

Rousseau "Man was born free but everywhere he was in chains." Slogan of French Revolution.

History has shown revol succeed if rev. party takes ad of prev inter situ.

I. Part Intern situ.

II. India in internati light.

I. To begin with after war we find bgs of epid of peace treaties but hist is proof to us more capit talks of peace but is preparing for war. Peace of Versailles it is open to all forms of European war. Devides Emp into portion Jugov. Split up Runs . . . and excuse of lives in him of imperialism. After T of V with nations split up world we form E & F had aspiration in East. Brit mandate Palestine and Iraq, France Im in Syria, Tur Allne fell at each others throat. Brit war to paralyse Turkey, complete control of Dardenalles. Lloyd George engineer a little war between Tur & Greek. France supported Turkey. Turkey was victorious. As a protect Treaty allice with S. R. what a great day. S. R. is to British imperialism. S. R. is given by working state given, by ack claim in interest of working class and is prepared to combat impe. Coming Britis in S its direct anti thesis. The scheme matured with farmer Locarne peace pact. Sir A. C. & Dr, Stresseman, Mr. Briand all got together and signed a peace treaty has its object of forml of econ bloc under hegen of Brit. again S. Rus. It is necessary to draw Ger away from S. R. Germ being vanquished nation in order to, France was bitterly opposed Germ wold want previous evacuat Rhineland by Brit and French troops. Britain thought war preparation ags S. R. was re the prepared for war. First of all she limit up a naval base at Baltic Sea political control of Poland and there were sinister rumours of troops marching on Indian borders.

Before intern condition here was unemp working class dissention. The famous gene strike was not a general strike a general lockout. On eve of strike treacherous leaders all rushed down to Down Street in Thames grovelled for peace "before they were prepared and Govt forced Gen Strike a working class. W. C. in Brit was temporarily crushed. This being done every thing next move was direct attack on S. R. expelled Ru trading delegation in fictn hed secret docuts and no secret docum exists. W. Johyson Hick was challenged in Com had secret doct. I can't divulge and this caused unemploy in Britain. Textile "Govt. was prepared to declare war on Russ but they had reckoned within their hosts." Indian needs and com greed of Fren and Ger were more Brit loyal allies and

But she went in war prepe smaller states of Balken when another tremn problem came Brit imperi.....rival imper of Amrica. They have to concentrate on to bring war. Amer acculat all money in war. More money then she could hold. Money had to find some outlet. They had to export capital to Europ and eastern market of the Total gold reserve 9 m sts. Amer can comm expen at nation 4 expense is bound to lead to war.

It was com ruin B. and G to have another war to end wars.

Brit and Ameri diplom begs of 1926 favours Disa Confce and Br Am and Japan it had already been agreed Am shd have naval

(Here paper is torn off).

Am navy shows strength.

France was poor control and Gn excl col in conflict. Fran a nation enemy of Britain and Fren owes Ame. France though it was great when M. Briand invite Kelly to come over to Paris for tea party and sign a peace treaty. Mayer fair Kelley Peace Pact why ack of and interest of world. Secret naval ques to pull together Br and Fren Navi. Mussolini was honest. They will have them. Italy will take no part in this peace.

(Here the paper torn off)

In this wonderful empire where Sino war gets has gn India is called brightest jewel. India large cant to expense of money last war. Expln of Ind is profitable to British cap. Brit will or shut their mills in Eng. In Ch and B 40 sh. Cheap coolie labour. Arrears. Why keen on preserv India? Why the lot of trouble. For very simp reas loses India. Brit loses her Empore. If Brit loses Ind her int prestige goes. She become third rate power. England's diffi was Irelan adv. That right to guide. Britain has her hands full. There, will shortly Imperialism whether India. East is wide awaking. But it was like adva of this far inter situ aud wait.

How Russia achiev libr and how she was giving to India 75 p.c. Ru worker peasants and the peasants liv in back rural world. Tax collect and pd they are nation pub supe s and Mer. This was changed to Rus and how was rulled by auto and arist. Auto of Rus is rep in Inter and inter situ. It was to adv of Germ to facilat a bolsh revolution. It was inter of alies. Rus would den Turkey and these were dangers would not refuse join Britain under helped in another of Czarist regime and so Lenin and Comm took advantage. Germ far eastern

Intrn how illis a man is easily he is hung he is revolutionary. That happened in Russia, Keresky as a bourgeoisie goct. will not

stop war. He felt people want food and not war. Lenin stood up and said war may stop. Peace with Germ. Soviet too took 10 years, to break down comm because it is in heart of people. China.

I don't want to see treach meet Comm unless youth. India can't remain isolated. It is of imp gn to isolate India it shdn't beof intr Safety Bill deprive Ind of all western contacts. No force from outside India will have to fight her own hopw of freedom unity Ind revl pro with working classes in world. India can be crushed by sheer only of steel. Work refuse to....to crush India. If not it refuses to co-operate the Brit and.....& its Imp arm av coup of ign workers when Irish revol broke and—W. class their to refuse to—,

P. 1242.

5 Copies of the pamphlet in English entitled
"Workers' and Peasants' Party Principles and Policy"
(Vide Exh. P. 161.)

P. 1243.

6 Copies of the pamphlet in English entitled
"The Trade Union Movement"
(Vide Exh. P. 51).

P. 1244.

4 Copies of the pamphlet in English entitled
"Political Resolution"
(Vide Exh. P. 56.)

P. 1245.

A booklet in English entitled
"Manifesto of the Communist Party"
by
Karl Marx Frederick Engels.

P. 1246.

A booklet in English entitled
"A call to Action"
(Vide Exh. P. 523.)

P. 1247.

R. I. M. DOCK WORKERS' UNION.

The Government Dock Workers' Union which was organised last February by Mr. S.S. Mirajkar is now in the hands of the moderate leadership. They captured the Union by spreading all kinds of alarm against the fighting leadership resorting all kinds of mean methods. Some of them even went to the extent of telling lies that the Union money was swallowed by Mirajkar.

It can naturally be asked then what have they done for the men? As far as our information goes the moderates had taken a deputation—that is the usual work they do—to the Director of the R.I.M. Dock who refused to recognize the Union. He also refused to redress a single grievance and our Goody Goody M.L.C.S. Deputations returned home quietly. Mens' grievances are accumulating and the moderate leadership which is only accustomed to the methods of petitions and deputations have refused to go ahead by a single inch; the rank and file membership of the Union has now clearly seen through the leaders they have chosen and several of them have lost confidence in them. As a result thereof there is a growing discontent amongst the men and it may find expression in any form on any day both to the detriment of the moderate leadership as well as the R. I. M. Bosses. The R. I. M. workers must realise that it is too late in the day to believe in the tactics of petitions and deputations. T. U. Movement is a movement for developing a fight between the exploiting employer and the exploited employees. The sooner the our R. I. M. Comrades realize this the better for them; and when that realization comes, their clear duty would be to sack their moderate leaders.

P. 1248

MAZGAON DOCKERS FIGHT ON.

The Mazgaon Dock Workers who, very recently formed their Union, have so far enrolled 1300 members. The management is very stiff and the dock manager does not condescend to reply the ordinary letters of the Union. Up to the present moment not a single grievance has been redressed and if the workers tomorrow because of this attitude of the management take some independent action, they are bound to be found fault with. The workers however seem

to be in a fighting mood and are swelling the ranks of the Union. This is really creditable for them. Bravo, Comrades, Carry on! the day for retribution is not very far distant; and the Mazgaon Dock Management shall have to pay heavy tolls for their stiff attitude!

Textile Workers Declare War!

• A grim determination of organizing their forces.

The biggest task before those who lead the last general strike of the textile Workers in Bombay against the offensive of the employers is to organize them into an Union. The textile workers of Bombay who form the largest group in the city's working class and whose number exceeds 1, 30, 000, require to be properly organised and thus strengthen the fighting forces of the exploited working class. How to do it? What are the difficulties on the way? These two questions we propose to answer in as brief a manner as possible.

Up to the present movement, the textile workers in Bombay have always acted in their defence as against the offensive of the employing classes. Whenever the millowners have attempted to cut their wages, we know, they have gone on a strike and they (the workers) have never adopted an offensive and have never attacked their employers although there were reasons for such attacks. This is because they lacked an organized strength on their part, it only came to some extent, when they felt a common grievance when an iron hand of the owners fell upon them. Then only they attempted a resistance and not prior to that. If, however, there has existed a militant and vigilant organisation of the textile workers, it would always have attempted to not only defend the workers from the capitalists attack upon the wages but it would have even gone a step further and attacked the owners for imposing dirty economic conditions upon them. This great fact is being largely understood by the Textile workers and hence they clearly see the need of organizing this great mass of workers into a powerfully strong Union.

The extremist section whose Trade Union policy is largely approved by the workers and whose untiring efforts at organisation are meeting with great success in spite of the moderates' shameful efforts of sabotaging the organizational activities. The lies against the extremist leaders are run rampant; the bribes and such other corrupt methods are resorted to. All the economic resources which the moderate leaders possess are set against the influential Bolshie leadership simply because the moderates find themselves sufficiently weakened and whose leadership is in danger.

This is a great concrete block in the way of organization of the Textile workers; and it has got to be overcome by convincing the workers that the militant Trade Union policy is the correct

policy for them to adopt and not the policy of "Jo Hukum" which our moderate friends without backbone desire to perpetuate. The former will create a fine powerful strength which can be always effectively utilized against our enemies while the latter will lead the workers to weakness, disintegration and ruin.

The employers favour such Unions and Union leaders for the time being because they clearly see in it their profitableness; they also see their complete ruin in the policy advocated by the extremists and hence they every now then suggest the locking up of such leader. (This is, therefore, in brief the state of affairs that exist in the matter of Textile Workers' Organization. We have however, to make the best of the situation. The extremists whose Union today has the largest membership are trying to take it forward. The constructive program that is to be attained within the next couple of months in the matter of organization and defence from the attacks of the employers and the Govt. Committee which is sitting and recording evidence for the present moment is as follows:

1. 00,000 membership of the Union

2. 00,000 Rupees to be collected as strike fund if in case it is forced upon the workers.

1,000 Trained volunteers.

100 Speakers from amongst the workers themselves.

This programme they (the extremist leaders) are determined to carry out and create a mass force, they think, the time has come to hurl upon the faces of the exploiting employers in the mill industry.

The textile worker of Bombay is no longer dumb man ; he is a Conscious unit of the working class. He clearly sees how the employing class has drunk his blood, how he and his family is starved by the master class which possess the power of exploitation, he throughly knows how he who produces wealth is deprived of it. He therefore means war upon exploiters viz: the millowner.

P. 1249.

To: Jariwalla mansion Sandhurst R
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 frightly 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 at least. Under these circumstances it may not look very gracefull 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 ad 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,

(Illegible)

P. 1250.

'Lenin' by Trotzky (George Harrap & Co, London) A
Review: By C. G. Shah.

This is the life of a revolutionary by a revolutionary and, as such, it is full of psychological interest and historical value. Lenin and Trotzky were two most prominent Bolshevist leaders who further developed the anti-Czarist Revolution which broke out in Russia in February 1918 and transformed it into a triumphant anti-proletarian Socialist Revolution in October of the same year. This unique achievement of Lenin and Trotzky, one the scientist

and strategist and the other the organizer of the Bolshevist Revolution "the greatest revolution in human history" make them world figures. It is, therefore, but natural that "Any fool can shoot Lenin's head to pieces but to create this head anew could be a difficult problem for Nature herself".

And with the same boldness Trotzky, retorting to H. G. Wells's stupid and undignified attack on Lenin, after his visit to Russia and interview with Lenin, says :

"And we have boldness to prophesy that in a not too distant future, in London, for example in Trafalgar Square, two bronze statues will be erected side by side: Marx and Lenin. The English proletarians (workers) will say to their children, "What a good thing it was that the little man of the Labour Party did not cut the hair and beard of these two giants."

The book "Lenin" by Trotzky would kindle universal interest.

Starting back in 1902 when Trotzky first met Lenin in London as a fellow-exile, the book describes vividly and in detail the course of events which preceded and brought about the Bolshevist Revolution. The author narrates how Lenin and other revolutionists carried on subterraneously and from abroad (since the Czarist repression did not permit open political work in Russia) the preparatory propagandist and organisational work for the Revolution, how they wrote and smuggled into Russia revolutionary literature circulated to foment discontent and provoke strikes.

P. 1251.

2-1, European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

4/2/29.

Dear Desai,

Here is some sort of article on the Public Safety Bill. You gave me an awful subject. Still I am sorry it is so late. I am afraid, that it is rather long. Cut it if you like, of course.

We received No : 1 to-day. Quite bright and soon I thought. Please send Nos. 1 and 2, and V. P. for a year, to :

(1) D. P. Godbole. (2), Durgadas Lane, Kidderpore
Calcutta.

(2) Aftab Ali, 7 Ekbalpore Lane, Kidderpore Calcutta.

(3) G. C. Basak, 61 Nawabpur Road, Dacca. You might also send a specimen copy or two, and then later a V. P. to : (1) Suresh Nandan Sahai, P. O. Khagaul, Dinapore, Patna. 2) Ram Saran Sharma, P. O. Bankipur Meerut, I can't find this address.

(3) S. N. Chakrabarty, Sobjibagh, P. O. Bankipur, Patna.

I can think of no more addresses at the moment. Muzaffar will no doubt be writing to you re : sales here.

Yours

P. Spratt.

Turn Over.

Yes, I can: (4) Probhas Ch. Mitra, 10 M' Road, Jamshedpur.

With the above letter was enclosed an article on "The Public Safety Bill".

This article has already been printed.

(Vide Exh. P. 526 (40)).

1252
P. ~~1225~~

The Workers' & Peasants' Party.

What it stands for-its Programme and Policy.

The workers' and Peasants' Party is the vanguard of the National freedom movement. Following on the stagnating and reactionary policy of the congress which was day after day alienating the sympathies the Workers and Peasants, it was necessary that a party with a programme for the emancipation of the workers and peasants from the financiers and the Landlords, should come into being to voice the grievances of these classes who form the 98% of the population of this country. With the idea of bringing the workers and peasants into the national struggle a small of group of workers in the B.P.C.C. formed themselves into the congress labour

group, in order to make the congress really interested in the working class movement. Latter in the early part of 1927, this group founded the workers and peasants' party with a definite and clear cut programme and policy.

In accordance with the programme of the party, its policy has been to work in alliance with the nationalist bodies, to develop a movement for National Independence, based upon the Economic demands of the workers and peasants. The party has, therefore undertaken the organisation of the workers, who are subjected to intense exploitation in the absence of of any protective legislation, and the lack of means to enforce any that exists. So long the masses have been unable to effectively organise, and has allowed the trade union movement to fall largely under the leadership middle class elements that exploit it for their own political or personal ends. The task of the party is to transform the existing organisations of the workers, so that they will become the real expression of the real working class demands, and to give a correct, courageous and militant lead to the workers in their fight against capitalist exploitation.

The emergence of this party will necessarily mean a death blow to the hesitating, and compromising policy of the erstwhile leaders, which has only widened the breach between the nationalist struggle for freedom, and the working classes. The congress while it has been pretending to be the mouth piece of the whole of the Indian People has in reality no programme for the betterment of the conditions of the masses of the workers and peasants, which programme alone can attract them to the congress. It will also mean better organisation of the workers in Trade unions with a militant policy which will replace the existing disorganisation. Aiming at 100% trade unionism, the party has put down a programme of minimum demands for the workers, which include amongst other things:—

1. The establishment of an 8 hour day and six days a week for industrial workers.
2. Establishment of a minimum living wage.
3. Establishment of schemes insurance for sickness unemployment, and old age pension and maternity benefits.
4. Improvement of laws regarding the workmens' compensation and employers' liability.
5. Installation of modern safety appliances in factories.

On the political field the party's immediate demands are

1. Universal adult suffrage and responsible Govt.

- 2, Abolition of communalism.
3. Freedom of speech, press and the right of association.
4. Removal of all restrictions on Trade Unions.

While the Economic demands consist of the following

1. The abolition of indirect taxation, and introduction of graded income tax on all incomes exceeding 250/monthly.
2. Nationalisation of land, wherein all cultivable land will be leased by the Govt. Direct to the cultivator.
3. Nationalisation of the means of production and distribution.

The fundamental task of the party is the reorganisation of 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. The immediate work before the party is to bring together the fighting and progressive forces from all sections, by putting forward its correct, consistent and uncompromising policy in direct contrast to the existing vacillating and spineless policy. A strong, conscious and well-disciplined workers and Peasants' party, with its militant policy becomes immediately the leading party of the workers' and Peasants.

On the question of the peasants, the party stands for giving the land to the peasant cultivator, eliminating all idlers and middle men living on the tributes of the peasantry. All 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 limitless stretches of the absentee landlords. The peasant should not be exploited by way of tributes or free labour. He must be absolved from all compulsory obligations. With this object in view the party's immediate demands in this connection include among others, the elimination of all middle agencies between the peasant and the state, substantial reduction in rent, state credit to the peasant and etc.

With the minimum demands above stated, the party will cooperate with all parties and organisations, without losing its identity, which fight for the liberation of India from Imperialism. It will also cooperate with all organisations fighting for the freedom of the oppressed nations of the world, and will ally itself with the militant anti-Imperialist working class of the Imperialist countries.

S. V. GHATE,

Secretary, W. & P. Party, Bombay.

P. 1264.

Several issues of the English Magazine "New Masses",
of the following months:—

September 1926	February 1927.
February 1927	July 1927.
July 1927	May 1927.
June 1927	April 1927.
December 1926	
November 1926.	

P. 1265.

An issue of "The Masses of India" for the month of
February 1928.

P. 1266.

An issue of the "Workers Pictorial" for the month of
November 1928.

P. 1267.

Three issues of the "Sunday Worker" of the following dates:—

4 November 1928.

5 August 1928.

29 July 1928.

P. 1268.

Issues of the newspaper "Workers life of the following dates:—

1 June 1928.

13 May 1928.

27 July 1928.

25 May 1928.

11 May 1928.

27 April 1928.

20 April 1928.

P. 1269.

Issues of the Magazine "The Labour Monthly" for the following months:—

December 1928.

November 1926.

October 1926.

October 1928.

October 1925.

August 1928.

July 1925.

July 1927.

May 1925.

April 1928.

February 1928.

July 1921.

P. 1270

Several issues of the Magazine in English entitled "The Communist", for the following months:—

March 1928.

December 1928.

October 1928.

January 1928.

P. 1271.

A booklet in English entitled

"Imperialism".

An out-line Course for students classes.

and Study circles

by

Emile Burns.

1927.

The Labour Research Department

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

P. 1272.

A book in English entitled

“What to Read”

A guide for worker Students.

P. 1273.

A booklet in English entitled

“The Mass Strike”

The political Party and the Trade Union

by

Rosa Luxemburg.

P. 1274.

A Magazine titled in English as

“For Eastern Monthly”

for the month of July 1928

P. 1278.

Search Warrant issued under Sec. 96 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut for Searching the house of C. G. Shah Son of Girdhari Lal Ranchod Lal Shah, R. L. Trust Hostel, Ranchhod Bhuvan, Girgaum Road, Bombay.

Executed by the Bombay City Police on 20-3-29.

P. 1279.

PUNCHNAMA.

BOMBAY.

20th March 29.

We the undersigned,

1. Behram Ardeshir, aged 40 years, Irani, owner of the New Queens Rd. restaurant, opp: Opera House Bombay.

and

2. Ramuni Ambu Thiya, aged 25 years, Occ: Taxi driver, Res. Parmamand Building: 2nd floor, R. No22 French Buildings Hindu. Lisence No. 1561 of 28.

Were present at the time of the execution of warrant dated 15th March 1929 by the District Magistrate, Meerut, U. P. to witness the search of the room of Chandulal Girdharlal Shah situated in Building Ranchod Bhuvan, 2nd floor Room No. 17, at Girgaum Bombay. The search began at 6 A. M. on 20 th March 29 and was conducted by Dy: Inspr Watkins of the B. C. P. in our presence and also in the presence of Chandulal G. Shah.

