois leaders for their own ends. The actual leaders, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel and others have consistently, but mistakenly, confined the issue as narrowly as possible. But the Swarajists etc. have made it against Mr. Patel's wishes, an "All India" question, not, be it noticed, in the sense of extending the agitation to other peasants, or even of helping it substantially with money, but simply of using it for propaganda against the Government. Or again, why do they take no notice of the movement of the peasants of Aita, who are more numerous, and have far worse greivances to endure, than those of Bardoli ? The reason is that this (Aita) movement is directed against the Government in *alliance with Indian zemindars*, so it cannot be exploited for the purposes of the superficial nationalism of the Swarajists.)

but voted for independence only to frighten the Government or to avoid displeasing their "followers" ?

There can be no such unity. Complete independence means revolution. Dominion Status means peaceful evolution. Independence means breaking the power.

P. 526. (35).

A feature of Indian nationalism, which have often been commented upon and regretted is its spirit of isolation its tendency to pay attention to Indian and India's problems alone. Partly a result of the policy of Imperialism, as expressed in its educational system and its censorship, it is also an incontestable feature of a bourgeois nationalism. Such as developed in India. It is a sign of change which is going on within India itself and its national movement, that close attention is now being paid to the affairs of many other countries. Of all the countries of the east or indeed of the whole world, must more deserves study than modern Russia.

It is reasonable to regard Russia as being in some respects ahead of all other countries, and this alone renders it desirable that we should know more of it. But further, as so many writers have pointed out, the condition of India today, and those of Russia before 1917, present in many ways so close a parallel, that developments in Russia must form an instructive commentary on India's history also. It is unnecessary here to elaborate this point. Pandit Jawahar-Lal Nehru, in his recent series of articles in the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" has remarked that the similarity between the two peoples extends to the smallest details of customs and practices, as well as embracing their broad economic structure. Both are backward peasant countries, just escaping from feudalism. (I fear that especially those of the East which are, in the current phrase, "awakening" Japan has received its share of notice as Turkey, Afghanistan, China. But even then that two countries are similarly situated and conditioned, what light does Russian Meeting throw upon India's present and future problem. In other words, can or will India follow the "Moscow Road" as Mr. M. Majid has called it, or will she travel some other road, such as that of Japan, or a new one altogether? This is the question I propose to discuss.

The statement that India is backward will be resented by many nationalists. Nevertheless it is true. As Marx wrote in 1853 (in the "New York Tribune," quoted by R. P. Dutt in "Modern India"). "England has torn down the whole scaffolding of Indian Social order, without so for any signs of a rebirth being visible." And to this day it stands. India's ancient civilisation, a civilisation essentially medieval, based upon a feudal agriculture, is gone never to return. But nothing has yet replaced it. The upper classes have imbibed something of Britain's imperialist culture the faint beginnings of the masses of the future culture of the working slowly, but inevitably, are to be seen in the industrial areas, but as a whole are relapsing from their old estate of civilisation into sheer ignorance and barbarism. India in spite of technical development is a colony that is backward, and will get more and more backward, until she is free.)

It is important to have a clear idea of the change which has taken place, and is now going on in Russia. Many bourgeois thinkers do not venture to give any general characterisation, very few are so bold as the egregious Mr. Ernest Kirk, who says (Indian Labour Review, May 1928) "The Russian Revolution was a peak". Others use the confusing phrase "Awakening of the East," under which to comprehend the Russian Revolution. It is true that a profound change, which is plausibly called "awakening" is going on throughout the "East". And it is true, we have the authority of the notorious "Augur" for it—that Russia is no longer to be regarded as belonging to the aristocratic West, but is now among the outcasts of the East. Nevertheless the Russian revolution then was simply the first successful "break through" of the new forces—the masses of industrial workers supported by the peasants—through the decaying structure of capitalism, to the foundation of a new order, which will in time embrace the world. The Russian revolution, far from being a "feat," was a type of what is to occur everywhere probably within a fairly short time.

Formula is an inadequate and misleading one, and has been and is now, the cause of some confusion of thought in India. The "awakening of the East" has affected in turn Japan, Russia, Turkey, Russia, China, and is now coming to India, Java, and so on. Such a conception obviously leads to the conclusion that India, when fully "Awakened" may turn out to have become a second Japan, or to be revelling under the despotism of an Amanullah. In fact the conception "awakening" is altogether too vague to be of use to us. It has no political meaning.

In order to conceive the Russian Revolution as a whole in relation to the rest of the world, and India, we have to realise that that Revolution was only one event in a process, embracing not merely the East but the West also, affecting indeed every corner of the globe, namely the growth and collapse of Imperialism. In the view of the social theory held by the Russians, which the present writer holds to be sound, this phase in history is none other than the culminating and final phase of the development of "capitalism in decay" as Lenin deserved it. It may be worthwhile, as this question of imperialism is capitalism vital, to halt upon it for a moment. It is astonishing how blind the whole bourgeois world is to the events which are going on around it. Imperialism, in the modern meaning of the term when it first

Page 5.

It means that India enters and remains within the circle of Imperialism. Slowly no doubt, but more and more. Indian capital must become an exploiting force in world economics and a determinant in world politics (of Sir B. Blackett statement (illegible..... in South America "Ind. 1926-7.) India will become part of the

imperialist system. B. Shah has predicted that some centuries hence the cup of the B. Gint will be Baghdad. Delhi would have been more in line with present tendencies. India might eventually absorb the B. as N. has done the earlier invaders. But in other case what does this mean ? India an Imperialist power, (or of course more probably a sub-portion in imp. power) providing armies to defeat China-Russia-Am. Japan ? Even if in her own int. is this what India wants ? Or to be involved in some final catastrophe such as Mr. Wills has sketched, when two or three imperialist giants fight each other to the death, and involve th population of every corner of the world in their destruction ? This is no fight of fancy for a serene possibility as all expect on modern amament testify Imperialism is not merely a temporary cause of unpleasantness and suffering in it is a menace to civilisation itself, which every right thinking man may help to rid of.

On the reverse is written:—

Industry and poor communications. These are problems which Russia has so long and is alone insoling. Her methods can be used in India also. It ended the belief of the writer that Russia by its sacrifice, suffering, hard work and hard thinking for the last ten years, has conferred an inestimable benefit upon mankind. It has shown, not only in theory, but also in practice, the road which the world must follow, if it is to avoid the dangers inherent in a developing civilisation and the rapidly inceasingly ability of mankind to utilise forces of nature. And it has provided, in doing so, a reasonable assurance that the world will be able to follow that road.

A study of Russia, present and past and the theories very clearly set forward by its leaders is accordingly one of the most important things for a politically minded person to undertake. Many lessons, from the period before the Revolution and from the period after, are to be learnt from that study, and the writer hopes to have shown, if nothing more than this, that these lessons are of very intimate importance and application to India's problems.

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A draft mauscript of "The Power of Labour" (vide P. 527 (3)).

P. 526 (37).

RESOLUTIONS FOR CONFERENCE.

- (1) Manifesto.
- (2) Function of Party.
- (3) Trade Union Movement.
- (4) Peasant's Movement.
- (5) Relation with Congress and Indian League.
- (6) Candidates for Municipal etc., elections.
- (7) Constitution and principles of organisation.
- (8) Affiliation to League against imperialism.
- (9) Nehru Report.

P. 526. (38)

C/o Congress House,

Bombay.

11/2/28.

Dear Comrade,

Mr. Bharucha has asked me to write to you this week as he is very busy in connection with the "Herald" reorganisation or liquidation, whichever it may be.

He met Miss Clarke as you asked him and with Desai arranged a tour for her. He introduced her to Tagore's secretary, who has undertaken to do what she wants in Calcutta. I understand that she left Bombay this week, probably for Calcutta. I wanted to see her myself, but I was so busy in connection with the Hartal and the Municipal and other workers' strikes that I was unable to arrange a meeting.

The second thing which he wishes to tell you is that on the 4th of February he received a letter from the General Telegraph Office asking if he had received a cable of about 1000 words from the Communist Party of Great Britain. He went to the Office

and instituted inquiries, and in a few days received another saying that the should take the first letter as not having been sent. I think this is an accurate account of what happened. At any rate it is in substance correct. He is rather mystified and wants to inform you about it.

Third he wants me to tell you that there has been a hitch over the sale of your car. Some people took it, but returned it saying that it was defective in some ways. Rather than cause a row, Bharucha took it back, though they had agreed to buy it. He expects to sale it soon, though I imagine it needs some small repairs.

Finally, he asked me to send you the enclosed cutting. He looks upon it as a joke, but it may have some effect he thinks upon his backward Parsi friends.

We had an excellent Hartal here, and the students and workers' strikes were a great success. It has been reported that the M. W. were forced to apologise. This is quite untrue. 50 were dismissed but were all taken back next day when the other men stood out. There was only one condition, that neither side should claim a victory. So A. P. promptly broad casted that the Municipality had won. I intended to go to the All-Parties Conference as a spectator, as I had been invited through the T. U. C. but I have not been able to get away from Bombay through lack of money. The first session takes place tomorrow. So I am already too late. We have been trying to put forward the slogan of a Constituent Assembly. But the press, even the Herald has boycotted it entirely. The reports of our speeches have omitted it, and direct communication to the Press on the subject have been refused. We want to hold a meeting in the Marwari Vidyalaya next week, and than they cannot any longer refuse to mention it.

Yours fraternally,

Sd. P. SPRATT.

P. 526 (39).

6-9-28

Thengdi }
Dange } Officials.
Jhabwala }

(1) T. U. Work T. U. C

against W. W. L. No work in
secretariate— Bulletin No.
Reports no.

C of A= no money allowed.
A. I. R. F. Textile Fed— Trades Council.

Bombay Provincial T.U.C. Annual meeting only—nothing we had
no representation our strength
no election of office increasing.
bearers.

G.I.P. and B.B.C.I. (more or less) Municipal- still stationary
Press workers non existent.

Tramway. workshop 80%. line-staff net. Port Trust. Ry and
Emp with us. Majgaon & R. I. M.
danger of European dominating.

Generally failure of Party members to strike at work.—
letting Jhabwala let us down.

Textile Labour Union, G.K.U. N.N.D.U. we are uptodate in
control of strike.

Taxiwalas "Motormen's union some influence.

Telegraph-men some indirect influence.

Seamen. No. influence. Union started at Myanghat.

Small unions member Jhabwala's but useless. Textile workers

Nagpur. Raipur working more or less. with us Nasumla no.
Ahmedabad no.

Organised factory work in Textile strike committee and G. I. P.
only.

Bengal T.U. Fedn. Affiliation to Fedn. and representation
at Jharia. Fract work.

T.U.C. Officials Pres Ghat

G. Sec. pamphlet on R. I. L. U. and
Ass. Sec. Joglekar. I. P. T. U. to be drawn
up by Dange.

Resolutions not reported
Auditing of accounts by
Actified Auditors
Rescind this clause of Cont.

Resolutions W.W.L.
was danger. R. I. L. U. Pan Pacific Secretariat & League
against Imperialism.

Nomination to Geneva Council
T. D. Bill Indian Labour Year Book to be put.
Condemning repression Supporters of same.
by Govt. Trades Councils
P. S. Bill. All Parties
Conference decisions.

P. 526 (40).

"Public Safety Bill,"

A new wave of revolt is sweeping over India. Almost at the same time we hear of the arrest or conviction of hundreds of Working class strikers in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay, a crop of arrests for sedition and political murder in Punjab, a series of prosecutions for sedition in Bengal. The Simon Commission tours round the country leaving behind it a trail of broken heads. The Assembly is presented simultaneously with three startling new essays in repression—the P. S. Bill, the Trade Dispute Bill, and the Press Bill.

In India, the lawcourt serves even better than the legislature as a thermometer of public affairs and the moment both are rising rapidly. There can be no doubt that the political condition is well on the way to boiling point.

The most striking feature of the present political movement, as contrasted with the last great wave of the national revolutionary in 1921, is its working class character. The workers themselves are being savagely attacked.

His members of the Workers' and Peasants' Party who are arrested in Calcutta doing the boycott demonstrations, on account of the revolutionary posters they carry and again W. & P. Party members who are arrested for the Saunders murder (and then in the absence of any evidences tried for seditions speeches). Two out of the three Government bills are simply for the purpose of suppressing working class propaganda and activity.

In 1921, the petty—bourgeoisie, and even the bourgeoisie to some extent, led the movement drawing the masses behind them. In 1929 already the working class is to the fore. Perhaps this is shown in the most striking manner by the nature of the propaganda of Imperialism. Fear of communism (i. e. of the working class) it is no exaggeration to say, is the leading nob of the recent imperialist speeches from Col. Gidy to the Viceroy President of the Jute Mill Owners. European candidates for the Assembly. Mr. J. Landford James, of the E. A. summarises all these warnings and pronouncements when he says: "In this Assn. there are no two views, I think, on the subject of Bolshevism. We regard it as the most imminent and the most dangerous menace which this country has to fear at this moment." Such statements as this suggest two questions: is this fear genuine? and is it justified? There is no doubt that it is difficult to see (illegible) for the panic of these spokesmen in the actual strength and organisation of our movement. It is often suggested therefore that this (illegible) of propaganda is simulated; it is only a scare like the "Zenovieff letter", and is used, at this ticklish time, when the new reforms are coming into force, to dissuade the Indian bourgeoisie from indulging in any unnecessary opposition. It will suffice to reply that the Zenovieff letter was in no way a false alarm from the imperialist point of view. The Government which it helped into power smashed the General Strike, crushed the miners, and passed the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Act of 1927— not to mention a host of minor outrages upon the working class. The letter was a false, but the fear of the British workers was genuine.

Is it justified then? A theory is gaining currency among wide sections of the population, which certainly would deny it. Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar for example argues from a mass of data that India is two generations behind industrial Europe. Banking finds itself numerically functionally, as well as morphologically, somewhere near the level of World-progress attained by the pioneers of modern industry and commerce, say, about 1886 or even 1870." The First Indian T. U. Act (of 1926) is to be compared with the legislature of England 1971-6, and of France 1884. Even the ideology of present day (illegible) is that of Europe in the 60's and 78's.

This is the theory of the Indian bourgeoisie, for it points to a future of rapidly growing industry and rapidly swelling people. And as usual, the theory of the bourgeoisie is also that of the labour reformists. Professor Sarkar says it clearly for them: "1927-8 The Peasants and W. P.....communications." (See 1 2 Page). This is the theory (if they have a theory) of the Indian labour reformist school. They are looking forward to a generation or two of peaceful progress, on the lines of the European

labour movement from the 1870's onwards; The T. D. Bill is only a temporary difficulty, like the gum with (socialist laws.) That will be concerned, not with the sanguine of power, but with election to parliament. They will sit not in the workers' soviets, but on Royal Commissions.

The answer to this conception is not only far to seek. It is familiar to all concerned with the Indian cotton Industry. Hear it also at the Annual Dinner of the Mining and Geological Associations of India.

“Turning to the “black spot” of the mineral industry, Mr. Chartres said the coal trade was suffering from the same complaint as many of the industries in England today—a capacity for over production and the consequent low sale price of the product. The remedy was in rigid reorganisation to cut production costs. (St. 8-1-29).

Not much room for “peaceful expansion” here.

There is no need to discuss the subject any further. Lenin did so quite adequately fourteen years ago. He emphasised that Imperialism was the period of *world wide* crisis and decay of capitalism. Capitalism has extended its rule over the whole earth, and the proceed of collapse of capitalism necessarily involves in one way or another all countries, including India.

Indeed there seems to be a certain reversal in the order of progress. The most highly developed capitalist countries, although they show in some cases, very clear signs of decay, are not the first to undergo political collapse. Their long accumulated strength still suffices to keep them going. Russia was backward compared with Europe as a whole; yet Russia saw the first successful proletarian revolution. China shows the same possibility. It was the undeveloped, numerically insignificant proletariat of China which led the great nationalist revolution. So it will probably be in India whether the subsequent history of betrayal and destruction of the movement by the bourgeoisie, will be the same, as for us to guard against.

The theory of capitalism, and of reformists, is thus unsound. The path of progress, for the workers, the path which they will be forced to follow, is that of militant struggle—not merely for reforms, but for power.

In the course of their struggle there will be repression foreshadowed only dimly by what has gone on up to the present. They will be attacked by all enemies—Govt. Indian (illegible) and the reformists in the value of labour. They are (illegible) of splitting the workers rank is (illegible) commission rooted

away the illegible). It will be more than any Govt. can do to (illegible) them of it. And in the light of communism, the working class will perform, in spite of all opposition, the tasks which are set before it.

That is why the Govt. and its spokesmen are alarmed about communism, any why they are trying in any other thing, the P. S. Bill. Their alarm is both genuine and justified. For, not only the reforms, are coming within the rest few years. The second great world war, and with it the second stage in the world wide crisis of imperialism, will be upon us.

P. 526. (41).

The Role of the Workers' & Peasants' Party.

Especially at this time, when the activity and influence of the Workers' and Peasants' Party are extending, and its organ is being restarted, it is desirable to state in general terms, as well as in particular cases, what the Party stands for and what historical function it undertakes. This article is an attempt to make such a statement.

First it is necessary to mark in what historical conditions the Party comes into existence and develops. Expressed as succinctly as possible, the present is the period of Imperialism, but not merely of the existence of Imperialism, but of its culmination, decline and collapse, which take place amid world-wide destruction and chaos. It is the period when in all countries of the world the working-classes rise against the intolerable pressure of decaying capitalism, and when the oppressed colonial countries rise in revolt against the increasing tyranny and exploitation they suffer at the same hands. It is the period of wars, orgies of mutual murder on the part of the oppressed of all countries, in the interests of their several oppressors.

Such a historical epoch, which is to be seen at its most characteristic in India to-day, demands of a subject country a most determined fight, both for the freedom of the country as a whole from foreign domination, and for the emancipation of the masses within the country from the exploitation and ignorance which make foreign domination possible. The interests of the masses of the population of India demand, now more than ever before, a movement of the masses for national independence.

But at this very time, when national freedom is needed more than ever, the political nationalist movement, the Congress, is in a state almost of collapse. It is as well that this point should be considered rather fully. All would agree that the national movement, received a very severe blow by the Bardoli decision, and that never since then has it recovered completely. But many profess to see in the revival of feeling which has taken place during the past year, on the coming of the Simon Commission, and the All-Parties Conference, a genuine movement which can once more threaten and eventually overthrow Imperialism. This view is partly correct, but is also very seriously wrong. It is true that the movement of the people towards national freedom is again gaining rapidly in strength. But it is a complete mistake to look upon the Congress, with its Boycott, and the All-Parties Conference, with its Constitution, as the expression of this mass movement. It is true that these actions on the part of the bourgeois parties have been brought about largely by the pressure of the masses, who have to be kept in a good humour. But they cannot be regarded as in any way a satisfactory lead for the masses, or as providing even a possible line of action for them.

It is impossible here to consider in detail decisions and recommendations of the All-Parties Conference, but it must be clear that the compromise of the Congress with the liberal Party and other reactionaries represents nothing but a surrender to the big bourgeois interests which are openly opposed to mass action and the independence of the country.

The policy of Boycott of British Goods may seem at first sight better. But actually, as everybody knows, the movement is of relatively little value in India, and has by now lost all dynamic character. It appeals of course only to the middle classes, and in fact serves mainly to keep alive among them some consciousness of the national struggle. As Mr. Gandhi himself has confessed, it can never be a successful revolutionary weapon unless it is supported and enforced by the militant strength of the masses, as it was in South China in 1925-6. This is the essential point to notice. The Boycott movement however "extremist" it may seem, is in fact carried out in a reformist manner. It is intended simply to bring a little more pressure to bear upon the Government to urge it toward concessions.

The third main point of Congress policy is the Boycott of the Commission, about which there can be no misunderstanding. Was there ever a more polite, "constitutional" Boycott? At the Congress at Madras, "strikes and hartals" were expressly ruled out for fear of offending the liberals. The mass movement was sacrificed altogether, for the sake of the big bourgeoisie. Only in January, as Benares, was mass feeling found to be so intense that

hartals were allowed. To look upon this as a sign of the revolutionary determination of the Congress leaders is absurd.

It is important to go in this detail into Congress policy, since it must be realised quite clearly that the bourgeois class as a whole, and the organ even of its left wing, the Congress, is now reactionary and is not seriously fighting for national freedom. It aims merely at more advantageous compromise with the Government. (The humbug of the independence resolution needs no exposure here.)

It is because of this that the need for a new organisation is being felt. It is essential that, in place of the old, a new nationalist movement shall be created, giving expression to the growing urge of the masses for emancipation, economic and political. The old movement, though drawing its members from several different classes of the community, was dominated politically by the *industrial* bourgeoisie, whose gradually changing position in regard to imperialism brought about the collapse of the movement. The new movement is altering this entirely. While seeking support from individuals of all classes, it bases its policy mainly on the working class and the peasantry. In them it sees not merely an overwhelming majority of the population, but also the object of all imperialist exploitation, whose emancipation in itself means the destruction of imperialism, and the effective striking force, whose militant mass action will be the instrument whereby imperialism is overthrown. This is the essence of the policy of the new national movement, the policy of the Workers' and Peasants' Party.

In spite of what has been said above, it is often asked, and will be asked, why a separate Party? Cannot the historic Congress, which now exists to fight imperialism, suffice? And if its policy is still unsatisfactory can it not be changed? The Workers' and Peasants' Party is not yet so old and well established that it need not defend its existence. The answer to these questions is, that the possibility of changing Congress policy is little more than a theoretical one. At the best it must take a very long time, and the masses are not waiting. Already their rebellion is widespread, and is growing rapidly, but their organisation to correspond with it still lags pitifully behind. It is impossible to wait until the Congress changes its entire policy, not merely in name but in fact, and takes up mass organisation, not with a humanitarian object, as it does occasionally now, nor with the intention of exploiting the mass movement for bourgeois ends, but in the spirit of a genuine mass organisation.

On the other hand, the Workers' and Peasants' Party desires that the Congress should make this change in its policy, and its members have been fighting within the Congress for some years

for the necessary changes of policy and personnel. But as everybody knows, while making some verbal concessions, it still *pursues* essentially its old policy. With few exceptions, the important Congress leaders are entirely opposed to change of policy in this direction. The Workers' and peasants' Party therefore cannot abandon the urgent task of bringing into existence some organisation, however faulty, with the right outlook.

The historical function of the Party then, is to gather together all the social material useful for the purpose of overthrowing Imperialism, that is, for attaining the complete independence of the country. As its name indicates, the chief sources of strength will be the working and peasant classes, but that does not rule out other sections of the community. A large part of the middle class is exploited by Imperialism, and is willing to support a policy of determined opposition to and overthrow of Imperialism.

The Workers and Peasants Party is destined in India to play a part somewhat similar to that fulfilled by the Knomintang in China in 1924-6, that of a mass party uniting several different classes on the basis of a policy of opposition to Imperialism, and complete Independence. But the party in India will not have the same difficulties to face as did the Knomintang, namely those arising from the conflict of interests within its own ranks. The Indian bourgeoisie as a class has already left the scene before this stage is reached; whereas in China the bourgeoisie did take part for a time in the mass movement, only later to go over to the side of Imperialism, and thereby to split and set back the movement which they had sponsored. (The decisive moment of this historically necessary split occurred in India in 1922, and by now, as we have tried to show, it is practically complete.)

This is a very great advantage for the Indian movement. The Knomintang was for long merely a Party exploiting the masses, for bourgeois ends, and though this assisted the masses, it also inflicted terrible defeats on them. Here the Workers' and Peasants' Party is from the first a Party genuinely fighting for the interests and needs of the masses. It can and does wholeheartedly take up the cause of any struggling section of the working class or the peasants, and while helping that section to gain its immediate ends, it assists the *fusion* of that section with the whole of the mass forces fighting against the fundamental enemy of the Indian people, Imperialism. The rise of these mass forces is the most impressive and important occurrence in recent Indian history. At present the struggle of the masses, though increasingly widespread and intense, are isolated and easily defeated. In particular the two great sections, the working class and the peasants, lack almost any fighting contact. Their salvation lies in their co-ordination under a common aim—the overthrow of Imperialism—and a common direction, that of the Workers' and Peasants' Party.

Finally, the Party holds out before the masses the goal which they have to reach, a goal to which independence is but a necessary step. It realises that after the destruction of the system of foreign exploitation, the only possible solvent for the miseries and poverty of India is socialism. The Party stands for the nationalisation, with workers' control, of the chief industries and services, as the basis for the reorganisation and improvement of Indian economic life. This is the age of imperialism—the age of the decline and death of capitalism, when all who care for the future must earnestly look forward to and prepare for the system which is to replace capitalism.

This then is the general policy and function of the Party. In present circumstances the work placed upon it is becoming more and more important. We are faced with a first-class political crisis and first-class industrial crisis at the same time. In accordance with its general policy, the Party will bring the two into close relations—for all economic conflicts are political, and vice versa. Every strike, every struggle of oppressed peasants against landowners or Government, must receive its support and assistance. The full implications of these struggles, which are but skirmishes preparatory for the great struggle for power between the exploiters and the exploited, must be brought out and demonstrated to the masses.

At the same time on the political field, the Party must attempt to bring together all sections genuinely opposed to Imperialism, to fight against the menace of the Simon Commission and the danger of war. The Party must expose mercilessly the attempt now being made to bind India to Imperialism under the name of Boycott of the Commission. Comrade Dange expressed the view of the Party very clearly when, at the Bombay Session of the All-Parties Conference, he pointed out that the only fruitful policy for the Conference was to establish a united front for the fight against Imperialism. To utilise the occasion merely for drafting a constitution is simply playing into the hands of Imperialism. It reduces the fight against the Simon Commission from a mass struggle to a parliamentary pretence. The Workers' and Peasants' Party cannot take part in such a betrayal. It will attend the Conference to urge such a fighting alliance against Imperialism, and to expose the reactionary and compromising nature of the bourgeois Parties, which strike the fight. The Party cannot take part in drafting a constitution for the division of power between the Indian and the British bourgeoisie. It has before it the more important work of fighting for independence.

P. 526. (42).

Dear Philip,

3-1-29

It is a very long time since you had a letter from me and also very long since I heard from you. I hope that even now as we shall be able to keep closer in touch with one another as I am very desirous of hearing your opinion on things in general and am equally ready to tell you about anything in which you may be interested over here.

At the moment my thirst of news must be greater than yours could possibly be, for we are just getting the snippets of telegraphic information about the happenings in Congress week which appear in the ordinary press here and just saw to what the appetite without satisfying it. It is a greater pity that you could not arrange to let us have telegrams for our press as just now there is a keen desire to know what is the situation and our press has nothing to go on. It is already January 3 and I have not seen a single report as to what happened at the A. I. T. U. C., to say nothing of the latter meetings. Could not something be arranged about such things? Would you not please really go into the matter carefully and let me know what could be done & whether general assistance from the press here would be required and how much and who would undertake to send the messages (say to S. W.) & what exactly stands in the way of anything being done?

I regret to say that copies of the long statement arrived at after a full discussion of the colonial questions at Manchester are not yet out of the press. In a few days at most I hope that it will be possible to get you the copies, and I hope also that you will let me know when you have received them.

As you will have gathered from the press, the Party is having a very difficult struggle just now. While the new policy already meets with heavy opposition in the Labour Party and can only make headway by energetic action, the party has to meet at the same time a serious offensive in the trade unions. The debate on the question of paying the political levy will be waged very fiercely at the coming congress and the question of the left wing also will demand a thorough re-examination. The difference of opinion on these two subjects alone is an indication how little firmly established the new line is as yet. I hope you are keeping in touch with events over here.

Yours
C

P.526. (43).

June 14, 1928.

Dear Philip,

I feel that I must send you just a line to say that I hope that you are in good spirits and to express my appreciation of your hard working endeavours.

Your letter in Forward was very good and should help in the general campaign. It is a pity only that their leader writer will confuse the expression of the leaders with the character of the whole class and thereby draw just the same wrong moral always that they are all tarred with the same brush.

You will have noted the significant remarks of Subash at the Maharashtra Conference. They need dealing with and reply for they are very indicative of the much boomed new leaders of the Congress. In general your remarks about Fascism were very much in place. But Subash's speech was revealing as to the whole character of the advanced bourge, nationalists. Their historical role is still and always the same as that of the great C. R. Das, to take up the cause of the masses in order to betray them. Their concern for the 98 per cent is merely part of the defence of their class interest and to divert stifle and destroy the rising movement of the same 98 per cent. Yet in your remarks on Labour and Swaraj for the sub-Ctee, you dare to speak of the Congress as "the anti-imperialist organisation of the middle classes" It is necessary to point out always that Congress is the organ of the bourgeoisie, that its anti-imperialist role is strictly limited and that we have not to ally ourselves with it but to use it as an arena in which to fight our enemies and to make propaganda for our independent aims. Furthermore, I think that the idea of capturing the Congress is an illusion. I will like your opinion on this. I note also a terrible statement in the Executive report of the Bengal W. P. that we are not against the Swaraj Party because it is bourgeois. This wants clearing up. All the time I think we need to put more and more stress on our independent role, that is the only way forward. We are not a left wing, we are a new force.

I see you have become the leader of a trade union. I hesitate to congratulate you because I see enormous dangers of our following in the same path as the old gang and putting ourselves forward as representing the workers. Unless we can get committees and leaders from out of the ranks of the workers themselves, all our work will go for nothing. You know too much to reply to me like Bhuvan and Co. that the workers are cattle and are incapable of doing anything for themselves. Those who have that opinion should keep away from the workers movement. Seriously,

I have been rather more than unhappy because I read in the papers, in Bombay especially, of all sorts of committees being set up, always with the old familiar names and with not even a single worker in addition. I think we are making a tremendous mistake. The task of those of us who are not workers is primarily to help forward from below and not to take the leadership in our own hands. The whole of this struggle in the T. U. C. Council is very nearly a farce, because it is only a sham fight between leaders and not of the masses. This is a slightly different point but it is part of the same thing. How is it, I ask you, that we have got a stronger position inside the T. U. C. than in almost any other T. U. movement in the world and yet there is no movement. Because we have got our position without fighting and therefore they mean nothing. The present wave of activity gives us a wonderful unexampled opportunity to bring forward the workers themselves, to be behind them in giving them the leadership, to build real committees with roots in the masses, to help the creation of the workers own movement. That is a much more difficult thing than coming forward as the representative of 'n' different trade unions all of which are in your pocket (I am not speaking of you personally), but it is a thing on which the effectiveness of the work done will depend.

I have been rather led into writing at greater length than I intend by touching on this, but it is such vital importance that I could not help it. I will write more later on. I have been away for some while and that is why I have been such a bad correspondent. I am afraid that there is very little news from home that I can tell you. I met Jack the other day and he had a lot to tell me but I have not time to write about it here.

You will have heard already that the young fellows are going to meet in Manchester in August. It is a sine qua non that one of your crowd should come over for it, if possible a real factory rank and file who knows what's what. That is a job for you to bring to light such a one!

The weather here has been pretty awful. It is pouring now while I write this. Yet I expect that you would welcome it as a change from the tropics. I hope that is not hitting you too hard and that your health remains good.

Wishing you all the best.

P. 526 (44)

Please forward.

JANUARY 10 1929.

Dear Philip,

I was very sorry to hear from your last letter now already some time back that you have been suffering from bad health. The symptoms that you described sound rather alarming and I hope that you are taking all possible precautions. You must have had a very strenuous time recently and I hope that as soon as the hot weather comes this year you will be able to go into the hill and take a real well earned rest. This might also give you an opportunity to do some writing and I am sure that in that way alone you are in a position to confer an inestimable benefit on your fellow men. I would like to speak to your parents about this. What do you think about it yourself?