The following articles were taken charge of by the officer conducting the search in our presence:

- | | | |
|---------|------------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Book | "Creative Revolution" | Cupboard in room |
| 2. do | "Crises in European History" | do |
| 3. do | "Communism and Society" | do |
| 4. do | "Imperialism" | do |

36. do "Sixteen copies of Labour Monthly"
37. do "Nineteen copies of The Communist International"
38. do "Hundred Percent Indian" four copies.
39. do "The modern quarterly"
40. do "Hindu Muslim Unity," article on by C. G. Shah three pages (typewritten)
41. Typewritten article of the Communal riots by C.G. Shah. five pages.
42. Two copies of typewritten article on the need of a nationalist party.
43. "Four written page article on Hindu Muslem question"
44. Receipt for Rs 525/- dated 7/2/29 signed by B. F. Bradley.
45. "Six copies of the Communist International"
46. Green coloured Exercise book, containing names of people and titles of book written both in pencil and ink.
47. Receipt from "A ward Congress Committee for Rs. -/4/-"
48. omitted in error.
Sd. J. S. Wattins
Sd. A. R. T.
Sd. Behram
49. Four copies of "Spark"
50. Typewritten letter from H.D. Rajah of the Young Liberator dated 14/3/29 to Mr. Shah.
51. Receipt from the workers and Peasants Party Bombay for 1/8/- and a membership card No. 23 in the name of C. G. Shah.
52. Typewritten copy of "Syllabus for Elementary training group" Two pages.
53. Two pages Nos. 61 and 63 of C National and Colonial Revolution.
54. 6 pieces of a torn letter recovered from a waste paper basket, the letter is on a green paper signed by one A. B Khardikar.
55. Nine torn pieces of a letter recovered from a waste paper basket. No. 2 piece mentions Bradley.
56. Series of 4 articles in Gujarati vernacular of "Society and State".

The above Punchnama has been read over to us and it contains a full and true account of what we have witnessed during the search. Nothing other than that recorded was taken charge of by the Police.

Before me

Sd. J. S. Watkins 1. Sd. Behram Ardeshir (in urdu)
Dy: inspector of police 2. Sd. A. R. Thiyar
Colaba 20/3/29. 9-20. A.M. 20/3/29.

P. 1280.

7 - 2 - 1929.

Received in all from R. B. Lotwalla the sum of Five Hundred and Twenty Five only. Rs. 525 only.

This includes three amounts.

B. F. Bradley.

P. 1281.

A letter in English dated Berlin 15-1-29 from A. B. Khardikar to C. G. Shah. This letter was found in a torn condition, and the pieces when put together read as follows:—

C/o bei Rolef,

24 Friedrichs trasse

Berlin S. W. 48

Germany.

15-1-29.

My dear Shah,

No news about you since I left India. I sent one letter to

you when I was in London. But I had not the pleasure of receiving a reply to it. Perhaps you sent me a letter but it did not reach me. May be, it reached London after I left it.

I came here in August 1928. I many times thought of writing to you but somehow I could not.

I am very much desirous of hearing about you and other friends of ours. Please, therefore, write to me how yourself and Ghate, Juvekar, Mantri and others are doing.

I should like to have some copies of your pamphlet "100 % Indian." Can you send me about a dozen copies?

I learn that "Kranti" has been revived. Can you arrange to send me the same?

My present address is practically a permanent one. So, you can send me letters and books and any other new publications to that address.

I have here been able to get a few tuitions in Sanskrit. These and some simple journalistic work provide me with the necessary wherewithals of life.

I do not know Mr. M. G. Desais address. Will you please give him my address and ask him to write to me?

I am now a little free from the worries about providing myself with means of subsistence. And I hope I shall be able to write to you regularly in future.

Nothing more for the present.

Hoping this finds you in excellent health.

I remain

Yours sincerely

Sd/- A. B. Khardikar.

Please remember me to 'Miss'

To

C. G. Shah.

Arya Bhavan or Ranchond Bhavan Sandhurst Road.
Bombay 4

P. 1282

Search Warrant issued under sec. 95 C. P. C. by the District Magistrate, Meerut for searching the house of Appajirao Narayan Rao., alias 'Mania', Gordhandas Khatan Building, first floor, Girgaum Road, Bombay.

Executed by the Bombay city. C. I. D. on 20-3-29.

P. 1283.

Bombay 20th

March 1929.

We the undersigned members of the Punch Viz:—

1. Mahadava Rao Myral Surat ker age 48, Hindoo Brahmin, Medical Practitioner, Residing at Ghordandas Khatao Building Girgaum Road, Bombay.
2. Venkatesh Pandurang Shir-goankar, age 23, Hindoo Brahmin, Clerk by profession residing at Gordhandas Khatao Buildings, Girgaum Road were present at the time of the execution of Search warrant dated 15th March 1929 by the district Magistrate Meerut U. P. to witness the search of the place of Mr. Appajirao Narayenrao alias Mania at Girgaum Road, in Gordhandas Khatao Building Block No. 21. of the 1st floor at 6-10 A. M. Wednesday the 20th March 1929.

The above search was conducted by Deputy Inspector L. DeSouza of the special Branch C.I.D. in our presence and the following articles were taken by the officer conducting the search:—

1. Telegram dated 6-3-29 from Khanapur to Mrs. Ghate at Basein. found in a drawer of a table in the room.
2. One tissue paper with an address Do
3. A slip of paper written in shorthand and logg hand ”

4. One postal Order Counter foil No. 35 053200 " "
5. One postal receipt No. A / 703 dated 21/11/1928, " "
6. One Remington Type-writer No. 255736 Found on table with case and 23 used carbon papers No. 2.
7. One pocket Diary of Mr. S.V. Ghate Found in table No. 3.
8. One Nityanand Library's marathi book named Deshtyagacha Itihas. (in Marehti) Do
9. One letter dated Basein 5/3/29 from Nusserwanji Cawasji to Mr. Ghate. " "
10. One letter dated Belgaun 6/3/29 from Oriental Govt. Security life Assce : Coy Ltd. to Mr. Ghate. " "
11. One telegram No. 2033 dated 8/12/1927. Found in a suit case.
12. A drama in one Act scene (Govt. House Simla) dated 12/3/1919. " "
13. Two pages type written letter " The battle cry" " "
14. A letter from Hazrat Mohani dated Cawnpore 30/1/28. " "
15. A letter from S. A. Dange to S. V. Ghate dated 18/12/27. " "
16. One Iron die with the following discription " The communist party of India, Bombay with forms" " "
17. A telegram from Singaravelu to Ghate. " "
18. One envelope containing 7 photographs " "
19. Nine Type written pages re : Peasants and Workers Party. " "
20. A file of Communist Party of India. " "
21. A letter from Singaravelu dated Madras 13/12/28 " "
22. A book named "Awakening or Asia" " "
23. Notes on "Search after truth of bread." Found in a Trunk.
24. One Hindi Book "Ireland ka Swatantrya Yuddha, (In Marehti) " "

- | | |
|---|---|
| 25. One letter from R. C. Guha to Ghate | ” |
| 26. One letter from Calcutta to Mr. Ghate. | ” |
| 27. One letter from J.P. Begerhotta to Ghate. | ” |
| 28. Twenty one type written pages. | ” |
| 29. A note book 1 to 155. | ” |
| 30. Song of life | ” |

The above Punchnama was read over to us and it contains a full and true account of what we have witnessed during the search

Before me,

Sd. L. de Souza

Dy: Inspr. of Police

C. I. D.

20 / 3 / 29

Sd. Madhaverao Myral

Suratker

20/3/29

Sd. Venketch Pandurang

Shirgaoukar, -

20/3/1929.

P. 1284

A pocket diary for 1929. On the page headed January 1929, Saturday 19, the following entry occurs:—

House No. 12-A, Room 29.

Ghelabhai Street

Cafrabadi

Madanpura.

P. 1285.

S. V. GHATE Esqr.

15

Bombay,

The Secretary,

18th Dec. 1927.

The C. P. of India.

Sir,

In pursuance of your latter reg. my appointment by your Executive on the Presidium of the Party, I beg to inform you that I am prepared to act up to the duties of that post.

Yours fraternally,

S. A. DANGE.

P. 1286.

A circular die of the Communist Party of India, with a hammer and a sickle in the middle. Several note sheets having the seal of the Communist Party of India embossed on it in red colour. Several note sheets with the heading "The Communist Party of India" Central office, Bombay. Several note papers with the address of S. V. Ghate, Shri Krishna Lodge. Sundhurst Road, printed on them.

P. 1287.

A file headed "The Communist Party's file", containing Exbts. No. 1287 (1) to 1287 (18).

P. 1287. (1)

2/3 Khandke Bldg, Dadar,

Bombay No. 14

29th December, 1927.

To

The General Secretary,

The Communist Party of India.

Bombay.

Dear Comrade,

Please enroll me the member of the C. P. I.

I have read the constitution of the Party and I am prepared to abide by the decisions of the Party.

My application has been duly recommended by a member of the Executive committee of your party.

Yours comradly,

Recommended by S. V. Ghate ... S. S. MIRAJKAR.

To be considered in March.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA SOCIETY
BRANCH LIBRARY
BOMBAY

P. 1287 (2)

Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of
India.

Madras. 29/XII/27.

Agenda.

- (1) Proposing the President of the meeting.
- (2) Secretary's verbal report.
- (3) Janki Prasad's Resignation — Accepted. —
- (4) Position of members of C.P. who are members of Communal Organ or carrying on communal work to be considered. —

- (5) Warning against all and sundry labour organisers passing as communists.
- (6) Statement on Hasrat Mohani's claim as communist & communal leader at the same time.
- (7) Attitude of the Party to the latest conferences & their resolutions viz: (1) Congress Resolution on Independence
(2) Republican Congress.
- (8) Party Press & Paper.
- (9) Method of enlisting Membership of C.P.
- (10) Any other work allowed by President.

1. K. N. Joglekar

2. *Hasrat Mohani.*

3. S. D. Hasan

1. To be asked to resign from the Brah. Sabha.

2. Member of Muslim League. I

3. Rangila Rasul Case Speech II

Letter to Mohani

3. S. D. Hasan

Hasan dropped

a. (Acceptance of a declared Post on a Communal paper) prohibited, & writing

b. Communal articles prohibited.

c. Any job besides these not prohibited.

d. All posts except propagandists & organiser or declared official posts in a communal organization prohibited.

(1) S. Usmani on the Presidium.

Adjourned. till 30/XII.

S.A.D.

P. 1287. (3)

The Communist Party of India.

adjourned meeting

Applications of S. S. Mirajkar, M. Sircar to be considered at the next meeting of the E.C. of the C.P.I. at Calcutta in March date to be fixed later on.

S. A. Dange

(President of the Meeting.)

P. 1287 [4]

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 12th December 1927.

- 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.

arDe Comrade,

I have received your circular letter dated 10th December 1927. I appreciate the suggestion of Com :- Singeravelu, but sorry it is very far and most of us could not attend the party meeting. If you people agree, personally I have no objection but I and Com: Gohar Rahman will not attend the Party meeting which I think important for us.

Comrade Gohar Rahman went to his home for few days, I am sending him your letter, I think you will get answer from him in near future.

Yours.
M. A. Majid.

Enrolled as member, & Elected to the Presidium.

S. U. / 29—XII.

To

THE SECRETARY

INDIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Comrade,

The fact that I did not join the Communist Party so long is not due to any sort of fundamental difference between the views advocated by the Party members or myself but simply because there are in the party persons—the arch Communalists like Hasrat Mohani—who can only bring calumny and blasphemy to the Party. We must cease to attach any importance to the persons who wish to trade upon their past and who having no other apparatus to install themselves up, run to the newly created ones and thus play the role of worst opportunists.

I think the time is come that we should have a clearly purged party—a party of the most sincere fighters in the cause of Communism and that the party should cease to think of any sort of compromises and should solidly base on stern discipline.

Y—.

Shaukat Usmani.

P. S.

Please consider my objections and enrol me as a member henceforth.

Shaukat Usmani.

29/12/27.

P. 1287 (6)

P. & O. S. N. Co.

S. S. Razmak,

January 10/27.

Dear Comrade Ghate,

Many thanks for your welcome and cordial letter of the 1st

inst. As I am coming for the set purpose of serving our country to the best of my ability in a short and inexpensive trip, this readiness of comrades like you offering advice and help is very valuable. I am unfortunately not aware which relation of mine is going to shelter me and at what address in Bombay. I am not rich enough to book expensive Hotel accomodation in advance, so I cannot give you any address, but in case we miss each other on my landing. You will know by this letter that I shall be looking forward to your assistance, and you will be able to trace my whereabouts through some Swarajist friend like Nariman.

Yours fraternally,
Shapurji Saklatvala.

P. 1287 (7)

Rejected.

A piece of paper having the following address on it:—

Daydon white.
2 Pilgrims' Place
Rosslyn Hill
N. W. 3 London.

P. 1287 (8)

Rejected.

A piece of paper having the following address on it:—

Mrs: A. Dutt.
51 York Mansions.
Batter seaPark
London, S. W.

P. 1287 (9)

JANKI. P. BEGERHOTTA

C/o Din Dayal Sharma, Dungan

Member All India Congress Committee,

college, B i k a n e r.

BEAWAR AND AJMER

Date—Jan. 28.

My dear dear Ghatey,

I have now improved a good deal and will very soon be able to resume work in the same field unless some new difficulties spare me from further ado. I am sending with this the rules and regulations of the C. P. I. and you can begin the work. So far as their printing is concerned I think it is better to postpone it for some time more till they are well put and framed in form a constitution clear enough to make one understand the governing laws of the party. Unfortunately all these things, in a haste as they were done, require a complete over-hauling. However you can see your self and do need full. I am sending with this a draft of an enrolling form for the members. If this is, with the necessary corrections and additions from you is printed I think it will cover the immediate need and we can have the constitution printed later after receiving some suggestions from the provincial committees and adding in them some organisation rules.

The informations that you read in the Chronicle was sent by me when I was in a high fever. And it is only good that much even has been done, I can myself see that some of the very important things have been left out in that sick mood. The papers and informations with us you also know are scattered in a way that I found it a great difficulty to organise them in one press message. It has been published nearly in all important nationalist papers I have seen it in the Chronicle, Hindustan Times of Delhi, Tribune Lahore, Leader Allahabad and Forward of Calcutta. I donot know wether the Madras press published it or not, since I donot get more papers here. If you think proper you can send it to the Anglo-Indian press also. If you think necessary I can get your office address published separately. I wired that one also on their own expences. Regards the resolutions passed by the conference it will now be too late to be published, but if you think it necessary it can be sent even now.

Why should Hassan question my existence? I am writing to him today, to inform me if some thing can be done at Lahore.

When shall I come to Bombay? How shall I come to Bombay? and What shall I do at Bombay are the questions I have not yet been able to solve. No arrangement has yet been done regards Rs. as. P. Do you think any thing can be done at Bombay and I can

help it? Why don't you write to the president to let you have something out of the Amsterdam money that he carries with him of which he was speaking at Cawnpore. If he find some thing out of it for you your present need at least will be met with. He is a very selfish fellow like that.

I have a mind to suggest a deputation of some people like Hasrat and Sethi to travel all round India for the collection of funds and organising provincial and local committees, to undertake the working of our programme. The provincial centres should be organised and money should be collected from those people. What is the idea of the pepole at Bombay. Did you see chat shah.

Please see Joglakar and ask him to prepare a full scheme for the working of the Labour press. I am convessing for it and if he gives us an exact idea of the sum that we require for running it I will try to exploit some people to help it. We must have a press of our own.

Affly yours

—JANKI

P. 1287 (10)

Rejected.

JANKI, P, BEGERHOTTA,

BIKANER, (Rajputana)

Member All India Congress Committee,

BEAWAR AND AJMERE.

Dated 7th Feb.

My dear Ghatey,

There is no wonder in Satya Bhakta's refusing to send to you the papers ment for the Party. It is all what we already apprehended and since it has come without any offensive from us let us boldly meet it. I am writing to Com. Hasrat to see if the matter can be settled without further ado. But we shouldn't count much upon Hasrat since he is a man who can hardly be expected to approach a thing courageously. We will have to utilise quite a different method for the end of Satyabhakta's communist life. You will see that as soon as he is denounced by us he will leave the camp and will perhaps become an anti-communist even. You know well what he is.

Shall I suggest the formation of the provincial committees as soon as possible. I think it will be the best way of fighting him down. Let us have so all the four centres except Cawnpore organised and let all these be affiliated by us to show our existence much more bigger than his, and then we will condemn Satyabhakta in the C. E. and will place another man in his stead. I am writing this to Hassan also, catch hold of some fifteen people and declare the formation of the party, in Punjab. Same is to be done in Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay. I shall write to our Calcutta friends and Madras people to do it earliest. And I think you can easily do the same at Bombay, getting your forms never mind unprinted even signed by some 15 men and announce the formation of the Bombay Group. You can place Joglekar as its president and some body as its secretary. I think if this thing is done successfully in the rest of the four centres satyabhakta will die his own death. He knows we have no strength at our back there were no other organisation except his own of Cawnpore. I think you quite understand me now.

How will you manage to get the forms printed as you write in your last. Have you some thing to meet the expences if you have that is good otherwise you can through some friend get it typed in some more copies. I have not yet received any reply from Hasan I will inform you what we determine after hearing from him and Calcutta.

It will be better if you can for some time more prolong your stay in the lodge. We will I think soon be able to get some thing for the party.

Please keep writing to me every now and then.

Yours always.

J. P. BEGERHOTTA,

I am sending with this a copy of my letter to Haravalse.

P. 1287. (11)

Proceedings of the first Indian Communist conference held in Cawnpore on the 26 December.

The following resolutions were put from the chair and carried unanimously

1. That this conference sympathises with the communist sufferers all over the world, and expresses its strong indignant disap-

proval of the imprisonment of the communist comrades in great Britain as opposed to liberty of thought and speech.

2. That this conference emphatically condemns the action of the United States of America in preventing comrade Saklatvala from entering the States.

3. That this conference while holding the undermentioned comrades as not being guilty of the offence with which they are wrongly charged places on record its high appreciation of the sacrifices undergone by them in the cause of communism.

- Comrades, 1. Md. Akbar Khan, (10 years) still in Jail.
- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 2. Gauhar Rahaman Khan (2 years) | released. |
| 3. Mia Akbar Shah (2 years) | " |
| 4. S. Habib Ahmad 1 year | " |
| 5. Rafiq Ahmad " | " |
| 6. Firoz Din " | " |
| 7. Sultan Md. Khan " | " |
| 8. Abdul Majid 3 years | Still in Jail |
| 9. Md. Shafiq " | " |
| 10. S. A. Dange 4 " | " |
| 11. Md. Shaukat Usmani 4" | " |
| 12. N. B. Das Gupta " | Released owing to serious illness |
| 13. Muzaffer Ahmad Do | Do |

1. That this conference resolves that the labour and Kisan Party of Hindustan be dissolved and the labour and Kisan Gazette be the organ of the party.

That this conference appreciates the protest made by the French Communists against the war now waged by the French Govt. against the Riffs and the Druses.

M. Singaravelu President.

Proceedings of the meeting of the Central executive held on the 28th of December 10. A. M. in the presidents camp

C A W N P O R E.

The first meeting of the Central executive of the Communist Party of India was held to day dated the 28th of December 1925. The following business was transacted. Comrades Hasrat Mohani,

Azed Sobhani, S. Satya Bhakta, S. D. Hassan, Muzaffer Ahmed, K. N. Joglekar S. V. Ghatey, Baba Ram Chandra, Radha Mohan Gokalji, and J. P. Begerhotta were present. Comrade M. Singaravelu was in the chair.

The first item on the agenda i. e. the election of the executive was taken and the following elections were unimously declared.

1. J. P. Begerhotta, K. N. Joglekar, S. V. Ghatey and R. S. Nimbkar (Bomba
2. Coms. Hasrat Mohni, Azed Sobhani, S. Satya Bhakta and Baba Ramchandra.
3. Muzaffer Ahmad and Radha Mohan gokalji, (Calcutta)
4. Kameshwar Rao and Kristna Swamy Iyengar. (Madras)
5. Coms. S. D. Hasan, Ramchandra and Abdul Majid. (Lahore)

Item no two. Election of the vice president.

Comrade Azad Sobhani was unanimously elected as the Voice-president of the central Executive for the coming year.

Item no 3. Comrades J. P. Begerhotta and S. V. Ghatey were elected as the General Secretaries of the C. E.

Item no. 4. Comrade Kristna Swamy Iyengar (Madras) S. Satya Bhakta (Cawnpore) Muzaffar Ahmad (Calcutta) and S. D. Hassan (Lahor were appointed secretaries for the circles noted against their names to undertake the committees work in the provinces so long as no committees were formed by the people there.

Item no 5. The central office of the committee was resolved to be transferred to Bombay for the ensuing year.

Item no. 6. Resolved that Comrade Ghatey be paid Rs. 60. a month for his own private expences and be placed in charge of the Head office at Bombay.

General Secretaries,

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA.

P. 1287. (12)

The Communist Party of India.

168, Fanaswadi

Bombay, 2, Feb. 5th., 1926.

V. H. Joshi Esqr,
Secretary and Treasurer,
Communist Defence Fund,
434, Thakurdwar,
Bombay 2.

Dear Sir,

You must be aware that at the recent Communist Conference held at Cawnpore, the Communist Party of India has been re-organised with its head-quarters at Bombay, with Comrade J. P. Begerhotta and myself as General Secretaries.

When the Communist Defence Fund was started it was mentioned that whatever balance was left after defraying the Conspiracy Case Charges was to be utilised towards re-organisation of the Party. From the account that you published a sum of Rs. 400/- remains with you, as its then Treasurer. I shall therefore thank you to hand over the same to me at an early date and oblige.

Yours fraternally,

Jt. Secretary,

Copy forwarded to Messrs. Joglekar and Parvate.

P: 1287. (13)

Rejected.

C/O Pt. Jagdeesh Sahai Vakil

High Court Bikaner.

D. Feb. 7.

My dear Molana Sahib,

Comrade Ghaty writes from Bombay the following "I wrote to Satya Bhakta asking him to forward to me

/any correspondence meant for the party. He has replied to me saying that he does not know when the old party was dissolved as mentioned by you in the press message and he is going to call a meeting of the local members to decide about this. You please write to him and explain to him the whole affair."

As I do not understand the need of explaining any thing to Mr. Satya Bhakta since I find no reason in his above I have to request you to see if the matter can be settled without further ado. In case Mr. Satya Bhakta refuses to forward the dak of the party to you even we shall have to in that case call a meeting of the executive which will unnecessarily cost much to the members. On hearing from you I see what to do in the affair.

Hope to hear soon.

I remain,

Fraternally yours,

Illegible.

P. 1287. (14)

The COMMUNIST PARTY of India.

Shri Krishna Lodge,

Bombay No. 4

1st January 1927.

From

S. V. GHATE,

Jt. Secretary,

The Communist Party of India.

To

Shapurji Saklatwala, Esq., M. P.

A D E N.

Dear Comrade,

On behalf of the C. P. I. I intend to you our heartiest welcome on your return to India.

I understand, from a message published in the issue of "Indian National Herald" that you are coming here to put yourself

into closer touch with the Indian leaders and the conditions obtaining here. I believe that you cannot have chosen a better time than the present, though it would have been much better, if you had been able to attend the Congress in session just concluded when you could have seen all the leaders in their pro-capitalist bourgeois mentality. Congress, as you must be aware, is swayed by the Swarajists, whose leaders declared in unequivocal terms that "the Congress was neither a Socialist nor a Communist body"; while their Calcutta spokesman J. M. Sen Gupta owned that he was representing the Jamindars of Bengal. Side by side with these declarations the Mahatma's re-entry into Politics has rejuvenated his orthodox N. C. O. Army whose pet theory of Charkha and Khaddar has been brought to the forefront of this year's Congress Programme. On the whole the situation is not more encouraging than it ever before as far as the masses of India are concerned.

Our own party which came into existence a year ago, under the most adverse conditions, has not been able to make headway with its programme. However we have great hopes that with your suggestions and lead we shall be able to do some substantial progress with our work.

Comrade Begerhotta (Joint Secretary C. P. I.) is making arrangements with the local group at Lahore for holding our next session shortly.

With comradely greetings,

Fraternally Yours,

Jt. Secretary, C. P. I.

P. 1287 (15) *Rejected.*

A piece of paper having the following address on it:—

Stuart Feather
31 Derly Road.

South wood ford

Essex

(Inside Jan.).

P. 1287. (16)

Comrades,

Let me thank you for this great honour that you have done to me. Let me assure you at the outset that I belong to the working class to which all of you here belong, to whom belongs the future of the world. I shall try to justify the confidence you have placed in me, by giving me such a prominent place here today with what measure of success I cannot say, but it depends upon your cooperation with me in these deliberations.

It should please all the world to see the resurrection of your union that sank into nothingness for a few years after it was started. Perhaps the success that your union achieved by the strike of 1920 by which the Capitalist owners yielded to most of your grievances must have elated the union to a degree of lethargy which must have set in immediately after. It is quite natural in progressive institutions and there is a periodic rise and fall. And the Capitalists by driving a wedge in the form they did then, for a time achieved a certain degree of success for themselves, as much as you did. Leaving that aside, it is a matter for congratulation, thanks to the unceasing efforts with an undying interest which some of your foremen (leaders) took in keeping the fires burning all along. I hear also that Mr. Ramzan, that staunch worker who at present holds the honourable position, he so much deserved for his unflinching faith in trade unionism, that he strove to keep things going all the while the union, had almost ceased to exist. I need not dwell further on the services of your organising secretary Mr. M. A. Majid, with whom I myself had the honour of working in some other connection some time back, and I daresay that you have in him a worker among you who believes in the great future for the working classes not only of our country but all the world over. Mr. Ramachander is an old worker, among you, who is a worker among workers, whose devotion to this cause is well known. I am afraid I am well nigh flattering them, but let me assure them, that the struggle we all are expecting is yet to begin.

For the Capitalists of all the countries are uniting their forces against the world proletarians. The recent failure of the trade union strike in England shows what a mighty organisation like that of Britain could do against organised labour, headed by renegade leader of the Thomas, and Mac etc. type.

But in this country things are different. The class consciousness of our worker is at its lowest. There is not a clearly marked division between the capitalist and the worker. But in advanced industrial cities, like Bombay, Ahmedabad, there is a clearly marked distinction. Here in our Province class consciousness is at its

highest - I mean Particular for the Rly and other unions. When this class consciousness dawns to a goodly degree all the myth of communalism will explode, it will be class against class and not Religion against religion or caste against caste. Even now what goes under the name of communalism, has in its essence economic basis - for it is not for you and me to keep fighting between ourselves. We have the question of the conquest of bread for which we for 10-12 hours, every day. Some of our misguided comrades are made cats paws by designing persons from both the ranks.

In this eternal struggle for bread I can assure you there is nothing like religion. Every does his bit, and gets a share—look at us all here meeting with one purpose—as man, to man, with comradely humanness. Look at the capitalist vultures—caste or religion or race is a private affair, between oneself, ones people and ones God, but in the vast Economic arena they are one. Take for instance the chamber of Commerce—it is not a picture of of religion that is presented—but different vultures—sitting together and planning how best to exploit the working classes, wherewith to sweel their profits. So also in our case.

It is in this kind of trade unionism, from provincial into inter—Provincial—that the strength of your organisation would grow—Yours is the mightier power only if you know it. The bosses can do nothing, if you cease to help them. You must have had an illustration of this, in the recent London strike I referred to elsewhere. When the Morning Post—a daily conservative paper wanted to write something against trade unions, the Press Workers—ceased to work and the effect was that there was no paper—you know what happened following up on this incident.

It is upto you to develop this Press Union—into and all—India Union so that when, it comes to a struggle with your bosses, the rest of the unions all the country over would join you in sympathy.

The condition of labour in India, and in the Punjab very particularly is very miserable. India has apparently, accepted international 8 hour working day—but the workers are compelled to work 10—12 hours daily. Child labour is not supposed to exist, but any factory is Bombay or elsewhere will give the lie to it. The low wages that the parents get tempt them to make a false declaration of age, and as long as it means a profit to the bosses, they don't mind. The working classes here and in Delhi live in dens (see any railway quarters for workers) fit for wild beasts.

Laughter had did on his lips. The hardships that he had endured during the two years he was out work had left an indelible impression on his countenance. He could no longer laugh.—not at all—

He was so optimistic sometimes back, and he has young.

In a day all his youth fled away from him. He felt he had nothing to live for. After all what was the meaning of life? Why should one exist and eternally hunt after bread, and perish in the attempt? Was life only that: This ceaseless race after bread? Or was there anything else.

They had talked of lot of things. There is something to live for—the life hereafter. Life hereafter—he burst into a sordonic grin.—He could not laugh. At best a doubtful thing—It might be a mirage—and nothing else—and may be anything for the matter of that—what did he care? it hardly compensated for the present day pinching of the stomach and the wariness of the limbs

Either God was already dead or he was in a slow process of self annihilation. He had been destroyed by the very instrument that he had created—His universe! or Man's—whatever it was God had ceased to have anything to do with this world—His glorious creation swaled him outright—Head and tail and all.

All these yet did not solve the problem the why and wherefore of human existence. Really speaking there was no need for existence at all, yet one could not escape from it. The desire to live was there as strong as ever—in spite of all the calamities, in spite of endurances, in spite of God himself. Even God himself had a desire to live.

He felt some arm round his neck. It was his little daughter Winnie. "I had such a fine fun today "dad" 'I saw the juggler. He swallowed a big stick - so long" extending her hands. "Madhu beat me to-day" - here - mother wouldn't give me anything to eat - what shall I do? Why don't you talk father? - shall we go out for a walk - Oh - will this innocent rattle of the child never end? - he had a mind to run away - leaving all this behind him - but what was this all. He had a house for which an wolfish landlord - extracted exhor-bitant rent - He was here happy with his wife - The eternal want that were being catalogued for his consumption when he was at home, had been a plague to him. He turned his eyes - saw Winnie reflecting - those dark eyes - so innocent - yet how thoughtful - shining glittering casting a light into his melaucholy heart - was she reflecting like himself on the Problem of life and death? On God - On humanity - or what -

She was looking up to the roof - a fly was caught in a spider's web - The child was gazing intently on the fly which was trying to extricate it-self - but "Oh dada" she shrieked - and the fly was inside the spider - "will it try to come out? Dada" no darling" He tried to laugh - but laughter had died on his lips seeing him,

the child's silvery laughter rang through the roof - it embalmed his heart.

There was nothing to live for. He was like the one caught in the web - without hope of extrication. He must live at least for this little innocent being -

P. 1287 (17).

Rejected.

22, South Bldg,
TRIPLICANT.
17-1-27.

My Dear Ghaté,

I suppose all of our comrades are having a busy day with Com. Saklatwala. I haven't got your acknowledgment to my two telegrams, one to you, another to your care, and a *registered* letter. Perhaps you are too busy. However I should like to know whether you received them in these days of censure.

I find from the associated news agency report of the welcome given to you and others, that bourgeois leaders are more in prominence than you, communists. I have not yet heard from Com. Saklatwala in reply to our welcome.

I am sending an M. O. for Rs. 10/- towards the *Lenin's Day* on the 22nd. Let *none of us make any mention of religion or religious martyrs* I would beg of you all - who are communists, not to make any reference to religious quarrels that seem to shake the bourgeois India. The whole thing is from hypocrisy - Let us look to the hungry living millions, rather than make big pass about the party of religious martyrs.

Wish to hear from you soon—

Yours Fraternally in Communist

Peasant Workers.

P. 1287. (18)

Rejected.

CORPORATION OF MADRAS,

DEPARTMENT.

RIPON BUILDINGS.

PARK TOWN P. O. MADRAS.

Madras 19 Jany. 1927

My Dear Ghate,

What are you all doing? I write this from the corporation office. I did not receive any ackmt. of my telegrams to you and to Saklatwala and also for the registered letter. Have all these censured? This morning I saw Com. S's engagement in your Daily News. He is to lecture today under our party's auspices and next under Bourgeois auspices. Why has he not written to me? Our Satyamoorty—the future Lloyd George of India tells me that Saklatwala has written to him that he would be going to Madras about the middle of next month will you accompany him? Kindly inform me about his movement and yours and what about the Congress at Lahore. Is it real or a boast? Please write to me often as possible. An nearly amindly informations about our party Congress and Saklatwala.

P. 1288.

A Type written copy of a "Call to action" (Incomplete).
(Vide Exb. P. 523).

The Country's Misfortune.



The greatest disaster that can ever befall to any country on God's earth is its foreign domination—still greater if the dominating power is made up of a government of capitalistic exploiters. Our country unfortunately is under a foreign capitalistic rule. Her industries are starved, Education practically nill, her people absolutely poor, Her sanitation awfully, low, Mortality abnormally high. She is suffering under a tyrannical rule of a set of foreign Exploiters. One cannot feel quite at home in his own country. Without a freedom, speech, or writing any patriotic feeling is never allowed to germinate and where it germinates or has germinated, it is put down mercilessly.

This rule has been like a fever. The long years of bondage, The practical starvation of all the country's needs, and the awful exploitation of all her raw materials, the people of the country have almost come to regard the ruling power as a god and believe that they will not be able to get any salvation except through the foreign exploiters. Foreign exploiters remind. A foreign government that is not popular even in its own country.

Latter by the misdeeds of the government have brought the inevitable result. The awakening of a sense of national feeling—a feeling dominating the idea of bondage—a feeling feeling the bondage and striving for liberty. India has jumped into the vertex of the fight for national emancipation.

Of course the Emancipation struggled for is sure to come, though it may take years before it can take any real form—but yet it will come. It will come in an undesirable form. Our own government when we establish a free one is sure to be capitalistic—thanks to the foreign teaching for these past centuries. The proletariat has lost all its control and the people may not have any voice in the early future independent government of the country. It is against this that we mean to make provision.

Capitalistic governments in all country's have proved that they can hold no water any longer. Under the growing conditions of individual freedom. And since individuals—the proletarian classes are dominant in every country—go to form the governed—the 20th century has opened with a discontent according not only the "subject" races but also races enjoying independent governments. The upheaval in Russia, and the subsequent solution of government by Lenin and his Compatriots has opened this new era to this world.

But what of India? Where is she to be. Is she to grovel in the dust for ever? Our answer is an emphatic negative. Our country's salvation must be worked out. Her future must be earned by ourselves. . . She must first be unemancipated.

The first necessity for our motherland then is the shaking off of the foreign rule. The methods of this we may discuss later. Suffice it to mention here, that there are various ways among which the most popular one at the present day seems to be the theory given by Mahatma Gandhi. Our views on this and other methods may be discussed later.

It is my belief that simultaneously with the overthrow of this foreign power we have an opportunity to shake ourselves of capitalistic classes which seems to be gaining preponderance at the present day. I believe that having learnt the lesson from foreign country's, if we begin to work from now only—this can be accomplished. Time itself will solve this. on the necessity and means too well further in the course of this printing.

Now we may begin.

13/7/20.

The Country's Call.



Have you not heard the groans and stifled cries of our little mother? But what is this burr and noise about? It is the hurried steps of these that have been awakened by the stifled agonies of your mother country and who are trying to do their best towards her liberation from bondage.

My brother! What?—Not yet up! awaken O then, and join in the Vast army that is gathering for the rescue of our imprisoned mother. Let no lie, no dream no life however pleasant stand between you and your mother country. Her bondage has been our shame. A day's delay means a day of dishonour. There is no 'life' hereafter if you don't do your duty herein. No wonder that you shall have to be reborn again until you realise your oneness with the almighty and all beings on earth. The 'life' hereafter can come only to those who have done their duty in this life. Otherwise it is death hereafter and not life.

Awaken O Brothers. Your country is weeping with outstretched arms one in the hands of the foreigner and the other stretched to her sons who lazily have not gone to her rescue.

It is not late yet. We shall have to swim a distance no doubt and may even perish in the attempt. But O the glory of it.

It is life eternal my brotheren. It is life and not death. The pain that will accompany the rescue has been of our creation owing to our omission in our service to our mother country. And I am sure you and I are cowards as not to undergo any pain or pleasure of our own undertaking.

Hence arise arise. I hear the country's call. Let us answer it with the heart and voice. "Here we are O mother: Here on all we conserve to your liberation from a foreign domination. Pardon us for our past neglect. We will try to undo it with our blood. Bless us oh mother. Oh mother.'

6/11/21.

Illegible.

P. 1290.

This is a declaration form for passport supposed to be filled in by S. V. Ghate, who has supplied the following particulars regarding himself.

Bombay 5th April 1927.

Name: Sachidanand Vishnu Ghate,

Address: 51 Mody Buildings, Khetwadi, Bombay.

Subject: British subject.

Date of birth:- 2nd September 1896

Place of birth: Mangalore.

Purpose: Attending the Pan Pacific Conference at Canton, China.

Age: 30

Profession: Publicist.

Whether married: Single.

Domicile: Bombay.

Height: 5' 1"

Colour of eyes Dark grey

Colour of hair Dark

Distinguishing marks: Scar on the right arm Mole on Chin.

Sd/- S. V. Ghate

Certified by N. M. Joshi

Saraswati Machine Printing Press, MEERUT, U. P. INDIA,

P. 1291.

Warrant of arrest issued by the District Magistrate Meerut for the arrest of Sacchidanand Vishnu Ghate, 17 Dwarkadas Mansions, Sandhurst Road, Bombay, under Sec. 121-A of the I. P. C.

Executed by the Bombay City C. I. D. on 20-3-29.

P. 1292.

Search Warrant issued under Sec. 96 C. P. D. by the District Magistrate, Meerut, for searching the house of Sacchidanand Vishnu Ghate, 17 Dwarkadas Mansions, Sandhurst Road, Bombay.

Executed by the Bombay City C. I. C. on 20-3-29.

P. 1293.

PUNCHNAMA

We the undersigned members of the Punch Viz :—

1. Mr. Hari Ramchandra Joglekar 43, Brahmin, Asst. Supdt Govt. Medical Stores Res., 190 Girgaun Back Road, Bombay.

2. Narayan Ganesh Bhagwat 40 Brahmin, Clerk in Artistic Printing Press Res-New Amrit Wadi, 230 Room, Girgaun Back Road,

Were present at the time of execution of a search warrant No. nil dated 15-3-29 to witness the search of the person of Mr. Sacchidanand Vishnu Ghate and his personal belongings at 17 Dwarkadas mansions Sandhurst Road, Bombay at 6-5 A m. on the 20th day of March 1929. The above search was conducted by

Inspector Acharekar in our presence and the following articles were taken possession of by the officer conducting the search :—

1. In the pockets of a white khadi coat, which was kept hanging on a nail inside the room No. 17 Dwarkadas mansions, Sandhurst Road :—

A. Collin's diary for 1929 bearing the name of S. V. Ghate.

(a 1) 10 sheets of papers with heading Communist International and the subject peoples, typed.

(a. 2) A letter addressed to Ghate from Dr. N. S. Kumta dated 1-3-29.

(a. 3) A sheet of paper with heading C. P. I. meeting 27, 28 and 29th Decr,

(a. 4) A note paper with heading C. P. I. 17-3-29.

(a. 5) A note paper with heading C. P. Meeting 19-3-29.

(a. 6) A torn postal cover bearing the name of Ghulam Jelani and his address.

(a. 7) A receipt for Rs. 1-10/-dated 8-3-29 from Saygaon and Coy.

(a. 8) a post card addressed to Advance Literature Coy: dated 16-1-29.

(a. 9) A letter from Mr. A. K. Asundi to Mr, Ghate of Dhulia 8-3-29 (2 loose sheets).

(a. 10) A typed letter addressed to the Agents the Bombay Dyeing and Mfg Coy: Ltd. Bombay dated 11-3-29.

(a. 11) Two chits of paper with heading worker's World incomplete.

(a. 12) A letter of 6-3-29 addressed to the agents the Century mills.

(a. 13) A chit of paper bearing in Marathi "Mumbai Girni Kamgar Union, centre 1, Nagusayaji Vadi and writing in Marathi.

(a. 14) B torn chit bearing the address of P. C. Joshi and Raghunandan Pant.

(a. 15) A typed letter No. 362 dated 14-12-28 from the secretary B. M. W. Union to the General Secretary A. I. T. Union Congress, Bombay.

(a. 16) A chit from Dange dated 8-4-28 regarding the receipt for books.

(a. 17) A chit bearing some accounts dated 3-3-29.