We are anxiously awaiting your account of the many different congresses in which you must have taken part recently. Not a word has appeared in the newspapers here of what was decided at the T.U.C. not to speak of the other meetings which were held in conjunction with the National Congress. It is essential that you should give us a real first hand review of events.

So far as I can judge from British newspaper telegrams, the reactionaries seem to have carried off the victory if a barren one in the Congress. The effect is that nothing will be done in the way of getting a move on for another year. In effect the decision about the Nehru report does go back on the independence resolution. Still, nothing very much is to be expected from a movement led by the petty bourgeois crowd. Their inner desire is to take the wind out of the sails of the W.P.P. but in practice they will only expose themselves in so doing. Of course we cannot blame them for not really understanding the situation, not even for being direct representatives of Indian capitalism, as seen, for instance, in the remarkable (and windy) programme of the Bengal Independence League, but we can blame them if they do not even take action on their own programme or if it definitely represents a piece of bluff like the talk about abolition of landlordism.

There was an article in the G.V. a little while back (about October) on the trouble at the root of Indian trade unionism. It was astonishing to find that this dealt not with the fact of outside leadership but with the character of the leaders and actually declared that the main task of the W.P.P. was to warn the workers against the wrong type of leaders. It puts forward the old argument that the workers are afraid of victimisation and therefore will not take responsible positions, but instead of concluding that the task must be to get this

P. 537.

7 of this rejected

17 copies of Ganayani.

P. 538.

"Manifesto of the communist Party" by Karl Marx
Frederich Engels.

P. 539.

"Gandhi vs Lenin" by S. A. Dange—Publishers:—Liberty
Literature Co., Bombay No. 2.

P. 540.

"Communism" by R. Palme Dutt.

P. 541.

Issues of "Sunday Worker" No. 164, dated 29-4-28 No. 166, dated 13-5-28, No. 167, dated 20-5-28, No. 168 dated 27-5-28, No. 169, dated 3-6-28, No. 170, dated 10-6-28 No. 171, dated 17-6-28, No. 177 dated 29-7-28.

P. 542.

Issues of "Spark"

- (1) Volume 1 No. 1, dated 10-2-29.
- (2) Volume 1 No. 6, dated 10-3-29.
- (3) Volume 1 No. 5, dated 3-3-29.

(4) Volume 1 No. 1, dated 27-1-29.

(5) Volume 1 No. 3, dated 17-2-29.

P. 543.

11 copies of a Bengali pamphlet entitled "Sacco and Vanzette" by Dharani Kanta Goswami.

P. 531.

"Sunday Worker" No. 167 dated 20th May, 1928.

P. 532.

5 copies of "The Labour Monthly"—

- (1) Volume 7, No. 4, for April, 1925.
 - (2) Volume 10, No. 7, for July, 1928.
 - (3) Volume 10, No. 12, for December, 1928.
 - (4) Volume II, No. 1, for January, 1929 and
 - (5) Volume II, No. 2, for February, 1929.
-

P. 533

"Sunday Worker" No. 166, dated 13th May, 1928.

P. 534.

"Workers' Life" No. 98, dated 7-12-28.

P. 535.

"Sunday Worker" No. 195, dated 2-12-28.

P. 536.

A pamphlet entitled "India and the Next War" by Miss Agnes Smedley (Berlin, Germany)—Published by The Kirti office, Amritsar (India).

issue of victimisation fought out and won, it merely concludes "hence up to the present we cannot do without outside help". This seems to indicate that more fighting on this issue is necessary, if such statements can be made by a responsible organ. The reasons are different but the conclusion in the article is much the same as that of the reactionaries, for instance Shiva Rao recently on the necessity of outsiders.

The results of the conference of the W.P.P. are awaited with the greatest expectancy. The way forward here is full of difficulties and they are not made less by the attempts of the Independence Leaguers. Nevertheless I think that there is a very real danger of the petty bourgeois elements getting hold of the W.P.P. in its form so far and I sincerely hope that the working class elements at the conference did find some means of combatting this danger.

Please write to me on this and also let me know about your health. I am still wanting to hear your suggestions about arranging for a supply of telegraphic news to the press over here. I hope that will get this letter but I do not know to what address I ought to write.

Best regards.

G. B. S.

P. 526. (45)

THE LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of International Labour.

Editor: R. PALME DUTT.

Editorial & Publishing Offices:

162 BUCKINGHAM PALACE ROAD, LONDON, S. W. 1.

Telephone: Sloane 5412.

November 30 1927.

PHILIP SPRATT,

c/o All-India T. U. C.,

Servants of India Society,

Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay.

Dear Spratt,

I have to write and ask if you would be so good as to try and write, or perhaps to get for us, an article for the Labour Monthly on political imprisonment and political repression generally in India.

If, however, you would prefer to write an article on some other subject, please do so by all means. For instance, you might like to deal with the National Congress and its line of development, though it is doubtful whether anything on this could be done so that it would reach us in time for the February issue. It would be best if you could manage to wire length and date of arrival beforehand. We should like to have something by you before the March issue. I hope it will be possible for you to send your mss. very soon.

Heartiest congrats on your great triumph. Everybody I know who has ever met you is delighted and especially rejoices over your T. U. C. appointment.

Wishing you all the best,

Yours,

D. P. Dutt.

(Acting Editor.)

P. 526. (46).

Bombay.

9/3/28.

Dear Robin,

I must apologise for not having written to you for many months. I had intended-but I hesitate to speak of my intentions. The fact is that I have been falling into a worse and worse state of disorganisation, and I must make a serious effort to recover from it. As you have probably gathered, organisation is not a strong point in the Indian labour movement, except in a very narrow sense. And instead of improving things to any extent, I have succumbed to the insidious atmosphere of inefficiency.

I believe all the invaders of India, before the British, did the same kind of thing, as Miss Mayo says

I have made a great effort, and recovered some of my goods from Chamanlal. This is in itself, I am told, a remarkable feat. I had to go to Lahore to do it but I am not satisfied. Most of the clothing has come back, but only a rather miserable remnant of my books, and none of my much prized documents. All the rarer and more useful books have been kept by him. All the earlier, and now unobtainable, numbers of the AITU Bulletin-I had by great labour, acquired nearly a complete set-and most of the earlier T. U. & T. U. C. reports—also in most cases to be obtained only by chance, have gone. He has stolen Mann's earlier book on a Deccan Village, definitely a "rare book" by now? Pillai's Indian Economics, B. Narain's "Population" Hunter's "Indian Empire", Broughton's "Labour in India" Pandittr's "Bengal Delta". The Indian workmen's Compensation Act, Merchant shipping Act. These happen to occur to me but there are dozens of other. It is a curious thing that he had not got them himself.

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P. 526. (47)

Workers of the world
Unite ! you have nothing
to lose but your chains

THE
Weekly Mehanat Kash

"The Mehanat Kash"
labours for your benefit.
Read and advertise
with profit.

No. _____

Lahore the 10th Feby. 1928.

We will live to

1. Stop all exploitation of man by man;
 2. Help the organisation and safeguard the rights and interests of the peasants and workers of India;
 3. Support the youth movement ;
 4. Struggle for women's rights;
 5. Fight for India's national freedom ; and
 6. Promote all movements working for a better social, political and economic order in India.
- * * *

My dear Comrade,

Your letter to hand yesterday morning. In reply thereto, I may point out that I know as well as you do that the things were never despatched to you. I have called at him more than once and have made every effort but to no avail. I think if you come here yourself, you may succeed in recovering the things in question, as he told me that he had sent the things, and when I said that they were not in receipt by you, he promised to investigate which he never did.

We have learnt the news about the strike in the papers. Thanks to you and our other comrades that the strike was a success. The papers say that the dismissed element is reinstated and consequently the Hartal is over. You will, perhaps, be free by this time and I hope to see you very soon. The workers of the Dhariwal mills have gone on strike and their success does not seem probable. Your presence on the occasion may do a great deal of good to the cause of these workers. Nothing practicle has been done by our local labour leaders.

Comrade Shafik appeared here all of a sudden the other day.

He proposes to proceed to Delhi on the 11th instant. He is expected to return to Lahore on or about the 19th. I intend to leave for Peshawar on the 12th instant and shall be back in Lahore by the 18th. I hope that you will also arrive at Lahore by this time. Comrade Shafik offers his comradely greetings to all of you.

With Com. greetings to all,
Fraternally yours,
M. A. Majid.

P. 526 (48)

AFFILIATION TO T. U. C.

Youth. Reactionary.
Class opened—3 men regularly.
after strike began collapsed.

Nationalism.—Norman etc.
Theosophy.

Ind. Youth organ to be formed. necessary.
Students work of importance.

Party. Indifference on question of recruiting Associates members
passed Bombay membership 26.

Bombay.

Groups. T. U. worked fairly well mainly Textile
but also others.

T. C. set up.

Congress.

No.

Youth

Propaganda

Simon Commission.

T. D. Bill.....etc,

Lack of
money

Statements & manifesto on T. D. Bill
Ry bill

A. P. Conference.

Youth Conf.

T. U. C. Bl.

Organs. (*Spark*)—Socialist Paper for
but not an official Party organ.
first 29/10/27.

Kranti—started again 31/6/28. (bi-weekly).
actually a strike bulletin. but also Party
policy is dealt with.

Self supporting 2 pice—2000 circulated
Surplus of Rs. 50 p. m.

Ganavani. started again 14/6/28. weekly.

Indra. Irregular news. price 1 anna 1000-1200
& propaganda sheet. free. heavy loss.

(Lal Nishan.) Hindi weekly.

P. 544.

A Star of India file containing the following 3 documents amongst others.

P. 544 (1)

For Mr. Nimbkar (1) Hartal to be positively declared even
Municipal Union though it is resolved to be partial.

Very urgent. (2) Hand-bill to be drafted for our own men in
very strong language explaining the whole
position and laying out programme of the
day.

(a) Morning meeting at 8 at Feroz Road. Speakers:—
Workers Party and 2 nationalists with Hartal views.
Procession of other workers to go from Parel and
other places to reach at Feroz Road with flags etc.

(b) (Scratched out).

(c) Resolutions:—(1) Boycott campaign.

(2) Swaraj as we want.

(3) (Scratched out).

(4) No conciliation but combination.

(3) Name to be:—Bombay Labours' Hartal Committee.
Call G. I. P. : B. B. Port Trust Postmen: Teleg.
Govt. Peons' and all else representing.

(4) Expenses to be proportionate to all those who join.

(5) (Scratched out).

(6) Hand-bills to be sent to other centres whose Hartal may
not be resorted to.

- (7). All work to be done under the auspices of the Hartal Com. with Mirajkar and Spratt as Secretary. No violence to be preached.
- (8) Mourning drums to be sounded in procession.
- (9) Full programme to be reported to public continuously for 7 days from now.

P 544. (2)

*Rejected as P.
D. Spratt.*

Memorandum on Trade Disputes Bill for B. T. U. Fed. Conference 2-9-28.

The Bill is to be divided into three parts.

The first enables the Provincial or Central Government to set up Courts of Enquiry or Conciliation Boards, and to refer any dispute or relevant matter to them. The Courts and Boards will have wide powers to compel the production of evidence etc., and their reports to Government, (in the case of the Boards of their efforts at conciliation are unsuccessful) will be of great weight, and will usually have considerable influence upon the dispute.

It is therefore an important part of the Bill, and one which needs careful consideration on the part of labour.

In the first place, conciliation and "Impartial Inquiry" are generally to be looked upon as methods which may be of some assistance to labour in regard to obtaining improvements etc. when the state of labour organisation is poor. They cannot be regarded in any case as a substitute for the organised power of labour in its conflict with the employers. Especially in India where the empty class is all-powerful with so-called public opinion with the Government, the law-courts, etc. no alternative to the power of the working-class is ultimately of any use to it, and any restriction upon the freedom of the working class, however innocent or beneficial it may appear at first sight, must be looked upon with suspicion, as being capable of use or distortion in opposition to interests.

This Bill provides for the establishment of the Boards or Courts by the Government. The Government is in fact almost completely under the influence of the capitalist class, and will therefore appoint Courts or Boards in such cases, at such times, with such personnel, etc. as will be of the least advantage to labour. This circumstance alone renders the provision suspect, as being of very doubtful advantage.

But further, the general effect of the existence of externally appointed machinery of conciliation and inquiry upon the labour movement is undoubtedly a bad one. The tendency which it imposes upon the mentality of labour is away from dependence upon its organised strength, and towards dependence upon the abstract "justice" of its cause. For ordinary practical purposes there can be no doubt that the former is the weapon which is more to be relied upon. And for the special political purposes which the Indian Trade Union movement must have in view, it is necessary that it should develop a high degree of organised strength and militancy of spirit. The efforts of the leaders of the labour movement must be to increase this strength and spirit, which are so lacking in the movement at present and to destroy its present object dependence upon the benevolence of outsiders.

For these reasons, the first part of the Bill should be opposed and condemned by this Conference.

The second part of the Bill declares withdrawal of labour from Public Utility Services (Railways, Postal, Telegraphs, Telephones, Water or Light Supplies, Public Conservancy) illegal unless each individual withdrawing obtains permission or gives one month's notice in writing. Failing is punishable with 1 month imprisonment and Rs. 50. Abetment of withdrawal with 3 months and Rs. 500.

This section requires no detailed examination by labour. It not only inflicts a serious hardship upon the individuals of the public services but deprives them, in practice of their collective right to strike. It is probably more drastic than any of the similar provisions prevailing in other countries. From the point of view of the organised labour movement, it deprives it of its largest and hitherto best organised and most militant section, the 7½ lakhs of railwaymen. It is completely (illegible) and objectionable, and must be energetically opposed by labour.

The third section of the Bill (1) declares illegal strikes which (a) have any object other than or in addition to the furtherance of a trade dispute within the trade or industry in question or (b) are designed or calculated to coerce the Government either directly or by inflicting hardship upon the community, (2) declares it illegal to supply money to assist such a strike, (3) specifies that anybody who declares, instigates or incites others to take part in, or act in furtherance of such a strike shall be liable

to 3 months imp. and Rs. 500 fine. (4) protects those who refuse to take part in such a strike from any retaliation etc. on the part of their Union.

Again analysis of the provisions is hardly necessary. But to take them in order: (1) (a) the labour movement cannot tolerate being prevented from declaring sympathetic strikes. The absence of definition of the terms "trade" or "industry" render this clause liable to very wide interpretation which may prevent almost any solidarity of action, which is the basic principle of the labour movement. Further, the inability which this clause imposes upon the movement to strike for purposes of demonstration etc. etc. involves the loss of a valuable means of propaganda and organisation. (1) (b) The labour movement must insist upon its right to strike with the direct intention of affecting or coercing the Govt. Even in countries where universal suffrage gives the theoretical right to the working-class to express its views and impose its will by constituted means, the mechanism of suffrage is found so unworkable that the political strike is looked upon as a valuable weapon. All the more than in India, where there is no constitutional means whereby labour can influence the conduct of Govt. the political strikes must be retained.

Further the wording of this clause is so vague that almost any big strike could be brought under it. It therefore constitutes a very serious danger to all sections of labour, in that it may be held to deprive them of their right to declare any serious or large scale strikes.

Clause (2) is dependent upon (1), but in itself tends to destroy even that degree of solidarity which already exists in the labour movement, which is expressed in financial support of one union by another. It is therefore in itself objectionable and adds to the reacting character of the Bill.

Clause (4) by preventing the expulsion of or other redress against blacklegs in such strikes on the part of Unions, and enabling them to claim damages from the Union in the event of expulsion, virtually means the end of a Union which has declared a strike held to be "illegal under this Bill".

In the third section of the Bill, as in the first, the apparent equality of treatment of employers and workers is of course entirely deceptive. It is notorious that legislation of this type normally directed against employers or their organisations, is under a capitalist regime, practically quite ineffective. In any case employers relatively seldom desire to indulge in the kind of activity here declared illegal as they have other effective means of effecting their will. These phrases can be neglected as of no importance.

The Bill as a whole then is objectionable. None of its sections can be accepted by labour, while the second and third sections are extremely dangerous to the labour movement. Taken together—for it forms in fact a consistent whole—its effect will be so to restrict the activities of the labour movement as to make it (a) unable to take any part in the political sphere, either in regard to its immediate purpose of achieving the independence of the country from imperialist rule, or in regard to its ultimate aim of realising socialism, and (b) completely ineffective in regard to its more immediate work of improving conditions for the working class under present political conditions. The activities of the labour movement, political, educational, cultural, parliamentary, trade unionist, etc., all have their basis in the strength of the workers' organisations and the fighting spirit and devotion of their members. The Trade Disputes Bill, will completely prevent the development of a large scale militant movement, and will keep the movement in the situation in which it has existed up to the present, viz. practically without real unions, but simply as a number of committees, largely of outsiders, petty and sectarian in their aims, existing as rather ineffective means of conducting negotiations with employers. The Bill is so objectionable and dangerous to the labour movement that in resistance to it every possible means must be adopted.

(1) In regard to the Assembly. All elected members should be supplied with a memorandum drawn up by this Conference, giving the objection of the labour movement to the Bill, and information as to the other steps which the movement itself is taking.

(2) In regard to the working class, (a) A campaign of meeting, with leaflets etc. must be organised, at which the Bill is wholly condemned, and the resolutions passed are sent to the Press. (b) Mass demonstrations of workers should be held at suitable times in local industrial areas. (c) Propaganda should at the same time be carried on for a one-day general strike or the day when the Bill finally comes before the Assembly, and in favour of an advanced programme for the whole working-class, such as a standard minimum wage, etc. etc. The right should also be demanded for all Unions of Government employees to join the Trade Union Congress. (d) Finally, in order to emphasise the connection of this Bill with the general political policy of imperialism, this Conference should organise and conduct simultaneous propaganda for demonstrations of workers on the occasion of the landing of the Simon Commission.

Bengal T. U. Federation and other Unions ! Conference on 2-9-28.

Present.

Messrs. K. L. Ghose Sec.
 H. K. Bose Pres.
 H. Daud. Sec.
 Mahbub-ul-Huq Sec.
 B. C. Mukherji Jute.
 Lal Mohan Ghosh. Congress Labour Sec.
 Latifat Halim Jute.
 Miajan Jute.
 Jute.
 Sec. Registration Union.
 P. Spratt.

 S. Kohbal Sen. (Seamen).
 Abdul Huq (Seamen).
 G. C. Bose.
 B. N. Roy (Garden Reach).
 S. C. Bhattacharya (Emp. Assn. Press.) (& others)
 (—Mitra).
 I. B. Sarkar.—Press Emp.
 D. P. Godbole Dock.
 Muzummilali Seaman.
 And about 12 others (Seamen) etc.
 (late) R. Mitra (Radharaman). Jute.

Meeting 5. 15 began.

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| (1) | K. L. G. read resolutions of Federation meeting chief points. | T. D. Bill.
Public Safety Bill,
A. M. Choudhry's Bill &
for aboln. of licenses
shipping Bookies. Bauria
& Jamshedpur Strikes. |
| (2) K. L. G. reads resolutions. | | |
| (1) Welcomes Mahbub-ul-Huq and P. C. Bose etc. etc.
Prof. S. K. Bose. Sec.— | | |
| (2) Expresses sympathy with troubles of Mr. Mukunda-Lal Sircar and requests all T. U. Fed and Union to take proper steps to help the defence in cases pending against him. | | |

Spoken in favour by

Mahbub-ul-Huq
& pres. of Emp. Ass.
& M. Daud
& K. L. Ghose
& M. K. Bose

given Rs. 5.

.....
& some other amount
about Rs. 20

- (3) Express sympathy with E. I. R. strikers & leaders, etc. and requests Madras Council and Assembly members to see that repressive measures are withdrawn.

Moved S. C. Bhattacharji
Sec. D. P. Godbole.

Enter Babu Gurdit Singh and 3 other Sikhs (re: Khargpur Communal affairs.)

- (Int. M. K. Bose) B. G. S. speaks in Hindustani— K. L. G. suggests he & I are going there tomorrow & we may do something.

Mahbub-ul Haq also
M. K. Bose.....
D. P. Godbole.....
M. Daud.....
Gurdit Singh replies.
Latafat.
Lal Mohan Gosh.

- (4) Res. for—of Seamen's Union- Res...that—be req. to go to Khargpur. Much further discussion. Godbole.
S. K. Bose.

- (5) Sympathy for Bauria workers and appeal for funds. Latafat
&

- (6) Press workers grievances.

- (7) Reg. B. P. C. C. in company of T. D. Bill and P. S. Bill and support A. M. Ch.'s Bill and support for Bauria workers.
B. T. U. F. and B. P. C. C. in coopn.

Radheraman and Abdul Huq.

"Labour Week". suggested by Godbole. Protest etc,
collecting money, anna receipt etc. public meetings.
general labour fund.

Discussion. Godbole (Illegible)...self Kishori, Mahbub, Daud
and many others Attached Congress and coopn. of
B. P. C. C.

Kishori repudiates Mahbub.

Daud supports Mahbub more or less.

Invites B. P. C. C. (for purpose of getting coop. of
Assembly Congress Party) to coop with B. T. U. F. in
(Illegible)...with 3 Bills, that meetings be held under joint
auspices also T. U. F. hold meetings for collecting money
etc. etc. and one campaign. accepted.

Many resolutions withdrawn.

- (8) Opposed to both files *in toto* and request Assembly members to refuse their introduction.
- (9) Whole-hearted support to A. M. Chaudhury's Bill. Copy sent to Assembly members and press also.

Serial No.	Name and Address.	Officers.	Date of Foundation.	Membership.	Affiliation.
1	Corporation Employees' Association Corpn. Office Bdgs. Hogg St. Calcutta.	Pres. S.N. Mukherji. (Councillor) Sec. A. B. Datta.	1924	700	T. U. C.
2	Kankinnara Labour Union Kankinnara (24 Parganas)	Pres. K. C. Ray Choudhury M. L. C. G. Sec. Latafat Hussein M. L. C.	1920-1	1100	T. U. C. (expelled).
3	Bengal Jute Workers' Union 97, Cornwallis St. Calcutta	Ag. Pres. K. D. Bhattacharya. G. Sec. R. Mitra.	1925	8778	T. U. C. W. P. P.
4	Bengal Mariners' Union 7, Ekbalpore Lane, Kidderpore, Calcutta	Pres. M. Daud. G. Sec. M. Abdul Haq.	1920	5-10,000	T. U. C. I. T. F.
5	Indian Seamen's Union. 7, Ekbalpore Lane, Kidderpore, Calcutta	Pres. M. Daud. Ag. G. Sec. Aftab Ali.	1918	300	T. U. C. I. T. F.
6	Indian Quartermasters' Union 5, Dent Mission Lane, Kidderpore, Calcutta	Pres. M. Daud, Sec. Muzammil Ali.	1925	1532	T. U. C. I. T. F.
7	Port Trust Mariners' and Workers' Union 7, Ekbalpore Lane, Kidderpore, Calcutta	Pres. M. Daud. G. Sec. Mahbulul Huq., M. A. B. L.	1927	3,000	T. U. C.
8	Clerks' Union 97, Clive Street, Calcutta	Pres. K. C. Ray Choudhury. Sec. M. M. Mullick.	1926	500	T. U. C.
9	Port Trust Employees' Association 96/1 Ekbalpore Road, Kidderpore, Cal.	Pres. I. B. Sen Bar-at-Law.	1920	(?)	T. U. C.
10	Employees' Association 72, Canning Street, Cal.	Pres. S. C. Bhattacharya. Sec. M. L. Sircar.	1919	700	T. U. C. (Pub. Eng. monthly "Emp. Gazette").
11	B. N. Ry. Indian Labour Union Khargpur	Pres. V. V. Giri Bar-at-Law. G. Sec. Kashi Nath Muthu.	1921?	15,000	T. U. C. A. I. R. F. (Pub. Eng. monthly "Indian Labour Journal")

Serial No.	Name and Address.	Officers.	Date of foundation.	Member-ship.	Affiliation.
12	E. B. Ry. Indiah Employées' Association 2, Huzurhall Lane, Bowbazar St. Cal.	Pres. I. B. Sen. G. Sec. J. N. Gupta.	1920	13,000	A. I. R. F. (Pub. Eng. bi-monthly "E.B. Ry. Lal. Review").
13	E. I. Ry. Union (Lilloah) Lilloah, Howrah	G. Sec. K. C. Mitra. (Founded as brands 1927, separated.)	1929	11,000	T. U. C. A. I. R. F. (Pub. Bengali weekly "Lal Paltan").
14	Landsdowne Jute Workers' Assn. 99/1M, Cornwallis St. Cal	Pres. K. C. Ray Choudhury. Sec. C. M. Ghosh.	1926	..	T. U. C.
15	Kan. brapatā Ry. Workmen's Union Ghosek Rd. Nichubasa, P. O. Kanhtapata, E. B. Ry.	Pres. K. C. Ray Choudhury. Sec. P. B. Sūr.	1927	1069	T. U. C.
16	Press Employées' Assn. 34, Bowbazar St. Cal.	Pres. M. K. Bose Kishori Lal Ghose	1906	2000	T. U. C.
17	Howrah Metal Workers' Union 5, Hem Banerji Lane, Sibpore, Howrah	Pres. Dr. K. L. Ganguli.	1928	..	
18	Tramway Workers' Union 8, Old Post Office St. Cal.	Pres. Dr. B. N. Dutt. Sec. P. K. Sanyal B. A.	1927	3-400	T. U. C.
19	Calcutta Corporation Teachers' Union 26, Ananda Palli Road, Entally, Calcutta	Pres. Sec. Khulada Nath Maitra	1925	516	Beng. T. U. F
20	Bengal Scavengers' Union 2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta	Pres. Dr. Miss P. B. Gupta G. Sec. D.K. Goswami.	1928	..	W. P. P.
21	Bengal Textile Workers' Union 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Cal.	Pres. Dr. Miss P. B. Das Gupta. G. Sec. P. M. Das.	1928	1737	T. U. C. W. P. P.
22	Santipore Labour Union Santipore, 24 parganas	Pres. M. Dāud.	
23	Registration Employées' Association. 34, Bowbazar Street..	Pres. K. C. Chakravarty. Sec. R. C. Dhur.	1927	..	
24	B. Ry. Employées' Union T/6, Indian Staff Quarters, B. N. Ry. Compound,	Pres. N. C. Sen Bar-at-law.	1927	350	

	Kidderpore, Calcutta.	G. Sec. N. K. Sircar.	1926	2-300	
25	Garden Reach Workers' Union	Pres. P. Spratt.			
	7, Garden Reach Rd. Matiabruz Calcutta	Ag. Sec. M. K. Sinha.	1926	286	T. U. C.
26	Bengal Paper Mills Workers' Union	Pres. S. N. Tagore.			W. P. P.
	P. O. Bhatpara, E. B. Ry.	G. Sec. G. Chakravarty.	1919	5-600	(Pub. Hindi weekly "Jamadars")
27	Jamadars' Union	Sriman Beri B. A. B. L.			
	159, Machua Bazar St. Cal.	Purushattam Ray.	1928		
28	Ishapore Ordnance Workers' Union	Pres. P. Spratt.			
	Nawabganj, P. O. Ichhapur, 24 Parganas	Sec. K. D. Bhattacharya.			
29	Angus Engineering Workers' Union	Sec. G. Chakravarty.			
30	Bengal Engineering Workers' Union	Pres. Dr. Miss P. B. Das Gupta.	1929	600	
		Sec. S. N. Chatterji.			
31	Bengal Pottery Workers' Union	Pres. R. Mitra.	1929		
32	Bengal Transport Workers' Union	Pres. Abdul Safa.	1929	2-300	W. P. P.
	2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta	G. Sec. S. M. Shamsul Huda.			
33	Barabazar Labour Union	Pres. S. N. Bishi Adv. at-law.	1928	160	
	89/8, Lower Chitpore Rd. Calcutta	G. Sec. R. Joshi.			
34	Barabazar Orina Labour Union	Pres. K. C. Ray Choudhri,	1928	100	
	203, Harrison Rd. Cal.	Sec. B. C. Mondal.			
35	Calcutta Motor Employees' Union			300	
	Garden Reach Rd., Matiabuz Cal.				
36	Hari Narayanpur Kayats' Assn.	Pres. S. C. Bhattacharya.			T. U. C.
37	The Labour Assn.	Pres. Yakub Kasim Arif.			
	Bowbazar St. Cal.				
38	Postal and R. M. S. Assn.		1920	10-000	(Pub. English monthly "Labour".)
	(Bengal and Assam Circle) 236, Bowbazar St. Calcutta				
39	All India Postal and R. M. S. Assn.		1920	40-000	
	12, Chackoo Khansama Lane, Cal.	G. Sec. T. Mukherjee B. A.			
40	The Indian Telegraph Assn.		1920?		(Indian Mainly pub.—)
	73/B Free School St., Cal.				
41	The All Indian Telegraph Union		1926?		(European and Anglo Indian mainly pub.—)
	126, Bowbazar Street Cal. ?	G. Sec.—Barton.			
	The Bengal Trade Union Fedn.	Press M. K. Bose.	1922		
	(Provincial Committee of T. U. C.) 34, Bowbazar St. Cal.	Sec. K. L. Ghose.			

Serial No.	Name and Address.	Officers.	Date of foundation.	Member-ship.	Affiliation.
	(And various other clerical union).				
42	Indo-Asiatic Seamen's Union		1928		
43	Indian Colliery Workers' Ass. (branch Asansol)	(Branch est. 1928) (H. Q. at Jharia (Bihar)).		1-200	perhaps.
44	(Barisal Workshop Employees' Union ?) Barisal	Pres. Nawabzada S. M. Hussian. Sec. S. C. Dutt M. L. C.	1928		

P. 545.

The Four Crown letter file containing the following 10 documents amongst others.

P. 545. (1)

Mr. Wagh :—

I prepared 15 copies, out of which 6 are taken by Mr. Spratt. Kindly do the needful with the *remaining*.

D. I. Kelkar.

Will you please prepare, if that is possible, about fifteen copies. They should be sent to

- (1) Mr. Dange and
- (2) Mr. Jhabvala, at Bombay.
- (3) Mr. Joshi and
- (4) Mr. Chaman Lal at Delhi.
- (5) Mr. Daud and
- (6) Mr. Kishorilal Ghose at Calcutta
- (7) Mr. Thengdi, at Poona.
- (8) Mr. G. Sethi, at Jamshedpur.

I should like to take the rest to Delhi with me in case some of the members have come there too early to receive the copies sent to them. If possible, I should like them to be sent out so as to reach the members during this week, i.e. before the 26th.

P. Spratt.

(Covering letter).

Dear Comrade,

As convener of the Sub-Committee of T. U. C. for drafting a constitution, I am circulating to the Sub-Committee members the proposals I have to make. If you are at Delhi for the Executive Council meeting on the 26th, I should like to discuss it with you there. If not, will you please let me know by letter what you think of this, and make any suggestion you have to bring forward, I have written to Mr. Joshi proposing this procedure, instead of calling a special meeting of the sub-committee, at any rate for the present.

I enclose a statement of my proposal as to the function of the sub-committee. I think it is premature and useless for us to draw up a full draft of a Constitution, but we may usefully make a statement defining the political policy and programme of the Congress I enclose also a rough draft of a such a statement. The results of our work will have in any case to be submitted to the full Congress, but I think that if reasonable unanimity is not obtained in the sub-committee, two—if possible not more—drafts should be submitted.

Yours fraternally

P. Spratt.

(I) Functions of the Sub-Committee.

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

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

It is also useless to put forward a constitution from our side with a view to modify the Constitution which will now be produced

by the Nationalist Parties. The gulf between the two, which is the gulf between the working-class and the capitalist class, is in principle unbridgeable, and though working agreements on the basis of an anti-imperialist policy may be arrived at, no compromise as to ultimate aims is possible. We should not attempt to bring about minor modifications of their drafts, at the price of our political independence.

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

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

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

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

Introduction.

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

to formulate its functions and aims in general terms, so that a more consistent programme and policy may be adopted.

Aims of the Working Class.—The fundamental aim of the organised working class can only be, in the words of the Presidential Speech at the (Cawnpore) VIIIth Trade Union Congress, "Nationalisation of land and industry, a civilised existence, a government of the Workers, an economic system for the benefit of humanity—and peace". More shortly, the function of the working class in history is the realisation of socialism. With almost complete unanimity, the working-class organisations of the world have accepted this as their aim, and from the earliest times, workers' movements have, with greater or less consciousness, pursued policies in keeping with it. The experiences and sufferings of the working-class under capitalism force it inevitably to demand and strive for the abolition of the anarchic, wasteful and unstable capitalist system, and its replacement by an ordered system, democratically controlled, and run for the benefit of humanity. Socialism must be the aim of the working-class, and all its efforts and policies must be subordinated to that aim.

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

Imperialism. The Indian working-class, in common with the working-class of several other countries, is subjected to the special form of capitalism, Imperialism. Imperialism consists in the investment of surplus capital from an economically advanced country, Britain in an economically backward country, India, for the more intense exploitation of its human and other resources. In order to supplement the diminishing return from its domestic capital, Imperialism extracts a higher rate of profit from its colonial capital. This alone determines that the standard of life of the Indian working class is definitely lower than that of the working class of the Imperialism countries, such as Britain. But in addition the Indian working-class suffers from the conflict between the Indian and the British capitalist interests for supremacy in regard to exploitation. For these reasons, no appreciable improvement

in the lot of the Indian working class is possible under this system, and its first duty is the struggle against Imperialism.

Both its immediate and its ultimate aims depend for their realisation upon its success in the struggle against the economic and political domination of India by Imperialism. The first condition for the establishment of socialism in India, and the relief of economic exploitation and social degradation, is the abolition of Imperialism, both as an economic structure and as a political system.

Political Aspect. The two sides of the system cannot be separated, the economic and the political. Beginning in the economic sphere, the class struggle inevitably develops to a higher form, the direct fight for political power. The working class must openly and avowedly adopt a political programme, the essence of which must be the establishment of socialism through the destruction of Imperialism and capitalism and the assumption of the State power.

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

In this struggle the working class must ally itself with all forces and sections which will fight for the overthrow of Imperialism. In particular it must establish the closest relationship with peasantry, as was suggested in the resolution of the VIII:th Congress on the It will also find alliance in the National Congress, the anti-imperialist organisation of the middle classes. In so far as the National "Council of Action." Congress conducts a real struggle against Imperialism, it must be helped by the working-class.

Working-Class Party. For carrying out this policy, the Trade Union organisations of the working-class alone will not suffice. A definitely political organ must be created, with the policy and programme here outlined. The Workers' and Peasants' Party, now developing in different parts of the country, fulfils the requirements of a genuine working-class political party, and must receive

the support of the Trade Union Congress, as was decided at the VIIth Session, Delhi, March 1927, and of the individual Unions.

Political Demands. The working-class stands in complete opposition to Imperialism. It cannot therefore agree to the continuance of the British connection in any form. The Trade Union Congress must demand *Complete Independence*. It must further demand the establishment of a *Democratic State*. This involves the abolition of all despotic feudal institutions landlordism & the Native States, and the granting of the right of *universal adult suffrage, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech and press, the right to organise and to strike, and to carry arms*. The Trade Union Congress must demand further from the State, the guarantee of certain common right of humanity, such as the abolition of casts and other discrimination, the equality of the sexes in regard to legal rights, wage-rates, etc., and universal primary education. In the economic sphere, the State must guarantee for labour the standard legal eight hour day, and the legal minimum wage, support for the unemployed, adequate compensation, protection, abolition of child labour, etc. and as general measures, the nationalisation of the chief services and basic industries.

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

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

Policy (1) The strike is Labour's chief weapon, and in must be preserved and used. The right to strike must be jealously

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

(2) The adoption of a policy of struggle against Imperialism demands politically as well as logically that the traditional cooperation with the Government should cease. It must be forbidden for a member of any affiliated union to accept nomination by Government to any legislature or committee. Similarly, the Congress should cease to appoint members for the delegation to the International Labour Office Conferences. The I. L. O. was established and is supported by the capitalist Governments of the European states, and works in accordance with their imperialist policies.

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

(1) Functions of the Sub-Committees.

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

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 taken upon itself the responsibility of formally disobeying the Congress mandate to the extent of not preparing a complete Drafts Constitution, but instead making a comprehensive statement of the political attitude and policy of Labour.

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

[2] Draft of proposed statement "Labour and Swaraj".

Introduction. It has long been felt necessary, in the Trade Union movement and outside it, that a clear attitude should be adopted by the organised Labour Movement towards Political questions generally, and particularly towards the central question of Indian Politics that of Swaraj, or the relation of the country as a whole to Imperialism and the other Countries of the World. The progress of our Labour and of the Nationalists Movement, and recent developments in the parallel movements in other Countries, rendered impossible any longer to neglect this subject. In domestic politics the Trade Union Congress already takes a part. Its members are elected, are nominated to the Councils and Assembly and its views consulted in regards to Legislation, while the tendency is developing for Trade Unions to participate directly in the Political Movement. The Congress has been asked to take part in the All Party's Conference for drafting a Swaraj Constitution. In the International field, representatives have been regularly sent to the ILO conferences relations with the British, Chinese and other Trade Union Movements are growing, and the Congress has been approached for affiliation by the IFTU and the R. I. L. U. these often contradictory tendencies make it desirable, in the interest of the Progress, of the Movement, to formulate its functions and aims in general terms, so that a more consistent programme and policy may be adopted.

Aim of the working Class. The fundamental aim of the organised working class can only be, in words of the presidential speech at the 8th Trade Union Congress, at Cawnpore, nationalisation of land and industry, the civilized existence, a government of the worker, an economic system for the benefit of humanity—and peace—More shortly, the function of the working class in History, is the realisation of socialism. With almost complete unanimity the working class organisation of the world have accepted this as their aim, and from the earliest times, workers movements have, with greater or less consciousness, pursued policies, in keeping with it. The experience and sufferings of the working class under capitalism force it inevitably to demand and strive for abolition of the anarchic, wasteful and unstable capitalist system and its replacement by an ordered system democratically controlled and run for the benefit of humanity. Socialism must be the aim of the working class and all its efforts and policies, must be subordinated to that aim.

The class of struggle. The essential feature of the capitalist system generally is the private ownership of the means of production.

The efforts of the working class under capitalism to improve its conditions inevitably develop into a struggle between the class of wage-earners and the class of property owners. The struggle, though at first waged only on minor and immediate issues assumes eventually the magnitude of a struggle between the classes for the control of means of production and for control of the state power. The Labour Movement is the organisation of the individually weak and helpless workers for the prosecution of this struggle. Its aim is the attainment of control of production and of political power-socialism, its method is the class struggle against the capitalist class the actual possessors of property and the state.

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

Political Aspect. The two sides of the system cannot be separated the economic and the political. Beginning in the economic sphere the class struggle inevitably develops to a higher form, the direct fight for political power. The working class must openly and avowedly adopt a political programme, the essence of which must be the establishment of socialism through the destruction of imperialism and capitalism, and the assumption of State power.

The working class is Politics. The Industrial working class is as a whole the most intensely exploited class, and its interests clash most sharply with those of Imperialism and capitalism. It is, by its organisation and discipline, and its hold upon the strategic positions in the life of society, must be able to wage the class struggle successfully. And its general political interests coincide

with those of the great majority of the nation, which suffer, though in less degree, from economic exploitation, political oppression, and social and cultural neglect, at the hands of Imperialism and capitalism. For these reasons the organised working class is destined for a leading place in the struggle of society generally for economic security, political democracy, and social emancipation.

In this struggle the working class must ally itself with all forces and sections which will unite for the overthrow of Imperialism. In particular it must establish the closest relationship with peasantry, as was suggested in the resolution of the VIII Trade Union Congress on the "Council of action". It will also find alliance in the National Congress, the anti-imperialist organisation of the middle classes. In so far as the National Congress conducts a real struggle against imperialism, it must be helped by the working class.

Working class Party. For carrying out this policy, the Trade Union organisation of the working class alone will not suffice. A definitely political organ must be created, with the policy and economic and political domination of India by imperialism. The first condition for the establishment of socialism in India, and the relief of economic exploitation and social degradation, is the abolition of imperialism, both as an economic structure, and as a political system.

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

Political Demands. The working class stands in complete opposition to imperialism. It cannot therefore agree to the continuance of the British connection in any form. The Trade Union Congress must demand *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 speech and press, the right to organise and to strike, and to carry arms*. The Trade Union Congress must demand further from the State the guarantee of certain common rights of humanity, such as the abolition of caste and other discrimination, the equality of the sexes in regard to legal rights, wage-rates, etc., and universal primary education.

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

A Government which will do these things, alone can meet with the approval of the workers and the support of the Trade Union Congress *Organization*. The attainment of the programme which the working class sets before itself depends solely upon the strength of the working class as an organised force. In addition to giving support to the workers' political Party, The Trade Unions, must organise themselves for the struggle. The organisation must be as complete as possible—100 per cent Trade Unionism must be the aim, and experience shows that this is best obtained by building the Unions on the basis of factory or shop committees. And it must be as effective as possible. Industrial unionism has already been accepted in principle by the Trade Union Congress, and this policy must be put into effect. Further, coordination of the efforts

of the Unions must be attained, nationally by the establishment of a strong and authoritative Executive Council of the Trade Union Congress, locally by the establishment in every town of a Trades Council, to which are affiliated all the local branches of the Unions. The Trades Councils must be in contact with the Executive, Council, and must act as its local representatives. Certain basic common demands should be adopted throughout the working class organisations, as a cement for its unity, and a fighting programme to lead it forward. Such should be the eight-hour day, the legal minimum wage, state support for the unemployed, freedom of speech and organisation, (and other general demands which have been repeatedly put forward by the Trade Union Congress).

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

(2) The adoption of a policy of struggle against imperialism demands politically as well as logically that the traditional co-operation with the Government should cease. It must be forbidden for a member of any affiliated Union to accept nomination by Government to any legislature or committees. Similarly the Congress should cease to appoint members for the delegations to the I. L. C. Conference. The I. L. O. was established and is supported by the capitalist governments of the European States, and works in accordance with their imperialist policies.

(3) *International.* The international nature of capitalism generally, and the domination of the whole world by Imperialism, demand that the struggle against imperialism be conducted on an international scale. The Trade Union Congress should cooperate to the extent of affiliation with such bodies as the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference (of colonial Trade Union movements) and the League against Imperialism. But more important is the question of the regular world-wide Trade Union internationals. The policy has been hitherto to refuse affiliation, until they propose Unity of the two internationals is effected. The propaganda and pressure for the Unity of the two Internationals must be kept, but now that Unity appears more distant; a decision has to 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 the Unity between the two bodies will dispose of any claims which the I. F. T. U. may put forward for the allegiance of the All India Trade Union congress.....

P. 545. (3)

2/1, European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.

6-12-1928.

Dear Comrade,

You will remember that the last Session at Cawnpore of the All-India Trade Union Congress appointed a sub-committee, of which you are a member, to draw up a Labour Constitution for the future government of India. In February, I as convenor, circulated a paper, another copy of which is enclosed, containing suggestions as to the work of the sub-committee, and the draft of a statement on the political attitude of the Trade Union Congress, which was headed "Labour and Swaraj", (also enclosed), which I proposed the Trade Union Congress should publish if it agreed.

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

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

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

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

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

It is by this time clear that no meeting of the sub-committee can possibly be held before the next Session of the Congress, which will be held at the end of November. It is necessary to prepare and circulate all material of importance before-hand, so that a short meeting of the sub-committee may be held immediately before or during the Jherria Session, and a report agreed upon quickly. But things have to be duplicated etc. and if the manuscripts are numerous or bulky this takes much time. I must therefore ask all members who have opinions drafts, etc. which should be circulated, to let me have them at this address as soon as possible, when I will do my best to get them round to all members. Or alternatively, they would save me much trouble by circulating themselves. To any who wish to do this, I should state that Rai Sabib Chandrika Prasad was appointed a member of the sub-committee by the Delhi Session of the Executive Council.

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

Yours fraternally,

P. SPRATT.

(1) Functions of the Sub-Committee.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(2) Draft of Proposed Statement—'Labour & Swaraj'.

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

Aim of the Working-Class:—The fundamental aim of the organised working class can only be, in the words of the Presidential Speech at the VIIIth Trade Union Congress, at Cawnpore, "Nationalisation of land and industry, a civilised existence, a government of the workers, an economic system for the benefit of humanity—and peace. More shortly, the function of the working class in history is the realisation of socialism. With almost complete unanimity the working-class organisation of the world have accepted this as their aim, and from the earliest times, workers' movements have, with greater or less consciousness, pursued policies in keeping with it. The experience and sufferings of the working class under capitalism force it inevitably to demand and strive for the abolition of the anarchic, wasteful and unstable capitalist system, and its replacement by an ordered system, democratically controlled, and run for the benefit of humanity. Socialism must be the aim of the working class, and all its efforts and policies must be subordinated to that aim.

The Class Struggle:—The essential feature of the capitalist system generally is the private ownership of the means of production. The efforts of the working class under capitalism to improve its

conditions inevitably develop into a struggle between the class of wage-earners and the class of property owners. The struggle, though at first waged only on minor and immediate issues, assumes eventually the magnitude of a struggle between the classes for the control of the means of production, and for control of the State power. The Labour movement is the organisation of the individually weak and helpless workers for the prosecution of the struggle. Its aim is the attainment of control of production and of political power—Socialism; its method is the class struggle against the capitalist class; the actual possessors of property and the State.

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

Political Aspect:—The two sides of the system cannot be separated, the economic and the political. Beginning in the economic sphere the class struggle inevitably develops to a higher form, the direct fight for political power. The working class must openly and avowedly adopt a political programme, the essence of which must be the establishment of socialism through the destruction of imperialism and capitalism, and the assumption of State power.

The Working Class In Politics:—The industrial working class is as a whole the most intensely exploited class, and its interest clash most sharply with those of imperialism and capitalism. It is, by its organisation and discipline, and its hold upon the strategic positions in the life of society, most able to wage the

class struggle successfully. And its general political interests coincide with those of the great majority of the nation, which suffer, though in less degree, from economic exploitation, political oppression, and social and cultural neglect, at the hands of Imperialism and capitalism. For these reasons the organised working class is destined for a leading place in the struggle of society generally for economic security, political democracy, and social emancipation,

In this struggle the working class must ally itself with all forces and sections which will unite for the overthrow of imperialism. In particular it must establish the closest relationship with the peasantry, as was suggested in the resolution of the VIIth 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 part of the country, fulfils the requirements of a genuine working class political Party, and must receive the support of the Trade Union Congress, as was decided at the VIIth Congress, Delhi, March, 1927, and of the individual Union.

Political Demands:—The working class stands in complete opposition to imperialism. It cannot therefore agree to the continuance of the British connection in any form. The Trade Union Congress must demand *Complete Independence*. It must further demand the complete establishment of a *democratic state*. This involves the abolition of all despotic feudal institutions, landlordism and the Native States, and the granting of the rights of *Universal Adult suffrage, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech and press, the right to organise and to strike, and to carry arms*. The Trade Union Congress must demand further from the State, the guarantee of certain common rights of humanity, such as the abolition of caste and other discrimination, the equality of the sexes in regard to legal rights, wage-rates, etc. and universal primary education.

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

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

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

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

(2) The adoption of a policy of struggle against imperialism demands politically as well as logically that the traditional cooperation with the Government should cease. It must be forbidden for a member of any affiliated Union to accept nomination by Government to any legislature or committee. Similarly the Congress should cease to appoint members for the delegation to the I. L. O. Conferences. The I. L. O. was established and is supported by the capitalist government of the European States, and works in accordance with their imperialist policies.

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

Draft of Statement by the Trades Union Congress on the Nehru Committee's Report and Constitution.

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

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

(2) If however the findings of the Nehru Committee are considered simply as the basis for a temporary agreement between the Trade Union Congress and other bodies, they will be found, in view of the political principles of the Trade Union Congress, to be entirely unsuitable. The Nehru Committee's Report, and the

political outlook of the Trade Union Congress, are entirely different and provide no basis for agreement.

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

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

On this question also it is clear that there is an irreconcilable difference of interest between imperialism and the people, in particular the working class, of India, and the proposal to take over control of the army into Indian hands by peaceful or constitutional means is an absurdity. There can therefore be no question of peace or agreement in the evolution of India, and in fact British Imperialism has, consistently shown itself to be a merciless and implacable enemy, with which there can be no compromise. The Trade Union Congress looks forward to a period of increasingly acute struggle

by the masses of the population of India, in which the organised working class, because of its situation, will naturally play a leading part, against the forces of Imperialism and its allies within India. This struggle cannot possibly be confined to constitutional channels, but must involve direct mass action. It can end only in the definite victory of the masses, the overthrow of Imperialism, and the establishment of the complete independence of India.

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

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

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

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

(a) The statement of "Fundamental Rights" would be improved by extra definition on the following points. Art. 4 Par. IV. on the right of free expression of opinion, etc. should contain a definite repudiation of the proscription of publications on political grounds and of the censorship of mails. The Labour movement is necessarily international in its outlook, but it finds under the present regime that its study of and intercourse with foreign labour movements is very seriously hampered, and in some directions almost entirely prevented, by these practices. It is moreover quite opposed to any real spirit of freedom or democracy that these things should go on.

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

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

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

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

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

The Trade Union Congress has special grounds for taking up the cause of the population of the States. It is notorious that the conditions of the working class and the peasantry of the State are deplorably bad in almost all cases. "Degar" and other feudal abuses are still prevalent; the Textile Workers' Unions have had occasion to complain bitterly against the extremely bad conditions, long hours of work, etc., in the textile industry in Indore and Gwalior; the frequent occurrence of peasant

disturbances in many States testifies to the misery and oppression from which they suffer; there is almost complete absence of political and personal freedom, and in this respect conditions are becoming worse (see the publications and memoranda of the Rajasthan Seva Sangha). Even the best States, which have made so progress in regard to education and representative forms of Government, etc., shine only by comparison with the deplorable position of British India and the other States, and are in any case a hopeless minority. The Trade Union Congress feels strongly that in the twentieth century no case can be made out on any grounds for maintaining the existence of the States.

The Trade Union Congress regrets that it is unable to give support to the proposals of the Committee, especially in view of the appeals for Unity of all forces in support of them. It would of course be prepared to waive any of the detailed objections it may have to the Report, except that on the subject of the States, which it considers very important. But the objection of the Trade Union Congress, as has been made clear, is not based on details or essentials. Not is it based on the socialist policy of the Congress. It is quite clearly recognised that the first concern of any socialist organisation in India must be the establishment of the independence of the country, and that such an organisation must support any sincere and practical attempt to attain independence.

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

freedoms of the Report, or for the sake of a sentimental unity, it were to give its consent to such reactionary proposals.

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

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

P. 545. (4)

Dear Comrade,

You will remember that the last Session at Cawnpore of the A.I.F.U.C. appointed a sub-committee of which you are a member to draw up a labour Constitution for the future Government of India. In February, I, as convener, circulated a paper (another copy of which is enclosed) containing suggestions as to the work of the sub-committee, and the draft of a statement on the political attitude of the T. U. C., which I called "Labour and Swaraj" (also enclosed) which I proposed the T.U.C. should publish, if agreed.

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

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

Accordingly I have drafted a statement, which is also enclosed again from my point of view, which I think should also be published. You will see that it proposes complete rejection of

the "Principles of the Constitution," but suggests political co-operation with other bodies of an agreed basis, of complete Independence, etc., etc. It is drafted also as a continuation of the previous general statement "Labour and Swaraj", but this though I think is desirable, is of course not necessary, and small verbal changes could make it independent. Again I must ask for the views of the sub-committee members on this question.

It is by this time clear that no meeting of the sub-committee can possibly be held before the next Session of the Congress (to be held at the end of November). It is necessary to prepare and circulate all material of importance beforehand, so that a short meeting of the sub-committee may be held immediately before or during the Jherria Session, and a report agreed upon quickly. Things must be duplicated etc. and if the manuscripts are numerous or bulky, this takes much time. I must therefore ask any members who have opinions, drafts etc. which should be distributed to let me have them, at this address, as soon as possible when I will do my best to get them round to all members.

Yours fraternally,

P. SPRATT.

Draft Statement by T. U. C. on Nehru Committee's Report and Constitution

From this brief statement of the political position of the A. I. T. U. C. it will be seen that the T. U. C. cannot give its assent to the Draft Principle of the Constitution prepared by the Nehru Committee for the All-Parties Conference. The principal reasons for this are as follows:—

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

(2) If however the findings of the Nehru Committee are considered simply as the basis for a temporary agreement between the T. U. C. and other bodies, they will be found, in view of the political principle of the T. U. C., to be entirely unsuitable. The Nehru Committee's Report, and the political outlook of the T. U. C. are entirely different, and provide, no basis for agreement.

The Committee contemplates and advance solely by agreement with the British Government and without any real encroachment upon its privileges, to a constitutional status ("Dominion Status") which would apparently be entirely to its satisfaction or at any rate would provide for further peaceful advance to a satisfactory position. The representatives of the working-class cannot agree with such a conception. The Trade Union Congress regards British Imperialism merciless and implacable enemy with which there can be no compromise. The T. U. C. as the possessor and protector within I. D. looks forward to a future of increasingly acute struggle by the masses of the population of India, in which the organised working-class because of its situation, will naturally play a leading part, against the forces of Imperialism and its allies within India. This struggle cannot possibly be confined to constitutional channels but must involve direct mass action. It can end only in the definite victory of the

masses, the overthrow of Imperialism, and the establishment of the complete independence of India.

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

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

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

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

(a) The Statement of Fundamental Rights would be improved by extra definition on the following points. Art. 4, par IV, on the right of free expression of opinion etc, should contain a definite repudiation of the proscription of publications on political grounds, and of the censorship of mails. The labour movement is necessarily international in its outlook, but it finds under the present regime that its study of and intercourse with foreign labour movement, is very seriously hampered and in some directions almost entirely prevented by these practices. It is moreover quite opposed to any real spirit of freedom or democracy that these things should go on. India of enormous economic and political interests, which the working-class cannot possibly allow to remain in foreign hands, but which Imperialism will fight with the utmost determination to retain. It must be pointed out that the Railways and other communications, and almost all the major industries of

the country are effectively in the possession of British interests. However others may neglect this fact, the workers who are directly exploited, (and the middle-classes and peasants who are indirectly exploited) through these means, cannot overlook it. The Trade Union Congress would insist upon the expropriation without compensation of all these industries and services, by the Government of Independent India, and in fact it is evident that any Indian Government which wished seriously to be responsible to its people and to be in any sense independent or free to act on its own initiative, would have no alternative but, this

There can therefore be no question of peace or agreement in the evolution of India, and in fact British imperialism has consistently shown itself to be a

The military forces in India are also in the same position. They are at present under the control of Imperialism and are used for Imperialist ends of which the working class cannot approve.

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The Trade Union Congress had occasion to protest last year when troops from the Indian Army were sent to be used against its fellow-workers in China. There is also more than a mere possibility, while the forces remain under their present control, of them being used against workers and other sections of the population within the country. It is obvious too, that a foreign controlled army would constitute an intolerable menace to a Government which attempted independent action. The T. U. C. would regard it as absolutely essential for a National Government to establish complete control of all the armed forces in India.

On this question also it is clear that there is an irreconcilable difference of interest between imperialism and the people in particular the working-class of India, and the proposal to take over control of the army into Indian hands by peaceful or constitutional means is an absurdity.

Art. 4 par. XV should contain an explicit assurance of protection of Unions against civil liability for the actions of their members, on the lines of par. XVI for criminal liability.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The opposition of the T.U.C. is due to the fact that the Report of the Committee aims at attaining not independence, nor even, as the Report mistakeably claims, any status indistinguishable from independence. As has been made clear in par 2. of this statement the difference between real independence and the goal aimed at by the Committee is very far from negligible. It is all the difference between freedom and subjection. The Report advocates the establishment of a status for India which is in no essential way different from the present. India under Dominion Status will still be subject to British commercial financial and industrial exploitation, to British military control, and therefore (as the Report in fact admits, by retaining the King as the nominal head) to British political control. In these circumstances, all the apparatus of Parliament and democracy, universal suffrage and fundamental rights are absolutely meaningless and valueless. The upper classes may improve their position with respect to Temp. But the masses then would be absolutely unaffected and at the same time continue to use the imperial force as a protection against the masses. The T.U.C. would be deluding its members and the masses generally, if for the sake of the nominal concessions and freedom of the Report, or for the sake of a sentimental unity it were to give its consent to such reacting proposals.

On the other hand the T.U.C. considers that the opportunity provided by the present political situation for establishing a really popular movement for independence, based on an agreed programme should not be wasted. Instead therefore of the unrepresentative and exclusively upper-class All-Parties Conference the T. U. C. advocates the calling together of a really representative Conference or (illegible) Assembly of the people of the whole country, for the formulation and propagation of programme of popular demands and of mass action. The programme suggested in the statement "Labour and Swaraj" would serve as a basis for this.

Owing to its social composition, and its obsession with legal conventions and forms at the expense of realities, the A.P.C. has failed to carry out its function of leading the people of India in a

mass movement towards freedom and has merely been the occasion for the reestablishment of unity among the bourgeois parties, on the basis of a most timid and reacting programme. The bourgeoisie have failed, but the masses still need their freedom. Indian Assembly as that here proposed would, if properly prepared, meet with immense response from the people, and would mean a great and decisive step forward for India.

The All-India Trade Union Congress thanks the conveners of the 'All-Parties' Conference for inviting its representatives to take part in their deliberations, and regrets that it is unable in any way to agree with the proposals before the Conference.

The Trade Union Congress, at the representative of the industrial working class, has as its ultimate aim the establishment of the Socialist Republic of India. It cannot therefore give its final assent to a Constitution of any other type. But the Congress recognises that as the working-class lives at present under an Imperialist Government, its struggle to establish socialism must first take the form of a struggle against Imperialism for the Complete Independence of India. It would be willing, for the sake of presenting a united front to Imperialism, to agree with other political organisations for a joint campaign for Complete Independence. The minimum programme which the T. U. C. would propose, would include the demands for Complete Independence, and for a democratic state including universal suffrage, freedom of speech, of press, and of assembly, and right to organise, to strike and to carry arms. It would also demand recognition of the right of labour to the minimum programme of economic demands, the eight-hour day, the minimum living wage, state support for the unemployed, etc., which it has repeatedly put forward and as general economic measures, the nationalisation of the principal industries and services and of the land. And it would insist upon the complete elimination from the institution of the country of documents based upon community or sex and upon the rights of the whole population to elementary education.

The function of the All-Parties Conference, in the view of the Trade Union Congress, is to provide a programme upon which different organisations can agree to join in a campaign against Imperialism. But the programme proposed by the A.P.C. is one which can in no way satisfy the T. U. C. It is based on entirely different conceptions from those held by the T. U. C. It contemplates a peaceful transition to Dominion Status arrived at essentially on compromise with Imperialism. The T. U. C. on the contrary regards Imperialism as an enemy which cannot be dealt with by peaceful means and with which there can be no compromise. It is proposed by the A. P. Conference (illegible)

The economic exploitation of India by British capital is to continue. The working class cannot agree to this. And therefore it follows that a large degree (of) its political control will also continue. For some time the personnel of the military and civil forces are to remain as they are now, that is essentially in imperialist hands. Again this is an intolerable suggestion to the working classes with their little experience of the civil and military offices. It is proposed that the Indian State should remain under the present rulers. The T. U. C. regards the proposal as reacting and indefensible. The peasants and workers notoriously suffer extremely from the obsolete and tyrannical despotism which prevails in about all of the States which often deprive them of economic and political, and every personal freedom. It is essential that the States be abolished and the people fight with the national and (illegible) association and equality with the remainder of the population.

Thus the T. U. C. regards the A. P. C. Constitutions as a proposal to the British Capitalist exploiters by representatives of the privileged classes for compromise, a compromise in which the masses will have no place. The view confirmed by the clause passed at the Indian Section of the A. P. C, given a permanent guarantee of property rights.

The T. U. C. regrets that it can't agree with the A. P. C. proposal and that it has had to criticise this somewhat sharply. It has made clear that its disagreement.

P 545. (6)

THE GENEVA SHOW.

Every one of us knows how the League of Nations is aptly called the League of Robbers. It has sanctioned the exploitation and slavery of India, China, Egypt, Mexico, and such other countries, as are under the thumb of its Imperialist constituents though these nations are asked to pay for the League.

The International Labour Organisation of Geneva is a Show maintained by the League of Nations to satisfy the Labour Movement growing every day powerful and a mimicry of the gestures of advancing workers' interests. All Imperialist Govts including that of India very joyously send with great eclat delegates to the international Labour Conventions held every year at Geneva. But, the constitution of the I. L. O. is framed by the Imperialists in such a way that its conventions are not binding on any Govt. The fate of Geneva resolutions on the floor of the Legislative Assembly and the archives of the Govt. is well-known. Hardly a law that would *materially* help Labour has been accepted by Geneva and its Imperialist supporters. This is an unnecessary diversion of the energies of the A. I. T. U. C. The Govt. is likley to utilize the *Geneva Post* as a corrupting element in dealing with our militant leaders of the working-class and make them feel grateful and shy towards the employers and the imperialists for having given them a chance for a right royal trip and (sham !) honour in international circles of like labour-imperialist feathers.

Let our A. I. T. U. C. think rather of organising itself in such a powerful manner that Geneva may of its own accord seek our participation and the Govt. may carry out the conventions passed by our delegates. The present position is our degradation.

SHALL WE SUPPORT THE SHAM SHOW

(OF

The Imperialist Government of Europe ?

WHAT IS THE

Interdational Labour Office At Geneva ?

A TOOL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS,

HIDDEN IN THE MANTLE OF LABOUR.

And that League upholds the slavery of India, China, Egypt, Mexico,
Africa (Native), Phillipines, java and a host of others
in the clutches, of Imperialism.

THE A. I. T. U. C. & THE I. F. T. U.

Capitalism being international unites on a common platform inspite of rivalries in its own camp, to crush the working class. The working class of the world feels this and unites to first protect & organise itself and next to *assert* itself. The capitalist-Imperialist countries of Europe having overflowing capital are exporting it to the industrially backward countries of the east. This new form of exploitation of India, China, Java, Indonesia, Mexico, & Africa has accentuated the working-class struggle. And the growth of our Trade Union movement is the natural result.

We see that, International labour organisations are moving eastward to canvass affiliation and support.

True, Trade Unionism is international in character; but we must see with whom to associate or not to associate at all.

The International Federation of Trade Unions (I. F. T. U.) is one of such canvassers in the field. Here are a few facts about the I. F. T. U.

(1) The leaders of the I. F. T. U. are month-pieces of the second International. And pray, who is the second International? Here is what A. A. Purcell M. P. says, "The Second International is in some of its parts, an appendix to various continental capitalist Govts. I need only instance the notorious connection between the Socialist parties (of the Second International) of Bulgaria, Poland and Hungary and their respective White Terrorist Govts. "

(2) Practically all the finances are paid by British and German Unions. And even, then, the British contribution sank from 52000 florins in 1924, to 36000 in 1926 and the German from 89000 to 54000. As a result The International is getting bankrupt.