- (a. 18) A chit bearing some accounts and names.
- (a. 19) A letter from the manager Pearl Mills to General Secretary B. G. Kamgar Union of 6-2-29.
- (a. 20) A full sheet of paper with heading complaints from the Century Mills.
- (a. 21) A post card addressed to Com. Ghate. S. V. dated Manmad 22-2-29.
- (a. 22) Two sheets of papers bearing the heading "Executive" and the heading the Communist Party of India.
- (a. 23) A typed letter (2 sheets) from agents, Bombay D. and M. Coy: to general secretary Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, Parel.
- (a. 24) A chit with address agha Khan Bldgs 8 Block Room No. 2 Gac.
- (a. 25) A rent bill dated 12-3-29 for Rs. 25/- in the name of Shantaram Sawalarsin.
- (a. 26) A letter dated 8-3-29 from Muzaffar Ahmed to Ghate.
- (a. 27) A membership application form of D. N. Kale dated 20-2-29 in Marathi and manuscript in English.
- (a. 28) A post card printed dated 9-3-29 from Ghate to S. A. Dange.
- (a. 29) A hand bill dated 15-3-29 by agents Karimbhai Ebrahim and sons.
- (a. 30) A letter dated 7-1-29 from D. R. Thengdi to the members of the E. C. P. and workers Party,
- (a. 31) A bill for Rs. 16/6/- dated 31-1-29 from Imperial Stationery Coy: to G. Kamgar Union.
- (a. 32) A torn chit bearing some notes regarding communist party meeting dated 28-12-28.
- (a. 33) A bill for £ 1/8/8 dated 30-11-28 from M. Lawrence Ltd.
- (a. 34) A letter dated 2-1-29 from Bukhary to GI Secretary the I. Communist Party.
- (a. 35) 3 circulars re, the election of the Bom. Municipal Corporation.
- (a. 36) A chit bearing names and writing in pencil in Marathi.
- (a. 37) A chit — do — do — do.
- (a. 38) A letter d/ nil from U. P. and D. Workers' and Peasants' Party Allahbad to Ghate.

(a. 39) Two chits regarding meetings of A. I. C.

2. In a leather attache case :—

The key of the case was produced by Mr. S. V. Ghate in our presence and the case was opened by him and the following things were found inside the attache case :—

B—a photograph—card—size.

B 1—about 100 blank forms bearing "The Communist Party of India etc.

B 2—about 200 blank forms bearing a seal the Communist Party of India, Bombay.

B 3—a chit bearing the address of Mr. Modak.

B 4—Printed rules of the A. I. Trade Union Congress.

B 5—a booklet regarding the Trade Union Movement December 28.

B 6—five typed sheets regarding A. I. Railwaymen's Federation Press report.

B 7—a typed copy of Resolutions for Calcutta Congress December 1928.

B 8—Agenda of C. P. I. meeting d/-26-12-28.

B 9—agenda of C. P. I. meeting.

B 10—Subject Committee Resolutions, Calcutta December 28 of I. N. Congress.

B 11—a bank cover bearing the name of S. Habib Ahmed and Coy Delhi.

B 12—a resolution dated 14-9-27 signed by P. Spratt regarding the passport of Mr. Sakhalatwala.

B 13—A typed Moharam manifesto of the W. & P. Party of Bombay (3 sheets).

B 14—two bills for 4. 50 and 2. 00.

B 15—two letters dated 5-1-28 and 17-2-28 from Vanguard Press and Martin Lawrence Ltd.

B 16—A letter d/ 17-3-28 from Swaraj Publishing House, Benares Cant.

B 17—A letter d/ 30-3-28 from M. Lawrence to Advance Lit Coy and 3 bills for 12/ 1, 12/1, and 12/1.

B 18—A bill for £ 3. 50 from Vanguard Press to Advance Lit Coy.

- B 19—A letter dated 22-6-28 from—Do—to—Do.
- B 20—Receipts Nos 37 and 135 for Rs 50/- and Rs 15/- from the Treasurers Joint Mill Strike Committee.
- B 21—Memo Nos. 1819 and 1820 dated 15/12/27 from Gopal Ch Basak.
- B 22—A cover with address Advance Lit. Coy. with advertisements of Publishers' circular and Book-sellers Record.
- B 23—A letter dated 21/5/28 from M. Lawrence and two bills for £ 1 and for 2/16/9 and a postal cover.
- B 24—Two copies of Photograph (card size)
- B 25—Report regarding 1st annual Conference of the Workers and P. Party (6 sheets) with a cutting of Daily Mail d/ 22/3/28 and a small chit signed by S. V. Ghate dated 20/3.
- B 26—A rent bill dated 31/1/28 for Rs 22-8.
- B 27—A cutting with heading Mond or Moscow.
- B 28—A cutting with the heading waging the International class war on two battle Fronts.
- B 29—Do—with the heading world Trade Union Congress, with a cover.
- B 30—2 copies of Eastern and colonial Bulletin dated 15-X-27
- B 31—A card size photograph of Mr. Shaffee Mohd.
- B 32—A copy of Presidential Address 8th Session All India Trade Union Congress dated 26/11/27
- B 33—A cover addressed as Frans Korits Choner etc.
- B 34—A letter (2 sheets) dated 12/5/28 from Spratt to S. V. G. (Ghate)
- B 35—A typed copy of statement of W. and P. Party Bombay.
- B 36—A Blank form bearing the Workers' and P's party and their motto.
- B 37—Draft report of all India Trade Union Congress.
- B 38—Congratulatory Letter (3 sheets) regarding Hartal Success.
- B 39—A bill for 1. 50 from Vanguard Press Mc. Dr. D/ 30/6/28
- B 40—A postal acknowledgment d/ 28/7/28.

- B 41—Telegram d/ 2/8/28 from Muzaffar Ahmed to Ghaté with reply overleaf.
- B 42—A copy of Hugo's French Journal d/ 31/5/24
- B 43—A pamphlet regarding Trade terms from G. Routledge and Sons.
- B 44—A postal receipt No. 19 dated 27/2/28 addressed to Muzaffar Ahmed.
- B 45—Annual Report of the Communist Party of India 1927.
- B 46—4 Sheets of news paper cuttings (Proofs)
- B 47—Counterfoils of cheque Nos. c26015, 16, 17, 18, and Ex 34270, c 3036, 7, c 3038 and 39 and c 3040
- B 48—Advertisement re. Soviet Union year book 1928.
- B 49—A typed copy of an article (5 sheets)
- B 50—Circular dt 6/7/28 of All I. Trade Union Congress.
- B 51—3 copies of Hugo's French Journal dt 24/5/24, 14/6/24, and 21/6/24.
- B 52—A chit bearing Alphabets and names and English writing on the reverse.
- B 53—A letter from Nimbkar and Parvate regarding an amendment.
- B 54—Report (typed) regarding Peasants Movement in Bengal. (5 sheets).
- B 55—A typed copy re. resolution on organisation of W. and P's party (3 sheets)
- B 56—A post card dated 25/7/28 from one Ramchandra to Advance Lit : Coy :
- B 57—A bill for £ 1-2-10 dated 11-6-28.
- B 58—Invoice No. 9565 of 6-2-28.
- B 59—Membership card No. 4 of W. and P's Party of S. V. Ghaté.
- B 60—Report of the Working class movement in Bengal (7 sheets).
- B 61—A letter dated 30/5/28. from the Manager Industry to the Advance Lit Coy:
- B 62—A booklet re: deductions from wages or payments etc.
- B 63—A bill for 3-50 from Vanguard Press.

B 64—A letter dated 15/3/28 from—Do—and an invoice Nos. 7687 for 4-50.

B 65—A copy of Photograph of Messers Mirajkar and Ghate.

B 66—A chit bearing the name of R. M. Wellock and his address.

B 67—Do—Do—of J. Ryan.

B 68—A visiting card of P. V. Ghate with c—27/- c 71 on the reverse.

B 69—A visiting card case with S. V. Ghate's name as general Secretary of the Com. Party of India on the V. Card.

Personal search of Ghate—nil.

The above Panchnama was read over to us and it contains a full and true account of what we have witnessed during the search. The search warrant shown to us is dated 15/3/29 and issued by the Dist. Magistrate, Meerut (U. P.)

Before me

Sd. S. G. Acharekar

Sd. H. R. Joglekar 20/3

Inspr. C. I. D.

Sd. N. G. Bhagwat. 20/3

20/3/29 2-30 P. M.

Sd. Illegible. 20/3/29.

P. 1294 .

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE SUBJECT
PEOPLES.

The war "for democracy" and "rights of small nations" concluded without altering the situation in which three quarters of the area (approximately, 100 out 134 square kilometers) and two thirds of the population (approximately, 1200 out of 1656 millions) of the world are in the state of subjugation. Indeed, the net result of the war was to reduce even a larger portion of the area and population of the world essentially to the state of colonial regime. The territory and population of the Russian empire were the only exception. The system of national subjugation ended there with the

overthrow of capitalist order. With the bourgeoisie, the doctrine of the "rights of nationalities" was but a hypocritical veil to hide their imperialist rivalries. Subject nations were freed only by the proletarian revolution. The Russian revolution created a new world inside the old. The rest of the world, however, remained under the yoke of victorious imperialism based upon class domination at home and national subjugation abroad.

The communist International was founded with the object of freeing the world from the imperialist yoke and of reconstructing it as Socialist commonwealth. Imperialism could be overthrown only by the joint revolutionary action of all those by exploiting and subjugating whom it subsists. In other words, proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries and the movement for the national liberation of the subject peoples are supplementary factors in the struggle against imperialism, and for the establishment of the world Socialist commonwealth. In the modern world, subjugation of one people by another is the outcome of the operation of the capitalist system. Therefore the struggle of the subject peoples for national freedom is an attack upon capitalism as a world force. National revolution, in spite of its bourgeois democratic character, is a part of the proletarian world revolution. No International can deserve the name, if it leaves out of its scope the major portion of the world. If it wants to be an effective organ for the overthrow of capitalism, it must mobilize under its banner all the forces antagonistic to capitalism, and the peoples subjugated by imperialism constitute the overwhelming majority of these anti-capitalist forces. Founded on these principles, the communist International, during the ten years of its existence, has proved itself to be the only enemy of capitalism.

We remember Kautsky, in 1920, taunting the communist International for "fraternising with the Khans of Khiva." The communist International was, of course, not ashamed by that remark of a senile mind which had deviated so far from Marxism that it dealt in abstract categories. Hardly a decade has passed since then. The Khans are no more; but the people of Khiva (which in Kautsky's foggy vision represented the entire central Asia), with whom the communist International fraternised and still does it, are today closely drawn into the work of Socialist reconstruction, while Kautsky with the whole crew of international Social Democracy are doing the dirty job of capitalist reconstruction. Liberated from imperialist domination, restored in national freedom and forging ahead on the road of cultural progress, a central Asiatic peasant or artisan is an active soldier in the army of proletarian socialist world revolution, while the social Democratic leaders are lackeys of the bourgeoisie.

Communist approach to the National and colonial Questions was criticised by the second International ostensibly from the socialist point of view, but really in the interest of imperialism. In proportion as the struggle for liberation in the colonial countries developed

and the communist International supported this struggle unconditionally, the "Socialist" exclusiveness of the second International revealed itself not only as the apology for but stout defence of imperialism.

Despite the wisdom of Kautskyism, under the pressure of circumstances the second International was forced to abandon its studied indifference to the events in the "backward" countries. Stormy development of the anti-imperialist movement in the oppressed countries was one of the outstanding features of the world situation during the years immediately following the war. The hundreds of millions of subject peoples were asserting themselves upon the world situation. They could no longer be ignored. The attention of the proletariat in the imperialist countries was attracted by the upheavals in Egypt, India, Turkey, Morocco, China and Java. The Communist International explained to the proletariat the great historic significance of those upheavals, and appealed to them to join hands with the rebellious colonial peoples in a gigantic world-wide attack upon capitalism. The proletariat in the imperialist countries generally felt that there was something wrong, in spite of their lingering prejudice created by decades of imperialist propaganda. But their fostered faith in the "civilizing mission" of the white man was shaken by such a violent and persistent refusal of the "coloured barbarians" to be "civilized." In this critical situation, the reconstructed Second International concerned itself with colonial affairs, with double object, namely, to meet the growing demand of the proletariat in the imperialist countries for a solution of the colonial question, and to deceive the peoples in the colonies by means of hypocritical sympathy.

But Social Democracy, by its very nature, is unable to solve the colonial question. Betrayal of revolutionary class struggle at home goes hand in hand with the support of imperialist exploitation of the colonial peoples. The alliance between the proletariat in the capitalist countries and the subject nationalities can be made only for revolutionary struggle against imperialism. It is impossible to make such an alliance on the basis of Social democratic reformism. This impossibility has been revealed time and again, since the Second International at Marseilles donned the deceptive mantle of sympathy for the colonial peoples. The Marseilles Congress of the Second International, which at the initiative of Austro-Marxism adopted the Colonial Resolution, had already been heavily prejudiced by the compromising record of its leading party—the record of the British Labour Government.

Ambiguity, however, cannot be long maintained in this epoch of revolution. Imperialism is in death-grip. It wants to crush the revolt of the subject nations. In this state of active hostility, open and unconditional support must be given to one or the other.

There is no no mid-way. Yet, the plan of the Second International was to reconcile the two warring factors on the platform of reformism. This plan miscarried, for imperialism would not be good and gentle with the advice of its Social Democratic well-wishers. By its very nature an adjunct of imperialism, the Second Internâtionâl let its mantle of hypocrisy drop, and came out as the advocate of racial and national suppression, foresooth, in the name of civilization and Socialism.

Last year, by the resolution adopted at Brussels the Second International not only wiped out the deviation of the Marseilles Congress, but reverted to its position previous to the Stuttgart Congress. The opponents of the Stuttgart Resolution, which was the best in the entire history of the Second International, including Macdonald and Vandervelde, maintained that colonialism was beneficial for the backward races. This doctrine of "civilizing mission," half-heartedly discarded by the Statgart Congress, reasserted itself, as it were with vengeance, last year at Brussels. The basic principle of the Brussels resolution is race superiority. Not even Kautsky, but the bourgeois philosopher Gobineau has become the ideologist of Social Democracy. Admitting that there are many colonial races whose cultural level has hardly been raised during the decades of of foreign domination the Brusses Resolution, nevertheless, asserts brazenly that "in these territories the modern method of production and transport still depends completely upon the dominant foreign regime" and that "the immediate abolition of colonial status will not bring with it any progress towards a national culture, but rather a relapse into a primitive barbarism."

Not satisfied with the support given to imperialism by the Brussels resolution in the holy name of civilization, Macdonald goes further and asseverates that national freedom of the subject peoples is prejudicial to the realisation of Socialism. In a very ill-tempered article attacking the Indian nationalists and the League against Imperialism, he writes:

"The socialist who turn his opposition to capitalist society into a racial or nationalist conflict is playing with the most dangerous fire, and doing his movement no good. Besides, he is usually a mere tool wittingly or unwittingly, in the hands of rival groups of capitalists, and is doing nothing to get the whole industrial world moved beyond the capitalist stage." (Forward. Jan. 26.)

In contrast to this social Democratic justification and defence of colonial exploitation, the Communist International, basing itself on the findings of Marx and Lenin, declared on its birth that as imperialism is the latest stage of capitalism, the revolutionary proletariat must support unconditionally and by all means the struggle of the subject people for national freedom as a powerful

factor in the international fight for Socialism. Owing to the varying grades of social backwardness, in which subject peoples have been held forcibly by foreign intervention, their fight for liberation involves, and usually is led by, classes that are not only not striving for Socialism, but are antagonistic to Socialism. Nevertheless, the Communist International, during the ten years of its existence, has always supported this fight. In doing so it has not been "a mere tool in the hands of rival groups of capitalists," as the imperialist—"socialist" Macdonald avers, but has dealt blow after blow to capitalism as a world force. The historic importance of the national revolution in the subject countries is its anti-imperialist character. Its social composition becomes of secondary account by the side of this essential importance. In so far as it contributes to the downfall of imperialism, it supplements the proletarian world revolution. Looked from this perspective of world revolution, the Chinese Kuomintang, when it struggled against imperialism, was revolutionary, while the British Labour Party, which supports imperialism, is counterrevolutionary; the Chinese nationalist government until the middle of 1927 was a weapon of proletarian world revolution, while the Macdonald government was an agency of imperialist reaction; and today, even the feudal king Amanullah of Afghanistan is a revolutionary compared to the social-imperialist Macdonald.

The Chinese revolution is a very important chapter in the history of the ten years of the Communist International. Indeed, it will always remain one of the most important chapters in its entire history. It shows how the revolutionary proletariat, as the leader of the struggle for the building of a new world on the ruins of the old, can rally around itself all the forces directly or indirectly antagonistic to the present order of the world—can utilise all the contradictions of the capitalist society for its destruction.

The history of the Chinese revolution shows that, in this epoch of imperialist decay, national revolution in the colonies does not lead to the creation of a new capitalist group. Revolution places in power only that class, which, in the given period, embodies the forces of social progress. Revolution introduces into society that form of production which quickens material and cultural advance of the humanity. Capitalism has long ceased to be an agency of progress. Today, it is a force of reaction choking the moral and material life of the world. If it is so in the centres of capitalist production, it is much more so in the peripheries of the capitalist world, namely, in the countries subjugated by imperialism. Therefore, objectively and essentially, the movement for national liberation of the subject peoples militates against capitalist reaction, and national revolution does not, can not, lead to the establishment of capitalism in the hitherto backward parts of the world. Success of national revolution in the colonies will mean the downfall of

imperialism. A rejuvenated capitalism cannot possibly rise out of the ruins of imperialism which was the highest afflorescence of capitalism. Such immortality of capitalism is believed only by the Social Democrats.

The first stages of the Chinese revolution have concluded with an apparent triumph of the nationalist bourgeoisie. Strenuous efforts are being made by the nationalist bourgeoisie, backed by imperialism, to create a centralised capitalist state and to quicken the economic life of the country on capitalist lines. It is easily seen that these efforts are not successful, and it is equally easy to find why they are not successful. On the other hand, the development of the Chinese revolution up to the present inconclusive stage has seriously weakened the position of imperialism and has created for it new sets of contradictions. It has further revealed the fact that national revolution in the colonial countries, by virtue of its anti-imperialist role, in course of development outgrows the original bourgeois democratic character and becomes a direct struggle for the realisation of Socialism.

The position of imperialism in China is weakened in so far as the development of national revolution renders obsolete the most powerful weapon with which imperialism dominated China ever since the practical fall of the Republic in 1915. This was militarism. The meeting of the rivals generals in Nanking marks the termination of militarism to the great chagrin of imperialist powers. The weakening of Imperialist position is further evidenced by the recognition of the Nanking government and the grant of partial tariff autonomy. By their own effort the Chinese bourgeoisie would never have reached the present strategic position in which imperialism is forced to make them important concession. This situation has been brought about by the intervention of the working class in the nationalist movement. This intervention, under the guidance of the Communist International, pushed the nationalist bourgeoisie in actual fight against imperialism and its feudal-militarist allies inside the country. The working class was the driving force of a revolution which was led by the bourgeoisie. This was not an unparalleled phenomenon. It was the feature of all the revolutions of modern history with the exception of the Russian and the subsequent proletarian Revolutions. But owing to the decisive fact that the Chinese revolution takes place in an epoch essentially different from that of the European bourgeois revolutions, it could not succeed as a bourgeois revolution creating conditions for capitalist development of the country.

The difficulties of the Nanking government arise from the basic fact that efforts are being made to create a bourgeois state on the basis of an incomplete bourgeois revolution. Broad and profound revolutionization of the peasant masses places militarism

in danger; but, at the same time, the social basis of militarism remains in tact as long as no remedy is found for the wide-spread destitution and pauperisation of the peasantry. An agrarian revolution completely eradicating the present system of feudal-patriarchal landownership is the remedy. But the nationalist bourgeoisie failed to apply this remedy. They betrayed the national revolution as soon as it coincided with agrarian revolution. The nationalist bourgeoisie could not lead the agrarian revolution, because the present system of pre-capitalist landownership, in consequence of imperialist penetration, has been converted into an agency of capitalist exploitation. Out of this complicated background arise the difficulties which render the reconstruction plans of the Nanking government inapplicable. The problem of disbandment cannot be solved. The disbanded soldiers would necessarily take to banditry, unless some other occupation were found for them. This needs finance which, in its turn, can hardly be centralized in the hand of the national government as long as feudal generals hold their sway in the provinces. Baffled by these insurmountable difficulties, the nationalist bourgeoisie deliver themselves completely to imperialism. The new situation in China creates new contradictions of imperialism. The basis of the subjugation of China must now be shifted from exploitation through trade to larger investment of capital. The problematic stability of the Nanking government is conditional upon unlimited financial assistance from abroad. This will transform China into a colony of America alone as today that is the only imperialist power in the position to supply unlimited capital. Other imperialist power will, of course, present the supremacy of America and, to maintain their threatened position, will necessarily revert to the antiquated means of domination which will hinder capitalist reconstruction of the country.