(3) The I. F. T. U. is in significantly intimate relations with the League of Nations' Labour Office !!

(4) Simultaneously with the move of Imperialism towards India, China, Mexico, & Africa, and the Red International of Labour Unions radical move to help the workers in the National Movement of these countries the I. F. T. U. (in intimate relations with League ?) decided in the latest Paris Conference to get the Eastern Trade Unions in its fold.

(5) The All-China Trade Union Federation movement has refused to get itself affiliated to the I. F. T. U. as also Java & Indonesia.

(6) The I. F. T. U. refuses co-operation with R. I. L. U because the R. I. L. U. will have nothing to do with the Geneva Show and the League. And yet the R. I. L. U. has a membership above 10 millions and has contributed many times over to the suffering workers' General Strike in England than the I. F. T. U. so much so that this Tory Govt. had to stop allowing the money to reach the movement.

**THINK SOBERLY AND WITHOUT PREJUDICE
ON THE
FACTS PRESENTED REGARDING**

THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION

OF

TRADE UNIONS,

AND

**re-affirm our last year's attitude insisting on unity
between the I. F. T. U. and the R. I. L. U.
being achieved before you think
of any International
affiliation.**

The Workers' & Peasants' Party, BOMBAY.

From : The Executive Committee
of The Workers' & Peasants'
Party. } 17, Dwarkadas Mansion,
Girgaum,
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 rights and protest against it. If the Executive and officials of the T. U. C. are so much in a hurry to re-open a subject very recently decided upon they should have followed a more democratic way that of asking opinions from all the Trade Unions by letters or holding a plebiscite of all Unions, since it is quite clear to all that our Unions or their representatives except a few are not rich enough to bear expenses to attend the Executive Committee Meeting.

At the same time we wish to point out some further 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, some times with the greatest ferocity and bloodshed, increased armaments and engaged in the suppression of movements of freedom in the colonial countries. The Socialist Parties, supported by the I. F. T. U. Trade Unions, have done these things in Germany, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, France and Britain. We have lately had experiences of the attitude of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and the Officials of the British Labour Party towards India. They have supported the Simon Commission, condemned Hartal and Boycotts and accused Indians of having "Inferiority complex." During the Government of Mr. Macdonald in 1924, the Bengal Detenues were imprisoned, and the Cawnpore "Boleshevik" Case Victims were given four years' imprisonment each.

Owing to its weak and anti-working Class policy, the I.F.T.U. is declining strength. It is dominated by the British and German Unions. The British contribution sank from 52,000 florins in 1922 to 36,000 in 1926. And the German from 89,000 to 54,000.

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

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

5. The most militant Chinese, Japanese and other Eastern and African Labour Organisations have refused to be associated with the reactionary I.F.T.U. On the contrary, the Chinese and Japanese Unions have joined the R.I.L.U. on the other hand we ask you remember that it was the R. I. L. U. that helped most

our General Textile Strike of 1925, and that was first to held Kharagpur men, without even waiting for our appeal.

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

Yours fraternally,

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

P. 545. (8)

Conspiracy of Imperialism

In the All-India Trade Union Congress.

(by S. A. Dange.)

The announcement of the Simon Commission and the ignoble part played by the labor-imperialist leadership of British labor exposed the character of the right wing socialist and labor movement and England. Macdonald allied himself with Birkenhead-Baldwin, not as an individual but as the personified-expression of a definite tendency in the right wing socialist-movement of Europe.

This movement is mainly represented by the Second International of Labor and Socialist parties of Europe, with its head-quarters in Amsterdam, and by the International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam. What is the activity of these two bodies and in what way are we affected by them?

The achievements of these two institutions speak their character. The Second International supported the white terrorist governments of Poland, Austria, Lithuania to suppress democracy and popular institutions, to shoot down workers and subject them all to the control of the Imperialists of the post-war period. The international Federation of Trade Unions is the labor-mask worn by Imperialism to hood-wink the unwary. The I. F. T. U. is practically dominated by the British and German Trade Unions, under the leadership of Macdonalities. Naturally, the result is that it acts in close co-operation with Geneva, the avowedly open show of the league of Nations and is opposed to the radical movements of National Emancipation in the colonial countries.

*We are immediately threatened by the spreading net-work
of these bodies.*

The new economic policy of world Imperialism is to industrialize and exploit their colonial possessions. This intense gravitation of capital to the colonies and the Eastern countries particularly, intensifies the national struggle, as it has done in India, China, Persia, in the small mid-American states etc. Industrialization and exploitation require normal peaceful conditions, therefore, the heavy iron hand with which nationalist out-bursts are being put down all the world over. It also means that Imperialism must see that labor movements and mass activities do not assume anti-imperialist character. And Imperialism has arranged to do this partly through heavy repression and partly through the Second International, the I. F. T. U. and such other-sight wing elements in the leadership of world-labor, like Macdonald,

Lansbury, Bevin, Sassenbach and a host of them, scattered through-out the world.

In order to give effect to this mental conspiracy and orientation to Imperialism on the part of the right wing labour of Europe, the I. F. T. U. last year in its Paris session passed a resolution to make intense efforts to bring all the colonial trade union movements in its fold and the honour of initiating the move was taken by the General Council of the British Congress.

They started to draw into their net China, India, Africa, Java etc. China refused to be beguiled, in Africa the radical active elements, wishing to give a direct fight to white domination were expelled from the movement to secure affiliation. Java showed a cold shoulder. Dutch Imperialism shot Javanese Hindus and Muslims by thousands. The I.F.T.U. and the 2nd International sat amusingly looking on in Amsterdam under the very breach of Dutch Imperialism. And now remains India.

The plan is deep laid to draw India into the net of the 2nd International and the I. F. T. U. and the Macdonalites. The Simon Commission has centered the attention of all on the National Congress and the boycott agitation. The All-India Trade Union Congress is already neglected by the Major part of the nationalist leadership, though the T. U. C. represents an affiliated membership of over a lac.

At such an opportune time of Macdonalites, in conjunction with the I. F. T. U. have shipped here Messrs Purcell, Halsworth, Fenner Brockway, Thurtle, Mardy Jones, a whole wagon-load of 'labor leaders', to study Indian conditions. A real drama of hood-wink started. One supported the Commission; another waxed hot against Imperialism, a third grew indignant at the Indian C. I. D., a fourth wept over the bad housing conditions and quietly all are moving with the bosses of the All-India Trade Union Congress to secure Indian affiliation to the I. F. T. U. at Amsterdam.

Purcell, whom the "HERALD" (Bombay) exposed on his very coming; was the President of the Paris session of the I.F.T.U. and is probably deputed with a double game. At the Cawnpore session of the T. U. C. he tried hard to avoid condemnation of the Macdonalites re. the Simon Commission and if possible boycott also. But, the bosses of the T. U. C. though privately agreeing much with Purcell could not go so far for fear of the people. Now Purcell is playing another game. And it is to draw the Indian labour movement in the fold of the British right wingers and make it safe for Imperialism and the next labor-Imperialist govt. of England.

Very few of people in the country are alive to the implications of our affiliation with the Amsterdamites. Very few have paid any attention to the subtle game of Imperialism being played under masks.

The I. F. T. U. miserably failed to give a successful lead to the British miners. It failed to give a correct policy to the German people against American Imperialism. It has failed to help the Chinese and Javanese masses. What can we expect from a body under the thumb of Purcell & Co., the League of Nations working through Geneva labor office ?

A host of locusts once started to study the conditions of the green trees in India. They brought fraternal greetings from the trees of their country. Our leaves embraced them with open hearts. The locusts opened their mouths and studied them profoundly ! The locust understood the leaf completely well ! They were united. Only, the leaf did not survive to understand the locust and exchange fraternal greetings. It was being digested by the brother sitting on the *once green* stump on the tree ! Our Indian brothers must beware of the locust trees in Br. Labor leaders.

S. A. DANGE.

P. 545 (9).

A pamphlet entitled "What the Students of other Countries have done (Russia)—What our Student should do (India)—A Friend.

P. 545. (10)

A manifesto to our country men.



BY

AN INTERNATIONALIST.

Price ½ anna.

The Sabarmati pact of the Swarajist with the respsivist sounded long ago the death-knell of the Swaraj party as the revolutionary vanguard of the Nationalist party. It exposed its hypocritical growth from its very birth. The veil of illusion set up by those essentially bourgeois leaders is cleared off. Class contradiction within the party split the party itself. No parliamentary sophistry could withold it, no loud talking to the gallery could convince the country otherwise. During recent years, bourgeois nationalism has done much for Imperialism. It has done its historic mission. It has ended with a complete compromise with foreign rulers. The leopard has neither changed its spots, nor forgot the logic against the lamb even after the whole tenure of its drawing-room patriotism. History is full of such incidents of desertions and betrayals. Swarajism has not only reached its political bankruptcy but has formed into a direct counter-revolutionary force inside the country. The recent resolution against the ministers though most inoffensive in character are rejected with an overwhelming majority of Swarajist votes against the motion. Even Gandhi, the high priest of non-co-operation feels uneasy at the Independence resolution. Still last congress has moved towards the right point. Class differentiation inside the nationalist rank has brought it to a revolutionary stand. Even what was very vague in the bourgeois president's speech is unequivocally clear by the "Independence" resolution passed almost unanimously at the Madras gathering.

Henceforward National Congress rescued from the grip of the bourgeois must have complete independence as its goal. But how to win and who will lead us in the future struggle for Idpendence? Parliamentary terrorism has failed to outwit the white Imperialists as they have amply shown by throwing the challenge in the appointment of commission before the very face of bourgeois appologists. Therefore, the bourgeois tricksters have failed to enlist even the support of the revolutionary lower middle class intellectuals with their soothing slogans of "Protection" and "Swaraj". Even a bourgeois leader of Dr. Ansari's type has realised the truth. In his last Presidential speech, he says: "But all this (Swarajism) has not materially advanced our cause nor has it brought us nearer our goal, while the price paid for it is too dear. It has diverted the energies of some of our ablest men from problems of real national importance." A frank confession. But the bridge is burnt and class-consciousness is bound to supersede any other consideration. After the collapse of non-cooperation movement, there had been a continual disintegration and regrouping in the nationalist rank with rapid class-differentiation inside the country. The camera-sitting of Delhi gathering for a hackneyed Swaraj constitution has proved the thread-bare mentality of the upper classes towards a real revolutionary movement against Imperialism.

Their inherent treachery and timidity towards the attainment of the goal of National Congress has left no room for further suspicion. The Nationalist paper "Forward" has rightly observed in their editorial on 25th February, 1928.

"Every son and daughter of a subject nation should strain every nerve to undermine the foundations of foreign rule, to throw off the shackles of foreign domination. That way lies salvation not in piece-meal legislation for the good of this or that community, not even in carrying out of measures of constructive nationalism".

Even an optimist and sincere nationalist like Jaharlal hopelessly failed to stand the situation and we perfectly agree with our friend "Forward". "And so long as Britishers are allowed to retain this supremacy, mere tinkering with the constitution can be of no avail" Editorial 22nd Feb. 1928

Now since the goal of National congress is unequivocally declared as complete independence, revolutionary nationalists should no more mark times with terroristic secret societies or futile conspiracies. They should at once come forward and liberate the country from the grip of hypocritical upper class politicians. A party of the revolutionary petty intellectuals should at once take over the Leadership of the present movement for revolutionary mass action. They must not forget that if they identify themselves with masses and fight to their common interest they have nothing to lose but their prejudice. We lend our whole-hearted support to "Forward's" view on this point.

"Possibly when the intellectual proletariat in this country realise that they are on the same boat as the manual labourers and that they must sink or swim together, a sufficiently strong force "may" be created in this country to compel the attention of our exploiters and teach them not to dispose of the question of un-employment in the cavalier fashion they have done"—Editorial 19th Feb. 1928. But our friend Forward should also know that this was the exact combination which magically changed non-co-operation atmosphere almost to the verge of a mass-revolution. If Gandhi and his associates had not halted at Bardoli and if C. R. Dass had not drawn the intellectual proletariat from the revolutionary masses, the map of India would have changed by this time and Simons would have to sit dumb-founded at the white hall. This coalition will not only serve the purpose "the Forward" hints so hesitatingly with a "may" but it is essentially necessary even for the attainment of the goal of the Congress.

These should be declared very clearly before the provincial Conferences. Since the Reform has achieved what it aimed at i.e.

British Imperialism gained a social basis in India by its social compromises with the India by upper classes, the present national movement must be determined and organised by the social forces which will ever be antagonistic to the dominating foreign Imperialism. They are the most to suffer under a foreign rule and therefore the most ready to shake off the shackles if only they can be brought to their consciousness. This can be done by organisations having class-consideration behind. This will take the form of a class struggle but class conflicts are bound to take place. With the evolution of a capitalistic society in India there has begun intensified class struggle and this will be the most predominant feature to direct the national movement in the right channel. Therefore the revolutionary proletarian element shall be the vanguard of the fight for national liberation and not the fortunate few of the propertied classes. There is nothing to fear from it. This is the only path for a national liberation. The present Swadeshi and boycott is a mere tinkering with the situation. In its social character, Swadeshi is nothing but to hail and establish a capitalistic society. It will concentrate capital into the hands of native bourgeois and necessarily tighten their grip over the poverty-stricken Indian masses. Therefore the social outlook of the movement can never bring about a revolution for a national independence. There must be a better programme of action.

Let the idealists and the revolutionary intellectuals come out of the den of their conspirative secret societies and join the Congress to lead the country to a political revolution. They should at once declare the abolition of land-lordism as a part of their programme and organise the peasants to fight for their complete emancipation. They should at once start mass demonstration for nonpayment of taxes and civil disobedience by refusing feudal dues, chawkidar taxes etc. They should enter the workshop to come in direct contact with the workers to give them consciousness of the importance of forming a proletarian party for their emancipation from social and political bondage. In urban districts they should start training classes impart political education to the proletariat. They should organise the factory workers for an eight hour day and minimum living wage. They should by and by turn the Congress of Ladies and Gentlemen to the Congress of Peasants and Labourers. This should be the social character of the movement to attain the goal of the present congress. Every provincial organisation should at once rise to the occasion.

At the outset, it may look like a fresh catastrophe brought upon the country in the form of class antagonism. It cannot be avoided as the present Indian society is already developed into different distinct classes. Swaraj cannot mend or end it. The recent strike of the most backward labour in Calcutta Corporation

has clearly set **class antagonism above national antagonism**. The former is bound to predominate over the latter. In the present struggles for a complete national independence from foreign control and to establish a democratic government on the basis of universal adult suffrage, class consideration is bound to take the first place in the movement and the most **revolutionary party of the proletarians** shall have the hegemony of the congress. This class struggle surely does not mean the immediate abolition of private property. It is its ultimate aim. It is at present simply the struggle of petty peasants, petty traders and intellectual proletariat against the dominating power of British imperialism and Indian Capitalists. For the emancipation of the above classes in the present Indian society a **preparation for a democratic revolution** is essentially and immediately necessary. Whether there shall be still private property in independent India, should not be a matter of speculation. This futile consideration must not stand on the way of any sincere nationalist to jump upon a revolutionary mass action. Social character of independent India depends entirely upon the property relationships existing at the time of revolution and the political maturity of the proletariat.

Let our slogan be.....All power to the people, All lands to the people, All means of production to the people. No work-no bread.

Long Live The workers And peasants of India !

P. 546.

A Star of India File containing the following 11 documents amongst others :—

P. 546. (1)

"A Call to Action" being the Resolutions, Theses and Report presented to the Third Annual Conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal. Bhatpara, March 1928.

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal. 2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta 1928. Annas 8.

P. 546. (2)

A leaflet entitled "Revolution and Independence (vide p. 263.)

P. 546. (3)

7th Wednesday at 2 P. M.

National flag will be hoisted by
Sj Sarjoo Prosad Behani, President
District Congress Committee.

1. Opening song
2. Welcome address
3. Report by the Secretary
4. Speeches by Mr. P. Spratt and other.
5. Formation of Subject Committee by delegates
6. Physical culture show
7. Subject Committee meeting begins at 7 P. M.

Malda District Youth Convention

Dated the 7th & 8th November, 1928

8th Thursday:

MORNING 6 A. M.

Procession from Station to
Dharmasala

CONVENTION at 7-30 A. M.

PROGRAMME.

1. Opening song.
2. Address by Chairman
Reception Committee
3. Address by Dr. Dutta.
4. Resolutions.
5. Thanks giving
6. Closing song.

Atul Chandra Kumar,
Secretary, Reception Committee

P. 546. (4)

For the Youth-Section :—

Comrades,

This evening we are specially interested with our resolution of the youth-movement of the Party as formulated in our last Annual Conference at Bhatpara. A considerable time has passed, as yet we could not push it into any action for various technical difficulties. In the meantime there has been started one "All Bengal Youngmen Association" and other allied organisations at different districts of Bengal which we should take note.

We hope to co-ordinate all of them in a Federation. Our organisation may be called in the name of "YOUNG-WORKERS LEAGUE" and it may be federated with that A. B. Y. A., and our office also may locate near their office.

The main points for our discussions are as follows :—

1. Establishing the preliminary formalities Office, committees.
2. Training-classes-its Syllabus, Time, Staff etc. etc.
3. Practical-Works :—
 - (i) Ganayani distribution
 - (ii) Enlistment of Young-Workers
 - (iii) Fraction Work in other Youth-Organisations.
 - (iv) Study of the Movements and its Psychology in relation to the unemployed and young Industrial Workers and Peasants.
 - (v) Pamphlets on the Subject and on its different Phases.
 - (vi) Weekly contribution to Press and Party Journal.
 - (vii) Organisation of Public-Debates on the Topics and Current thoughts.
 - (viii) Statistics of Grievances, Youth Organisations, Books, Literatures on the Subject and other necessary Records.

Notes :—

1. Dealings with
 - (a) Working-class Youths
 - (b) Unemployed Youths
 - (c) Educational Youths and Children activity.

2. Branches at:—

- (a) Dacca
- (b) Mymensingh
- (c) Hooghly
- (d) Howrah
- (e) Bhatpara
- (f) Asansol

3. Slogans of:—

- (a) Solidarity
- (b) Humanity

4. Card-Badge-Seal of this propaganda.

5. Financial:—

- (a) Subscriptions and Donations
- (b) Publications of Reports and Literatures.
- (c) Public meeting with Pass
- (d) Debates and Competition entry Fees.
- (e) Youth-Week
- (f) Youth-Aid Amusements allied with our aims and objects.

ASHUTISH ROY.

Secretary-Youth-Section

The Workers and Peasant

Party-Bengal.

Minutes:—

Youth-Card with Radical Socio-economic Slogan Central youth Committee of the Party.

Bulletins, propaganda, meetings, lectures, debate on different platforms of the Youth-movement and outside Calcutta for the formation of a local youth movement.

Working-class youth

Middle-class youth

Unemployed-youth

Children Committee

Students Committee

Employee-youths under 32 years.

Economic-Interests? Sentiments?

Social-status? Political Rights?

Living Wages? Educational Facility?

Parents Interest?

PRACTICAL.

1. Registered office and Name.
2. Representative committee.
3. Co-operation with movement
4. Organisation of Debates Public.
5. Organisation of Finance.

30-7-28

- (1) Office—to be found: N. Sen Gupta.
- (2) Training—first 4 shall be papers.

(½ hour papers) (a) Capitalism imperialism (b) Working class movement (c) Socialism (d) Present day India (e) Youth movement.

(a) by Nalindra (b) by P. S. (c) Girja Mukerji (d) Gossai (e) Gossai.

Syllabus Drawn up by P. S. by Aug. 3rd.

(3) Recruiting (a) among student groups college (b) among workers from among unions where we have influence.

(4) Meetings Branches to be set up etc.

(5) Fraction

A. B. Y. N.	D. K. G.
A. B. Students Assn.	Girja
Young Indian. Socm.	D. K. G.

(6) Ganavani selling

- (7) Grievances (a) Education
- (b) Unemployment
- (c) Working Youth.

(8) Public meetings Campaign to begin after 1 month say.

(9) Finance

Correspondent for Ganavani

P. 546, (5)

"Young Comrades' League" Statement of Programme and Policy (Vide p. 9).

P. 546 (6)

**Draft Constitution and Rules and regulations of
"The Young Comrades' League".**

Name :—

(1) The name of the League will be "The Young Comrades' League". It will be styled in Bengali as "Tarun-Bandhu Dal."

Object :—

(2) The object of the League is to organize a radical and militant movement of the exploited and oppressed young men and women for

(a) The redress of their immediate grievances.

(b) The establishment of the Independent Republic of India, on the basis of the social and economic emancipation of the masses.

Membership :—

(3) All persons between the ages of 15 and 30 shall be eligible for membership provided that he or she

(A) subscribes to the object of the League,

(B) accepted by the Executive Committee,

(C) performs work under the direction of the League.

Subscription :—

(4) The subscription of the League will be one anna per month.

- (a) The Executive Committee may recommend that ex-
payments be made by individual members at a r
not exceeding 4 as. per month.

Management :—

(5) The affairs of the League will be managed by
Executive Committee consisting of members not exceeding
elected at the annual meeting, which shall be empowered to ad
its number elected representatives from Branches.

- (a) The Executive Committee shall meet at least onc
week and half of its members will form the quoru

(6) Any addition or alteration to the rules shall have to
decided in an annual or a special general meeting convened a
clear fifteen days notice served under the direction of the Execut
Committee.

(7) Branches shall be organised under the direction of
Executive Committee.

- (a) Each Branch shall have a Secretary and a Bran
Committee.

ADMISSION FORM.

To

The Secretary.

**Young Comrades' League.
CALCUTTA.**

Dated _____ *19*

Dear Comrade,

I desire to be a member of the ' Young Comrades ' Leagu
I am willing to subscribe to the object (printed overleaf), Constituti
and programme of the League and pay the prescribed subscripti

Yours truly,

1. Name _____
2. Address _____
3. Native Village, residence or place of business _____
4. Post office _____
5. Thana _____
6. District _____
7. Occupation _____
8. Age _____ Sex _____ Civil Condition _____

Placed before the Executive Committee on
Approved or refused

P. 546, (5)

"Young Comrades' League" Statement of Programme and Policy (Vide p. 9).

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Approved or refused

Secretary.

Young Comrades' League.

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(a) the redress of their immediate grievances

(b) the establishment of the Independent Republic of India on the basis of the social and economic emancipation of the masses.

P. 546 (7)

To all members.

Dear comrades,

I have been instructed by a general meeting of the Young Comrades League, held on the 10th to remind all members who are leaving Calcutta of the possibilities of work during the vacation. The following lines are suggested.

(1) Collection of information in regard to political, youth peasant or labour movements in districts.

(2) study of economic situation, especially of peasantry.

(3) propaganda for, and establishment of branches of Y. C. L., and especially attempt to recruit young members of working and peasant classes.

I must urge all comrades not to neglect the opportunities for valuable work which the vacation provides.

(Sd.) ILLEGIBLE.

P. 546 (8).

Working Class Movement.

It obviously be possible in treating of the working-class movement, its history theories aims, etc. logically to include practically all the subjects which we shall have to attend to in this study circle. It is essential, indeed, to touch upon many of them. The subject dealt with last week, i. e. the growth of capitalism into the imperialist stage, and its great downfall, must be dealt with, as the background upon which the labour movement grows. It will be necessary to look at the colonial question, at the peasant question, etc. etc.

It must therefore be very brief, and, apart from an historical introduction, discuss mainly principles. The subjects I shall deal with then are :

- (1) The rise of the labour movement and the condition which brought it about.
- (2) Its development of various types of organisations—unions, federations, parties, Internationals.
- (3) The different schools of thought which it produced—and leading from this question the real historical significance of the labour movement in general.
- (4) The significance of the L. M. in the colonial countries.
- (5) Thence the attitude which, we, as an organised and conscious revolutionary group, must adopt towards, the labour movement, organisation ally into the type of movement which we must endeavour to bring about.

I shall deal mainly with British movement but refer to others where necessary.

(1) The labour movement always grows, when factory industry on a capitalist basis comes into existence. We can neglect the earlier forms analogous to the T. Unions, which existed from medieval times, as the "Gilds" etc., and in England developed during the 17th and 18th centuries gradually into something like modern T. U's. Practically the British labour movement, the earliest in the world, dates from the latter part of the 18th century when factory industry was being established rapidly. But it is not until well into the 19th century that the movement becomes strong and well recognised—because of the inevitable weakness of movement just beginning among an illiterate and oppressed class, but mainly of repressive measures and legislation. S. & B. Webb's *History of T. Union*, an invaluable book, divides the history according to its chapter headings into the following sides.

- (1) 1799-1825 "The Struggle for Existence" (against legislation forbidding all combination passed in 1799 and repealed in 1824).
- (2) 1829-1842 "The Revolutionary Period".
- (3) 1843-1860 "The New Spirit and the New Model".
- (4) 1863-1885 "Sectional Development".
- (5) 1867-90 "The New Unionism".
- (6) 1890-1920 "The Place of T. Unionism in the State".

The revolutionary period was important for several reasons. It was a period in many respects similar to that present in Indian Capitalism was unrestricted by factory Acts, Compensation etc. and hardly yet (illegible) all by T. U. action. (This not into call here). The workers were in large proportion fresh or 1st or 2nd generation from the field or from handicrafts.—They lived in hastily constructed and (illegible) built towns without sanitation or any amenity. Child labour and many other horrible abuses went unchecked. But they had had experience for many years of the struggle for existence—Unionism etc. and when at last in 1824 the Court Law was repealed at once Unions were formed all over the country like Russian Unions after March 1917 and at once went on strike. (Immediate attempt to re-enact laws).

Secondly it was a revolutionary period. Very quickly the movement, finding sectional strikes useless, and little gain achieved (period of economic exhaustion after Napoleonic war) aimed at combination ultimately by about 1836 at the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union. This was the fastest period of growth in T. U. history acc. to Webb. At one period over ¼ million members joined in a few weeks. The attempt at a General Strike failed through lack of organisation but the endeavour to seize power in the international working class was not given up, and until the 40's the movement

ment was strongly revolutionary. The (illegible) movement was then beginning. Indeed a movement for advising very mild reforms it had very revolutionary support—the so-called “Physical Force Party” (a opp. to the “Moral Force Party”).

Third. Much of theory etc. useful to the movement later on was then originated, in a confused and contradictory mass. Hogskin etc. wrote then on earlier on the nature of exploitation, anticipating Mass to some extent. The working-class as a revolutionary factor was made clear. The idea of a General Strike as a revolutionary tactic was first propounded. On the other hand, Owen was strongly under the influence of the workers' in which he took an active part. He was against revolution—but aided and agitated for the G. N. C. M. in order to establish central strike fund etc. He propounded much Utopian theory, which had much influence and originated the coop-movement in idea. He had too some thing of the M. C. A. in him.

Fourth, movement made mistake. It tried workers co-operation factories (tried again in similar conditions in 1921—always failure. Also tried under influence of Louis Blanc (a similar Utopian to Owen) in France. 17 demonstrated necessity of organisation on a sounder basis.....).

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Section 3.—Schools of thought T. U'ism of crude British type with Parties—S. B. Fabian etc., (German France, England, U. S. A.) T. U'ism of syndicalist type—allied with anarchism. I. L. P. etc. anarchist—comm. (Illegible)

Transition to com.
Rise only in Imp. period.

Workers Org. of Communist type Part foremost (S.d. not different from—(illegible) British.

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Section 5.—A militant form to adopt.

(1) Obvious revy rather than reformist. This is keynote.

ment was strongly revolutionary. The (illegible) movement was then beginning. Indeed a movement for advising very mild reforms it had very revolutionary support—the so-called “Physical Force Party” (a opp. to the “Moral Force Party”).

Third. Much of theory etc. useful to the movement later on was then originated, in a confused and contradictory mass. Hogskin etc. wrote then on earlier on the nature of exploitation, anticipating Mass to some extent. The working-class as a revolutionary factor was made clear. The idea of a General Strike as a revolutionary tactic was first propounded. On the other hand, Owen was strongly under the influence of the workers' in which he took an active part. He was against revolution—but aided and agitated for the G. N. C. M. in order to establish central strike fund etc. He propounded much Utopian theory, which had much influence and originated the coop-movement in idea. He had too some thing of the M. C. A. in him.

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As ally or leader of revy. movement but it is ultimately socialist *i.e.* communist

Section 5.—A militant form to adopt.

(1) Obvious revy rather than reformist. This is keynote.

(2) But also we are for Socialism as a working class (Illegible).

Have to form W and P P to replace Congress.'

Unity (Illegible not) with Congress.

i.e. working class need a (3) Orgn. in T. U's.

C. P. even in Colonies

(W. & P.P. not enough).

P. 546 (9)

106 Guilford Street,
W. C. 1.

June 18th 1928.

Dear Comrade,

I wonder whether you would be good enough to give me some information relative to the Indian Youth movement. Some of us over here are very interested in this matter and we would like to get into contact with any of the organisations involved. It would help us very much if you could clear up the points which I raise below.

(1) What steps have been taken by the Workers and Peasants Party to operate the February resolution on the Youth.

(2) About how many young workers are included in the W. & P. P. (or its youth section).

(3) What is the attitude of the W. & P. P. towards the Order of Young India (support, opposition, or united front cum fraction work).

(4) Can you estimate what proportion of the membership of the Order of Young India, or other similar youth organisations, is made up of young workers, or of the sons of poor peasants.

(5) What relation does the number of young workers influenced by the W. & P. P. bear to the number influenced by the Order of Young India etc.

(6) Do the various sections of the bourgeois youth organisations vary in this respect.

(7) If so, can you tell us which of the bourgeois youth organisations include, or influence the greatest number of young workers supplying, if possible, the names and addresses of the Secretaries of these organisations.

(8) Can you supply any publications of the most Left sections of the Order of Young India, which would throw light on their political outlook.

(9) What part if any is being played by the local sections of the Order of Young India in the present strike movements, or has been played in other class struggles.

It will be very useful to us here, if you can lighten the present darkness on any (especially all) of the above list of points. I give my address above. The rest of it is London, England. Any letters etc. addressed to me there should reach me O. K.

Yours fraternally,
L. C. MALLONIE.

P. 546. (10)

2/1 European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta.

Dear Comrade,

I am at last answering your letter, and apologise for not doing so earlier. I have been trying to get hold of some of the documents published by the bodies I know of, and am sending some from Bombay. None have materialised yet from Calcutta, though I can say with some assurance that they are of just the same type.

When I first read your letter, I was tempted to reply with a plain "No" to all your questions. Apart from consideration of grammar, that would probably be the most accurate answer. But I will try to say something to each.

(1) (W. & P. Party resolution etc.) You should realise that there are three W. & P. Parties (Bombay, Bengal, Punjab) *plus* of course one or two other groups which may develop into Parties, as at Nagpur, Gorakhpur, Ajmer, Nagapatam and so on). These all act in practice separately, and there is not yet even formal unity. It is hoped to establish an All-India W. & P. Party, including most of these groups, in December next. The resolution in question was drafted jointly by members of the Bombay and Bengal parties the most developed politically and was adopted later by them. As to Bombay. I don't know what has happened, as I have been there since March. At that time a group of about six college students was meeting regularly and discussing with W.&P. members on theoretical subjects, and it was proposed to develop this into a genuine youth orgn. It is doubtful if this has been done. The thing was probably dropped at the time of vacation in April, and all the Party members have no doubt been too busy since then to take it up again.

In Bengal, a beginning is just being made. A group of a dozen or so, including one or two students, and the rest "bhadrslag" (nondescript middle class young men, unemployed etc.) has met two or three times and decided to establish a "Young Comrades League". (The name was suggested by Saklatvala.) It will probably be announced in a few days. Its address is not yet fixed.

(2) (No. of young Workers in W. and P. Parties). It is safe to say that none of the three W. and P. Parties has any working class membership to speak of, (Bengal and probably Punjab have some active peasant members). The Bombay Party, when I knew it was almost exclusively petty bourgeoisie, though some of its members were in close touch with workers' orgns.

This has probably changed now. I personally never lost opportunity of gibing at them for it, and their psychology undoubtedly changing. The textile strike has probably enabled them to enrol some active workers. Naturally there would be separation yet between "young" and "otherwise". Here there are a number of worker-members, in theory, but not more than three or four new ones are active. They happen to be all young

This may seem odd to you. It is largely the result of the extraordinary separation, which has grown up in the last few generations between the educated classes—even the poorest of the and the masses. Even such people as the W. & P. P. members find it extremely hard to overcome this. It is true so far as I can make out (language handicaps me) that the workers as individuals are on the whole very backward. They have been kept out of things by the upper classes & c. for so long. I was recently asked to get hold of one genuine worker to send to a Youth Conference in England, but I could not find one who would have been of the slightest use. None the less, the W. & P. members exaggerate. I am sure, and their natural laziness largely responsible. (I should have said that the Gorakhpur group probably, and the Nagapata W. & P. Party certainly, contain a large proportion of workers. The latter, however, has never really existed, I think.)

(3) (Attitude of W. & P. P. to other Youth orgns). You seem to have got hold of the very name. I have never heard of the "Order of Young India", and if such a body exists, I think cannot be important. As to youth organisations generally: there have been All India Conferences, but there is no All-India body, so far as I know, and for the same reasons as in the case of the W. & P. Parties. In general only very wealthy people can maintain All India organisations. They are usually, I think, federated in Provinces. This is so in Bombay, where the B. P. Youth League is practically the only orgn. now in existence. It is almost confined to students. (Apart from a sort of caucus called the "Young India Society" which controls the whole thing. It consists of dozens of able young men, who unfortunately have no policy, but delight in wire-pulling and feeling important. Some are reactionary, others act.) In Bengal there is an All-Bengal Youth Assn. (a federation) but there are outside bodies mainly local which are actually more important. All members are students or "Bhadralog." In the Punjab there is only one body, called "Young India Society" which used to have several branches in the chief towns. I fancy is now recovering after a period of inactivity.

In each case the attitude of the W. & P. P. is united from (illegible) fraction work in thing. In Bombay, the W. & P. members were active in the last conference, and brought in their point of view to some extent. One or two of the Young India Soc. a

joining the Party, I believe. Regular fraction work is probably not done, as I doubt if any business meetings are held. The Secretary, with one or two intimate friends probably does it all. This is the usual thing in India.

The All-Bengal Youth, when founded (Aug. 1927) was under the influence of Party members, who are still in (illegible) on the Committee. But the Congress captured it, and it has become entirely inactive. I am afraid the W.&P. Party does not bother itself about this or the other orgns. enough.

In Punjab the Y. I. S. is entirely controlled by the W.&P. members. In fact they are practically the same thing I think. Again there would be no formal fraction work.

(4) (Proportion of workers or sons of poor peasants). The answer is none. See (2) In the Punjab there might be a few sons of peasants in the orgn. I am not very sure.

(5) (Relative influence of W. & P. and other Youth orgns. among young workers). The question answers itself. Neither has any influence to speak of. The W. & P. Party is trying to gain some. (Stay! I did find an orgn. at Raniganj (Bengal) which had two young worker members. It was Congress in mentality.)

(6) (Variations among bourgeois youth orgns.) Answers itself. They are the same. Actually all the youth orgns. that I know are very similar in outlook—except that in the Punjab, which is definitely more radical than any other.

(7) (Which are most influential among young workers). Answers itself.

(8) (Publication of the most left section.) As I said, there are no variations in political colour, except in the Punjab. In Bengal there is some sort of struggle with the orgns. between right and left (represented by Mr. Subha Anand Bose and Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutta resp.) The latter's Presidential Address to the All India Youth Conf. at Gauhati, Dec. 1926, I will send you next week, if I can get a copy. There are no corresponding orgns. to these. Similarly in Bombay there is a struggle between the W.&P. section and the others. The others win (as in Bengal) and the orgn. as a whole remains "classless" (Congress-like)—almost Fascist—in expression.

(9) (Party in Strikes etc.) Practically none. During the first Scavengers' Strike in Calcutta, (March 1928), some Congressmen, and youths possibly members of a Youth orgn. blacklegged. In the Bardoli affair, probably a few members of the Bombay orgn. have visited the place, and they have carried on a fairly active agitation in the city of Bombay, (where alone, except in Poona, they have any strength). It is characteristic that, so far

as I know, they have taken no action in regard to the mill-strike. They follow the Congress, which supports the Bardoli peasants, as they are against the Govt. only. The mill workers are striking against Indian capitalists. Therefore the Congress, and hence the Youth orgn. secretly disapproves. I hope this "tightens your darkness" to some extent.

I am enclosing some typical documents. The speech of the L. K. Yagnik is better than the average from our point of view. The speech (unprompted) of Mr. Narman, the President on this occasion, was not nearly as good. I think Yagnik exaggerates the extent of the organisation. They no doubt came to the meeting at Surat, Ahmedabad etc., but there would be little if any permanent membership orgn. I have put in a brown document from the Punjab. It was published by a sort of "ad hoc" committee, names given. Kidarnath Saigal (address Khabardar Saram Press, Lahore) is the President of the Youth League, and probably those here mentioned are its leading members. It is the sequel to a document called "An Appeal to Young Punjab", which I have not got. You will see that it has discarded its veneration, at any rate for some leaders, which Bombay and Bengal Youth orgns. preserve. But it shows almost no trace of a class-attitude.

I can give you a few other addresses: for Bombay Y. S. Meherally, Students' Brotherhood, Sandhurst Bridge, Bombay 4. For Bengal, one is: All-Bengal Youth Association, College St. Market, North Block, No. 19, Calcutta (Secs. N. C. Sen and J. N. Biswas.) All-Bengal Students' Organising Committee, 95/1 K. Bhatlakhanra Road, Calcutta. (Sec. B. N. Das Gupta.) For Madras: Indian Youth Congress, 15, Nathu Sobhaya Mudali Street, Mysapore, Madras. (Sec. K. Venkatathary.)

I hope I do not seem excessively cynical about the movement here. There is a good deal of life in it, but no organisation worth the name. The ideas are better than in the past, but are still essentially bourgeois. That is to say, the ideas of the organisers. I think the fact that the efforts of these organisers come to naught, and the enthusiasm they are able to get at conferences etc. quickly vanishes, is due to the fact that most of the youths are turning away from them. The only people who can get funds and publicity nowadays are those who have the Congress behind them, (apart from Communal organisation of course). So there has been up to now practically no open opposition to the Congress school of thought among the youth. Prospects are there hopeful for radical youth organisations once they get going.

You should also bear in mind that there is no tradition of popular organisation in India. The Congress is not organised in our sense of the word: it is maintained, so far as it exists at all, by a few

(illegible) men. The Trade Unions make very little pretence at organisation. There are practically no branch meetings for example. All-Labour visitors to India, including myself, have hammered continuously at this point, but there has been very little result yet. It is in accordance with the slave-idea which (naturally) permeates all Indian thoughts that the work must be left to some big "leader" who does everything, while the others, who may be theoretically members or, not, look on and do his bidding. Even the W. and P. Parties tend to look upon themselves as groups of "leaders", who need not get any membership around them. They can posture in public, and the masses will follow when required. Again I am becoming cynical.

I shall send you some more documents next week if I possibly can. I enclose a copy of the Report of the Bengal W.&P. Party.

Yours fraternlly

P. SPRATT.

P. 546 (11).

Manifesto of the Workers and Peasants Party 1 The Youth Conference.

The Workers & Peasants Party hails with joy the Bombay presidency Youths' Conference, the first successful endeavour rally the youth of the presidency, and weld them into a power centralised organisation with a programme of work. When the Youths of a Nation congregate with a determination to devote their energies in an organised manner to the task of fighting political slavery, economic exploitation and social reaction, a new epoch dawns on the life of a subject Nation and a new phase develops the history of its struggle for freedom. The Youths of a Nation constitute its best and most virile section. Youths alone have the idealistic power, that fighting will and self sacrificing spirit that fiery love for human liberty and unquenchable enthusiasm, which are needed to pioneer and lead movements destined to overthrow predatory social systems and liberate enslaved and exploited humanity from the rule of Imperialists and capitalists. Both in the previous and contemporary history of humanity idealistic and self-sacrificing youths have been in the vanguard of all freedom progress movements. The magnificent work achieved by organised youths in modern China, Turkey and Egypt as also in Soviet Russia, should inspire their Indian Comrades to unite themselves and participate in the struggle for freedom of the Indian nation against British Imperialism to bravely stand against and overthrow centuries old social and religious prejudices, to awaken the latent forces of the broad masses of the Nation and marshal them for long drawn out struggle against the existing oppressive social system, to lead victoriously the organised Indian people to Swaraj and build up the social economic and cultural life of the future Independent India. These are the principal historical tasks of the Indian Youths and they alone (and not the supine compromised elderly leaders of the existing Congress and Nationalist movements) can have the necessary strength and idealism to realise these tasks.

The organised youths should realise that ours is essentially an epoch of struggle against political oppression economic exploitation and social tyranny from which the large majority of human beings are suffering. Owing to a fundamentally wrong social system, large sections of human population are rotting in intolerable poverty and slavery. Imperialism and capitalism have reduced a huge portion of humanity to the status of slaves and instruments of exploitation. However, the subject classes of the world have already bestirred themselves and under the leadership of intrepid and heroic political parties have started a Universal struggle against Imperialist and

Capitalist domination. In India too, millions and billions of workers and peasants who have been suffering for centuries from social and economic exploitation and who are even at present ground down by poverty and semi-slavery, have commenced their struggle for freedom. It becomes the duty and the historical task of all generous-hearted and noble youths who are animated by love for human liberty to sympathise with and participate in these rapidly growing social, political, and economic struggle of the immense millions.

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

In the social and religious spheres, the youths' movement should start a campaign, a veritable crusade against all injustices, barbarities and malpractices, such as Untouchability, Child marriage, caste system purdah, sex inequality, prohibition of widow remarriage etc. It should challenge and attack whatever is reactionary and decadent in social conceptions and institutions of contemporary India. It should declare a war on all communal movements which split the Indian People on un-historic communal lines, accentuate sectional consciousness among the people and which Prevent their organisational and psychological unity. The organised youths should realise the futility of all efforts to achieve Hindu Muslim and in general, intercommunal Unity through fraternal understanding among the respectable top elements of different communities. To achieve the real intercommunal unity, it is vitally necessary to rally together and unite the poverty-struck masses and middle classes of all communities on a politico-economic programme reflecting the specific interests of those classes (93% of the Indian people.) The organised youth should lead the struggle of these classes for their economic betterment and political advance from day to day. It will be only in the process of this struggle of the exploited Hindu Muslim, Parsi and Christian masses and middle classes that the real unity of the real people of the country will be built up. When the exploited elements of all social groups comprising the Indian Nation are organised in their Trade Unions, peasant associations, clerks,

teachers and other employees unions, on the basis of a united struggle against common exploitation, and as this united struggle develops and becomes country wide, the communal movements will decline and communal antagonism will vanish, being replaced by the organised movements of all exploited and suppressed elements of the Nation against their imperialist, Capitalist and feudal masters. Labour organisations and mass struggles alone can liquidate communalism. All other solutions of the problem of inter community unity which are not based on the recognition of this social fact and which depend for the success on the mutual understanding, among the political and intellectual top elements will prove Utopian. The real Hindu Muslim Unity is being progressively built up in the process of mass struggles, in workers strikes in Bombay Kharagpur in other centres. With such a scientific conception of bringing about the Inter-communal unity of the broad sections of the Indian Nations the youth Movement, should ally itself with the economic and political struggle of the lower and middle strata of the Indian Nation. Mere ethical propaganda or sermonising on the political arch-necessity of the intercommunal unity to successfully combat foreign domination will not yield any productive results.

It has been a tragedy of history that the idealism and dynamic energies of youth have been frequently exploited by predatory interests. For want of a correct understanding of the social structure youths have often been tools in the hands of the ruling classes to suppress the struggle for liberty, of the exploited masses. In Italy the patriotic sentiment, romantic imagination and the militancy of middle class youth have been exploited and transformed into the reactionary fascist force by the Italian Capitalists not only to smash an independent working class movement but also to suppress the elementary democratic liberties of the Italian people. The youth movement should combat Fascism as an organised conspiracy to destroy the movement of all enslaved and exploited social groups. The radical elements within the youth organisation who desire that the strength of organised youths be spent for the struggle for freedom rather than be prostituted for maintaining slavery and exploitation in the social world should see that the youths' organisation is not dominated by social and political reactionaries. They should take up the ideological and political leadership of the youth organisation and movement.

D. R. THENGDI,

President, Workers & Peasants

Party, BOMBA

P. 547.

A Four Crown letter file containing the following 3 documents amongst others.

P. 547. (1)

Joint meeting of the G. I. P. Staff Unions, 20-1-28.

So far as I am aware, the situation is briefly as follows: The two main Staff Unions have achieved a position of some strength with at any rate a few thousand members each, the one mainly on the Southern lines, the other on the Northern. Nevertheless the two are already overlapping, and some men are asking why there should be two unions etc. in defiance of all the accepted principles of Trade Unionism. Both unions are also convinced of the need for unity. The obstacles are merely some differences in regard to organising policy.

The main differences, so far as I am aware are these:

(1) The Employees' General Union holds that members should be organised in branches, while the Staff Union desire local Unions.

(2) The E. G. U. requires its branches to conform to a uniform constitution; the G. S. U. leaves the Constitution of each constituent union to itself.

(3) The E. G. U. asks each branch to contribute to central funds such a percentage of its collection as it can spare, or ultimately or uniform percentage; while the G. S. U. requires a fixed *per capita* contribution from its unions.

Nevertheless, the two are in agreement on the following general principles:

(1) The centralisation is necessary for united action, publications, a large part of the communication with the management, etc.

(2) That local initiative in regard to propaganda, recruiting, complaints in regard to minor grievances, etc., must be preserved. "The life of a union is in the branches" is a well known principle of trade unionism.

An acceptable compromise is therefore not impossible, and I suggest the following basis:

(1) The union shall be called "The G.I.P. Railway Workers' Union", and each local body "The G. I. P., R. W. U.—so-and-so Branch".

(2) The constitution of the Union should be laid down, providing for representation on the General Council (or whatever it is called) of the branches in accordance with membership.

(3) The constitutions of the branches be left for local decision, subject to the following provisions.

(a) that on the Managing Committee of the branch there shall be representation of all grades of workers.

(b) that meetings of the Managing Committee, and of the whole membership of the branch, must be held at least monthly.

(c) that contributions from members shall be uniform for the whole union. (A sliding scale or fixed rate as shall be decided).

(d) that branch contributions to the central union shall be at a fixed rate per member per annum—say As. 8 per quarter, or whatever shall be decided.

(4) That the remaining money shall constitute for each branch a "general purposes fund" to be used for communication, conveyance, propaganda, (meetings, handbills etc.), maintenance of meeting place, etc.

(5) That benefit funds be administered solely by the Union, benefits being paid on the recommendation of branch managing committees, subject if thought desirable, to investigation by the General Secretary or other central offices.

(6) If membership cards are used, they should be uniform for the whole union.

These appear to me the main points, and the above scheme should satisfy both points of view, and also secured good working.

If this or any other scheme is approved of, and amalgamation decided upon, a further joint committee meeting should be convened, with equal representation from the G. I. P. R. Workmen's Union, which should be asked to join in as one or more branches. The difficulty of existing funds will crop up here. I suggest that money at present in the hands of any section which will constitute a branch of the future Union should be retained as the branch general purposes fund, but that in the case of a general strike on

the line such branches should agree to contribute a proportion, say one-half, of their funds to the central funds for relief etc.

When this joint meeting has agreed on any basis for general unity, provisional officers and committees should then and there be agreed upon, and the whole submitted to meetings of the constituent Unions. At these meetings, members from each of the constituent unions should speak. If there is general agreement, there no doubt will be, work on the new basis should be immediately begun. The two papers should be forthwith amalgamated in an equitable manner. The members of any overlapping branches should be forthwith fused. And a full General Meeting of the Union should be called, say, six months later, to ratify the scheme and formally inaugurate the joint Union, and bring about any detailed changes which are found to be desirable.

P. 547. (2) *Rejected*

G. I. P. RAILWAYMEN'S UNION.

(HEAD OFFICE)

SHETYE BUILDINGS, POIBAVDI, PAREL,

BOMBAY NO. 14

Centres:

BOMBAY.
KALYAN.
LONAVLA.
POONA.
KASARA.
MANMAD.
IGATPURI.
BHUSAWAL.
KHANDWA.
ITABSI.
WARDHA.
MURTIZAPUR.
NAGPUR.
AMLA.
GHALISGAON.
JUBBULPORE.
SUTNA.
MAHOBA.
KATNI.
DAMOH.
JHANSI.
AGRA.
BINA.
BHOPAL.
SHOLAPUR.
DHOND.
WADI.
SHAHARAD.

No. Sc/5. Dated 30th November, 1928.

To.

P. S—prat Esq.,

2/1 European Aslem, CALCUTTA.

Comrade,

Very soon we shall meet in Jheria. This fight of our Union over the Bhusawal demands is drifting fast towards the crisis. We send you herewith copies of this months' Railwayman which will give you a clear indication of what is contemplated in the near future. "Progress of the Union" will be a guide in this respect. I am sure you will bring from Calcutta good contingent for fraction work at Jheria. You must not fail to be watchful about the A. I. R. F. which meets two days prior to A. I. T. U. C. If possible we have to thrust the policy of United front on all Railways at the Federation meeting. Therefore don't fail to take proper precautions about getting yourself and other fraction elements on the executive of the Federation through Calcutta Railway organisations. Similar precaution you will have to take about getting sufficient fraction men through all possible Unions in Calcutta for the T. U. C. work.

You will agree that the fight between right and left has begun. It has assumed far too bitter complexion on this side and we have practically to exert to the point of exhaustion to keep ourselves up against the all sided attack from the nationalists, moderates and trade union reformers. With fraternal greetings, to Mujafer and other comrades.

Yours Fraternally.

Workers.

P. 547. (3)

"UNION IS STRENGTH"

G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union.

SHEVYE BUILDINGS, POIHAVDI, PAREL

BOMBAY No. 14.

No. G/S/346

Dated 12th October, 19

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

VICE-PRESIDENTS:
B. F. Bradley, Esq.
D. B. Kulkarni.
V. B. Purandare.

HON. GEN. SECRETARY:
S. H. Jh bvala.
Esq. B. A.

ORGANISING SECRETARY:
K. N. Joglekar,
Esq. B. A.

Head Office:
BOMBAY.

Branches:
KALYAN.
GATPURI.
MANMAD.
BHUSAWAL.
WARDHA.
MURTIZAPUR.
NAGPUR.
ITARSI.
KHANDWA.
BHOPAL.
BINA.
DAMOH.
MAHOBA.
JHANSI.
JUBBULPORE.
LONAVLA.
POONA.
DHOND.
SHOLAPUR.
SHAHABAD.

Dear Comrade,

Re:—Yours of the 9th.

I could not reply it earlier, owing to my engagements out of Bombay. I am sending you copy of the resolutions. Please try to get the forwarded from different Unions to the Secret A. I. T. U. C. We are also doing the same from Bombay.

I have put you on our Sub-list of the Railwayman and copies will be sent to you regularly. Back numbers called for, by you are also sent.

Hoping to hear from you more often, I am expecting a rough report of your Trade Union activity for the record of the T. U. C. group.

Yours Fraternally.

K. N. JOGLEKAR,
ORGANISING SECRETARY

LR.

P. 548.

A four Crown letter file containing the following 10 documents amongst others.

P. 548. (1)

R. No. _____

**THE
BOMBAY DOCK WORKERS UNION**

CENTRE _____

MEMBERSHIP CARD.

Name _____

Department _____

Ticket No _____

कामकऱ्यांचा मायबाप

युनियन

म्हणून

युनियनला आतांच

सामील व्हा ।

गोदावाल्यांचें युनियन

१६ आण्णे

जोरदार बनवा !

PRESIDENT.

S. H. JHABWALA.

General Secratry.

S. S. MIRAJKAR.

OFFICE.

Kirti Building, Forbes Street,
Fort, Bombay.

Month	Subs- cription	Collec- tor's Sig- nature.	Blanc- due.	Remarks.	Month	Subs- cription	Collec- tor's Sig- nature.	Balance due.	Remark
19_____	Rs. as		Rs. as		19_____	Rs. as		Rs. as	
January ...					January ...				
February ...					February ...				
March ...					March ...				
April ...					April ...				
May ...					May ...				
June ...					June ...				
July ...					July ...				
August ...					August ...				
September ...					September ...				
October ...					October ...				
November ...					November ...				
December ...					December ...				
Total ...					Total ...				

General Secretary

General Secretary.

P. 548.

A four Crown letter file containing the following 10 documents amongst others.

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गोदावाल्यांचें युनियन

१६ आखे

जोरदार बनवा !

PRESIDENT.
S. H. JHABWALA.
General Secratry.
S. S. MIRAJKAR.
OFFICE.
Kirti Building, Forbes Street,
Fort, Bombay.

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	Rs.	as		Rs.	as			Rs.	as		Rs.	as	
19 _____							19 _____						
January ...							January ...						
February ...							February ...						
March ...							March ...						
April ...							April ...						
May ...							May ...						
June ...							June ...						
July ...							July ...						
August ...							August ...						
September ...							September ...						
October ...							October ...						
November ...							November ...						
December ...							December ...						
Total ...							Total ...						

General Secretary

General Secretary.

P. 548. (2)

Bombay dock worker's Union

2/3 Khandke Buildings, Dadar,

Bombay 16th February 1928.

To,

Comrade, P. Spratt

Bombay.

Dear Comrade,

I have to invite you to address the meeting of the Bombay Dock Workers' Union on Sunday the 19th instant at 2 P. M. at Seamen's Union office (Keshavji Buildings, opposite Carnac Bridge).

I hope you will please attend the meeting.

Yours fraternally,

S. S. Mirajkar.

Secretary.

P 548. (3)

BOMBAY MUNICIPAL WORK-MEN'S UNION.

Improvement Trust Chawls

Block No. 17, Room No. 1

BOMBAY No. 8

Date 6th January 1928

To

Mr. P. Spratt.

Dear

A Mass meeting of the Municipal Workers is going to be held on Tuesday the 10th instant, at 5-45 P. M (S. T.) in the open Maidan at the Improvement Trust Chawls, Foras Road. As you are one of the well wishers of the Union of workers, I request you to attend the meeting and speak there.

Yours sincerely.

S. H. Jhabwala

Hon. Gen. Secretary

P. 548. (4)

BOMBAY MUNICIPAL WORK-MEN'S UNION.

Improvement Trust Chawls,

Block No. 17, Room No. 1,

Bombay No. 8.

Date 28th January 1928.

To

Mr. P. Spratt,

Bombay

Dear Mr.

A Mass meeting of the Municipal Workers is going to be held on Monday the 30th instant, at 5-45 P. M. (S. T. in the open Maidan at the Improvement Trust Chawls, Koras Road. As you are one of the well wishers of the Union of Workers I request you to attend the meeting and speak there.

Yours sincerely,

S. H. Jhabwala.

Hon. Gen. Secretary,

P. 548. (5)

*Rejected and?
D. S. Prath.*

Scavengers.

Madras Corporation and City Scavengers Union,

1/59 Swaminiken St. Chintadripat, Madras.
Sec N. Sreeramulu Naidu.

Formed 1918, membership then 1000

Strikes 1918 3 days Rs 2 inc.

1919 5 days Rs 2 inc.

1924 3 days. Rs 1/8-inc. and supply of rice by corp: at 4 measures per R (bajar price 3 m. per R)

1925 1/2 day Casual leave with full pay 15 days accident leave with pay. Prov. fund Death benefit.

1927. (Sept) Only to be discussed by Health officer.
2 days

Wages Original (?)		Present
Mistry	Rs 17 as. 8	20-0
Chaprasi	20-	25-
Sweeper	Rs 11- Rs 15 (inc.-/8-) Ann	17-8
Scavengers (latrine)	11-13	(-/8) 17-8
Cleaners (side coolies)	11-14	(-/8) 17-8
Street water boys	11-14	(-/8) 17-8
Depot Cooly	11-14	(-/8) 17-8
Rubbish takers	11-15	(-/8) 17-8

Females:

		Present
Latrine cleaner.	Rs. 9-Rs 12 (-/8)	13-8
Depot cleaners	2- 12 (-/8)	13-8
Slaughter House worker	11- 15 (-/8)	17-8

Pay 1918.

Male Rs 7- Rs 9 Female Rs- Rs6/8.

Corp: provided quarters for 300 workers.

Room about 10 ft. square with separate kitchen water tap and latrine. Such room has door, and ventilator. Rent as 12. Clear understanding that quarters will be gradually built

(1) M. K's arguments on the interest of the Municipal workers in the Commission betray a hopeless ignorance of politics. It is true that most workers are not directly connected in boycotting the Commission. They are not called upon to cooperate with it. But any politician of sense uses such occasions as this for the rallying and organising of his forces. The strike of the Municipal Workers is not so much against the Commission, as a preparation for the day when the organised workers shall by direct action win Swaraj for India, and themselves.

(3) We cannot accept his statement that "the Commission does not take a pie off their wages" etc. It may well be that this statement will prove false in the sense that one result of the policy of which the Commission is part may be an increase in the exploitation of Indian worker as a whole. On the other hand, the strike may, by consolidating this union and demonstrating its strength, assist it in future economic struggles. But the argument is in any case irrelevant.

(4) We cannot agree, as M.K. insinuates, that the resolution was forced on the men by our unscrupulous action. No doubt most of the men do not understand the situation but when some of the implications of the policy had been explained to them, they were full of enthusiasm, and in spite of the threats of the Municipal authorities, they unanimously reiterated the resolution last week.

(5) We do not agree that the strike is illegal, in spite of M.K. and Mr. Mistry. The Municipal servants Act provides that cessation of work of certain categories (only) of workers is illegal, unless two months notice is given. In that case two months notice was given. It would therefore be legal for all the Municipal workers to strike. With a view however to minimising any danger of victimisation, we have arranged that no actual worker takes a prominent part in the arrangements, and that the strike committees consist entirely of "outsiders".

(6) We fail to understand the references to our "self interest," "securing our position of leadership" etc. We have pointed out that one way, in the present stage, of becoming unpopular in the trade union movement is to pursue a correct political policy. As for our self interest, any one should know that the result of such activity as ours is inevitably victimisation by our own employers, unpopularity with our fellows in the Congress and the undesirable attentions of the C. I. D.

(7) Finally we wish to express our resentment at the reflections on the character of Mr. Jhabvala. The mention of his name identifies him with the "irresponsible individuals" "disgruntled, self seeking sensation—mongering busy bodies" with "itchy throats" and "sweet promises".

His remarks on the two types of labour leaders reveal that M.K. is one of many who object generally to politics in the Trade Union movement. But a very little examination shows that what M. K. objects to is not politics as such, but working-class politics. We confess to an equally biased view. We object to bourgeois politics. He praises those leaders who do not urge their followers to do what "they have not business to do." i. e. who restrict their followers to what current bourgeois law and custom considers proper. This we stigmatise as bourgeois politics within the union. We on the other hand think it essential that unions should do a number of things, including political strikes, which the bourgeoisie considers improper. This is working-class politics in the union.

When the time of trial comes, as it may, and, as in China the forces of the Indian bourgeoisie massacre the Indian workers, shall no doubt see on which side the "non-political" M. K., sincere sympathiser of working classes" will stand.

Sir,

As members of the Municipal workers' strike Committee responsible for arranging the 1-day strike on the landing of the Commission, wish to reply to the article on the subject in your issue of today signed by M. K.

Hardly a sentence of this article but contains a statement of implication with which we disagree, and it is therefore difficult to reply shortly. We take the most important point. The central argument is that the Commission, and political affairs in general are of no concern to workers, whose unions should confine their attention to 'wages and hours' leaving these things to "political minded Indians".

This belief, which we hold to be false, is very widespread in India, even in the Labour movement. The fact is that workers perhaps more than any other class, are interested in the dominant political question of trade and must if swaraj is to be attained all, take a very prominent part, as they have in China in their attainment. It is the duty of a farsighted labour leader to train and educate workers to realise the best means of such training being, always, action. This duty is a difficult one, and a leader who undertakes it is liable at first to lose popularity and to be ousted by any reactionary demagogue (always more influential than a progressive demagogue) who plays upon the natural fears which all men entertain in face of a dangerous policy, however necessary and salutary it may be. It is fatal to leave these things to politically minded, i. e. middle and upper class Indians.

Who "make loud professions of sympathy for the worker and "assiduously exploit the situation in their own self-interest

It is hardly necessary to remind readers of a Bombay newspaper of the enormous amount of self-sacrificing work which Mr. Jhabvala is doing and has done for many years in the organisation of labour.

We are, Sir,

Yours etc.

R. S. N.

K. N. J.

P. S.

Union formed 16.1.26. Pres. Miss P. B. Das Gupta.

V. P. Muzaffar Ahmad.

Sec. Dharani Kanta Goswami.

Calcutta Scavengers Strike Mar 4-9-1928.

- | | | |
|---|-----|---|
| (1) Introduction | ... | For information of public. |
| (2) History of formation of union | | for a month before, the E.C. collected facts etc. |
| (3) Situation of scavengers. | | Think vernacular press the scavengers have been redressed, as |
| (4) History of strike. | | hinted the possibility of strike to publish criticism of public indifference. |
| (5) Criticism of E. C's. statement and actions breaking of strike provocation propaganda etc. | | Take 3 or 4 months ago corporation questions etc. justification of supplementary action Marley Janes statement. |

K. S. Roy's statement re. breaking of strike.
Depute. A. C. Bannerjee's statement that scavengers earn 70-80 p. m.

Articles in Bengali Press

1st 26-1-28 AnandBagan.

2 27-2-28

3 6-3-28.

(a) Statement of E.C.

(b) Criticism

(c) Strike successful (reasons—last strike justified).

(d) Efforts of E.C. to break strike unsuccessful.

Grievances.—Wage 11... 12 & 2
 Sweepers and cartmen : Mehtars.
 (Masons and mistries 18-30).

Rent 2—5 Ps. Ordinary masons get 1/4 per day.

Food 10 Rs. single man.

(Illegible) medium babe.

Die in drains but no death benefit (3 or 4 per annum).

Bribery.—at least Rs. 10 to get the job, Rs. 2 per month
 least in bribes.

No permanence of employment. dismissed without notice
 whim of petty officials (because of bribery).

Debts, to Kabulis. 2 as. per month.

Double shift—Rs. 4 for every paid out.

No medical provisions etc.—(Number does not exceed 1000)

Insanitary busties dirty and small.—(High rent as they a
 untouchables).

No leave at all.