So, national revolution does not set up a new capitalist group. On the contrary, its defeat means a triumph of capitalism. Therefore to support the bourgeoisie or any other class in the subject countries as long as they lead the national anti-imperialist revolution is the only correct proletarian policy. This policy is all the more correct, for the political training and experience gained while acting as the driving force of the national revolution equip the proletariat to step out as the leader of the revolution as soon as the bourgeoisie seek to betray it. This happened in China demonstrating that national revolution in the colonies is an integral part of the proletarian Socialist world revolution. Bourgeois democratic revolution having in it the germs of the proletarian socialist revolution, develops into it eventually. In some cases many decades a century intervene between the two revolutions. In others, the development is direct and uninterrupted. It depends upon the condition of the world,

The tenth anniversary of the Communist International coincides with revolutionary developments also in India. The revolutionary developments in India are bound to influence the world situation still more profoundly than the Chinese revolution. The tactics of the Communist International in India cannot be exactly the same as in China. Nevertheless, the policy is essentially the same - to support the national revolution irrespective of its class composition which, as evidenced in China, is not constant but changes as the revolution develops. Recent events in India indicate that the relation of classes inside the nationalist movement is changing. The tactical application of the policy of supporting the struggle for national freedom has to be determined in view of this changing class relation.

The conditions for capitalist development are much more favourable in India than in China. Consequently, the nationalist bourgeoisie are decidedly reformist in their outlook, and in their struggle against imperialist domination do not go beyond the narrow limits of the so called constitutional action. Indeed, under no circumstances can the Indian bourgeoisie be expected to go to the extent their Chinese confreres went in the struggle against imperialism. Precisely for this reason there is still less chance of a new capitalist power growing out of the Indian national revolution. Owing to her comparatively high level of capitalist development (for a colonial country), India will break completely away from the British empire only through a revolution which will outgrow bourgeois democratic character more quickly and clearly than the Chinese revolution. Meanwhile, however, in the process of this development, the anti-imperialist struggle embraces different classes of the population, and Communist policy implies that the varying degree of antagonism between all these social elements and imperialism should be fully utilized for the development of the revolution. In India we have reached point where the "fight on two fronts" must be commenced. In our relation with the reformist big bourgeoisie, support on the basis of united anti-imperialist front must be combined with a ruthless struggle for the defence of the interests of the proletariat. As far as the radical petty bourgeoisie are concerned, the necessity of criticising their vacillation and constitutional inability to lead the revolution should not hinder the possibility of a revolutionary democratic block.

With the help of such tactics the proletariat, which has appeared in the political arena as an independent factor, will strengthen its position, first as the driving force and then as the leader of the revolution.

On its tenth anniversary, the Communist International is faced with the gigantic task of leading the national revolution in the two most important subject countries of the world. In both

the countries, the policy of the Communist International has assisted the objective local conditions to develop rapidly into the present mature revolutionary stage. Leading the national revolution in those countries to the final victory the Communist International will come very near to the realization of its goal building of the Socialist society on the ruins of capitalism. The victory of national revolution in those countries, instead of setting up new groups of capitalism, will hasten the downfall of capitalism as a world force.

On the tenth anniversary, Communist International can look back proudly on its achievements in those three quarters of the globe populated by two thirds of the human race which until its foundation were left out of account in estimating the forces of World Revolution. Under the leadership of the Communist International these huge reserves of capitalism have been transformed into active force against capitalism. This is one of the greatest victories that the Communist International has to its credit on its tenth anniversary.

P. 1295.

C. P. I. Meeting 27, 28 & 29th Dec.

M. A. Chairman.

1. Adhikari admitted to the party.
2. Hasrat Mohani and Hasan expelled.
3. Question of Swami was raised by Nimbkar.

Hamid stated that the Press was sold by him and money utilised for the personal advantage and hence he was expelled.

4. The question of making the party active, doing propaganda in the name of the C. P. I. decided upon.
5. Mirajkar made a member of the party.
6. Decision to have the head office in Bombay.

Decision to have 10 members in the C. E. in the following proportion. Bombay 5, Calcutta 3, and the Punjab 2. Names of E. C. Members. (1) S. S. Mirajkar, S. A. Dange, R. S. Nimbkar,

K. N. Joglekar, S. V. Ghate. (2) Muzaffar Ahmed, Halim, Shamsul Huda. (3) Abdul Majid, Sohansingh.

9. The S. in Bombay to function as the C. E. between the E. C. meetings which are fixed up quarterly. 4 including the general secretary to form the quorum.

10. General secretary S. V. Ghate.

11. Com. Joglekar suggested that Kulkarni be in the C. E.
Rejected.

12. General secretary to call a meeting every meeting.

13. Thesis laying down the programme and policy of the party to be proposed.

14. Application to be made to committee for affiliation.

28/12. K. N. Joglekar Chairman. Shamsul Huda's complaint that he was neglected by M. A., Spratt, and Bradley were deputed to look into the complaint. The thesis for the Committee was gone into and it was decided to accept it was a basis for work.
Possibilities of an open party to be tested.

29/12. K. N. J. Chairman: -

(1) Usmani to go to Punjab for organising N. W. R. Hamid for Jubulpore.

(2) Central organ of the Party—to be published from Calcutta. Muzaffar to look into Hindi and Bengali Papers and criticise them.

(3) Recruitment of Members: - Sohansingh and Kulkarni to be admitted. Local members should recommend admission, which should if ratified one can become a member.

(4) Plan for enrolment should be drawn up.

(5) Mirajkar, Muzaffar, Joglekar were suggested as delegates to the E.C.C. It was finally decided to select one from the first 2. M.A. selected later.

P. 1296.

A note paper with the following manuscript writing on it:-

17-3-22.

Chairman S.A. Dange. ✓ C. P. I.

1. Question of relations of this Party with the W. & P.
(Whether the W. & P. should be left in the Back ground?)

Mirajkar stated that dissolution of the W. & P. would be wrong—also Usmani—stated that this was to be a mass party.

Khan—a party exclusively doing T.U. Work can't be considered a sound party. No Political existence—No party on 2 class basis—Workers' party should utilise Peasants' Union.

Name did not matter.

Usm—communist movement being international.

Agreed—on the intensive organisation of the C.P.

W. & P. Party's function to hold joint conference between Workers' and Peasants' conference.

Camouflage popular in the name of the C.P.

Dange—thought it premature, the working class was not politically conscious?

It may remain an exclusively an intellectual party.

How to proceed with the organisation of the party—the way of working—concrete suggestions—

1. T. U.
2. Peasant.
3. Agit-Prop.
4. Organisational. Secretariat. Developement.

5. Polit. Depart.

- (1) S.A. Dange
- (2) K.V. Swami
- (3) S.S. Mirajkar
- (4) R.S. Nimbkar
- (5) K.N. Joglekar
- (6) B.T. Randive
- (7) Deshpande
- (8) Laij Pendse
- (9) S. V. Ghate.

(10). Kulkarni

(11) Khan

P. 1297.

19-3-29.

C. P. MEETING.

Present

(1) S. Usmani-Chairman.

(2) G. Adhikari

(3) S.S. Mirajkar

(4) Khan

(5) Randive

(6) S. V. Ghate

1. *Secretariat*—Central Place where anything can be reported experience of the work is not given to anyone else—The Secretary shall not take part in T.U. or Peasant not take part in such work or would make him leave.

Organise rules and regulation
(issue of pamphlets etc.)

e. g. *Mill Committees*—duties.

Agit-Prop. { Press work
Literature
Educational group.

Rules of Membership—for literate class and workers more stringent in selective process.

Polit Department—Political work of the party—Thesis for political programme.

1. *Reorganising the Communist Party of India.*

2. Five departments—mentioned—before on the 17-3-29.

3. Sub-Committee to be appointed to draft out a detailed plan of work.

1. Adhikari
2. Khan
3. Usmani
4. Ghate-Secretary.

Bombay: branch:

P. 1298.

Tele. Address: "Ganavani", Calcutta.

WORKERS' & PEAS.

2/1 European

Organ:

"Ganavani" "Lal Nishan"
 (Bengali Weekly) (Hindi Weekly)

P. C. Joshi,

34, Holland Hall,

Allahabad.

Raghunandan Pant,

462, Katra,

Allahabad.

P. 1299.

A piece of paper on which the following is written:-

I have the following books with me:-

1. Ten Days—Reed.

-Lenin.

U. Bulletins.

Research Dept. Bulletins.

have been lent to Chitramayajagat for their Soviet
turn, I will inform you

P. 1300.

Two foolscap half-sheet having on them the following writings
amongst other scribbling:—

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA.

Muzaffar Ahmed Chairman.

1. Credentials of Adhikari—decide to admit him.
2. Expulsion of Hasrat Mohani and Hasan—agreed upon.
3. Question of Swami raised by Nimbkar, Hamid statement
that he sold the press.
4. He should be expelled. To be communicated to these
people.
5. The question of reorganisation of the party.

What is going to be the future character?

Our legal position should be up held. Organising and Pro-
pagating, as a communist party.

Where should the Head office be?—Bombay.

5 from Bombay—S.V.G. S.S.M.
R.S.N. S.A.D.
K.N.J.

3 Calcutta—M. A. Halim.
Huda.

2 Punjab—Abdul Majid—Feroze-Sohan Singh.

Executive.

R.S. Nimbkar
S.A. Dange
K. N. Joglekar
S.S. Mirajkar
S. V. Ghate

Muzaffar Ahmed
Halim
S.M. Shamsul Huda

Abdul Majid
Sohan Singh.

(1) The five in Bombay should function as an E.C. between the E.C. meetings. 4 including the general Secretary will form the quorum of the E. C.

(2) Full E.C. should meet every quarterly—(Adhikari to be co-opted).

(3) General Secretary—

S. V. Ghete.

it should

S.S. Mirajkar's application for membership is accepted.

Com. Joglekar Suggested that Kulkarni should be a member of E.C. It was not accepted.

Apply for affiliation to the Comintern? ✓

E.C.—Meet weekly at Bombay. General Secretary should call a meeting every week.

Thesis to be prepared.

P. 1301.

A piece of paper with the following address written on it:—

Agha Khan Building.

8 Block, Room No. 2.

P. 1302.

Tele. Add. " GANAVANI " Calcutta.

Phone Cal. 3270.

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF INDIA.
BENGAL PROVINCIAL BRANCH.

2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

The 8th March, 1929.

My. Dear Ghate,

I received your letter a few days back. But, we are quite at a loss to understand what has happened with the General Secretary of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India. I have received complaints from all quarters about the dead-like silence of the Central Office of the Party. This is really very scandalous. I have addressed at least half a dozen letters, officially, but all in vain. Will you kindly let me know what is the actual state of facts. Do we propose to proceed with our work in such an anarchic way? The meeting of the N. E. C. is to be held in this month at Amritsar: Where is the notice? Some Bengal members suggested that the meeting should be held during the Easter Holidays. In that case Railway concession will be available.

I have received the first number of the " P A Y A M--I--MAZDOOR." This is a right move. In fact we should have begun with it long before. I am glad to see that Comrade Usmani has begun work in right earnest.

" Bengal Peasants' League" has just been formed with Comrade Hemanta Kumar Sarkar as Secretary. Inaugural meeting was held at Kushtia, a small town 112 miles away from Calcutta. Comrades Spratt, Abdur Razzak Khan and myself went there from Calcutta to attend the meeting. This league at present will be taken as an affiliated Peasants' Union to the Party. But, in time it will become the Peasants' Section of the Party in Bengal.

The resolutions and the constitution of the league has been drafted in Bengali. I shall send to you the English translation in a few days time.

We are very pressed by the pecuniary difficulties. Comrade Spratt has not received any allowance. Please reply at once.

Yours fraternally,

Sd. Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 1303.

A note sheet—the left hand quarter portion of which is missing—with certain manuscript notes on it. The notes run as follows:—

Muzaffar.

Mirajkar.

Adhikari's suggestion.

Local members should recommend admission to C. P. I., and the central E. C- should ratify such recommendation.

For the enrolment, General secretary should draw out a plan of enrolment of members.....

Mirajkar was suggested.....as a delegate to E. C. C.

Muzaffar suggested—

Joglekar suggested—because he is elected to L.A.

I.

Usmani.....to organise N.W.R.

Hamid.....G.I.P. paper.

for Delhi Textiles.....one man should be sent from Dange...

Central organ of the party.

They should recruit members to the C. P. I. should be in English.....

as soon as possible should be printed in Calcutta.....

other papers should continue.....

Muzaffar to look into Hindi & Bengali papers.....

Recruitment of members,....immediate.....

Sohansingh.....to be admitted

P.C. Joshi....to be left for the present.

Kulkarni.....to be admitted.

28/12/28

(1) Chairman....K. N. Joglekar.

(2) Shamsul Huda, wants to know why he is being charged by Muzaffar of having made any mistake, "Halim"

(3) He is not given proper treatment? Bradley & Spratt to look into the case.

(4) Discussion of theses. The interpretation is that this should be taken up as a basis and to be changed according to the conditions in India.

Possibilities of an open party should be tested.

29/12/28. Chairman.... K. N. Joglekar.

P 1304.

Weekly Organ Kranti Kari (Hindi) (JHANSI).

U.P. and DELHI WORKERS' and PEASANTS' PARTY.

ALLAHABAD.

Allahabad,.....1928

34 Holland Hall

Allahabad.

Dear Comrade Ghate,

President:—

Dr. Biswanath

Mukerji,

Zafra Bazar,

Gorakhpur.

Vice-President:—

DHARAMVIR

SINGH, M.A.,

M. L. C.

Taga Boarding House.

Meerut.

General Secy. :

PURAN CHADRA

JOSHI, M. A.

34, Holland Hall,

Allahabad.

I have been writing and writing for the pamphlets to arrive. I have already spoken to you about its importance. Please do contribute to the Karanti-Kari Jhansi on current events in a very popular and personal way—and we will help the U. P. comrades to understand the Party ideology, strategy and tactics.

There ought to be no references, everything to be explained, an uphill task—they are ideologically very ill-developed.

I have not yet read the open letter to the Independence League or the extracts for the thesis on India—could you manage to send me a copy each? Please do remind Nimkar or do it yourself. What about Sah? has He gone to the Punjab? Any hope of strating the Party weekly for Bombay? I am so ignorant of Bombay work please do write me as frequently as you can about all you do, propose to do or fail to do.

You will be amused to know that the Hindi Press has begun propaganda against the Party, initiative begin taken by Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi's Pratap. The leader is absolutely dumb, this is bad. With greetings.

Yours fraternally,

P. C. Joshi.

P. S.

I do not know Sah's address, please give the accompanying letter to him.

P. 1305:

Three pieces of paper with the following written on it:-
Discuss:-

- (1) Alternative group.
- (2) Muzaffar's not going.
- (3) Question of means of Communication.
- (4) Report of work to be despatched. One delegate.

Discuss:

- (1) Alternate leadership.
- (2) Muzaffar's Failure to go.
- (3) Means of Communication.
- (4) Report to be despatched.

Usmani to be despatched, in case Muzaffar is unable to go
S, V. Desphande

Development of over tactics on the Textiles.

Public Safety Bill.

Disputes Bill.

Jail yard.

P. 1306.

with the heading "The Communist Party

Bombay—192.

P 1307.

with the seal of the Communist Party
ed in redink on the left hand top corner.

P. 1308.

et in English en

the First All-In
iber 1928.

ide Ext. P. 51).

P. 1309.

A piece of paper having the following written on it:-

C. P. I.

Agenda

1. Expulsion of Hasrat Mohani and Hasan

2. Question of re-organisation and reconstruction of the Party.

3. Any other business.

Sd. S. V. Ghate

26/12/28.

P. 1310.

A piece of paper with the following matter written on it:-

C. P. I.

Fixing of Nos. not of central Executive.

3. From Bombay, Bengal and Punjab

2. From U.P.

= Total II

Punjab

(1) Dange

(4) Sohan Singh

(2) Goglekar

(5) Abdul Majid

(3) Ghate

(6) Feroze Din.

Bengal

(7) Muzaffar Ahmed

(8) Dharani Kant Goswami

(9) Hemanta Kumar Sircar.

U. P.

(10) P. C. Joshi

(1 Seat Vacant).

Head Quarters

Calcutta.

General Secretary

Muzaffar Ahmed

Treasurer—Dharani Kant

Goswami.

Party Funds — Raise Funds.

P. 1311. *Rejected.*

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

43rd SESSION

CALCUTTA—Dec. 1928

SUBJECTS COMMITTEE.

*Resolutions received from members and provincial Congress
Committees and the recommendations of the
Constitution Committee.*

ATTACK ON LALA LAJPAT RAI

In the opinion of the Congress the death of Lala Lajpat Rai was accelerated by the injuries he received at the hands of the police at the Lahore Railway station while leading the procession against the Simon Commission.

The failure of the Government to institute an independent enquiry into the allegations of the public about the attack by the police on Simon Commission boycott procession leads the Congress to believe that the attack on the public leaders was deliberate, and unprovoked and the death of Lala Lajpat Rai was hastened on account of the injuries he received on the occasion.

Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar

CHANGE OF CONGRESS CREED.

This Congress is firmly of opinion that the Art. No. 1 of the Congress Constitution should be read thus:

“The object of the Indian National Congress is to attain complete national independence by the people of India by all possible means.”

Swami Kumaranand

In Art. I of the constitution of the Congress the words Swarajya' 'legitimate' and 'peaceful' be deleted and in their place the words 'complete independence' 'possible' and 'effective' be substituted respectively so that the article may become “The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of complete independence by the people of India by all possible and effective means.”

Mr. N. M. Ghatwai

This Congress resolves that Art. I of the Constitution shall read as follows:—

“The Object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment by the people of India, of complete national independence.”

Mr. B. S. Nimbkar

OTHER CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION

- (i) The fee for Congress Delegates be increased to Rs. 5/-
- (ii) The number of Congress Delegates be reduced by half to 2000.
- (iii) The All India Congress Committee be authorised to affiliate Committees outside India.
- (iv) Any surplus in the hands of a Reception Committee after a Congress session be divided equally, between the All India Congress Committee of the province in which the congress was held. The half going to the All India Congress Committee should be added to the permanent fund of the Congress.

U. P. P. C. C.

ADD AT THE END OF ART. III;

“This Congress may affiliate other organisations provided they accept the object of the Congress. Each of these organizations shall pay such affiliation fee as may be fixed by the Working Committee. In fixing the fee the Working Committee shall ordinarily be guided by the strength of membership of each organization.

ART. VIII PARA 3

Delete the proviso at the end of the clause after ‘1921’ and put a full stop.

ART. IX

Instead of the words ‘from time to time’ insert ‘at its first meeting after the Congress’ and add the following sentence at the end:—

‘In fixing the subscription the All India Congress Committee shall pay regard not merely to the population of the province but to its financial capacity.’

Add also the following new para:—

“Each Provincial Congress’ Committee shall also pay annually to the All India Congress Committee 25 p. c. of the total fees collected from members of the Congress in the province.”

ART. XI

For “one rupee” insert “ten rupees”.

ART. XXIII PARA 1

Instead of 'three' before 'General Secretaries' insert 'two'.

At the beginning of second para add the following:

'There shall be a permanent fund of the Congress the interest on which shall be used for the ordinary work of the All India Congress Committee. The corpus of the fund shall not be spent.'

Add new para 4.

'There shall be one permanent office Secretary who shall be in charge of the All India Congress Committee. This office shall be permanently located at Allahabad.'

Constitution Committee

This Congress resolves that the following changes be made in the Constitution :

(1) In Art. XXIII for paragraph 1 substitute the following:

'The Indian National Congress shall have one General Secretary and one Treasurer, who shall be annually elected by the Congress.'