	12 or 7 H.	a minimum bupget.
Exp. Rice	4-8	per m. (20 seers).
Dall	1-	4 seer.
Fuel	10	
Soap (cloth)	4	lowest.
Mustered oil	4	Rs 12-14. alone.
Kerosine	4	(No clothing or other extra
Rent (illegible)	12	60-70 do not drink at all.
Vegetable	15	
Interest	1-4	
Bribe to Babu	1-	
Chaprasy bribe	-8	
Drinking	1-9	

In view of the conflicting accounts of the position of the Calcutta Scavengers, and of their strike, and of the actions of the Mayor and the Executive officer in connection with it, the Executive Committee of the Scavengers' Union of Bengal has decided to issue the following brief statement of the facts for the information of the public:—

The Scavengers' Union of Bengal was formed after a month preliminary work, the collection of facts etc. on the 16th January last, and a provisional committee was then set up. On the 29th the first general meeting was held, with over 3000 scavengers present.

when the constitution was adopted, the office-bearers and committee appointed, and immediate demands, formulated. On the 2nd February a letter was sent to the Chief Executive officer Calcutta Corporation, detailing the demands, and copies were also sent to the Health officer, the Mayor, the Chief Engineer, and the District Engineers of Districts 1, 2, 3 and 4. The demands put forward at this meeting, and communicated to the officials, were as follows:—

1. Recognition of the "Scavengers' Union of Bengal."
2. Wages Rs. 30 per month.
3. _____
- ...
- ...
- ...
- ...
- ...
- ...
- 10

But no reply was received to these communications. At the same time, publicity was given to the demands and grievances of the scavengers. Articles appeared in the Ananda Bagan Patrika on 26th Jan. and 27 Feb., discussing their position, and warning the public and the Corporation of the results to be expected from neglecting the demands. Copies of these issues were sent to the Chief Executive Officer, Mayor and some other great men of the city. The formation of the Union and the immediate demands were also published on 11th Feb. in the Calcutta Municipal gazette.

The chief grievances of the scavengers will be seen from the demands. The present deplorable position of the scavengers employed under Cal. Cor. can be described briefly as follows:—

Housing. Dirty, insanitary bustees, usually without water supply etc. High rents because the occupants are "untouchable".

Leave. No leave is given whatever.

Dismissal may occur at any moment, at the whim of a superior. A bribe is taken from each employee newly engaged.

Medical provision. None whatever, though it is needed. owing to the nature of the work.

Death benefit. None, although death due to suffocation or poisoning in drains is of frequent occurrence.

Bribery. Bribe (of at least Rs. 10) almost equivalent to a month's wage required to obtain work. Further

bribes have to be paid regularly to superior babus, Chaprasey etc.

Debts. Almost all in debt to Kabulis, to an extent which debtor himself may not know. Interest exacted at as. 2 per rupees per month.

Wages for sweepers and cartmen, Rs. 12 plus Rs. 2 gr allowance, for Mehtars Rs. 11 plus Rs. 1 gr allowance.

For masons, mistries etc. Rs. 18-30.

For the lower grades, no increments are given, cases known of men working for 12 years on Rs. 14 p. m. even the up sections are relatively under paid. Ordinary masons who do not undertake the dirty work of the municipal masons, are paid Rs. 1/4 per day of the total of over 13,000 men, less than 10 work two shifts per day. For that, also, they pay extra bribes—morning shift Rs. 2, for evening shift Rs. 4. per month. Mehtars in Kidderpore were found to be unaware that their pro rate was Rs. 14. They had been drawing only Rs. 12. A budget of expenditure of a single worker, based upon an actual budget here given. This account was submitted by a scavenger during strike period, in course of deliberation. All the items except dri are minimum figures, and several necessary items, clothing etc. omitted.

Item.	Rs.	a.	
Rice (20 seers)	4	8
Dall (4 seers)	..	1	0
Mustard Oil	...	0	4
Vegetables	...	0	15
Drinking	1	9 (60—70% however do no dri at all.)
Soap	0	4
Kerosine	...	0	4
Fuel	0	10
Rent	0	12 (per head).
Interest	1	4
Bribes	1	8
Total	...	12	14

Immediately after the formation of the Union, lower officials of the Corporation, sarbars and overseers, began a campaign designed to prevent the men from joining. We were told that a demand for increase of wages would result in reductions, victimisation of Union members was threatened, etc.

when the constitution was adopted, the office-bearers and committee appointed, and immediate demands, formulated. On the 2nd February a letter was sent to the Chief Executive officer Calcutta Corporation, detailing the demands, and copies were also sent to the Health officer, the Mayor, the Chief Engineer, and the District Engineers of Districts 1, 2, 3 and 4. The demands put forward at this meeting, and communicated to the officials, were as follows:—

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Rent	0	12 (per head).
Interest	1	4
Bribes	1	8
Total	...	12	14

Immediately after the formation of the Union, lower officials of the Corporation, sarbars and overseers, began a campaign designed to prevent the men from joining. We were told that a demand for increase of wages would result in reductions, victimisation of Union members was threatened, etc.

The friction thus engendered resulted on the morning of the 4th March in the declaration of a strike by the scavengers of districts, 1 and 2. They were joined in the same afternoon by part of Districts 3 and 4, and on the following days the strike became progressively more complete, until the men of Kidderpore struck on the 7th morning. From the first day, the police interfered, and arrested 5 strikers, who were sent up for trial by the magistrate. Attempts were made by show of force to induce strikers to resume work, and to recruit black legs to replace them. These efforts were partially successful only in District 4. In other parts of the city the strike was complete and the work of scavenging was stopped.

The strike was begun without the knowledge of the Union, which, however, fully supported the action, of its members. On the first day of the strike a meeting of the union at Desh Bandhu Park was held when the demands as formulated on Jan. 29. were reiterated.

Nevertheless, a campaign has begun in the Corporation, attempting to show that the Mayor was unjustified in making terms, and aimed at depriving the scavengers of their gains. We must warn the members of the Corporation that although the men have returned to work, their spirit is unbroken and they are prepared again to strike at any moment.

Already one condition agreed upon has violated. Instead of a committee which would smared with ink hence illegible increments and other demands, a conference is to be held, whose "proceedings will be laid before the Corporation for consideration and action. We hope however that the remaining clauses of the promise given by the Mayor, although only on his own responsibility, will be honoured by the Corporation.

Throughout the course of the strike, meetings of the members in different parts of the city were held, and their views learnt and expressed.

The Union found it necessary from the first to protest against the attitude of the Corporation, which recruited blacklegs, and called in the police to intimidate the strikers. A resolution to this effect was passed on the 5th March (Second day of the strike), and published in the press. Protest was also made against the action of the police in illegally arresting and mishandling 8 men engaged in peaceful picketting, beating strikers with a view to forcing them to return to work, and instituting legal proceedings against them for alleged theft of Corporation property.

The next day (6th) it was found necessary to utter a further protest against the action of the Corporation in refusing to allow

the strikes to hold a meeting in Hagra Park. And on the 1st it was decided to wire to the All-India Congress Committee a protest against the reactionary attitude of the Corporation which controlled by members of the Swarajya Party.

Since 5th day of the strike i. e. from 8th instant police posse were posted at every traffic junction and lorries carrying few scavengers with armed guards were seen moving from place to place.

On the morning of the 9th March (sixth day of the strike) a great effort was made by the authorities to break the strike. Intimidation on a large scale was begun, to force the men back to work, but it collapsed on the arrival of members of the Union Executive, who persuaded the men to remain firm.

Here in this connection it ought to be mentioned specifically the statement of C. E. O. made on the 7th which itself will clear up the confused impressions made on the minds of the Council and public by the cautiously drawn long statement of C. E. O. set forth in the meeting of 13th inst:

On the same day the Union Executive met Mr. J. M. S. Gupta, the Mayor of Calcutta, who had visited the dwellings of some of the scavengers and convinced himself of the justice of their demands. A provisional settlement was quickly arrived at with him, the terms of agreement being as follows:

- (1) Strike to be called off at 5 p. m. of that day (9th).
- (2) Mayor accepts in principle the demand for increase of pay and undertakes to recommend an immediate advance of Rs. 100 and a graded system of increments.
- (3) A committee, to settle details of this and other demands, to consist of representatives of the Corporation, the Bengal T. Federation, the Scavenger's Union, and the rate payers, to be nominated by the B. P. C. C.
- (4) Bribery, if any to be stopped.
- (5) No victimisation, nor forfeit of wages for the strike period.

The strike was accordingly called off on the afternoon of 9th March, having lasted for six days.

In the discussion on strike by the Corporation on 1st March, the Chief Executive Officer made a long statement on the strike and the efforts of the Corporation to break it. The object purport of the statement is to show that the strike was on the point of collapse by Friday 9th., and that the intervention of

Mayor was unnecessary. The Mayor replied adequately during the debate: "I do not wish to controvert the long statement that the Chief Executive Officer has been pleased to make here. I only want to state that I do not accept his post facto statement today. The state of things he has disclosed in his statement was not disclosed even at the moment when the strike was being settled in his presence with the Labour representatives. At that time, on Friday afternoon, at my house, the Chief Executive Officer did not hint in the slightest way that the strike had practically ended as he has chosen to say today..... He did not in the slightest way indicate to me that he had the situation completely in hand, nor he was able to assure me that the strike had practically ended There were not enough volunteers organisations to cope with the situation. There were no men to take the places of those men that had struck. The city was in a dangerous condition.....". Our experience completely confirms what the Mayor has said. It is doubtful if the intimidation of the officials and police was successful in forcing even 500 men to remain or to return to work.

The voluntary organisation and the conservancy department were quite inadequate to deal with the accumulation of rubbish. The men were able and willing to remain out longer, but the danger to the health of whole population occasioned by the strike, and the favourable attitude and promises of the Mayor, induced us to end it.

Numerous other mis-statements, some of which we must answer, were made during the debate. Mr. A. L. Banerjee asserted that "the great majority of them got Rs. 28 monthly by working two shifts". As we have stated, less than 1000 work two shifts and those who do so, do not receive practically the amount they ought to receive (not Rs. 28, but Rs. 22). He appears to forget also, that in order to get this sum, men have to work 12 hours to 14 hours or more per day, every day of the month. His further statement that "the wives and children work in private houses, so that the family earned on an average Rs. 70 to Rs. 80 a month", is ridiculous, and irrelevant. It does not excuse the corporation for underpayment of its employees, if these men are able in some cases to eke out their pay by exploiting their wives and children.

Mr. A. L. Banerjee and Mr. M. N. Sen both asserted that the strike had been caused by "outsiders". The only outsiders concerned are the office-bearers of the Union, who, as we have stated, were made aware of the strike only after it had begun. That the strike was a genuine one is shown by the solidarity with which it was conducted, and by the fact that even previous to the existence of the Union, strikes of Scavengers had occurred. Mr. M. A. Razzak mentioned the strike of 1924, which ended with a

promise to increase wages which was never fulfilled. On February 29 last, the Chief Executive Officer himself in reply to a question stated: "The bustees in which the sweepers live are almost all owned by the Corporation, and I am aware that the sanitary condition of these bustees leaves much room for improvement."

The complaint is made by the C. E. O. that the strike took place without warning. But he admitted previously (7th March) that "some three or four months ago a resolution passed at a meeting was sent to the Corporation", and that "a member tabled a resolution before the establishment committee" on the subject of scavengers' wages.

We feel that we are entitled to complain again against the attitude and actions of the Chief Executive officer and the Corporation, in trying to break the strike. He complains of "intimidation and molestation" of blacklegs by strikers, but forgets the numerous cases of intimidation and actual assault by the police upon strikers. He frankly states, "I was asked by the members of the Committee (Budget Special Committee) to take all possible steps to break the strike".....

Mr. K. S. Roy, secretary B. P. C. C., has remarked "The method of breaking the strike displays a mentality which is uncommonly like the mentality of the Government. That our office should have called in the Sergeants who assaulted us during the Hartal, to assault the scavengers, is to say the least, disgraceful

Finally, we wish to state that no serious objection has been taken to the demands of the Scavengers. Only Mr. M. N. Sen and Mr. A. L. Banerji have had the audacity to describe them as unjustified. The Union has repeatedly said that in view of the state of the Corporation finances, the demand for Rs. 30 per month, a minimum, though not abandoned, is not expected to be granted immediately. We therefore hope that the promise given by the Mayor on his own responsibility will be honoured by the Corporation, and the campaign of misrepresentation, attempting to show that the Mayor was unjustified in making terms, will be ignored. Already one condition agreed upon has been violated. Instead of a Committee which would settle details of increments and other demands, a "Conference" is to be held, whose "proceedings will be laid before the Corporation for consideration and action".

P. 548 (6)

Bombay Municipal Workmen's Union.

Comrades,

Remember your General Meeting has prepared the following Resolution.

Accordingly, the Municipal workers in the following departments are required not to go on work on February 3rd Friday but observe the following programme:—

- (1) Join in the Workers' procession starting from Parel at 6.30 A. M.
- (2) Attend General Labour meeting at Foras Road Improvement Trust Compound, at 8 A. M.
- (3) Put on Serafiq red cloth on your left arm to be obtainable from Union office Foras Rd. Stick to Resolutions proposed.

(Signatures)

ROUTE.

Start from Damodhar Thacksey Hall Elphinstone Road.
De Lisle Road.
Arthur Road
Byeulla
Kamathipura
Foras Road

Prepare similar hand-bills for all Labourers on behalf of the Strike Committee-Marathi.

(5000)

Our Demands.

To

THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER OF THE CORPORATION OF CALCUTTA.

Sir,

We, the scavengers' of all sections employed by the Corporation of Calcutta, do hereby lay before you the following demands :

1. Recognition of the Scavengers' Union of Bengal.
2. Wages at Rs 30/-a month.
3. Well-ventilated and well-lighted houses with separate kitchens, water taps and with arrangements of latrines. The rent must be fixed within the means of the scavengers.
4. Supply of free medical help and medicines.
5. To put a stop to all bribery.
6. (a) 15 day's casual leave with full pay.
(b) One month's privilege leave with full pay.
(c) Accident leave with full pay.
7. No dismissal without a month's previous notice.
8. Death Benefits and Maternity Benefits and the bene of the Provident Fund.
9. Free Primary Education for the children of the scavengers.
10. Establishment of Banks to advance loans to the scavengers, in time of need with an interest which should not exceed more than twelve percent per annum.

As we have already formed our union under the name and style of the "Scavengers' Union of Bengal" at 2-1, Europee Asylum Lane, Calcutta, you will be graciously pleased to settle the terms with the said union.

**The Municipal Scavengers of
Calcutta.**

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
BRANCH LIBRARY
BOMBAY

P. 548 (8)

The Glass Workers Union, Bengal.

Head-Office-

2-1, European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

31. I. 28.

Dear Muzaffar,

You will be exceedingly glad to know that our first general meeting of the scavengers' Union was an un-expectedly successful one. From 2--12 noon the Scavengers began to pour from different quarters and no later than half past two P. M. they formed into a monster body, men, women, children numbering above four thousand. We held our meeting in the groove just before the Monument. punctually at 3-30. it began and Provabati presided. After her presidential speech in broken Hindi I delibered my manuscript speech which was an audible one as remarked. Speakers like Aftab Ali & Godbole addressed the meeting. The Scavengers responded nicely and our Debiram Sardar of Hazna Road (whosen ame we mistook as Jhari.) delibered an emotional speech in which he dealt with the exploitation of the scavengers-by their next higher officers and gave a very painful description of the scavengers' miseries under which they are living for years together. He appealed to all to join the union in a body. "Samed" the old man from Tongera was also dragged on the platform. He gave a few words of advice to the scavengers requesting them to hear our good words and to do according to our directions which way lies blessings. Thus saying our old comrade sat down on the ground. The meeting dissolved at 5-30 P. M. Now there is apprehension of contermovement which has already intimated. Yesterday evening a band of workers came to the office from Budge Budge Road with information that the Mayor of Calcutta and the chief Executive Officer has called them and asked me advice. I advised them to go to them and to hear their words and then to come to me and inform me of all there. I advised them not to do any work harmful to their Union. They gave their words of honour, it seemed as if they are very firm.

Please have a talk with Jhabwala this time. This much today. My love to Spratt, Ghate, Mirjkar, Dange and others.

fraternally yours

Goswami.

P. 548. (9)

Ishapore Ordnance Workers' Union

Office address:—**NAWABGUNJ.**

P. O. Ichhapur-Nawabgunj

Dist. 24 PARGANAS.

E. B. R.

No. 1 Union.

Dated, 7th April 1928

To

Subject:— ISHAPORE ORDNANCE WORKERS UNION—
FORMATION OF.

Reference:—

Sir,

I beg to enclose herewith a copy of the proceedings of a meeting of the Workers of Ordnance Factories, Ishapore, held at 5-30 P.M. on Tuesday the 3rd April, at Nawabganj, for your information.

Encls. 2

I have the honour to be,

Sir

Your most obedient servant

KALIDAS Bhattacharjee

Secretary,

Ishapore Ordnance Worker's Union

Copy forwarded to:—

- (1) The Master General of Supply Simla,
- (2) The Director of Ordnance Factories and Manufacture Simla,
- (3) The Director of Inspection, Simla.
- (4) The Superintendent, Metal and Steel Factory, Ishapore
- (5) The Superintendent, Rifle Factory, Ishapore.
- (6) The Inspector of Guns and Rifles, Ishapore.

- (7) The Editor, Forward, Calcutta.
- (8) The Editor, Statesman, Calcutta.
- (9) The Editor, Englishman, Calcutta.
- (10) The Editor, Amrita Bazar, Calcutta.
- (11) The All Indian Trade Union Congress Secretary.
- (12) Mr. Earnest Kirk.

Ishapore Ordnance Worker's Union Proceedings.

A general meeting of the Workers of Ordnance Factories Ishapore, was held at 5-30 P.M. on Tuesday the 3rd April, 1928 at Nawabganj.

Mr. Philip Spratt took the chair amidst applause. The gathering was a huge one and every one present looked promising to form an "Ordnance Workers Union" at Ishapore.

In a neat and clean speech Mr. Spratt explained the usefulness of a Worker's Union. Mr. Kali Dass Bhattacharjee spoke about the long-felt grievances of Ordnance workers, in general and urged one and all to shake off the accursed lethargy and come forward with fresh energy and zeal to live as a man and not to die in these hand to mouth fighting days. A few other gentlemen also spoke and made the meeting successful in every respect.

A strong executive body with the following office bearers for the Ishapore Ordnance Workers Union, was formed.

President	...	Mr. Philip Spratt.
Vice-President	...	Mr. Shib Nath Banerjee.
Secretary	...	Mr. Kali Das Bhattacharjee.

The meeting terminated late at night with thanks to the chair.

Nawabganj

Dated the 3rd April, 1928.

Chairman of the meeting.

OBJECTS OF THE UNION.

To secure amongst others:—

1. Minimum wages of Rs. 30/- per month.
2. One month's P.L. and if necessary two months sick leave with half pay. in a year.
3. Free sanitary quarters for all workers and their families.
4. Pension.
5. Pay of the Government Holidays.
6. Allowance for the Factory Idle days.

KALIDAS Bhattacharjee,

Secretary,

Ishapore Ordnance Workers Union.

P. 548. (10)

(1) An Urdu notice regarding a public meeting of the Do Workers to be held on 12th February under the signature Shantaram S. Mirajkar.

(2) An Urdu and Hindi notice regarding a public meeting the labourers to be held on 10th November at Holiday Park, Calcut Published by Syed Mohammad Shamsul Huda on behalf of t Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bengal, No. 2/1 European Asyl Lane, Calcutta.

(3) A Hindi notice regarding the holding of a public meeti of Scavengers etc. on 20-5-28. published by Dharni Kanta Goswar Secretary Scavengers' Union, 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Calcutt

(4) An Urdu and Hindi notice regarding the holding of public meeting of the labourers on 28-10-28 published by Beng Peasants' & Workers' Party.

P. 549.

A Star of India File containing the following 22 documents amongst others.

P. 549. (1)

AN APPEAL

TO

Those who are Interested in the cause of the

MASSES OF INDIA

Comrades

"Ganavani" (The "Voice of the People") is the official weekly organ in Bengali of The Peasants' and Workers' Party" of Bengal. Though Marxian in outlook this paper is propagating the high cause of the Indian nation and aims at the complete liberation of India from the yoke of the British Imperialism by the masses of India. The paper is a semi-theoretical and semi-agitational one. As the masses of India are mostly illiterate the main object of this paper is to prepare an ideological background on a strong scientific basis for the de-classed intellectuals so that they may work with the masses in order to educate and organise them, and to make them class-conscious. The language in which "Ganavani" is published is the richest of all the languages of India is spoken by more than 48 millions of peoples. Again, Bengali is the mother tongue of both the Hindus and the Muslims in Bengal, and in certain parts of two sister provinces. This not being the case in other provinces "Ganavani" has got the advantage of making propaganda. So far as its broadest outlook a most advanced views regarding the cause of India are concerned "Ganavani" was one and the only one journal of its kind in the whole of India till the month of May last when two more weeklies were started—"Kranti" (Revolution) in Marathi from Bombay and "Mehnatkash" (The Toiler) in Urdu from Lahore.

We have just published the 31st issue of "Ganavani". As it is not being backed by big mercantile firms with their advertisements the paper has been running at a huge loss. The "Peasants' and Workers' Party" of Bengal is lacking in resource. Henceforth we shall have absolutely to depend for the publication of "Ganavani" on the financial help of those of our comrades, in India and abroad who are interested in the cause of the masses of India. Any amount of help, how small might it be, will thankfully be received by us. If we be fortunate to get a sufficient response from our comrades we would like to have a moderately equipped printing press of our own which will ensure and facilitate our propaganda work.

Comrades, without resource at our back we have undertaken a very hard task. It is beyond question that we shall incur

disfavour of the British Imperialism, but we are also looked down by our bourgeois nationalist leaders who are so anxious to make a compromise with the British Imperialism to get an equal share in the exploitation of the masses. Comrades, it is your sympathy and material help which can only grant us a long lease of life in the service of the masses of India.

With greetings,

2/1, European Asylum Lane,
Calcutta (India)
The 13th October, 1927.

Franternally Yours

MUZAFFAR AHMAD

Publicity Secretary of the
"Peasants' and Workers' Party"
of Bengal

AND

Editor, "Ganavani".

P. 549. (2)

Presidential address of Sohan Singh Josh as submitted to the First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference, Calcutta December 1928, (in Gurmukhi).

P. 549. (3)

Presidential address of Sohan Singh Josh as submitted to the First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference, Calcutta December 1928, (in Urdu).

P. 549. (4)

Copy of "Political Resolutions" as submitted to the First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference in Urdu.

P. 549. (5)

Three Copies of " A call to Action ".

P. 549. (6)

*Top this
rejected*

Two copies of " Sacco and Vanzetti " one in English and the other in Urdu.

P. 549. (7)

" India and the Next War " by Miss Agnes Smedley (Berlin, Germany).

P. 549. (8)

THE
BENGAL PEASANTS' AND WORKERS' PARTY
CONSTITUTION

NAME.

1. The name of the Party is the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party.

OBJECT.

2. The object of the Party is the attainment of Swaraj in the sense of complete independence of India based on economic and social emancipation and political freedom of men and women.

DEMANDS.

3. The demands of the Party are :—

(1) Modern industries and public utilities such as mines, railways, telegraphs, inland waterways, tramways ect., shall be nationalised under the control of the workers' committees not for profit but for the use and benefit of the country.

(2) Ultimate ownership of land shall be vested in the autonomous village communities consisting of intellectual as well as physical labourers.

MEANS.

4. NON-VIOLENT MASS ACTION will be the principal means for the attainment and realisation of the above object and demands.

EXTENT.

5. The activities of the Party will extend to the entire province of Bengal and the Bengali speaking districts of Assam and Bihar and Orissa.

MEMBERSHIP.

6. (1) *Individual Member.* Any person above the age of 18 years who will subscribe to the object, constitution and programme of the Party may be taken in as a member of the Party subject to the approval of the Executive Committee.

(a) Membership of the Party does not preclude any body from being a member of the Indian National Congress, the Swaraj Party or any other Party or organisation so long as the object and

programme of these parties or organisations are not thought to be hostile to the object and programme of the Party.

(2) *Affiliated Societies.* The Executive Committee of the Party shall have power to affiliate any society or party which is in sympathy with the object and programme of the Party.

SUBSCRIPTION.

7. (1) Each individual member of the Party shall pay an annual subscription of Rupee One. In the case of the individual being a peasant or a worker the subscription will be one anna. The Executive Committee may exempt any body from subscription if it thinks so desirable.

(2) Affiliated societies shall have to pay annually at the rate of one anna per member with a minimum of Rs. 2/-. No society shall have to pay more than Rs. 50/-.

MANAGEMENT.

8. The work of the Party shall be conducted in the following way:—

(1) *Annual Conference.* There shall be held an annual Conference of the Party every year. This Conference shall direct and control the policy and programme of the Party.

- (a) The Annual Conference of the Party shall be held with all its individual members and affiliated societies so long as the membership of the Party does not reach a sufficient number. With the growth of members the Conference shall be held with the delegates representing individual members of districts and affiliated societies, and rules in this respect shall be framed in future.
- (b) The Annual Conference shall hold its session at such place as may have been decided upon at its previous session and at such time as will be determined by the Executive Committee.
- (c) A *Reception Committee* shall be formed of individual members and affiliated societies of the district in which the Annual Conference is to be held. The Committee shall be formed at least three months before the holding of the Conference and may include persons of the district who are not members of the Party. The Reception Committee shall bear all the expenses of the Conference.
- (d) The affiliated societies and the individual members of each district shall, at least two months before the Conference, suggest the name of a president to the Chairman of

the Reception Committee. The person receiving the largest number of votes shall be elected *president* of the Conference.

(2) *Special Conference.* In case of emergency the Enlarged Executive Committee or the Executive Committee shall have power to summon a special Conference. On a third of the members of the Enlarged Executive Committee or two thirds of the members of the Executive Committee agreeing such a Special Conference may be convened.

(3) *Enlarged Executive Committee.* There shall be an Enlarged Executive Committee of the Party. This Committee shall be constituted within one month after the Annual Conference on the following basis:

- (i) One elected representative for every 500 or its fraction of the individual members of a district.
- (ii) One elected representative for every 500 or its fraction of the members of affiliated societies.
- (a) If between two annual elections there is a vacancy in the Enlarged Executive Committee of representative of any affiliated society, or if any new society is affiliated, the affiliated society concerned shall elect some members to fill up the vacancy or to represent it there as the case may be, and if there is a vacancy of a district representative, the Enlarged Executive Committee shall fill up the

vacancy by nominating a member from the district.

- (b) The entire work of the Party shall be conducted under the guidance of the Enlarged Executive Committee.
- (c) Whenever required the Executive Committee on its own motion may, or if requisitioned in writing either jointly or separately by one fifth of the members of the Enlarged Executive Committee must, convene a meeting of the Enlarged Executive Committee. Twelve members of the Enlarged Executive Committee shall form a quorum for the purposes of a meeting.

(4) *Executive Committee.* There shall be an Executive Committee of the Party. The Committee shall be elected every year from among the members of the Enlarged Executive Committee after the latter is constituted.

- (a) If between two elections there is any vacancy in the Executive Committee the Committee shall itself

up the vacancy from among the members of the Enlarged Executive Committee.

- (b) The Executive Committee shall be entrusted to carry out the programme of work of the Party and it shall be responsible to the Enlarged Executive Committee for its work. At the time of the Annual Conference the Executive Committee shall submit a report of its work to the Enlarged Executive Committee.
- (c) For the facilitation of works for peasants and workers there will be two Sub-Committees of the Executive Committee.
- (d) The members of the Executive Committee shall not exceed thirty. Five members of the Executive Committee shall form a quorum for the purposes of a meeting.
- (e) *Office Bearers.* The Executive Committee shall elect from its members two Vice-Presidents' two Secretaries and two Asstt. Secretaries. The President of the Annual Conference shall be the President of the Executive Committee and he will also act as the Treasurer of the Party.
- (o) One Secretary and one Asstt. Secretary will be in charge of the Peasant Sub-Committee and the other Secretary and Asstt. Secretary in charge of the Worker Sub-Committee, but either Secretary or Asstt. Secretary shall have the right to work as the Secretary or Asst. Secretary of the Party.

RULES.

9. The Enlarged Executive Committee shall have power to frame rules regarding the recruitment of members, constitution of the Reception Committee, Annual and Special Conferences and holding of such conferences and procedures of meetings of the Enlarged Executive Committee. But these rules may be annulled, changed or enlarged by the Annual Conference.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 1926.

President :

DR. NARES CHANDRA SEN GUPTA, M.A., D.L.,

Advocate, High Court, Calcutta.

Vice President :

SJ. ATUL CHANDRA GUPTA, M.A., B.L.,

Advocate, High Court, Calcutta.

MAULVI RAJIBUDDIN TARAQDAR, M.L.C.

Bogra.

Secretary :

(Workers' Sub-Committee).

MAULVI QUTBUDDIN AHMAD,

Calcutta.

Asst. Secretary :

(Workers' Sub-Committee) :

SJ. SAUMYENDRANATH TAGORE,

Calcutta.

Secretary :

(Peasants' Sub-Committee) :

SJ. HEMANTA KUMAR SARKAR, M.A., M.L.C.,

Krishnagar (Nadia).

Asst. Secretary :

(Peasants' Sub-Committee) :

MAULVI SHAMSUDDIN HUSAIN,

Kirnahar (birbhum).

Members :

1. QAZI NAZRI ISLUM (*Calcutta*).
2. MAULVI AFTAB HUSAIN JOARDAR, M.L.C.,
Chuadanga, (Nadia).
3. „ FAIZUDIN HUSAIN (*Mymensingh*).
4. „ SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD, B.L.,
Krishnagar (Nadia).
5. „ AFSABUDDIN AHMAD, *Kustia (Nadia).*
6. „ AZIZUR RAHMAN, (*Mymensingh*)

7. „ SHAH ABDUL HAMD „
8. „ MAHIUDDIN AHMAD „
9. „ MAKBUL HUSAIN, (*Rajshahi*).
10. „ SYED ZAHIDUL HUQ CHAUDHURI,
(*Dacca*).
11. „ FAZLUL KARIM MALLIK „
12. BABU BRAJONATH DAS, (*Bogra*)
13. „ RAMANI MOHAN BISHWAS, (*Barisal*).
14. MUZAFFAR AHMAD, (*Noakhali*).
15. BABU MANI BHUSHAN MUKERJEE,
(*24 Parganas*).

Office :
37, HARRISON ROAD
CALCUTTA.

Sri Gouranga Press, Calcutta 555/26.

P. 549. (9)

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

CONSTITUTION

1928

Central Office :

2-1, European Asylum Lane

CALCUTTA:

7. „ SHAH ABDUL HĀMID „
8. „ MAHIUDDIN AHMAD „
9. „ MAKBUL HUSAIN, (*Rajshahi*).
10. „ SYED ZAHIDUL HUQ CHAUDHURI,
(*Dacca*).
11. „ FAZLUL KARIM MALLIK „
12. BABU BRAJONATH DAS, (*Bogra*)
13. „ RAMANI MOHAN BISHWAS, (*Barisal*).
14. MUZAFFAR AHMAD, (*Noakhali*).
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P. 549. (9)

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

CONSTITUTION

1928

Central Office :

2-1, European Asylum Lane

CALCUTTA:

The Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal

CONSTITUTION.

1. **Name:** The name of the Party is the **Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal**. It will be styled in Bengali as **Bangiya Krishak-O-Shramik Dal**.

N. B. This Party shall be the integral part of the **Workers' and Peasants' Party of India** which is yet to be formed.

2. **Object:** The object of the Party is the attainment of **Complete Independence from British Imperialism** and thorough democratisation of India based on economic and social emancipation and political freedom of men and women.

3. **Means:** The rallying the People to Mass Action will be the principal means for the attainment and realisation of the above objects.

4. **Extent:** The activities of the Party will extend to the entire province of Bengal and the Bengali speaking district of Assam and Bihar and Orissa.

5. **Membership:** (a) The membership of the Party shall be of two kinds.

(1) Individual and (2) Affiliated.

(b) Any person not below the age of 18 years who will subscribe to the object, constitution and programme of the party may be taken in as an individual member of of the party subject to the approval of the Executive Committee. Every individual member, except students and women will have to become a member of some workers' or peasants' union within two months of his becoming a member of the Party.

(c) Executive Committee of the Party shall have power to affiliate with it any workers' or peasants' union which is in sympathy with the object and programme of the Party. The Party shall undertake the work of giving the members of affiliated unions class-conscious education in trade unionism and politics, and shall assist the work of the unions by advice and propaganda.

Subscription. (a) Each individual member of the Party shall pay in advance an annual subscription of Rupee One. In the case of the individual being a worker or a peasant the subscription will be Four Annas annually. The Executive Committee may exempt any body from subscription if it thinks so desirable.

(b) Affiliated organisations shall have to pay annually the rate of One Pice per member with a minimum of Rs. 5/- organisation shall be compelled to pay more than Rs. 50/-annua

MANAGEMENT.

7. (a) The work of the Party shall be conducted in following way:—

There shall be held an **Annual Conference** of the Party. This Conference or the Congress of the proposed—"Workers and Peasants' Party of India"—shall direct and control the pol and programme of the Party.

(b) The Annual Conference of the Party shall be held w all individual members and affiliated societies so long as membership of the Party does not reach a sufficient number. W the growth of members the Conference shall be held with individ members and delegates of the affiliated unions.

(c) **Special Conference:** In case of emergency the Enlarg Executive Committee or the Executive Committee shall h power to summon a special Conference, one third of the memb of the Enlarged Executive Committee or two thirds of the memb of the Executive Committee agreeing such a Special Confere may be convened.

(d) **Enlarged Executive Committee:** There shall be an Enlarg Executive Committee of the Party. This Committee shall constituted within one month after the Annual Conference meeting of the Party. The members of this Committee shall elected from amongst the individual and affiliated members, affiliated unions and branches of the Party electing one represen tive for every 1000 members, provided that every affiliated uni or branch shall in any event elect one representative.

(e) If between two annual election there is vacancy in t Enlarged Executive Committee of the representative of any affil ed unions or if any new union is affiliated the affiliated union cerned shall elect some of its members to fill up the vacancy or represent it thereon as the case may be; and if there is a vacar of representative of the individual members the Enlarged Execut Committee shall fill up the vacancy by nominating a member fr amongst the individual members.

(f) The work of the Party shall be conducted under t guidance of the Enlarged Executive Committee which shall m every three months.

(g) Whenever required the Executive Committee on its own motion may, or if requisitioned in writing either jointly or separately by one fifth of the members of the Enlarged Executive Committee must, convene a meeting of the Enlarged Executive Committee. Fifteen members of the Enlarged Executive Committee shall form a quorum for the purpose of a meeting.

(h) **Executive Committee:** There shall be an Executive Committee of the Party elected every year from amongst the individual and affiliated members, residing in or near Calcutta during the Party's annual conference.

(i) If between two elections there is any vacancy in the Executive Committee the Committee shall itself fill up the vacancy from among the individual or affiliated members.

(j) The Executive Committee shall be entrusted to carry out the programme of work of the Party and it shall be responsible to the Enlarged Executive Committee for its work. The Executive Committee shall submit an annual report of its work duly passed by the Enlarged Executive Committee to the Annual Conference of the Party.

(k) For facilitation of works there shall be different groups in the Executive Committee. The members of the Executive Committee shall not exceed twenty and five members of it shall form a quorum for the purpose of a meeting. The Executive Committee shall meet at least once per month.

(l) The member of the Executive Committee shall automatically be considered as members of the Enlarged Executive Committee.

(m) **Office Bearers:** The Executive Committee shall elect from its members one Chairman, two Vice-Chairmen, one General Secretary, two or more Group or Sectional Secretaries and one Treasurer.

BRANCHES.

8. (a) A branch of the Party shall be established under the supervision of the Executive Committee in any town or village where there are twelve members.

(b) The branch shall elect a secretary, chairman, treasurer and branch committee.

(c) The branch secretary shall receive instructions from the Executive Committee and shall report on branch activities etc, to the Executive Committee, at least monthly.

(d) Branches of affiliated unions shall be affiliated to the local branch of the Party and shall be represented on its committee.

(e) The Secretary and Treasurer of the branch shall collect subscriptions from the members. Funds collected shall be allocated as decided upon between the Branch Committee and the Executive Committee.

(f) The branch committee shall subject to the direction of the Executive Committee, supervise and direct all Party work and propaganda within its area.

RULES.

9. (a) The Enlarged Executive Committee shall have power to frame general rules for carrying out the programme of the Party.

(b) Every member of the Executive Committee and the Enlarged Executive Committee shall have to raise some subscription for the Party.

(c) Any member of the Executive Committee who fails to attend four successive meetings shall automatically cease to be a member.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1928

CHAIRMAN

1. Atul Chandra Gupta, M. A. B. L.

VICE CHAIRMAN

2. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta, M. A. D. L.

GENERAL SECRETARY

3. Muzaffar Ahmad.

SECTIONAL SECRETARY (*Labour*)

4. Dharani Kanta Goswami.

MEMBERS

5. Kalidas Bhattacharya
6. Nikhil Roy
7. Gopendra Chakravarty
8. M. Abdur Razzak Khan
9. Abdul Halim
10. Aftab Ali
11. Nirod Kanta Chakravarty
12. Pyari Mohan Das
13. Sudhindra Nath Chakravarty

Printed at Zinat Fine Printery, at 38, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta

P. 549. (10)

**Rules and Regulations (in Urdu) of Nau Jawan Bharat Sat
Punjab.**

P. 549. (11)

**An Urdu poster regarding Workers' and Peasants' Pa
Conference.**

P. 549. (12) 27 Rejected

The programme of the Labourers and peasants conference to be held on 13/X/28, published by Moti Ram General Secy. (2 leaves in Hindi)

An appeal to the scavengers of Calcutta and its suburbs by the Peasants and Workers party of Bengal no. 2/1 European Assylum Lane Calcutta, regarding the formation of their Panchayats and *Sabhas* in order to uplift themselves. (2 leaves in Hindi).

A notice by W. and P. Party 2/1 Assylum lane Calcutta to the effect that a large procession of Labourers will be arranged on 23. 12. 28. (one leaf in Hindi).

A notice in Hindi for advertisement of the *Lal Nishan*, a Hindi weekly paper of the Labourers and peasants of Bengal. (one leaf) from its manager 2/1 European Assylum Lane Calcutta.

An appeal in Hindi to the Labourers and the peasants by workers and P. P. Bengal 2/1 European Lane Calcutta for the enlistment of members by 4 annas as subscription annually.

P. 546. (13)

The Labour-Swaraj Party.

OF THE

Indian National Congress.

CONSTITUTION.

1. **Name**—The name of The Party shall be the Labour-Swaraj Party of the Indian National Congress.

2. **Object**—The object of the Party is the attainment of Swarajya in the sense of complete independence of India based on economic and social emancipation and political freedom of men and women.

3. **Means**—Non-violent mass action will be the principal means for the attainment of the above object.

4. **Membership**—Any member of the Indian National Congress who subscribes to the object, constitution and program of the party shall be eligible to be a member of the Party subject to the confirmation by the Central Executive. The membership of this Party does not preclude anybody from being a member of the Labour-Swarajya Party so long as protection and promotion of the interests of Labour and Peasantry remain a part of their programme.

5. **Subscription**—Every member of the Party shall pay an annual subscription of rupee one.

6. **Central Executive**—The Central Executive will consist of (more or less) fifteen members who will be elected for three years by the initiators of the Party at its first meeting. The members will be in charge of one or more of the following departments and shall exercise the final power in all matters connected therewith: (1) Propaganda, (2) Finance, (3) Party Organisation, (4) Labour, (5) Peasant, (6) Legislatures.

Every member of the Executive will have one vote and the person presiding may give a casting vote in case of equality of votes. Three members shall form a quorum.

7. **Provincial Executive (Panchayet)**—There will be a Provincial Executive of the Party for each of the provinces into which the Indian National Congress is divided, consisting of 5 to 9 members appointed by the Central Executive.

8. **Provincial Council (Parisat)**—There will be also a Provincial Council for each Province consisting of one or more representatives from each district appointed at the first instance by the Provincial Executive for one year.

9. Attempts will be made by the district representatives of the Provincial Councils to organise district, sub-divisional union and village councils. With the growth of the district sub-divisional, union and village councils the system of election to the Central and Provincial Executives and the Provincial Councils will gradually come into practice.

10. Any matter not covered by the above will be decided by the Central Executive and their decision shall be final.

The Labour-Swaraj Party

OF THE

Indian National Congress.

POLICY AND PROGRAMME.

Whereas in the light of the experience gained by the failure of the Non-co-operation Movement as based on the Triple Boycott programme of the classes who are creations of an alien Bureaucracy and whose ultimate existence depends on the continuance of that alien Rule : and—

Whereas in the light of the experience gained in the Assembly and the different Councils by the Swarajya Party, it has been found that the Bureaucracy could not be made to yield to India's National Demands, even if all the Legislatures were captured by the Swarajists : and—

Whereas in view of the indiscriminate arrests and detention without trial of India's Soldiers of Freedom and the united protest of all the Political Parties of India having produced no effect on the Bureaucracy : and—

Whereas the only item involving direct action, viz., mass civil disobedience in the sense of universal national strike and non-payment, of taxes, which means all hands off from the machinery of exploitation and administration, has been practically given the go-by by the foremost Political Parties in India : and—

Whereas the cult of wresting freedom by speeches or by terrorism from the unwilling hands of the Bureaucracy has been of little avail in the past, and no amount of coaxing and cajoling with

the Bureaucracy can really improve the lot of the Indian People nor violence can secure freedom for the masses who are enchained in a thousand bondage and disarmed by a great military power helped by native co-operation, and the only means to establish Swaraj by non-violent methods seems to lie in the utilisation of the dynamic forces of mass movement which have really more potentialities than bombs and revolvers : and—

Whereas any scheme of Swaraj without reference to readjustment of land-owning system is meaningless so far as India is concerned and "to an agricultural people the dearest and the most sacred of privileges is that which gives them a sense of property in the land they till: liberty of land is the one thing without which all other things are unenjoyable: and tenancy determinable at the will of the superior is but a legal definition of serfhood: " and—

Whereas competition has been the bane of modern civilisation and Indian Life is based on true co-operation and there can be no peace unless competition in industry and other spheres is replaced by co-operation and spirit of mutual service : and—

Whereas the salvation of India as pointed out by S. J. Aurobindo Ghose lies in the combination of young de-classified intellectuals and the workers, industrial and agricultural.

Now the Labour-Swaraj Party of the Indian National Congress declares that the only means yet left for enforcing the demands of the people of India lies through the organisation of the Labour and Peasantry in the country who forms eighty per cent of the population, so that no longer denied the elementary rights of a human being, they may become further conscious of their political rights and wrest freedom from the unwilling hands of vested interests for their own might and for their own interest. And in giving effect to the said principles the Party resolves to adopt the following programme.

1. The Party will identify itself with the cause of Labour and Peasantry. (Labour includes those who earn their bread by hand or by brain).

2. The Party will where possible co-operate with the other Parties engaged in National Service.

3. The Party will help in the election of, and be represented by, members of Legislature who shall fight among other things for the following Labour and Peasant demands.

- (1) The representatives in the Legislatures will make arrangements for their internal management and guidance.

(2) Within the Legislatures bodies the representatives of the Party shall whenever possible

(a) Refuse supplies and throw out budgets unless and until the system of Government is altered in recognition of our rights,

(b) Throw out all proposals for legislative enactments by which the Bureacracy proposes to consolidate its power and

(c) Move resolutions and introduce and support measures and bills which are necessary for the healthy growth of National Life and the consequent displacement of the Bureacracy.

(3) No member of a Legislature shall accept any office under the Government except when permitted by the representatives of the Party in the Legislatures.

ULTIMATE DEMANDS.

1. **Labour**—Modern Industries and Public Utilities such as Mines, Railways, Telegraphs, Inland Waterways, Tramways etc. shall be nationalised under the control of Workers Committees not for profits but for the use and benefit of the country.

2. **Peasant**—Ultimate ownership of the land to be vested in the autonomous and self-contained village communities consisting of intellectual and physical labourers.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

1. **Labour**—(1) Minimum wages, giving a decent living, in all the Industries to be fixed by legislation.

(2) Eight-hour-day for five days and a half in the week to be fixed by law at the maximum duration of work for male adults. Special conditions to be laid down for woman and child labour.

(3) Employers to be obliged by law to provide for a certain standard of comfort as regards housing, working conditions, medical aid etc. for all workers.

(4) Protective legislation to be passed for old age, sickness, accidents and unemployment insurance in all industries.

(5) Profit-sharing to be introduced in all big industries.

(6) Free and compulsory education at the cost of the employers.

(7) Abolition of brothels, liquor shop etc. from indust areas.

(8) Introduction of Co-operative organisation for economic relief of the workers.

(9) Labour organisations to be given a legal status and workers' right to strike to enforce their demands to be recognise

II. Peasant (1) Land tax to be reduced to a fixed maxim and fixity of interest at the rate of the Imperial Bank on arrear re

(2) (a) Fixity of tenure, (b) no ejection, (c) cessation illegal and extrataxation (d) right of transference, (e) right of fell trees, sinking wells, excavating tanks and erecting pucca structu

(3) Fixed term of fishery rights in *folkars*.

(4) Fixity of a maximum rate of interest to be levied money-lenders.

(5) Agricultural Co-operative banks to be established provide credit to the peasants and to free them from the clutcl of money-lenders and speculating traders.

(6) Agricultural machinery to be sold or lent to the cul vators on easy terms through the Co-operative banks.

Persons willing to join the Party are requested to co municate with the undersigned.

1st November, 1925.

Qazi Nazrul Islam
37 Harrison Road, Calcut

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I. T. U. C. RESOLUTIONS.

(1) Workers' Welfare League of India.

This Congress considers that the British Trade Union Congress by its complete neglect until last year of the Indian Trade Union Movement, and by the reactionery attitude adopted by its leaders towards the movement for Indian independence, has sacrificed alrighit to act as the official agent of the all India Trade Union Congress. It therefore resolves that the decision of the executive council at Delhi, March 28 be rescinded, and that the "Workers Welfare League of India" be again appointed as the official agency of the All India Trade Union Congress in Great Britain.

(2) International Affiliation.

This Congress declares that, in view of the growth of the Indian Trade Union movement, and since the recent expectations of unity between the two Trade Union Internationals have not been fulfilled, a decision as to International affiliation can no longer be delayed. The International Federation of Trade Union (Amsterdaum) because of its general support of European Capitalism, its refusal to allow the Unification of the World Trade Union Movement, and its reactionary attitude towards the labour movement in the oppressed countries, can not be accepted by the All India Trade Union Congress as a suitable body with which to affiliate. The Red International of Labour Unions (Moscow) has shown its intention to fight unconditionally against capitalism, to pursue in good faith the aim of unity of the Trade Union movement, and to assist the struggle of the colonial working class for freedom from imperialist domination, and the All India Trade Union Congress is in sympathy with its aims and policy.

This Congress therefore decides to apply to the Red International of Labour Union for affiliation, and instructs the General Secretary to take necessary steps.

(3). League against Imperialism.

This Congress declares that the most urgent general task of the Trade Union movement is the overthrow of Imperialism, which demands close international cooperation of all anti-imperialist forces. If therefore resolves to affiliate, as invited, to the League against Imperialism.

4.- *Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.*

In view of the special problems confronting the Trade Union Movement in the Asiatic and Colonial countries, this congress considers that meetings and conferences of these Trade Unions

should be regularly held. It therefore resolves to affiliate to the Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

5. *International Labour Office.*

This Congress declares that the conferences and other work of the International Labour Office have produced no substantial benefit to the working class, and that the attendance of working class representatives at the I. L. O. conferences is undesirable collaboration both with the Imperialist Government and with the international organisation of Capitalism.

This Congress therefore decides that it shall in future make no nominations to the positions of delegates or advisors to Geneva Conferences.

6. *Assembly and Council Nominations.*

This Congress declares that in principle co-operation between the working class and the Imperialist Government is to be condemned, and that the attitude of the Govt. towards Labour has recently become so reactionary that the degree of co-operation which has hitherto been maintained must cease. It therefore declares that in the absence of fulfilment of its minimum demand for universal adult suffrage, it can recognise no alternative special means of representation of labour in the Legislatures.

This Congress therefore resolves that in the future the persons who are nominated by Govt to the Legislative Assemblies and Councils shall not be recognised by the Trade Union Congress representing Labour.

7. *The Trade Dispute Bill.*

This Congress regards the Trades Disputes Bill as a reactionary measure, which threatens the very existence of the Trade Union Movement in any useful form.

The proposed establishments of conciliation Boards and Commissions of Enquiry by Government is likely to be used by the Capitalist interests as an anti-labour weapon and the effect generally of the procedure of the so called impartial enquiry and conciliation upon the labour movement is deleterious, in as much as it tends to minimise the importance of the organised strength of the workers and to lead them to place their trust in the mere 'Justice' of the case and in the arguments of their leaders. The Congress therefore condemns this proposal as reactionary and harmful.

The Congress also condemns the proposal to deprive workers in the Railways, Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Services of the right to strike, and public conservancy of all rights of strike and even to forbid the individual workers to absent themselves

without notice under pain of heavy penalties.

The Congress also condemns the proposal to deprive the workers of their rights to declare a sympathetic strike, and strike of a political nature of such as are intended to influence the Govt. Especially in India, where there is not even a nominally democratic Govt. the T. U. C. insists upon the rights of the working class to express its political will by direct action.

This Congress therefore condemns the Trade Disputes Bill as a whole and demands that it be rejected completely. It further declares that the bill is a menace to the existence of the Trade Union Movement which must be resisted by all possible means and therefore resolves that :—

- (i) A campaign of meetings, demonstrations etc., shall be conducted by all affiliated unions under the General direction of the Congress and the provincial committees.
- (ii) Preparation shall be made for a one-day general strike of protest on the passage of the bill by the Legislative Assembly and a further general strike if the act is not rescinded, with the following demands;
 - (a) T. D. Act to be rescinded.
 - (b) Freedom for all unions including those of Govt. servants to join the T. U. C.
 - (c) Minimum wage of Rs. 30/- for all.
 - (d) 8 Hours-day.

8. Condemnation of Kirk, Shivrao, Choudhury and others.

This Congress condemns the action of Messrs. E. Kirk, B. Shiva Rao K. C. Roy Choudhury and others connected with the Trade Union movement who have publicly expressed approval of the Trade Disputes Bill, and considers that in connection with a bill of such a reactionary kind and which threatens such grave and far reaching consequences to the T. U. movement their action is deserving of the strongest censure.

9. Condemnation of the attitude of the nominated labour members.

This Congress condemns the action of these nominated labour representatives in the Legislative Councils who spoke in favour of, or refrained from voting against, co-operation with the Simon, Commission, in direct contravention of the decision of this Congress.

10. Protest against Police Firing.

This Congress strongly protests against the action of the police and the military forces in firing upon strikers, at Bamangachh at Bauria, in Bombay and on the South Indian Railway, and against the extremely oppressive and illegal measures such as expulsion from quarters, beating, baseless prosecution, prohibiting of meetings, etc., taken by the police and Government officials against workers in the Calcutta Scavengers strike, the E. I. RY strike, the jute workers strikes at Bauria Chengrail and Rishra, and the S. I. Ry. strike.

11. Indian Labour Year Book.

Resolved that the E. C. be directed to prepare and publish an "Indian Labour Year Book" for the information of the affiliated Unions, members, and the public, on the organisation of the labour movement and the position of the working class in India.

12. Congress view on All Parties Conference.

The Congress hereby dissociates itself from the All Parties Conference, and declares that inasmuch as its decisions are put forward not as a programme with which to rally the people, but as a basis for agreement between a small section of the Indian people and the Imperialist Government, they are unacceptable, re-actionary and useless.

The Congress protests strongly against the acceptance by the All Parties Conference of the demand for 'Dominion Status'. It declares that 'Dominion Status' will mean only an agreement between the exploiting classes of India and British whereby no advance towards real freedom will be obtained for India, but the exploitation of the working class and the peasantry by foreign capital, under the protection of foreign armed forces, will continue unchanged.

It further protests against the omission from the principles of the Constitution "of the right to strike and against the proposal to continue the existence of the reactionary and despotic Indian States. It declares that the programme upon which the labour movement can cooperate with other organisations must include in its items Complete Independence; Nationalisation without compensation of the foreign industries and possessions in India; abolition of the Indian States and of landlordism; and Universal adult suffrage.

14. *Establishment of Trade Councils.*

This Congress considers that in order to strengthen the common action of the organised workers, Trade Councils should be

established in each town where there exist branches of three or more Unions. The Trades Councils which should function by holding monthly delegate meetings of all affiliated branches, and should appoint executive committees should act as the local agents of the Trades Union Congress, and should co-ordinate the activities of all local workers Unions, and under-take the organisations of other workers into branches of suitable Unions.

16. *Protest against Government's attitude towards Soviet Republics.*

This Congress again protests against the policy of encirclement and preparation for war pursued with increased vigour by the British Government against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and warns the working class against the disastrous consequences, economic and political, to India and also to the Workers' Republic and throughout the World, if the prepared war comes about. It urges all Trade Unions to conduct propaganda and protest against the war policy and to prepare for general direct action by the workers on the outbreak of war.

P. 549. (15)
CONSTITUTION

1. Name.

The name of the Party shall be "The All-India Worker and Peasants' Party."

2. Object.

The object of the Party is the attainment of Complete Independence from Imperialism in general and British Imperialism in particular and thorough democratization of India based on economic, social and political emancipation of the Masses.

3. Means.

The means shall be the Party programme adopted from year to year at the Annual Session of the Party or at any extra-ordinary Congress called for the same purpose.

4. Extent.

The jurisdiction of the Party shall extend over the territories including Indian States, known as India proper, adjoining territories under the influence of British Imperialism.

5. Membership.

(A) The membership of the Party shall be of two kinds:—

1. Individual.
2. Affiliated body.

(B) Any person who will subscribe to the object, constitution and programme of the Party may be taken in as an individual member of the Party subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee. Every individual member, except students and women will have to become a member of some Workers' or Peasants' Union within two months of his becoming a member of the Party. Special exception may be made by Executive Committee provincial or Central.

(C) Candidates and members shall not be members of any communal organisation or take part in communal propaganda.

(D) The National Executive Committee of the Party shall have power to affiliate with it any Workers' or Peasants' Union which is in sympathy with the object and programme of the Party. The Party shall undertake the work of giving the members

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(C) Candidates and members shall not be members of any communal organisation or take part in communal propaganda.

(D) The National Executive Committee of the Party shall have power to affiliate with it any Workers' or Peasants' Union which is in sympathy with the object and programme of the Party. The Party shall undertake the work of giving the members,

affiliated Unions class-conscious education in trade-unionism and politics, and shall assist the work of the Unions by advice and propaganda.

(E) Members will have to pay party dues regularly and perform the organised work of the Party assigned to them.

6. Subscription.

(a) Each individual member of the Party shall pay Rs. 3 per annum to be collected by quarterly instalments. The Executive Committee may exempt or suspend anybody from subscription if it thinks so desirable.

(b) Affiliated organisations:—The affiliated organisations shall pay subscription at the rate of Rs. 3 per thousand or part thereof per annum.

(c) Donation of any amount will be received by the party from sympathisers.

7. Management.

The work of the Party shall be conducted as follows:—

(a) There shall be an Annual Congress of the Party. This Congress or any special Congress of the Workers and Peasants' Party of India shall direct and control the policy and programme of the Party.

(b) The Annual Congress of the Party shall be held with all individual members and representatives of affiliated organisations on the basis of one per thousand or part thereof.

(c) Special Congresses:—In case of emergency the National Executive Committee shall have power to summon a special Congress.

(d) National Executive Committee:—There shall be an Executive Committee of the Party elected every year at the Annual Congress from amongst the members (individual and affiliated).

(e) If between two elections there is any vacancy in the National Executive Committee, the Committee shall itself fill up the vacancy from among the individual or affiliated members.

(f) The National Executive Committee; shall be entrusted to carry out the programme of work of the Party and shall be responsible to the Congress for its work.

(g) The National Executive Committee shall submit a report of its work to the Annual Congress of the Party.

7. Management. (H) The work of the Party shall be conducted under the guidance of the National Executive Committee which shall meet every three months.

(I) For facilitation of work of the Party shall be divided into departments. One member of the National Executive Committee shall be placed in charge of a department. The National Executive Committee members in charge of such departments shall be responsible to the Executive Committee for work of the departments.

8. Office (A) Bearers. The National Executive Committee shall elect from among its members, a General Secretary and Treasurer. Departmental leaders shall also be elected from among members of the Executive Committee.

(B) Meetings :—At a meeting of the National Executive Committee, the Executive Committee shall elect its own Chairman. At all meetings of the Executive Committee five members shall form a quorum. At least 14 days notice must be given prior to calling National Executive Committee meetings.

(C) Meetings of the N.E.C. :—A National Executive member not attending two consecutive meetings without giving satisfactory excuse shall be considered to have vacated his seat and the National Executive Committee shall have power to fill such vacancy.

9. For a meeting of the Congress the National Executive Committee shall give one month's clear notice to all Provincial Committees and affiliated organisations who shall communicate the same to all the members within a week of receipt.

10. Rules. The Executive Committee shall have power to frame general rules for carrying out the programme of the Party.

The National Executive Committee shall have power to decide whether or not the Party members shall participate in outside bodies such as the Indian National Congress, Legislative and Local Boards, International organisations etc.

11. Discipline. It is essential for Party work that individuals should observe the requirements of a Party discipline. Decisions once taken by the appropriate organ of the Party must be obeyed.

Any member found acting against the interests of the Party or violating its decisions can be expelled by the Provincial Executive Committees. Such members shall have the right of appeal to the Central Executive Committee.

12. Organisation. Provincial Committee should be elected under the direction of the National Executive Committee of the Party.

Branches should be set up in towns, Talukas and Villages under the direction of Provincial Committees.

Groups set up in Factories, Railways, Mines etc. should work on Factory Committees.

Fraction or groups should be set up in Trade Union Branches, Management Committees, Executive Committees etc ; and also in Provincial Congress Committees. This applies to the Trade Union Congress and All India Congress Committee.

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

A Women section must be set up to work among women.

OPERATION OF ORGANISATION.

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

It is essential that all committees, branches and fractions should meet regularly, and keep up to date with current events. Therefore Provincial Executive Committees must meet at least once per month. Branches and Fractions or Groups every week.

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

Fractions or working groups must elect a group Leader, who shall be responsible to the provincial or Branch Committee. These fractions must carry out decisions of an higher body. These decisions will be conveyed to the group by the Group Leader.

After discussion and decision by the Group or Fraction of resolution or nominations for official position etc; the decisions of the group must be binding on the whole of the group. The work of the party groups within the Trade Unions and Congress Committees shall be guided by the programme and policy of the party. The demands of the party must be pressed forward for acceptance by these bodies, adherents and new members be gained and the propaganda of the party thus advanced. This applies to groups operating in the T. U. C. and A. I. C. C.

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

Provincial Committees:--These committees when elected shall co-ordinate the Party activities in the Province. They will receive instructions and policy on current affairs from the National Executive Committee. The Provincial Committee in turn conveys this information to

12. Organisation. Branches, groups etc; and must receive reports regularly from Branches, groups etc on work done, future meetings of organisations, election of officers etc. The Provincial Committee shall have power to deal with immediate problems, issue urgent manifestoes and leads in the name of the Provincial Committee, Workers and Peasants' Party, and shall be responsible for the same to the National Executive Committee.

Committees Elected:--The Branch Chairman, Secretary, Executive members and Treasurer shall be elected by the whole branch membership and with group Leaders shall constitute the Executive Committee of Branch.

The Provincial Committees:--This Committee shall be elected by an annual meeting of representatives, elected by Party Branches and groups and affiliated organisations throughout the Province.

P. 549. (16)

Meerut. W. & P. Conference

S. Singh

A. Majid

1. Nehru Report. comprehensive (see Hindi leaflet.)
2. Demands (economic).....(4)
3. Social demand. (7-8) Communal, educ. sanitation, childwelfare training, women food supply.
4. Peasants of U.P. illegible 1929 land assessment
5. Next war
6. Condemnation & S. W. P. for office levees etc.
7. Cong: to *peasants* of Bardoli, (not leaders)
8. Formation of W. & P. Party.
9. Direct & Indirect Donation.

Satya Pal

I

Second

P. 549. (17)

We the undersigned present compliments and request the pleasure of the company of Mr. P. Spratt at the 2nd Section of the Workers and Peasants' Conference to be held on the 29th & 30th Sept. 1928 (along with the Punjab Provincial Conference) at Lyallpur under the presidency of Mr. S. A. D. Bombay.

Dated 10. 9. 28.

AMRITSAR,

SOHAN SINGH 'JOS

General Secretary

Workers & Peasants' party F

BHAG SINGH Canadian

Managing Director

"KIRTI", Amritsar.

P. 549. (18)

Telegrams: "KIRTI"

Telephone: "714"

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COMMANDS
WIDEST
CIRCULATION.

Ref. No.....

Amritsar 27th July 1928.

(India).

Dear Comrade,

We the undersigned shall feel much obliged if you kindly condescend to attend the second session of the workers and peasants' conference of the Punjab to be held on the 28th, 29th and 30th of September, 1928 along with the Punjab Provincial Political Conference at Lyall pur.

The president of the session will be Mr. S. A. Dange, Bombay. You are requested once again with all the force at our command to kindly grace this occasion by your presence and expected to reach on 28th September, 1928.

With fraternal greetings.

Yours in liberty

SOHAN SINGH.

General Secretary

The Workers and Peasants Party

Punjab.

Telegrams: "KIRTI"

Telephone: "714"

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SOHAN SINGH

General Secretary

The Workers and Peasant's Party

Pt

P. 549 (19)

Dakeswari Cotton Mill's Workers Union.

Head Office:—61, Nawabpur,

Dacca.

Dated 11/3/1929.

Your Ref.....

Our Ref.....

Comrade Spratt.

Dear Comrade:

I think I can speak to you as a comrade who can understand the grave situation that will be created by a break up in our Party in Bengal.

There is something wrong in understanding among our Comrades of both the group. Please don't make fool of yourself by being led by a false idea and imagination of a grave danger of Social Decmocracy, as analysed in 6th World Congress of Comintern, to be present among us.

Both the groups are no doubt sincere to the Cause of Communism and Proletarian Revolution, with the course exceptions of very few who are real opportunists. Difficulty is that at this stage you cannot get rid of those opportunists who are working this split but in a few months the struggle that will confront the party will clear them out. It may be ambition or something else that has blinded my comrades to know the real opportunists—if they had been conscious, they would have played with them tactfully but not led away by their designs. So much of it, please take the initiative to do away with their wrong understandings. Because if it goes on the Party loses the best sacrificing element who can stand the severest sufferings and who can make a militant stand.

Besides, this group that will leave the Party when left to themselves will be an easy prey of both the bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie and the opportunists. So much today. Anxiously waiting for your action.

With greetings.

Yours.