(2) In Art. XXIII after para 1 insert the following paragraph :

'The working Committee shall, on the advice of the General Secretary, appoint two secretaries, who shall hold office for three years and shall be paid such monthly allowances as may be fixed by it, and who shall be in charge of such of the departments of the Congress administration to be established by the Working Committee, as the General Secretary may decide in that behalf.'

(3) In Art. XXIII paragraphs 2 and 3 and in articles XXIV and XXVI for the words 'General Secretaries' read 'the General Secretary' and for the word 'Treasurers' read 'the Treasurer' wherever they occur.

(5) In Art. XXIV, in paragraph 1, line 3 for the word 'nine' read 'twelve'.

Mr. M. Tayyebulla

ORGANISATION OF MASSES.

In view of the fact that the Congress has totally ignored the most important section of the nation namely the workers and

peasants who form the majority of the total population of the country and also in considering that the mass revolution is the only weapon to obtain complete national independence this Congress resolves that a Committee consisting of Messers Srinivasa Iyengar, Subhas Chandra Bose, Jawaharlal Nehru, S. A. Dange, Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutta be appointed to prepare a scheme for the organisation of the masses which should be placed before the next meeting of the A. I. C. C.

Swami Kumarananda.

The Congress is of opinion that it should take up the work and devise means of organising the masses in general and peasants and workers in particular in order to secure social and economic regeneration and to educate and to prepare them for the accomplishment of independence—the goal of the Congress.

Bombay P. C. C.

This Congress is of opinion that the immediate work to be done in the country is the organising of the people on a peaceful and non-violent basis for the development and enforcement of those sanctions including Civil Disobedience which are absolutely necessary to enforce India's right to full freedom.

Mr. S. Satyamurti.

ECONOMIC PROGRAMME.

This Congress is of opinion that the freedom of India can only be attained by building up the strength of the nation and organising sanctions to enforce the will of the nation; and is further of opinion that such sanctions can only be created by the organisation of the masses, in particular of the peasantry and the industrial workers, on the basis of economic programme applicable to them, and aiming at the removal of the economic inequalities and injustices which exist today. The Congress therefore calls upon the All India Congress Committee to take steps to frame such a programme in consultation with representatives of labour, peasant, commercial, landholders organizations and such other organisations as it considers necessary. The All India Congress Committee is authorised to appoint sub-committees in this behalf.

U. P. P. C. C.

FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

This Congress being of opinion that the struggle of the Indian people for freedom is a part of the general world struggle against imperialism and its manifestations considers it desirable that India should develop contacts with other countries and peoples who also suffer under imperialism and desire to combat it. The Congress

therefore calls upon the All India Congress Committee to develop such contacts and to open a foreign department in this behalf.

U. P. P. C. C.

This Committee of the 43rd Session of the Indian National Congress recommends to the Congress the establishment of a Foreign Department as a branch of the Congress under a committee formed out of the members of the All India Congress Committee presided over by a member of the Working Committee with power to co-opt influential persons.

The purpose of this foreign department will be to disseminate correct information in foreign countries regarding Indian culture and her contribution to World's progress in the past and at present and her fight for liberty.

Separate funds be allotted to this Committee out of the General Congress Funds.

Mr. Sukumar Chatterjee,

This Congress realises the necessity of keeping thoroughly in touch with foreign nations and Governments and thinks that for this purpose duly accredited representatives of the Indian National Congress should be maintained, as far as possible, in the important centres of world politics.

Mr. Chandra Dutta Pande.

This Congress is of opinion that agencies on behalf of the Indian National Congress should be established for promoting trade cultured and political relations between India and the foreign countries, especially at Kabul, Nanking, Teheran, Moscow, Tokyo, New York, Washington, Berlin, Paris and London, and directs the Working Committee to take immediate steps in the direction, so as to arrange that these agencies are established in the course of next year.

Mr. S. Satyamurti,

NATIONAL NEWS AGENCY,

That the Indian National Congress considers it desirable to have a National News Agency established and suggests a National Boycott of all Anglo Indian presses and papers.

Bombay P. C. C.

WAR DANGER.

This Congress reiterates the war Danger resolution of Madras Sessions of the Congress, and wishes to declare that the present Government of India in no way represents the people of India and their

policy has been traditionally guided by consideration of holding India under subjection and not of protecting her frontiers. The people of India have no quarrel with the neighbouring states or the other nations of the world and they will not permit themselves to be exploited by England to further her imperialist aims.

U. P. P. C. C.

This Congress reiterates the protests made at the Madras Congress against war preparations being carried on by the British Government. It notes with concern that these preparations have continued during this year and demands that they shall cease.

This Congress warns the people of India of the disastrous consequences to both sides which will follow if they are involved in a war with other countries with none of which they have any quarrel, and urges the necessity of adopting now all possible means by propaganda and organisations to prepare the country for complete non-co-operation with the Government and paralyse the military machine and the transport and supply industries in the event of a declaration of war.

Mr. R. S. Nimbkar.

ASIATIC FEDERATION

The Congress respectfully invites the people of China to co-operate with the people of India and other Asiatic countries in forming an Asiatic Federation to librate the East from the imperialistic grip of the West.

Mr. S. Satyamurti.

This Congress directs the Working Committee to correspond with the leaders and representatives of the other Asiatic Nations and to take other steps to summon the first session of a pan-Asiatic Federation in 1930,

Mr. S. Satyamuri.

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN

This Congress congratulates His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan on his successful attempts to reform and modernise Afghanistan and make it a first class power in the world, and wishes him all success.

This Congress assures His Majesty and the people of Afghanistan of the friendship of the people of India towards them.

Mr. S. Satyamurti.

CONGRATULATIONS TO CHINA

This Congress sends its warmest greetings and congratulations to the people of China upon their establishment of the National

Government, and regards it as the greatest event in the reawakening of the East since the establishment of the Turkish Republic.

Mr. M. Tayyabulla,

This Congress send its warmest greetings and its hearty congratulations to the people of China on their having attained their full and complete freedom and nationhood and their having ended the era of foreign domination in their country.

Mr. S. Satyamurti.

GREETINGS TO EGYPT AND OTHER ASIATIC COUNTRIES

This Congress sends its warmest greetings to the peoples of Egypt Syria, Palestine and Iraq and its assurances of full sympathy with them in their struggle for emancipation from the grip of Western Imperialism, which is, in the opinion of the Congress, a great menace to India's struggle for freedom.

Mr. M. Tayyabulla,

INDEPENDENCE

This Congress reiterates the resolution of the Madras Congress, namely, that the immediate goal of the Indian people is complete national independence and is further of opinion that there can be no true freedom for India, until and unless the British connection is is served

Mr. S. Satyamurti

HINDU-MUSLIM OF SETTLEMENT

This Congress is of opinion that the Madras Congress resolutions on the subject afford a suitable basis for the settlement of Hindu-Muslim difference and recommends to the Working Committee to draft them in consultation with the All India Muslim League in the form of a settlement between the two communities and to take steps to propagate the same throughout the country.

Mr. S. Satyamurti,

DRAFTING COSTITUTION.

This Congress is of opinion, having regard to the events following the Madras Congress resolution for the drafting of a constitution, that no Constitution should be drafted at this stage for the futuer Government.

Mr. S. Satymurti,

CONTRACT SYSTEM OF LABOUR IN BURMA AND ORGANISATION OF LABOUR.

Whereas the contract system of labour in Burma is inimical to the moral and material walfare of Indian labour; and

Whereas some of the cooly contractors resort to various corrupt practices such as deduction of wages, exacting free services, employing men short in labour gangs and keeping men in servitude by advances ;

This Congress strongly condemns them and recommends to the Leaders to organise Labour and to carry out an effective propaganda against the existing system and its evils and appeals to the employers to take immediate steps for the amelioration of labour conditions and a higher standard of living.

Mr. V. Madanjit.

BOYCOTT OF BRITISH GOODS

That the Congress should vigorously carry on the propaganda of boycotting all foreign cloth in general and British Goods in particular...

Bombay P. C. C.

EXPORTATION OF FOODSTUFFS

In the interest of making India's demand for Swaraj more effective and more telling, and in the interests also of cheapening the foodstuff in the country in these days of extreme poverty, this Congress resolves that a strick stoppage of export of all foodstuffs be adopted by the country and this Congress therefore appeals to all the dealers in foodstuffs in India to give effect to this resolution with all the sacrifice, and to the best of their ability, at least for one year and that a Committee ofbe appointed to devise ways and means in order to mobilise all such forces as can put into effect the above resolution.

Bombay P. C. C.

TRADES DISPUTES BILL AND PUBLIC SAFETY BILL.

This Congress expresses its emphatic protest at the Trades Disputes Bill and the Public Safety Bill which it regards as wholly reactionary attempt to restrict the growth of organised labour movement, and as absolutely unjustifiable infringement upon the rights of the people. This Congress strongly urges the need for the organization on the basis of the class struggle, of the masses of industrial workers and peasants, as an indispensable preliminary for the attainment of independence and as a means for the advancement of the economic and cultural status of the masses.

Mr. R. S. Nimbkar.

INDIAN STATES

This Congress is of opinion that full responsible government should be established in the Indian States before they can take

proper places as members of free India, and assures the peoples of the Indian States of its support to their legitimate and peaceful struggle to get full responsible government in the States.

Mr. S. Satyamurti.

This Congress is of opinion that the Congress should revise its policy of non-interference in the internal policy of the States and resolves that the Congress should henceforth take keen interest in matters concerning State subjects and help them in their reasonable demand and for the establishment of democratic rule in the State.

Swami Kumarananda

EX-MAHARAJA OF NABHA

The National Congress reaffirms the resolution on Nabha question passed at its Delhi Session in 1923, and by the All India Congress Committee at Calcutta in 1927, and while reaffirming these resolutions strongly condemns the persistent persecution of the ex-Maharaja of Nabha by the Government of India. In the opinion of the Congress the internment of the ex-Maharaja in Kodai Kanal under regulation 3 of 1818 is unjust, unconstitutional and vindictive. The Congress assures the Maharaja and his family of its sympathy in the grave wrong done to them.

Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar

BENGAL TENANCY ACT—CONGRESS MEMBERS' ACTION IN COUNCIL.

This Congress condemns strongly the action of a large number of members of the Bengal Council Party in supporting a reactionary proposal of the Government embodied in the Bengal Tenancy Law, and in consistently supporting the interests of the landholders against those of the cultivators.

Mr R S Nimbkar.

BOYCOTT OF THE SIMON COMMISSION.

This Congress congratulates the people of the country on their successful boycott of the Simon Commission and appeals to the people to make the boycott complete and effective in the provinces which the Commission may visit hereafter.

This Congress is of opinion that the members of the Indian Central and Provincial Committees and the Indian Witnesses and Associations who are co-operating with the Simon Commission are to a large extent responsible for the 'gory progress' of the Commission and calls upon them, to respect the national sentiment and desist from further co-operation with the Commission.

This Congress calls upon the people of the country to politically and socially boycott those Indians who continue to cooperate with the Simon Commission.

Mr. S. Salyamurti.

This Congress congratulates the people of the country on the success of the boycott of the Statutory Commission and in particular the people of Lahore and Lucknow who despite the savage and brutal attacks of the police maintained discipline and peacefully continued their boycott demonstrations and thus triumphed over official lawlessness and brutality.

The Congress has noted however that some people have deliberately violated the nation's resolve to boycott the Commission and have in defiance of the nation's will cooperated with the Simon Commission and taken a leading part in welcoming it. In view of this unnational conduct of some people and in view of the part taken by some officials, British and Indian, in the brutal assaults by the police on National workers, this Congress advises the people to refrain, as far as possible, from having any social dealings with any such person who assault national workers or who take a leading part in cooperating with the Commission. In particular the Congress advises that such persons should not be invited to social functions and no function given by them or in their honour should be attended.

U. P. P. C. O.

The Congress strongly condemns the brutal, uncalled for and cowardly attack by the police on the Simon Boycott Procession at Lahore and Lucknow; and it congratulates the members of the procession on their peaceful behaviour under extreme provocation.

Sardar Sardul Singh Gaveeshar

ALL PARTIES, CONFERENCE,

This Congress records its high appreciation for the work done by the All Parties Conference and considers that now the purpose of the Conference is fulfilled and therefore it resolves that the above-mentioned body should cease to exist as an organization.

Mr. Chandra Datt Pande

NEXT WORLD CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

This Congress welcomes the Second World Congress of the League against Imperialism to be held next year and authorises

the Working Committee to appoint a representative on behalf of the Congress.

(Also Working Committee's resolution No. 7, passed at Delhi on 4.12.23,

U. P. P. C. C.

NEHRU REPORT,

The London Branch of the Indian National Congress notes that all political Parties in India have united in the demands contained in the Nehru Report. It welcomes the achievement of the spirit of unity in formulating a common demand carrying us forward towards the final liberation of our People in India. It feels clear that the establishment of unity for the achievement of the goal of freedom is good, but to abandon the goal in order to keep on maintaining unity is wrong. The Branch therefore is of opinion that the National Congress at its present Session at Calcutta before pledging its cooperation to other Political Parties to work for the proposals contained in the Nehru Report should ask for and make sure that should the demand for Dominion Status, contained in the Report, be not acceded to within an agreed time Limit the other Parties will continue to remain loyally united and cooperate with the Congress in working for the establishment of complete national independence.

London Branch of the Congress

BAN ON GOVERNMENT LEVEES,

This Congress is of opinion that it is contrary to the spirit of the national struggle for freedom and derogatory to the nation's dignity for Congressmen to participate in any way in functions meant to consolidate foreign rule and do honour to alien rulers of India and their officials. The Congress therefore reiterates its advice to the people in general and to Congressmen in particular that they should abstain from attending Government levees, durbars and all other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honour.

U. P. P. C. C.

P. 1312.

see 7. 1684

This Public meeting of the citizens of Bombay held under the auspices of the Communist Party of India condemns, emphatically and in scathing term the monstrous action of the British Government in cancelling the passport of comrade Saklatvala for India at the instigation of the Government of India.

This meeting also cendemns the Action of British Imperialism in obstructing the growth of every Liberation Movement of the Oppressed by restricting the activities of the militant workers and leaders of such movements.

Passed unanimously. 14/9/1927.

Sd. P. SPRATT,

President.

P. 1313.

(1) An invoice from the Vanguard Press advising the shipping of the following 12 books:—

How the Soviets work	... 2 copies.
Soviets Russia and Her neighbours	... Do.
Religion under Soviets	... "
Village life under Soviets	... "
Economic organ of Soviets	... "
Woman in Soviet Russia	... "

The invoice mentions \$4.50 as the charges for the books after deducting 25% commission.

In the right hand bottom corner of this invoice the following manuscript entry is seen:—

Sent 2 dollars—

Letter of the 19th. April, 28.

(2) There is a second invoice from the Vanguard Press, to the Advance Literature Co., 751 Girgaon Road, Bombay 4, India, advising the latter of having shipped 5 books as per order:—

How the Soviets work- ...
Soviet Russia and Her Neighbours ...
Religion under Soviets ...
Village life under Soviets ...
Economic Life under Soviets ...

The invoice mentions \$ 2'00 as the charges
after deducting 25% Commission.

Across the invoice in red pencil the following

Sent a registered letter today with \$ 3/- dollar

Pd.

Sd. S. V. GH.

P. 1314.

Telephone

Vanguard Prees, Inc.

80 Fifth Avenue

New York City January 5, 1928

Advance Literature Co

751 Girgaum Road

Bombay, 4.

Gentlemen:

We thank you for your inquiry. As you will
the enclosed literature, Vanguard books contain
copyrighted material on subjects in which the re
intensely interested. The Vanguard list is liv
compelling. They sell readily because of their h
popular price.

The retail price of Vanguard books in the U
50 cents a copy. Our wholesale price to dealers in
ries is 40 cents a cppy, postpaid. All orders must l

by remittances in full on funds at par in New York City. The low price of our books makes it impossible for us to tie up our capital in outstanding accounts. Thus it is that we must ask that orders be accompanied by remittances.

However, we are sending you under separate cover a sample order of 5 of our Russian titles now ready in order to acquaint you with the format of our books. We trust you will remit for these together with any future orders.

Yours very truly,

VANGUARD PRESS, INC.

Lee Brown

LB/GW

Sales Department

Money emitted in 3 dollar notes in registered letter today

17 - 2 - 28

Sd. S. V. G.

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P. 1315.

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Manager and Secretary:

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Advance Literature Co.,

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Bombay, 4,

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17th February 1928

Dear Sirs,

In reply to your letter of the 28th ultimo we allow the following discounts:-

1-2 copies of a book 25%

3-5 " " " " 25% + 5%

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Before sending books we must ask for a deposit of half the invoice value of the books ordered, and repeat orders can only be fulfilled when the first order has been paid for.

We enclose a copy of our list, and trust we shall hear from you shortly.

Yours faithfully,
for Martin Lawrence, Ltd.,
A. Serner
Manager.

P. 1316.

STATEMENT.

TO VANGUARD PRESS, INC. DR.
BOOK PUBLISHERS
80 Fifth Avenue

NEW YORK, March 30, 1928.

Advance Literature Co.
751 Girgaum Road
Bombay, 4, India.

Terms:

March 31 Account Rendered

3.50

(The following manuscript entry is also found on the same page).
Sent 2 dollars on the 19th instant.

Sd. S.V. Ghaté.
26/3/28 A. L. Co.

A cutting from a newspaper containing the article in English "Mond or Moscow". The article is reproduced below:—

MOND OR MOSCOW ?

Reports from All the World

CHOICE BEFORE WORKERS

In the discussion on Comrade Lozovsky's report, HECKERT (German) disagreed with the slogan of the seven-hour day. The slogan is not concrete enough, he said, and is not in accord with the relation of class forces in Germany to-day; it cannot be attained.

HORNER (Britain) described the way in which the employers are fighting by two methods: building up "yellow" unions to smash the trade unions and at the same time negotiating with the General Council. In reference to these negotiations he said: "the workers must choose between Mond or Moscow." We must increase the strength of the international unity committees.

A delegate from Java, Comrade Alimin, described the repression there, prophesied a revival of the struggle, and asked that all sections of the R.I.L.U. should start a campaign for the liberation of the thousands of workers and peasants in jail in Indonesia.

A delegate from Hungary said that the trade union bureaucracy there by supporting capitalist rationalisation and "peace in industry," had caused masses of the workers to leave the unions.

The efforts of Hungarian "reds" to get the workers back into the unions are meeting with some success.

JOHNSTON (U.S.A.) spoke of the winning of influence among the masses, particularly in the mine fields, by the Left Wing.

POIRET (France) suggested that our main weakness in strike strategy was our lack of preparation.

A. NIN (S. America) attacked the Soviet trade unions for "bureaucracy," and complained of their efforts to get world unity; these he said were "trucking to Amsterdam." Several comrades replied sharply to this speech.

Lozovsky, replying to the discussion, said that wrong conclusions had been drawn from his report and thesis. There was still the need to struggle within the reformist unions, although the latter "had practically amalgamated with the bourgeois state."

It was also wrong to talk about the thesis laying down a line of splitting the trade unions.

Dealing with the German delegates, objections to the slogan of the seven hour day, he pointed out that thirty years ago the slogan of the eight hour day, then "impracticable," was effective in rallying the masses.

Losovsky, like other speakers, attacked Comrade Nin for his criticisms of the Soviet Trade Union Movement.

P. 1317. [E]

An envelope bearing 1½ Penny stamps and the postal seal of London S. W. 1., has the following address written on it:—

Address on the Envelope—:

To

The Secretary.

The National Research and Publicity Institute

BOMBAY 4.

India.

P. 1318.

A newspaper cutting containing an article in English headed:

Waging the International class war on two battle fronts

**Red International of Labour Unions Discusses
the Tactics of the Revolutionary Workers'
Movement**

THE RIGHT WAY TO FIGHT FOR UNITY

From Our Own Correspondent.

Moscow, Monday

LOZOVSKY, in his report on the next tasks of the International Trade Union movement to the Congress of the Red Internal-

tional of Labour Union, said that capitalism was passing through a period of the most acute struggle for the monopoly of markets, the export of capital and the redistribution of colonies. This was the reason for the ever more intense growth of armaments, the conclusion of military alliances and the open preparation of new imperialist wars

The Capitalist Offensive.