G O P A L

१०५७७(१७)

THE ROY LETTER:

COMMUNISTS PARTY'S "BELIEF"

In the course of a statement on the Roy letter the Communist Party of India states:—"In view of the systematic malic propaganda that is being carried on against the Communists in country on the basis of a fabricated letter, the Communist Party of India believes that the Roy letter is only an invention of Imperialist Press for creating an atmosphere favourable for introduction of repressive legislation in the form of Trades Disputes Bill and Public Safety Bill in the country. The party wants to make it clear, that it is an open organisation, the aims of which have been before the public since its inception in 1925. It does not suggest, therefore, of underground methods can only be used in wanton and malicious statement on the part of imperialists. We want to have an era of monopolistic exploitation of the masses in this country".

NEW BILL CONDEMNED.

"STRIKING AT ROOT OF LABOUR MOVEMENT".

The labour leaders of Bombay are agitated over the proposed introduction in the Central Legislature of a Public Safety Bill (removal from India of non-Indian Bolsheviks). Consequently at a meeting of the Textile mill strikers, an extreme labour leader indulged in an attack on the Government of India attempting to "strike at the root of labour movement" in the country. He claimed that the labour movement was an international movement as "all over the world it was a question of tyranny of the capitalist". He characterised the measure as aimed to exterminate for the present Mr. B. F. Bradley from Bombay and Mr. Phillip Spratt from Bengal.

Mr. Bradley also criticised the Bill.

A "FAKED" LETTER.

NO UNDERGROUND ORGANISATION.

WORKERS AND PEASANTS' PARTY ON ROY LETTER

Mr. S. V. Ghate, Secretary of the Workers and Peasants' Party, Bombay sends the following statement on behalf of the Party:—

Following on the notorious example of the Zinovidl letter forgery on the eve of the last General Election in England, the imperialists have started a similar stunt to create a favourable atmosphere for renewing an era of oppression, by publishing the "fake Roy-letter" said to have been addressed to the Workers and Peasants' Party.

The Imperialists Government, with the aid of the capitalists, Indian and foreign, wants to suppress the growing awakening amongst the masses of India, as evidenced in the country-wide discontent and unrest that has culminated in spontaneous strikes all over the country. The cry, therefore has gone forth that the Communists have been ruining the country, its industries and what not. But the peaceful method adopted by the Workers and Peasants' Party in the country have not given an opportunity to the Government to bring into action all its instruments of oppression on the workers' front

THIRSTING FOR COMMUNISTS' BLOOD.

While the Bengal Chamber of Commerce has been clamouring for the ousting of the foreign agitation, others of their class have been thirsting for Communists' blood. The Government, as if in obedience to the wishes of these classes, has promised them to bring its "oppressive" bill at the next session of the Imperialist legislature. Unfortunately for the Government the Trades Disputes Bill has had an hostile reception by the Nationalists press.

STRANGLE T. U. MOVEMENT.

The workers and Peasants' Party believes that this letter is an invention of the capitalist press to make a strong case for the introduction of the Trades Disputes Bill, to once and for all put an end to the only legitimate method of strike,

Rowlatt Act in Economic Sphere

BLOW TO TRADE UNIONISM

Workers and Peasants' Party on Trade Disputes Bill.

The Workers and Peasants' Party has issued the following manifesto regarding the proposed Trade Disputes Bill:—

The Government of India not content with the innumerable instruments they are already armed with, for suppressing even the most constitutional methods of the Indian people in their fight for freedom from exploitation, are planning to forge another addition to their unlimited powers. The introduction of the Trade Disputes Bill at the next session of the Imperial Legislature aims at suppressing the growing awakening amongst the masses of Indian workers and peasants who have found in the Trade Union Movement an expression against capitalist exploitation. The Trade Union movement though only in its infancy, has during the past few years rallied round its banner, the workers and peasants of India. The abject state of surrender to capitalist tyranny is being resented, and this resentment is finding expression in the spontaneous and sporadic strikes all over the country. The number of Trade Unions in the industrial centres like Bombay and Calcutta have increased in large numbers with the result that the monopoly to exploit the Indian workers, unhampered, is receiving a severe check. The representations of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and the denunciation of the Bombay Mill-owners' against Communist agitators, have brought the Government to the rescue of the capitalists who are alarmed at the growing manifestations of mass energy.

ROWLATT ACT IN ECONOMIC SPHERE.

The Trade Disputes Bill which the Government have tabled for introduction in the Legislative Assembly is a counter part to the Rowlatt Act in the economic sphere. With the drastic powers contained in the Bill for coercion the Government will be enabled to cripple the Trade Union movement making it impossible for workers to fight their employers to obtain better living conditions because the Government will in essence control the internal administration and the external policy of Trade Unions in India.

For instance the Bill provides that the moment the Government smells a dispute between the employer and the workers, they can appoint a semi-judicial enquiry. In a fight between the employe

and the workers the result of such an enquiry will be a foregone conclusion. Hence an impartial enquiry does not exist in a 'class dispute.' By intervening at the mere "apprehension" of any dispute, the Government will check the right of the workers to strike in order to obtain better living conditions.

PENALISING STRIKES.

The Bill provides that the strikes will become illegal if resorted to without a month's notice to the employer. The Bill, of course, does not lay any restrictions on the wage-reducing propensities of the bosses. The subtle methods employers resort to, to snatch from the workers portions from their already miserable wages, that have been brought to light in the mill strike show, if anything, how impossible it is for the workers to combat the bosses against such trickeries, as in the textile strike it took about two years for the workers to discover that their wages were being systematically reduced and the talk of a month's notice before such hypocrisy, will be sheer tyranny.

As if this were not enough, resorting to strike in semi-Government institution, such as the Railways, post and Telegraph is made impossible as the Government is free at any time to suppress any strike.

The penalising of strikes will be a formidable weapon in the hands of an Imperialist Government, and should be fought out. The history of the Bengal Ordinance, and the ruthless manner in which the Government utilised this machinery "should be a warning to those that may fall a prey" to the Government manouvres in getting support to this bill. A month's imprisonment for going on strike while it may help to prolong the strike by a month by the strikers month's existence problem being solved, will in no way minimise the possibility of a strike, for the cause of strikes is to be found in this ruthless manner in which modern capitalism works. And since there is a chronic state of exploitation struggle against the exploitation will be a chronic feature of the age. And neither imprisonment, nor even hanging, will have any terror for the masses struggling to free themselves from capitalist tyranny.

PROTECTION TO "BLACKLEGS"

Finally, the intervention,--of the Government in the internal administration of the Trade Unions, strikes at the very root of this movement of the workers. The protection that the Bill gives to "Blacklegs", will in future reduce the Trade Unions to be mere agencies of the Government and the employers. The fundamental right of an organisation to free administration being snatched away, the T. U. movement cannot grow at all. By insisting that every person, who having failed to abide by the decision of a trade union,

if dismissed from its membership, shall be liable to be restored to membership by the force of this Bill, the Trade Union in future will be honey-combed with spies and capitalist agents who swarm the unions and sabotage their growth.

The Bill leaves no ground, therefore, for a straight fight the workers against their exploiters. The elementary right of Trade Union of freedom from interference in the internal administration being snatched away, as also the right to strike, the exploiter is left free to continue in his ruthless job. For a strike can be interpreted as coercing the Government or the community.

Protests from all over the country must be against this Bill being passed, in the shape of mass demonstrations, and also agitation should be carried on for a country-wide General strike to force the rescinding of this Bill as also to obtain an eight hour day, minimum living wage, better housing conditions etc., for the workers, and show the Government that the masses will not tolerate any such repression in future.

P. 549. (20)

The Communist Party of India.

CENTRAL OFFICE:

BOMBAY.

BOMBAY, 25th. August 1928.

In view of the systematic malicious Propaganda that is being carried on against the Communists in this country, on the basis of a fabricated letter, the Communist Party of India because that the Pey-letter is only an invention of the Imperialist Press for creating an atmosphere favourable for the introduction of repressive legislation in the form of Trades disputes Bill and Public Safety Bill in the country.

The Party wants to make it clear, that it is an open organisation, the aims of which have been before the public since its inception in 1925. Any suggestion, therefore, of underground methods can only be a wanton and malicious statement on the part of imperialists who want to have an era of monopolistic exploitation of the masses in this country.

Because of the fact that the Communists by their policy have been able to expose the frauds of capitalists on unsuspecting workers the capitalists have been making frantic efforts to get rid of the Communists by whatever methods they could; and if they invented a bogus letter to damn the Communists, it was to gain sympathy of unsuspecting Indians to their anti-Communists Propaganda.

The Communist Party of India warns all the Nationalists against being easy tools in the hands of Government for the suppression of the growing mass movement in this country. The best that they can do at this stage is to oppose the Trade-Dispute Bill and the Public safety Bill, which will arm the Govt. with unlimited powers, which have been used with unscrupulous indiscriminateness in the past upon any one that dared to oppose it.

Illegible

S. N. GHATE

General Secretary.

My dear Muzaffar,

I am enclosing the cuttings from papers the statement on Roy letter, and the Trade Disputes Bill for your information.

Discussion are going on for a settlement of strike under the mediation of Dr. Deshmukh; but we can't state at this stage what the result would be.

When are you calling the Provisional Committees, meeting at Calcutta. Let me know.

Public Safety Bill for Spratt ?

Yours

S. N. GHATGE

27-8-28.

P. 549 (21)

Comrades.

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

themselves to be leftest, are making the worst blunders. They are trying to do the works of the Party in water-tight. Compartment. They think of India today is what Russia has become but today and so they scent troskyst tragedy to appear at any movement and as a guard against all these they try to keep the Party pure, by not allowing or driving out those persons who purely by their births are suspected by them to turn up to be reactionaries of at least the pacifist, social Democrat of advanced capitalist countries. Not to speak of Jawharlal and Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt or Oabhadra Gupta, they were thinking of comrade Kali Sen to become a reactionary and so they could not reconcile to the idea that they would have any place in the W. & P. P. Then next their attention has been drawn to the possibility of Comd Chakravarty for himself to become the like, prejudices of the class we are born in, getting the upper hand. Nay there are something else which are playing in the sub-conscious mind in taking to this last course of driving us forward if not so then why should they don't mind for Com. Goswan whom sometimes back they thought to be fit to become a fullpledge communist member in the C. P. of India. Comrades, I warn you that the problems that are confronting the C. P. of Soviet Russia and the advanced capitalist countries are not the same in India. You should by no means forget that India is a colonial country and the tactics you are to play in your organisations are much more difficult and complex than that of other countries and if by your tactical blunder you make India wait for centuries for proletarian revolution then the crime of betrayal the workingclass are on you. No doubt it is & should be your firm object to achieve the overthrow of the imperialist & the bourgeoisie the same time but it should be our important tactic not to allow these two, combined against us when the workingclass are not organised, for then to allow the combined forces to suppress the movement in its bud.

P. 549. (22)

The Bengal Jute Workers' Association.

Branch: =BUDGE-BUDGE, 24 PARGANAS.

Central Office:—

Bhatpara

ESTD. 1925.

Budge-Budge.....192 .

Ref. No.....

Manifesto of the Workers' & Peasants' Party of India.

- Subjection, etc. {
- I. Brief picture of the oppression that is round. We are slaves.
 - II. Exp: of the nature of exploitation-political.
 - III. Social Backwardness due to this exploitation.
 - IV. This state of things ought to be changed. We ought to be free? What is Freedom?
 - V. How to change this? revolutionary mass movement.
 - VI. The Party is there to bring about this Revolutionary mass movement.
 - VII. Programme of action of the Party.
 - (a) Independence of the country, national liberation the way to social liberation.
 - (b) Framing of Trade Unions.
 - (c) Peasant Unions.
 - (d) Federation of Peasants' Trade Unions.
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ESTD. 1925.

Budge-Budge.....192 .

Ref. No.....

(1) Exploitation of the masses has been going on since anything was known. Their history has been a tale of continuous struggle for emancipation from oppression. 98% of the people go on from day to day with insufficient food, scanty clothing,

insanitary houses, lack of Proper medical facilities and all worth living. 91% of the workers are illiterate, and even education of those few, is unrelated to their needs. Consequent under the Present System there is much unemployment and waste of talents amongst the educated classes. The majority of People have no votes, and consequently no Political Status. Political activity on the Part of the masses is systematically suppressed, by means of Proscription of literature, Prosecution of Persons and victimisation of those engaged in Political Work.

(2) Why, we ask, should the masses be in such a state of ignorance and Poverty, while there is plenty around them? Because the means of Production and distribution are held by a few, and used exclusively for their own personal gain, the real workers who produce all the wealth—food, clothing, etc., go without them, while the idle rich are able to accumulate the fruits of others' labour. Land has been snatched away from the cultivator, by the rich landlords, while the actual tiller has to cultivate the land, with insufficient tools. Both manual and train workers have to sell their labour power to the owning class, in return for a scanty remuneration. The owning class by the use of its economic Power in order to maintain control of state Power, keeps the masses in a state of contented subjection by controlling the educational machinery and social and religious institutions. The owning class also possesses monopoly Political Power, which helps it perpetuate these conditions.

(3) In order to eradicate all these evils that are at present existing in the Present day society, it is necessary to emancipate the masses from their present day thralldom. Freedom is essential for the proper growth and development of society and the individual. But the Present system entails bandage of 98% of the population and as such, acts as a cancer and stops any development, and life is sheltified. A classless society, will mark the emancipation of the masses and will bring about a healthy growth of individuals.

(4) The emancipation of the masses can only come through an organisation of the Peasants and Workers' in the country. Mass energy must be directed into Revolutionary channels by building up militant workers organisations with the slogan complete.

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P. 550.

Introduction: Shuffling etc. at congress.

Past History: 2 paras or so N.C.C.—

Past two years: B. 6 going fed-up.

Finally: Simon Commission.

But on contrary: bourgeois politicians developing other way, even up to last.

e.g. May A. I. C. C. Malavya's phamplet and Constitutions.

Congress itself scene of this conflict. (account of parties ?) Leaders unable to show their true intention, covering up with radical resolution, meaning little. (Informed left in Congress.—Independence resolution, War etc. etc. Real intention conveyed in Boycott Resn. (Councils only). Resolution on Constitution. (Assembly of all bourgeois parties) Hindu Muslim Unity.—not a sound way (mass way),

Further steps to keep Congress in their hands, inc. of fees, Calcutta as next seat—Bourgeois prevy fascist mentality.

Further possible that radical agitation may be carried forward in spite of all Young G. Malavya's statement. We may keep the Moderates with us for a few months, until the campaign has gone so far that their withdrawal will not matter. It is clear that a great opportunity has arrived to launch a big campaign once more.

T. U. C. resolution. 1. Union for 1-day str. like the Rowlatt Bills and the Jallianwala Bag massacre.

But the essential understanding is not yet widespread. The organised elements which favour a mass programme are few. Their ideas appear to catch on well but organisation follows very slowly. (Illegible their organisattou is yet theoretical. They have as yet no real hold on the masses. Particallly all existing Peasant organisation, and they are very few and weak, are in the hands of moderates, and Trade Unions are in little better position. The A.I.T.U.C. at Cawnpore in November passed res. boycotting Commission but there was no suggestion of anything other than abstention from submitting evidence, and even this it was at first proposed, should be conditional.

As for Congress leaders, now that they are away from the radical atmosphere of the Congress, they will almost certainly decline into negotiating with other bourgeois leaders' parties for a united front whose object is to extort concessions.

J. N. This Congress declares the goal of the Indian people to be independence with full control over the defence

forces of the country, the financial and economic policy, and the relation with foreign countries. The Congress demands that this right of the Indian people should be forthwith recognised and given effect to, in particular by the withdrawal of the alien army of occupation.

Satyamurti: Complete National Ind.

Introduction: Curious spectacle of inconsistency shuffling on the part of leaders at Madras.

Past Hist. of Congress: Para or two—Since N.C.O. the gradual collapse of Swarajist bourgeois parliamentary opposition, failure of Gandhism to reassert itself.

Disheartenment of mass of Petit bourgeoisie etc. support. Preparation of Bourgeoisie within and without Commission. Unity within Congress on basis of surrender Malaviya and Kelkar.

Preparation of Constn. adv. of "R. T. L."

In past two years or so: Growing fed-up-ness with quietude of national movement.—economic pressure not decreasing—expectation of resumption of movement not fulfilled. Some way needed. Effect of Chinese struggle growing realisation. Approach of World war—N. W. & N. A. frontier. Detenus etc. etc. Hindu Muslim differences can only be solved when movement springs up again, and that the efforts to find artificial solutions to the question are as harmful as neglect.

Saklatvala's propaganda—Mayo's book.

DISAPPN. WITH LABOUR PARTY.

Finally Simon Commission—non-value is of Indians and rather brutal speeches of Birkenhead etc.—forced even Liberal opposition.—possibly the reason why he did it.

Congress leaders immediately pledged upon to this. But with for united front of bourgeois unity of all parties—through legislatures only. Committees formed etc. Thought it fairly became clear that the united front could not last long. Pull Congress on one hand and from Moderates on the other. Vice intervention. Efforts of Ang—I. Press to cause Moslems split away etc.

This attitude was carried into the Congress to a certain extent. The Presidential Address repeatedly mentioned need for unity of all parties—as the only parties other than the Congress are the Bourgeois parties.

"Unity on the Congress".

"Unity in Councils" All P. to consider Constitution. etc.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar in opposing the amendment to the Boycott Resolution, said: "Congress cannot hope to retain support of Moderates and Liberals if it talks of hartals and strikes". The attitude was effective in restraining the Congress from taking up the question which has long been in the air, of framing a programme on which to appeal to the country. It was decided merely to proceed with a constitution as a substitute for such a programme and restricting the proposed Boycott almost completely to Councils "Mass demonstrations" alone were admitted. Mr. S. Iyengar in opposing an amendment to add "strikes and hartals" etc. said:

No suggestion was made that Boycott in itself is a "gesture" of little value, and that what is necessary is to use the Boycott as a means once more of rousing a mass feeling in the country. Further the Constitution is not to be drafted by the Congress, but is to be drawn up by a National Convention of all the Parties in the Country which it is hoped to hold within three or four months. (Now all the Parties in the country is practically, are bourgeois parties).

P. Chandra Sekkhara Sharma,

KOTAPET

Guntur Dist.

As opposed to these there are to be placed the other resolution on way the League against Imperialism, etc. and, most of all, the resolution for complete national independence. These it should be noticed, were put forward as if in the name of the Working Committee, but were moved by Mr. J. M. who is not a member. And the original firm of the resolution on Independence was a somewhat more compromising one. But when an amendment was moved to this by Mr. Satyamurthi, to change the wording to "Complete National Independence" it received practically unanimous support from the members of the W.C. and A.I.C.C. Malaviya and Mrs. Besant who spoke against, voted for it, so great was the enthusiasm.

Even at the time, it was clear that several W. C. members were not taking this resolution very seriously, and shortly after a considerable reaction of feeling set in. Members went about assuring each other that the passing of the Independence Resolution "meant nothing". Others claimed that it could be interpreted to mean Dominion Status. A rumour was started that Gandhi intended to oppose the resolution in the Open Session, and amendment sent in by Mr. R. Igr. to be proposed in the O.S. to the effect that all Congress members of legislatures should forthwith resign their

seats and seek reelection for the purpose of refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance was not allowed to come forward. At the retiring President Mr. S. Iyer, who spoke very vehemently for the amendment, shortly afterwards remarked to a group of Congressmen, "Now we can get a settlement with Birla's head". But the most important evidence that the resolution was not meant on the part of the Working Committee lie in the fact that no attempt was made to alter Congress policy to implement the resolution. Several speeches pointed out that nothing but mass action would provide the strength necessary to the intention expressed in it, but, although an outline programme of this character had been sent in by certain A.I.C.C. members, the subject was not taken up.

Two members of the A.I.C.C. from Bombay who are members of the W. & P.P. had sent in a resolution.— That Independence was not contemplated before the Session shown by the Draft Constitution prepared by Messrs. Rangaswami Iyengar and Srinivasa Iyengar Sec. and Pres. respectively of the Congress. Both of these propose that India shall remain with the British Empire. Similarly Madan Mohan Malaviya in his articles in the Hindustan Times, advocates ultimately non-payment of taxes, and the training (presumably illegal) of Indians in the use of arms, as a means of bringing pressure to bear on the Government primarily to put Indian members on the Commission. He finishes for example, by saying "Is it too much to hope that in view of the practically unanimous and unchangeable opposition of Indians to the Commission as it has been constituted, Government will reconsider its decision, and, by acceding to the reasonable request of India establish the first condition which is essential to enable the Commission to carry out its momentous task given?"

Not as an idealist but as a practical man.
 Dominion Status not a half way house towards Independence.
 What the starving in g millions Want?
 Foreign exploiters.
 Indian exploiters.
 So P. C. foreign capital.
 Dominion Status means interlocking of two classes.
 Unholy alliance — mass will be exploited
 Opponents. South Africa. Canada.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

43rd SESSION, CALCUTTA.

2 p. m. 30th December, 1928.

RESOLUTIONS

I. ALL PARTIES COMMITTEE REPORT

This Congress having considered the constitution recommended by the All Parties Committee Report welcomes it as a great contribution towards the solution of India's political and communal problems and congratulates the Committee on the virtual unanimity of its recommendations and whilst adhering to the resolution relating to complete Independence passed at the Madras Congress approves of the constitution drawn up by the Committee as a great step in political advance specially as it represents the largest measure of agreement attained among the important parties in the country.

Subject to the exigencies of political situation this Congress will adopt the constitution if it is accepted in its entirety by the British Parliament on or before the 31st December, 1929, but in the event of its non-acceptance by that date or its earlier rejection, the Congress will organise a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and in such other manner as may be decided upon.

Consistently with the above nothing in this resolution shall interfere with the carrying on, in the name of the Congress, of the propaganda for complete independence.

Moved by MAHATMA GANDHI (Gujarat)

D. Status and Independence not the same.

War danger (Last war-Tilak and Gandhi support.

Preparations-- mass struggle going on.

Kristo Das Pal's sentence in 1874: 'Demand Home Rule for India'

Sen Gupta,

Cares for Unity of 2. p.c.

Kemal, Rega, Changmireed, why not Tilak, Aravind and Gandhi.

no economic programme.

No Despair

International movement of class struggle.

Greetings - all for Independence.

Seconded by Mr. S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR
(Tamil Nad).

Opposed by SWAMI KUMARANANDA (Ajmer)

AMENDMENTS.

This Congress having considered the Constitution, recommended by the All Parties' Committee Report is of opinion that it is totally unsatisfactory and unacceptable for the following principal reasons:

- (1) That it allows the *bourgeoisie* to compromise with British Imperialism by establishing a so called "Dominion Status which involves the safeguard of vested interest, land-owning, feudal and capitalist, and sacrifice of the interest of the masses.
- (2) That by recognising the titles of the Princes, it proposes to perpetuate the tyrannical and undemocratic system of Government, entailing unchecked exploitation of the masses, which exists in the native States.
- (3) That it safeguards and acquiesces in the exploitation of the human and material resources of India by foreign capital.
- (4) That it guarantees and allows enjoyment of all titles of private and personal property, acquired by questionable means, which perpetuates the exploitation of the masses.
- (5) That it guarantees payment of all foreign State debts.
- (6) That it proposes to place the armed forces of the country under the control of a Committee, which will consist partly of British officers, thus depriving the Indian people of their inherent right of selfdefence.
- (7) That it proposes to give executive powers and power of veto to Governor-General and Governors, nominated by the King, thus depriving the Indian people of their sovereign rights.

This Congress therefore declares that its aim is the attainment of complete National Independence based on political, economic and social equality, entirely free from British Imperialism.

Moved by Mr. R. S. NIMBKAR (Bombay)

Seconded by Mr. K. N. JOGLEKAR (Bombay)

Add the following before para 1 of the original resolution

Not as an idealist but as a practical man.
 Dominion Status not a half way house towards Independence.
 What the starving millions Want?
 Foreign exploiters.
 Indian exploiters.
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 Dominion Status means interlocking of two classes.
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Subject to the exigencies of political situation this Congress will adopt the constitution if it is accepted in its entirety by the British Parliament on or before the 31st December, 1929, but in the event of its non-acceptance by that date or its earlier rejection, the Congress will organise a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and in such other manner as may be decided upon.

Consistently with the above nothing in this resolution shall interfere with the carrying on, in the name of the Congress, of the propaganda for complete independence.

Moved by MAHATMA GANDHI (Gujarat)

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(Tamil Nad).

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- (2) That by recognising the titles of the Princes, it proposes to perpetuate the tyrannical and undemocratic system of Government, entailing unchecked exploitation of the masses, which exists in the native States.
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- (6) That it proposes to place the armed forces of the country under the control of a Committee, which will consist partly of British officers, thus depriving the Indian people of their inherent right of selfdefence.
- (7) That it proposes to give executive powers and power of veto to Governor-General and Governors, nominated by the King, thus depriving the Indian people of their sovereign rights.

This Congress therefore declares that its aim is the attainment of complete National Independence based on political, economic and social equality, entirely free from British Imperialism.

Moved by Mr. R. S. NIMBKAR (Bombay)

Seconded by Mr. K. N. JOGLEKAR (Bombay)

Add the following before para 1 of the original resolution

This Congress reiterates that the goal of the Indian National Congress is the attainment by stages of complete political independence as determined by the Madras Congress of 1927.

PARA 1

Substitute "would welcome" for "welcomes."

Delete "and communal."

Insert "provided that representation in the legislative bodies be secured not on communal basis but according to the numerical strength of the adult population of the workers and classes" after "problems."

Delete the words at the end of the para "specially..... country."

Substitute "appreciates" for "approves of."

PARA 2.

Insert "as amended above" after constitution."

Moved by MR. SYED MAJEED BAKSH

(Bengal).

Delete the words "Subject to the exigencies.....decided upon."

Moved by MR. SRIS CH. CHATTOPADHYAYA

(Ajmer).

Seconded by MR. JOGENDRA NATH GUHA

THAKURTA (Ajmer).

This Congress having considered the constitution recommended by the Nehru Report welcomes it as a great contribution towards the solution of India's political and communal problems, but is of opinion that the Dominion Status basis of the constitution is unacceptable and that true freedom for India cannot be achieved until and unless connection with British Imperialism is completely severed.

Moved by MR. T. VISWANATHAM (Andhra).

1. In the second paragraph of the resolution instead of the words "this Congress will adopt," the words "will be free to adopt" be substituted.

2. In the third paragraph of the resolution the words "consistently with the above" be deleted.

Moved by MR. SARAT CHANDRA BOSE (Beng)

Delete "organise a campaign of non-violent non-co-op
tion....."

Insert "decide upon taking an action both direct
indirect, as it may deem necessary having regard to circumsta
prevailing in the country at that juncture."

Moved by MR. LALCHAND A. JAGTIANI (S)

Delete the words from "welcomes... problems and"
insert therein "disapproves it and declares it detrimental tow
the solution of India's political and communal problems but."

And then delete the words "and whilst.....in the coun
from the first para and delete the entire second paragraph and in
the words "and declares that India's goal is Federated In
Republic on the socialistic basis".

Moved by ARJUNLAL SETHI (Ajmer).

Seconded by SRIS CH. CHATTOPADHAYA (Aji

II. FUTURE PROGRAMME.

Meanwhile the Congress shall engage in the follo
activities :—

- (1) In the legislatures and outside every attempt will
made to bring about total prohibition of intoxic
drugs and drinks ; picketing of liquor and drug s
shall be organised wherever desirable and possible
- (2) Inside and outside the legislatures methods suite
respective environments shall be immediately ado
to bring about boycott of foreign cloth by advoc
and stimulating production and adoption of hand
and handwoven khaddar.
- (3) Specific grievances wherever discovered and w
people are ready shall be sought to be redresse
non-volent action as was done recently at Bardoli.
- (4) Members of legislatures returned on the Congress t
shall devote the bulk of their time to the constru
work settled from time to time by the Congress
mittee.
- (5) The Congress organisation shall be perfected
enlisting members and enforcing stricter discipline

- (6) Measures shall be taken to remove the disabilities of women and they will be invited and encouraged to take their due share in national up-building.
- (7) Measures shall be taken to rid the country of social abuses.
- (8) It will be the duty of all Congressmen, being Hindus, to do all they can to remove untouchability and help the so-called untouchables in every possible way in their attempt to remove their disabilities and better their condition.
- (9) Volunteers shall be enlisted to take up village reconstruction in addition to what is being done through the spinning wheel and khaddar.
- (10) Such other work as may be deemed advisable in order to advance nation buildings in all its departments and in order to enable the Congress to secure the co-operation in the national effort of the people engaged in different pursuits.

In order to finance the activities mentioned in the foregoing programme, every Congressman with a monthly income of Rs 100/- and over shall contribute five per cent of his monthly income provided that in special cases exemption may be granted at the discretion of the Working Committee.

Moved by MAHATMA GANDHI(Gujarat).

After clause 9 add the following new clauses:—

- (10) The boycott of British goods shall be organised,
- (11) The peasantry and the workers shall be organised on the basis of an economic programme which is to be drafted by the All India Congress Committee.

Renumber clause 10 as clause 12.

In the last para of the resolution, after "contribute" delete the words "five per cent" and substitute the words "a percentage" after the word "income" add "which shall be fixed by the A.I.C.C."

Moved by MR. S. SATYAMURTI

(Tamil Nad).

In the last clause substitute "one percent" for "5 per cent" and add the following explanation: "Congressman means a member of the A. I. C. C., P. C. Cs and the District and Tahsil Committees."

Moved by MR. MOHANLAL SAKSENA (U. P.)

With a view to prepare the nation for the overthrow of British Imperialism and realising that this overthrow can only be achieved by the organised forces of workers and peasants by resort to direct action or general strike and non-payment of taxes on the country-wide scale effecting the complete withdrawal of help and co-operation with the Government,

The Congress shall undertake the organisation of workers and peasants of the land through an economic programme calculated to improve their immediate everyday life conditions.

And shall in the course of this organisation pay special attention to the cultivation of organised spirit and power of resistance to the forces of exploitation in general and British Imperialist exploitation in particular.

The Congress shall further pay particular attention to the organisation of all transport workers and peasants for the same purpose of general strike and non-payment of taxes respectively.

The details of his programme shall be fixed by the working Committee on the basis of demands of

- (a) Eight hours day
- (b) Minimum living wage
- (c) Old age, health and unemployment insurance
- (d) Land to the cultivator, etc.

so as to create attachment between the toiling masses and the Congress and ensure an effective general strike and non-payment of taxes at the call of the country.

Moved by MR. K. N. JOGLEKAR (Bombay)

Seconded by MR. R. S. NIMBKAR (Bombay)

In the last paragraph substitute "yearly" in place of "monthly," "Rs. 1,200/-" in place of "Rs. 100/-," and after "shall contribute" take out "five per cent....income" and substitute instead "1 per cent of his gross annual income, a member having an annual income of Rs. 6,000/-, a member having an annual gross income of Rs. 12,000/-, 5% and a member having an annual income of more than Rs. 12,000/- 10% of his gross annual income"

Add in the end "The Working Committee of the Congress shall take necessary steps to facilitate assessment of the gross income of every Congressman."

Moved by Mr. GURU SHANKER MISHRA

(U. P.)

Seconded by Mr. NIRMALA PRASAD

SIKHA (U. P.)

Substitute for the last paragraph the following:—

That in order to finance the activities mentioned in the foregoing programme every Congressman shall hereafter pay at least Rs. 1/4 (one) per month, in addition to his fee for membership of the Congress.

Moved by Mr. M. N. TALPADA (Bombay).

Seconded by Mr. M. K. GILAND (Bihar).

P. 551.

**Search warrant of office of the young Comrades League
78/1. Harrision Road, Calcutta.**