The instability of the capitalist system was intensified by the economic and political growth of the U.S. S. R. The great capitalist Powers were on the one hand preparing war against one another, and on the other trying to establish a united front for joint action against the U. S. S. R.

The great economic conflicts that had taken place between labour and capital had ended in defeat for the workers because of the strengthened organisation of the employers and the lack of a united front in the Labour movement.

In all capitalist countries the standard of life for the main mass of the workers was lower than before the war. Unemployment had become a permanent feature in certain countries, and everywhere the 8-hour day was virtually abolished.

Special laws limiting the right of the workers to self-defence had been introduced, and in many countries the workers had been deprived of the right to have their own trade union organisations. In many countries, thanks to the help of the reformists, the capitalists had introduced compulsory arbitration.

Under our very eyes a bloc of employers, police, and trade union leaders had been formed against workers on strike; a system of control and espionage supported equally by employers and reformist leaders had been set up in works and mills. The onslaught made by the capitalists on the workers' standard of life had only succeeded, thanks to the help given by the machinery of the reformist trade unions.

At the same time this close co-operation between capitalism and reformism was arousing the distrust of the masses against the reformist leaders and producing attempts at independent action against capitalism. This leftward swing of the masses had increased the influence of the R. I. L. U. everywhere.

Strike Strategy.

Owing to the stratification of industry, strikes for economic demands were assuming a political character; the economic conflicts in various countries were caused by the workers' resistance to the lowering of their standard of life through capitalists rationalisation.

For the revolutionary trade union movement in capitalist

countries the problem of strike strategy was acquiring intense importance. To win the masses not only against the employers but against the reformist leaders it was necessary to develop intensive organisational work.

Not every conflict must necessarily result in a strike. A strike should not be called if the conditions were unfavourable and the masses were unprepared for the struggle. We must avoid high sounding phrases unaccompanied by action, and must remember that a strike demands definite objectives and the utmost straining of all resources in fighting for them.

To ensure victory in economic struggles movement must be cleansed of its strikebreakers and agents of capitalism.

While in all capitalist countries the onslaught against the trade unions was proceeding, in the U. S. S. R. the trade unions were taking an ever increasing part in the political and economic life of the country; the condition of the working class was improving; Socialist rationalisation aimed at increasing the power of the working class and raising its material and cultural level. This explained the attractive force exercised by the U. S. S. R. on the workers of other countries and the growing hatred it aroused in the international bourgeoisie.

In all the campaigns of the bourgeoisie against the Left workers and against the U. S. S. R. the Amsterdam International played a leading part; it was an organic part of the capitalist system and this determined its policy and tactics.

The slogan of the R. I. L. U. must be a united front of the rank and built up directly in the mills and factories and in the branches of the reformist trade unions. The problem of creating a single international remains as important as ever despite the persistent determination of Amsterdam to ignore the demands and the interests of the masses.

Unity tactics did not consist in correspondence and worthless negotiations but in the organisation of the still unorganised masses. The organisations of the R.I.L.U. must become mass organisations.

The stronger the revolutionary trade union movement the sooner should we attain unity.

The programme of action for the R.I.L.U. was as follows:

The fight against the longer working day and for a maximum seven-hours day, with six hours in underground work and dangerous industries and for youths under 18.

The fight against lowering the workers' standard of life, for raising real wages, and for a wide trade union democracy, drawing the unskilled and unorganised workers into the unions.

Trade Union Democracy

The fight against the Fascist and yellow trade unions; against compulsory arbitration, against submitting conflicts between labour and capital to the judgement of capitalists courts and for a single united front of the workers in the struggle against capitalism and the capitalist State.

This programme of action must be widely popularised for only when all organisations affiliated to the R.I.L.U. had their roots in the very core of the working masses would they be able to withstand the blow of Fascist reaction and White Terror.

In the discussion which followed, ALMIN (Java) said that the rapid growth of the revolutionary trade union movement in Indonesia had filled the *Dutch Capitalists* with terror and led to the most savage suppressions, but nothing could quell the spirit of the Indonesian proletariat. He called on all delegates to start an international campaign for the liberation of the thousands of jailed and deported Indonesian workers.

HUNGAR (Hungary) said that the action of the trade union bureaucracy in supporting capitalists rationalisation and trying to suppress every strike movement had resulted in masses of the workers leaving the trade unions. The Communist Party were striving to get the workers back into the unions and had already had some success.

YAGLOM (U.S.S.R.) said there were two harmful deviations in some of the affiliated organisations. First, the desire to adapt themselves to the backward psychology of the workers' adhering to the Amsterdam trade unions, thus distracting their attention from the true class struggle. Our task was to expose the harmful essence of reformism, thereby advancing the revolutionisation of the masses. The second deviation consisted in underestimating the forces of reformism, which was equivalent to renouncing the struggle for unity. We must, on the one hand, consolidate the ranks of our own revolutionary organisations and on the other struggle for unity within the reformist organisations.

GERMANETTO (Italy) condemned the suggestion that the Soviet trade unions were not Democratic; those who knew the reformist trade unions of Western Europe and their democracy could recognise the difference when they visited Soviet factories and works attended trade union conferences and saw how the workers were building up their organisations with true democracy and carrying out a vast economic and cultural constructive work.

The Seven Hour Day.

COROISAT, reporting on the youth question, spoke of the exploitation of the young workers in the various countries, their average wage was 30 to 50 per cent. lower than that of adults for the same working day. In the U. S. S. R. the youth were vigilantly safeguarded, and already 107,000 were attending apprenticeship schools connected with the works and factories.

LOZOVSKY, in his concluding speech, said it was wrong to say that the theses on the principal tasks of the International Labour Movement did not provide for the necessity of struggle within the reformist unions. After its seven years of work it was unnecessary to demonstrate that the R. I. L. U. was conducting this struggle and must carry it further.

It was equally wrong to assert that the theses laid down a line which would split the trade union movement—a split was out of the question.

With regard to the reformist trade unions, the correct tactics was not to concentrate on the struggle against the official machinery, but to win over the masses and through them to break the machinery. We must carry our agitation directly into the works and factories.

In dealing with the objections of the German delegation to the slogan of the seven hours day. Lozovsky pointed out that the demand for an eight hours day was made 30 years ago when the working day was 12 to 14 hours. The eight hours day slogan at that time was even less "real" than the seven hour day slogan was now but it had been the standard of battle which had rallied the revolutionary workers through scores of years.

Wrong tactics

The question of the strike strategy in capitalist countries was very difficult one: the aim must be to utilize a strike movement for winning the masses towards the revolutionisation of the labour movement. In the great strike at Passaic (U. S. A.) tens of thousands of workers had been organised in a revolutionary labour union which led the strike; then, for the sake of unity, the newly organised union was handed over to a reformist federation, the strike was lost and only a few hundred men remained in the union. Such tactics must be condemned.

The R. I. L. U. had laid down in its theses the right class line—the aim being the overthrow of the capitalist order.

The theses were referred for their final form to a drafting committee, on which Comrade Horner was the British representative, and the Congress unanimously endorsed them as a basis.

P. 1319.

A newspaper cutting containing an article in English headed:—

World Trade Union Congress

Red Unions Discuss Seven-Hour Day, Strike Strategy and World Unity.

Lozovsky Reports Progress.

INPRECORR CABLE.

March 19, 1928.

Comrade Tomskey welcomed the delegations in the name of the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions.

Lozovsky opened the Congress by pointing out that since the last Congress new troops of the working class above all the working class of China, had come into the arena. A wave of capitalist attacks was on the way, but despite growing international reaction, the international working class was strengthening.

INPRECORR CABLE,

Moscow, March 20, 1928.

The following is the speech by Comrade Lozovsky on "The achievements and tasks of the trade union movement."

Capitalism is living through a period of intensified struggle. A struggle is going on at the moment for markets, for the export of capital and for a redistribution of the colonies. In consequence armaments are increasing more than ever before. War alliances are being concluded and the preparations for new imperialist wars are being carried on quite openly.

WARS AHEAD.

The instability of the capitalist system is intensified by the economic and political development of the Soviet Union. The great capitalist powers are arming on the one hand for war amongst themselves, and on the other hand they are seeking to establish a united front for common action against the Soviet Union.

The great labour struggles between capitalism and the workers have resulted in defeat for the workers, as the employers are organising even more strongly, and there is no united front in the working class movement. In all capitalist countries the standard of living of the workers is lower than it was before the war. In many countries unemployment has become permanent and chronic. The eight hour day has been abolished in practice everywhere. Special laws limiting the right of the workers to organise in their own defence have been introduced. In a number of countries the

workers have been robbed of the right to belong to labour unions based upon the class struggle.

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION

In many countries compulsory arbitration has been introduced by the capitalists with the assistance of the reformists. The reformist trade unions to-day are no different from the liberal, democratic, catholic and other unions which are built up upon the principle of a community of interests between labour and capital. In practice the reformist organisations have united with the employers' organisations. Before our eyes an alliance of the employers, the police and the trade union leaders against the striking workers has grown up. A united front of the reformists and the employers has been formed for the purpose of driving revolutionary workers out of the factories. In the factories a uniform system of control and espionage has been created which enjoys the support both of the industrialists and the reformists.

UNIONS HELP WAGE CUTS.

Successful attacks of the capitalists upon the standard of living of the workers have been made possible by the support of the reformist trade union apparatus.

Simultaneously, however, the loose co-operation of the reformists and the employers is causing a growing distrust upon the part of the masses towards the reformist leaders, and independent attempts of the proletariat to fight capitalism against the will of the reformist leaders. This leftward tendency of the masses results in the strengthening of the influence of the R.I.L.U.

STRIKE STRATEGY

The present wage struggles and strikes which are taking place in various countries result from the attempts of the workers to oppose the capitalist rationalisation and the reduction of the standard of living of the working class. The question of the strike strategy of the revolutionary trade union movement in the capitalist countries becomes especially important. In order to mobilise the masses, not only against the employers, but also against the reformist leaders, a great amount of work must be carried out to organise the masses.

Not every conflict must necessarily lead to a strike. A strike must not be declared when the situation is unfavourable, and when the masses show no fighting spirit. Sounding phrases not followed by any action must be avoided. It must be remembered that a strike demands the greatest expenditure of energy and great clearness about the aim for which the strike is being conducted.

In order to guarantee victory in the labour struggles, the

strike-breakers and the agents of capitalism must be expelled from the leading positions in the reformist trade union movement. Without cleaning the unions from these elements it is difficult to defeat the employers.

SOVIET UNION PROGRESSSES.

Whilst in all capitalist countries a political and economic offensive is going on against the working class and its trade union organisations, in the Soviet Union the role of the labour unions in the political and economic life of the country is steadily increasing. The economic situation of the working masses is improving. The aim of the socialist rationalisation of production is to strengthen the working class and to raise its material and cultural standard. Therefore the stabilisation of production in the Soviet Union is closely connected with the introduction of the seven hour day, better labour protection, etc.

This explains the growing sympathy of the workers of all countries for the Soviet Union, and the growing hatred of the bourgeoisie in all countries for the only workers' state in the world. It is the class duty of all workers to defend the Soviet Union.

AMSTERDAM'S PART.

In all the actions of the bourgeoisie against the left-wing workers and against the Soviet Union, the Amsterdam International is to the fore. The whole activity of the Amsterdam International is characterised by speeches in Geneva about the utility of social reforms, and furious struggle at home against the revolutionary wing of the working class movement. The Amsterdam International is an organic part of the bourgeois system and its tactics and its policy are determined by this fact.

The main slogan of the R.I.L.U. must be: United front from below in the factories, and in the lower organisations of the reformist trade unions. The problems of the creation of a united international still remains in full force, despite the obstinate refusal of the Amsterdam International to cede the demands of the masses and defend their interests.

The united front tactic does not consist in an exchange of letters and fruitless negotiations, but also in the organisation of the unorganised masses. The organisations affiliated to the R.I.L.U. must become mass organisations. The question of unity will be decided by the direct struggle in the factories for the confidence of the masses. The stronger the revolutionary labour movement becomes, the quicker will unity be established.

REDUCTION IN HOURS.

The programme of action of the R.I.L.U. culminates in the struggle against the lengthening of the working day and for a seven

hours day as the maximum working day, and for a six hour day for workers underground or in industries dangerous to health and for young workers, the struggle against the lowering of the standard of living of the workers, for the raising of real wages, for the development of trade union democracy, for the organisation of the unorganised and unqualified workers in the trade unions, the struggle against the Fascist, yellow and national trade unions, against compulsory arbitration, against the interference of bourgeois courts in the struggle between capital and labour, for the united front, for a fraternal alliance in the struggle of the workers against capitalism and against the bourgeois State.

This programme of action must be spread widely amongst the workers. Therefore the Congress must say to all the organisations affiliated to the R.I.L.U. that they must get further into the factories and into the masses. (Stormy applause).

Discussion on this report will begin at once.

P. 1320.

A Magazine in English entitled
"Eastern and Colonial Bulletin"
issued by the

Red International of Labour Unions dated 15th October

1927.

P. 1321

Rejected.

An envelop with the following address written on it: —

Franz Koritschoner
Berggasse 31
Vienna IX (Austria).

P. 1322.

2/1 European Asylum Lane

Calcutta.

12-5-1928.

Dear. S. V. G.

Thanks for the Rs. 50/- which we at last received on the 10th. It was badly needed, but the following day I received some cash from home, so I am well set up for the moment.

Will you please send me the pair of shoes I left in the W. and P. Party office? And a khaki shirt you will find it in the big box. The books I asked for are not needed at the moment, as several copies of the English edition have arrived at the Book Co. It has not been sufficiently circulated in Calcutta, as I have met many interested people who have not come across it, though they know of Dutt.

Do you know when Campbell is to be released? Please inform me when you hear. It should be very soon I imagine.

The Chengail Jute Workers strike, on which I have been almost exclusively engaged for two weeks, finished on the 10th. I am told by Kali Babu that it is the first case he has heard of, of a jute strike which has been in any way successful. We achieved the actual aims of the strike—reinstatement of all (except one) of the victimised men, and dismissal of two head Jamadars. We got also de facto recognition of the Union, and one or two minor concessions.

The Lillooah situation is very serious, but I hear that some cash is arriving from the British T. U. C. which will help for a bit. Under the leadership of Shibnath, they are adopting the stupid tactics of committing "Satyagraha" in front of the Howrah Police Court, as a protest against the dismissal of their case against the people who shot them. That is a scandalous thing, of course, but the policy is a stupid one, as it does not advance the strike in any way, and the Police bludgeon them mercilessly. About forty people were injured, some quite seriously, on the first day, and Shibnath and Gopen Chakarbarti, and about seventeen others were arrested. I shall do what I can there, now that I am free, but they are difficult people to deal with, and my position has been rendered awkward by some rather unscrupulous press propaganda. I was stupid enough to chat one day with a "Statesman" correspondent, and though he promised definitely not to publish certain remarks I had made, the paper appeared next day with a long article about me, devoted mainly to the reasons I had given

"(why the strike would fail." Actually I had not said it would, even under the said promise. It was a very unscrupulous thing to do. Shortly afterwards the Bengalee calmly stated that I had said the E. I. Railwaymen get 52/8 per month. I had never said any thing about it, actually.

Still I hear that Usmani is expected here in a week or two. He is going on to Madras. It would be interesting to see him and Singaravelue trying to live together.

We have not heard from Shah. Is he very angry with me? and is he coming here?

My proposed return to Bombay is off for the time, of course, but I have formed the project of going to Madras after leaving here. I think I mentioned it in my previous letter. What do you think of it? Any way I cannot leave Bengal for a month yet, at least. I remember too, that I suggested in my last letter I should resign, in view of these things, from the E. C. of the Bombay W. and P. Party. Again what do you think?

Congratulations on your management of the Textile strike. Bradley as an agent of Lancashire is good.

Yours.

Sd. P. Spratt.

P. 1323.

A telegram dated 2nd August 1928, from Ghate, 17 Dwarka. Das Mansions, Bombay, addressed to Muzaffar Ahmad, Calcutta.

SPRATT CANNOT GO MADRAS
COME AS SOON AS POSSIBLE
WITH DANGE WIRE DATE

The following reply is found to be written on the back of the telegram.

Nothing can be done till the mill-tide is over, i. e. at least before the end of this month.

P. 1324

A booklet in English entitled

"The Communist Party of India

Executives Annual Report

1927"

(Vide Exb. P. 1207 (1)).

P. 1325.

The National Congress

Another year gone. The stage is being set for the annual session of the National Congress. This year this tragi-comedy will be enacted under the ominous shadow of the Royal Commission on Constitutional Reform. Every one is wondering how the Congress will react to the latest and greatest insolence of imperialism. Speculation about boycotting the commission is rife. Will the Congress sanction the boycott? It is immaterial whether it will or not. The comedy has once been played out. The Montfort Reforms were boycotted. But as soon as the movement of the boycott of the reformed councils unloosed the revolutionary energy of the masses, the boycott was abandoned. The Nationalist bourgeoisie gradually, section by section, expressed their readiness to work the reforms "for what they are worth," and as preparatory to further instalments of reform. The nearer drew the date for the appointment of the Royal Commission, the readier became the nationalist bourgeoisie to co-operate with the bureaucracy, which a few years ago they had boycotted. This simply exposed their impotency; and imperialism answered their eagerness to compromise with a slap on the face. This is the meaning of the situation, to put it frankly.

Of course, this is not the first time that the Indian Nationalist bourgeoisie are put to the test as regards their ability and will to fight. Two years ago Birkenhead challenged the Indian Nationalist movement. The answer was abject capitulation. Failing to take up a real struggle against imperialism, the Swaraj Party disintegrated. The consciously bourgeois elements broke away from the shiboleth of parliamentary obstruction, hoping to ingratiate themselves into the good graces of the imperialist mentors.

Others, also representing capitalist and landowning interests continued with the bankrupt policy of "bluff and bluster" in order to keep spell-bound the petty bourgeois intellectual masses. Imperialism rulers of India, however, are not only more powerful, but more intelligent. They cannot be deceived. Neither are they ready to pay for the co-operation of the nationalist bourgeoisie so cheaply offered, nor are they scared by threats that are not seriously meant. The Curzonian formula of "won by sword and to be held by sword", still remains the guiding principle of imperialist power in India. Until and unless the Indian nationalist movement understands this basic factor of the situation it will fare no better than hitherto.

Will a more realistic attitude be taken by the National Congress this year? One must be a bold prophet to answer in the affirmative. As usual cowardice will be hidden behind idle talk. Illusion will take the place of programme. Nothing better can be expected of a demoralised and discredited body as the National Congress. There is only one task before the National movement—to organise a revolutionary struggle against imperialism. Whoever will indicate how this task can be accomplished will be the leader of the nationalist movement. Can the country expect such a lead from the Congress? No. The president-elect has already committed the Congress to programme of capitulation. The Royal Commission is the reward. During the last years of pseudo-parliamentary struggle the nationalist bourgeoisie maintained that they had the right to decide what sort of constitution India must have. They made a show of challenging the right of the British Parliament to decide the fate of India. Imperialism crushes away these contentions of the Indian bourgeoisie and does not appoint one single Indian on the Royal Commission which will investigate the question of constitution.

The hopes and speculations of the nationalist bourgeoisie to come out of the embarrassing situation of the last years through a mixed Royal Commission have been dashed. All the bourgeois nationalist leaders (co-operators, responsivists, semi-cooperators, communalists) are thoroughly discredited. They have led the nationalist movement to a disgraceful defeat. They have done so because they were afraid of revolution—as afraid as the imperialists themselves. They aided imperialist repression by conscious and persistent sabotage of the revolutionary movement. Even to-day they endeavour to fight the labour and peasant movement in the meanest and most unscrupulous way. They denounce the Communists and those defending the interests of the working class as "police spies". Nevertheless, the coveted Kingdom of 'Dominion status' equal partnership in the Empire—remains as far as ever. Imperialism won't concede the least only for the asking. Even the equal right to exploit the labour of the India masses must be conquered by the native bourgeoisie in a fight. Imperialism knows that the

nationalist bourgeoisie are against revolution, that they cannot fight and will not fight: therefore it can be so insolent.

They talk of boycotting the Royal Commission. Did imperialism take this possibility in view? It did; but cynically disregarded it in view of past experiences. Boycott will not kill the Commission. The Indian bourgeoisie, perhaps, will boycott the Royal Commission, but will accept its recommendations, finally, as their kind in Egypt did. These boycotted the Milner Commission, but happily accepted the "independence" granted by British imperialism on the recommendation of that commission.

The finding of the Commission will of course be influenced by the measures taken in reply to the insolent challenge of Imperialism. Judging them from their past, the bourgeois nationalists, irrespective of their party affiliations, cannot be expected to organise such measures as would tell upon the policy of imperialism. The proposed boycott will be effective only in the case of its being a lever to develop a mass movement against imperialism; and a mass movement cannot be developed with the futile slogans of constitutional opposition as the boycott contemplated by the nationalist bourgeoisie is very likely to be. A mass movement is a powerful revolutionary weapon and can be developed only with revolutionary slogans. The slogan, "Boycott the Royal Commission" has a very limited possibility. It applies only to those who will be asked to express their views as regards the constitutional progress of India. More than 98 per cent of the population do not come under this category; and, therefore, the slogan "Boycott the Commission" has no practical application for them. The refusal of a few hundred bourgeois politicians to give evidence before the Commissions will not shake the position of imperialism; unless this refusal becomes the expression of will of the entire people to reply to the imperialist challenge with a revolutionary struggle. The slogan, "Boycott the Royal Commission" should therefore be supplemented by other slogans having practical bearing upon the masses, if the boycott is seriously meant.

Further, boycott is a passive programme. A movement cannot go very far with a negative attitude. There must be a positive side to it. If the bourgeois leaders want the support of the masses in boycotting the commission, they must put before the country what they demand instead of the Royal Commission. We know what their demand is. They would be satisfied if the commission were otherwise constituted, having upon it representatives of their class. This demand reflects the interests, not of the nation, but of one class. This is not a demand for national independence; it is holding the olive branch to imperialism. The nationalist bourgeoisie desire to negotiate a compromise with imperialism and would like to use the masses as pawns in the game. But imperialism will not be fooled. It is aware of the inability and unwillingness

of the nationalist bourgeoisie to organise a militant mass movement as the corollary to the boycott campaign. It remains to be seen if the bourgeois nationalists will shake this smug confidence of imperialism by proving that they have learnt from the experience of the last decade, particularly from the non-cooperation movement.

The boycott of the commission should be connected with a positive demand on the support on which a mass movement must be organised. The reply to the imperialist challenge should be: "We spit on your Royal Commission whose authority we totally disregard. We do not recognise your right to determine the constitutional progress of India. That right belongs only to the Indian people who are determined to conquer that right at all cost and by all means". The demand should be the convocation by the National Congress of a Constituent Assembly which will be the supreme organ of the people's power and such settle the questions as regards the form of government, relation with Britain, etc. The entire people must participate in the election of the Constituent Assembly. Committees for the election of the Constituent Assembly should be set up all over the country. Representatives of all the political parties, workers and peasants organisations and all other democratic bodies will sit on these committees. The election campaign must be carried on throughout the country over a period of at least a year. The largest possible section of the population should be drawn into the campaign through mass meetings, demonstrations, strikes, etc.

This is the only way in which the insolent challenge of imperialism can be effectively replied to and a real struggle for national freedom undertaken. The masses will eagerly join in such a struggle. The Trade Union Congress has already declared its determination to support the boycott.

The National Congress this year is faced with the task of giving the lead for the organisation of this mass movement. If it rises up to this task, it may still rescue itself from the process of decay that has been going on during the last year. Failure to take up the challenge of imperialism will spell the political death of the National Congress.

P. 1326.

For the Emancipation of the Enslaved and
Exploited Masses.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

THE WORKERS' & PEASANT' PARTY

Executive Committee.

President: Comrade D. R. Thengdi.

Secretary: " S. S. Mirajkar.

E. C. Members: " S. H. Jhabwala.

" S. V. Ghate.

Group Leaders.

Congress: Com. Laljee Pandse.

Trade Union: " N. K. Joglekar.

Education: " R. S. Nimbkar.

Peasants: " J. P. Patil

BOMBAY.....192

AMENDMENT.

A sub committee consisting of Ghate, President and Mr. Bradley as an adviser with a power to yet be appointed to discuss the Municipal Election and they do submit their report within 3 weeks.

Parvate.

Nimbkar.

Mr. Joglekar be paid Rs. 10 as advance a/c of which he should render within a month.

Carried.

P. 1327

THE PEASANT MOVEMENT IN BENGAL.

In Bengal the peasants are exploited by landholders, moneylenders, police, religious preachers and various other middlemen.

Such is the case with the peasants in other parts of India also. Though the land tenure system are different in different provinces and the Zamindari system is not in existence in every province of India yet there is landlordism in some shape or other everywhere in India. Bengal is under the "permanent settlement". So is the province of Behar and Orissa. By this settlement the land-lords and not the tillers of the soil have been recognised as the owner of the land. Besides Zamindars, there are Talukdars who are also recognised as owners of land. These Talukdars sometimes pay their rent direct to the Government treasury and sometimes they are under Zamindars. In the latter case there is double ownership of land. There are some Talukdars who are actual peasants paying their rents direct to Zamindars. Other peasants are paying rents to the Zamindars through other middle holders between themselves and Zamindars. In the latter condition the actual peasants are paying very high rents. But the Talukdar peasants are not paying very high rents to the Zamindars. But, they are to pay to them otherwise. The Zamindars realise from them money on the occasion of religious ceremonies in their houses. If they are to pay subscriptions for public works; these are realised from the tenants that is peasants. The officers and the peons of the Zamindars are paid a ridiculously low salary. They cannot even manage their toilet expenses within that sum but in spite of that they live very decently. Sometimes they pay their personal servants more than three times of their pay. They can do so only by exploiting the peasants for personal comforts.

There are peasants who pay direct rent to the Zamindars, but they are recognised as owners of lands like the Talukdars. These peasants are known as Jotdars. They have got only tenancy rights over the land. This right is again sometimes permanent and sometimes not. The Jotdars cannot use the land as they like. For digging a tank and cutting a tree the jotard peasants are to obtain previous permission from their Zamindars.

The peasants movement in Bengal had taken a definite shape over the struggle between the peasants and Zamindars over the tenancy right. As the peasants had no right on the land they began to fight for it. Ultimately it came to such a pass that they in some parts of the province stopped to pay rent to the Zamindars. They successfully went with this strike for years and ultimately the Government was compelled to pass the Bengal Tenancy Act by which peasants got tenancy rights on the land under certain conditions. While writing this report I have got no papers about me to consult. but I believe the peasants' movement in Bengal has been going on since the time struggle for tenancy rights. The peasants fought with the Zamindars on many occasions. Sometimes land-settlement works were to be given up on account of peasants passive resistance. They refused in a body to say which

plot of land belongs to whom without which no measurement of land was possible.

There are lots of peasants' organisations in Bengal at present. But in fact they are peasants' organisation only in name. Really speaking these are tenants' (Ryots') organisations. There are big tenants who are not actual peasants, over and above who exploit the peasants more than zamindars themselves. In some districts of Bengal the Capitalist peasants are also in existence. These are the people who have been able to centralise lands to themselves. The present peasants' movement in Bengal is largely controlled by these non-peasant tenants and Capitalist peasants. In some cases they want only to stop the illegal expropriations exacted by the zamindars' agents and rights of transfer of land, digging wells and cutting trees. They do not want anything more than that. "The Ryot-krishak Sabha" (The tenants and peasants association) of Bengal does belong to this category. The president of this organisation is Mr. Satyananda Bose who is a Zamindar and who believes in Zamindar i.e. landlordism fully. There is one Mr. Erfan Ali, a Barrister-at-Law, who calls himself the leader of peasants, but his activities are only occasionally seen and meant for his selfish motives. Late Mr J. N. Ray, a well-known Barrister also used to lead the peasants' movement. He stood for the abolition of landlordism. Rajibuddin Tarafar and Abdul Jabbar Phalwan also stood for the abolition of landlordism. But, both of them want to make big tenants landlords. That is they are only for the elimination of top-most landlords. These people do fight only for their class interests. The agitators of this type are not even willing to utter the term 'peasant'. Their Unions or Associations are called 'tenants association'. They have got serious objection to style the name as "Peasants' Union or association". In fact they are afraid of real peasants' movements. They are not at all willing to make the actual peasants class-conscious.

There are very few actual Peasants' Unions in Bengal. The one which is worth naming is the Mamensingh Workers' and Peasants' Party (Krishak-O-Shramik Dal, Mymensingh). This is a branch organisation of the Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal. Faizuddin Hosain is the secretary of this branch organisation. Amongst the leaders of the peasants' movement in Bengal he is the only man who is radical in thought and who really stands for the cause of the actual peasants. By profession he is a small trader. Mymensingh is the biggest district in the whole of India its population being about 5 millions. This is against a most landlord-ridden district. This is why the peasants of this district are very much oppressed and in a fighting mood. In fact the peasants in Bengal everywhere are in a fighting mood. The landlords and the moneylenders are daily making them homeless and landless. They want only an intellectual lead.

The peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal being in straitened circumstances could not give such a lead satisfactorily. In fact it could not begin its organisational work except in one district, that is Mymensingh.

There are people who are supporting the cause of the peasants by writing in the press. Amongst these people names of Hrishikesh Sen, Prof. Dwijadas Dutta M. A., Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta, M. A., D. L. and Mr. Atul Chandra Gupta, M. A., B. L. can be mentioned. Mr. Atul Chandra Gupta and Dr. Sen are the President and the vice President, of the Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal respectively. The peasant used to get the greatest intellectual support from "Ganvani", a Bengali weekly and the official organ of the above named party. But the party had suspended the publication of the same paper since November last on account of financial difficulties.

P. 1328.

A piece of paper having on it the following address :—

J. RYAN

Labour Research & Information Bureau

Trade Hall

Goulbourn St.

SYDNEY

Austria.

P. 1329.

Membership Card No. 4 of the Workers' and Peasants' Party
Bombay, issued to S. V. Ghatge.

P. 1330.

Visiting Cards having the following address printed on it :—

S. V. GHATE

General Secretary

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA.

P. 1331.

Search Warrant issued under Sec. 96 C.P.C by the District Magistrate, MEERUT, for searching the office of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, 17, Dwarkadas, Mansions, 4th floor, Sandhurst Road, Bombay.

Executed by the Bombay City C.I.D. on 20-3-29,

P. 1332.

PUNCHNAMA.

We the undersigned members of the Punch Viz:—

1. Hari Ramchandra Joglekar 43, Brahmin, Asst. supdt. Got. Medical Stores Res. 190 Girgaun Back Road Bombay.

2. Narayen Ganesh Bhagwat 40, Brahmin clerk in Artistic Printig Press, Res, New Amrit Wadi, 230 Room, Girgaun Back Road Bombay, were present at the time of the execution of search warrant 15-3-1929 issued by the Dist. Magistrate, Meerut (U. P.) to witness the search of the office of the Workers' and Peasants' party, 17 Dwarkadas Mansions, Sandhurst Road, Bombay at 6-5 a.m. on the 20th March 1929.

The above search was conducted by Inspr. Achawkar in

our presence and the following articles were taken possession of by the officer conducting the search:—

1. On a table in the centre of room No 17 of the said mansions:—

x. A Remington Portable type-writer No. N. M. 82381 with a case.

x 1. A booklet "A call to action".

x 2. A memo of G. I. P. Ry Union (typed) bearing the name of Bradley in manuscript.

In the drawers of the said table:—

x 3. A typed copy of a letter [dt. 8-3-29 addressed to the Secretary W and P Party of India, Bengal Prov. Branch. (2 sheets).

x 4. A list of names and addresses (typed).

x 5. Visiting card of S. V. Kelkar with his address (temporary), on the reverse.

x 6. A book "The Real Situation in Russia by Trotsky.

x 7. A letter of 11-2-29 from Muzaffar Ahmed to Ghaté (2 sheets).

x 8. A cutting from Swaraj paper dt 14-3-29 in Marathi.

x 9. A copy of Kranti paper dt 3-2-29 in Marathi.

x 10. A letter dt 16-2-29 from M. Ahmed to comrade Ghaté.

x 11. A copy of Congress Bulletin dt 14-2-29 with the name of Alave in Marathi.

x 12. Three booklets of Trade Union movement of workers and peasants Party Principles and Policy and Political Resolution.

In the room hanging on a nail:—

x 13. Two files of Kranti paper in Marathi.

x 14. Copies of Kranti paper issues Nos. 33, 35, 36, and 38. Item No. X 14.

Were found on the floor of the room. On the top of a cupboard in the room:—

x 15. Bill books of Kranti Subscription 16 in all.

x 16. Two receipt books of a ward district Congress Committee.

x 17. A Diary of Jagtiani for 1927.

x 18. Admission forms to W and P Party Bombay (12).

x 19. Counter foils of cheque Nos. c5451 to c5460 and c6301 to c6310.

x 20. Correspondence regarding Spratt Defence Fund (fifteen sheets) with a cover.

x 21. A letter dt. 14-7-27 from Shradanand paper to Mirajkar and a statement of account dated 12-7-1927.

Found inside a cupboard in the room :—

x 22. Monthly Germinal No. 2.

x 23. Book called coal mines and coal miners and two annual reports for 1924 and 25 of the Textile Labour Unions Ahmedabad.

x 24. Monthly amalgamated Engineering Union, Febry 27-

x 25. Book called an open letter to H. H. of Bikaner.

x 26. Book called American Unionism.

x 27. Do — Do — Red money.

x 28. Booklet re. constitution of Bengal P and W's Party.

x 29. Book called goose-step by upton Sinclair.

x 30. Book — Do — The Jungle by Do

x 31. — Do — Do — They call me carpenter by Do.

x 32. Do — Do — Brass check by Do.

x 33. Do — Do — Letters to Judd by Do. 2 copies.

x 34. Book called an outline of European History.

x 35. Do — 100 years for what ?

x 36. Do — Through Russia.

x 37. Do — The Politics of oil.

x 38. Book called convicted out of her own mouth.

x 39. An appeal re. B. N. Ry General strike.

v 40. 3 copies of the Presidential address of 1st all India W and P's party dt. 21-12-28.

x 41. 4 copies of Political resolution.

x 42. A Chit regarding meeting agenda.

x 43. Admission form in English to W and P's Party Bombay.

- x 44. — Do — Do in Marathi to Do.
- x 45. Letter of 9-3-29 from Thengdi.
- x 46. Intimation cards signed by Ghate, (22) secretary of W and P's party.
- x 47. A receipt book with counter foils Nos 1 to 45 filled in and from 46 to 100 blank.
- x 48. A die of the Workers and P's Party Bombay.
- x 49. A bound book of Majur Sandesh- (File)
- x 50. A minute book of the Executive committee of the workers and P's Party.
- x 51. 8 Rubber stamps with a stand of Kranti and W and P's Party.
- x 52. Register of members of the workers and P's Party.
- x 53. Resolution D/ 12-7-48.
- x 54. A note book written in Marathi.
- x 55. Draft rules by the standardisation Sub-committee (Three Sheets)
- x 56. Letter from M. ahmed to Ghate D/-22-1-29 (2 sheets).
- x 57. Receipt no 1542 D/-14-6-27 from Thos. Cook and sons passed to P. Spratt.
- x 58. A Booklet in Marathi written by V. H. Joshi re. articles in the Kesari re (Russia)
- x 59. Presidential address of the F. A. I. W. P's Party Calcutta 21-12-28.
- x 60. A file containing 300 sheets of Correspondence, meeting agenda, post cards, printed matter, and etc. of the workers and P's Party Bombay.
- x 61. A file containing 9 post cards and 13 postal receipts.
- x 62. A file of Vande Jinavaram and Raj Hansa containing 23 sheets of papers and correspondence.
- x 63. A file containing 34 sheets of paper such as correspondence, bills, receipts, letters etc.
- x 64. A file containing 37 sheets of papers such as letters, list of names and addresses, post card etc, and telegrams.
- x 65. A file containing 105 sheets including bills, letters etc.
- x 66. A file of Kranti correspondence etc. 52 sheets.

- x 67. A file containing 32 applications for membership of W and P's Party and 2 letters from Lalji Pendse and Bhat P. J.
- x 68. A file containing 29 sheets including letters, telegram Draft constitution of Labor Party etc.
- x 69. A file containing 78 sheets of correspondence, letters, post card, telegrams etc.
- x 70. Two copies of a book called "A call to action"
- x 71. An appeal from Muzaffar Ahmed
- x 72. A chit bearing the name and address of S. B. Shringarpure.
- x 73. —Do—Gangadhar Adhekari.
- x 74. Resolution, speakers and chit re. meeting on 7/11/27.
- x 75. Worker's welfare league 9th Annual Report.
- x 76. Letter d/ 24/9/28 from Vakil (2 sheets).
- x 77. Press Service No. 6 of 1928 May (4 Sheets).
- x 78. The Soviet Union dated 29/4/28 (3 sheets).
- x 79. Two books called the Pan Pacific Worker of Sept 28 and sharp talks on Economics 1 each.
- x 80. 2 Booklets "Sacco and Vanzetti.
- x 81. International Bulletin dt 17/6/28 2 copies.
- x 82. Account book of the Workers and P's Party.
- x 83. Social Economic Review July. 27.
- x 84. Eastern and colonial Bulletin 15 Feb 28.
- x 85. Account Book with Greenish cover.
- x 86. Presidential address by Dr. Burley.
- x 87. Report of P and Workers' Party ; Bengal 1927-28.
- x 88. A chit bearing names in marathi.
- x 89. Agenda re. resolution moved by Jones M, P. (2 sheetstyped)
- x 90. The history of the I. W. W.
- x 91. The open Forum of 26/11/27.
- x 92. Minute Book of the Finance Committee of the W and P's Party.

- x 93. Social Economic review No II (15) Decr. 1927.
- x 94. Dar Resister February 27.
- x 95. Social Economic Review No 2/17 April and May 1928.
- x 96. Annual conference Report of W and P's party Bengal.
- x 97. A post card dated 2/6/28 signed by one D. R. T.
- x 98. Copy of Pan Pacific worker 1st Nover 28.
- x 99. Book called British Imperialism in West Africa.
- x 100. —Do—Hundred Percent Indian.
- x 101. 2 copies of the following books "Monopoly" "The rights of Labour" "Logic of Socialism", "Scientific Socialism" "and Religion of Capital".
- x 102. 2 Excercise Books showing accounts.
- x 103. Membership card nos. 19, 20, 21 and 22.
- x 104. A file containing correspondence, letters, post cards telegram 161 sheets.
- x 105. On a window sill in the room :—
180 copies in Urdu of Payame Mujdur.
On nails hanging on the wall in the room.
- x 106. Two photo frames of Mirajkar, and Saklatwala.
In the open terrace on the side of Benam Hall Lane next to the above room.
- x 107. A pictorial poster.
In the passage outside the room (3rd floor) hanging on a nail.
- x 108. A wooden board bearing the Workers and Peasants' Party Office.
- x 109. —Do—Do—was found on the ground floor hanging on a nail of Dwarkadas mansions.
- x 110. —Do—Do—was found outside fixed on a wall facing the road near the entrance of the mansions
On a paper rack hanging on a nail inside the room.
- x 111. Membership card nas. 2, 10, 11, 13, 16, 17, and 18 of the W and P's party.
The above panchnama was read over to us and it contains a

full and true account of what we have witnessed during the search.

Before me

Sd. Sc. Achavekar

20/3/29 2-30 P. M.

Inspr. C. I. D. Bombay.

Sd. Illegible

20/3/29.

Sd. H. R. Joglekar

20/3/29

Sd. N. J. Bhagwat.

20/3/

P 1333.

A book in English entitled

"A call to Action."

(Vide Exh. P. 573).

P. 1334.

A book in English entitled

"The Real Situation in Russia"

by

Trotsky.

P. 1335.

Tele: Address "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

Workers' & Peasants' Party of India.

2-1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE CALCUTTA.

BENGAL PROVINCIAL BRANCH.

Organs :

"GANAVANI"
(BENGALI WEEKLY)

11-2-1929.

Lal Nishan
(Hindi weekly)

My dear Ghate,

We are extremely anxious to hear about your activities in connection with the Bombay riots. In these days neither the name of the Girni Kamgar Union, nor that of the Workers' and Peasants' Party at Bombay are published in news-papers. We expect to receive by every day's mail some leaflet or manifesto issued by our union or Party but in vain. Please let us know all detailed news.

Manifesto in different languages must be issued by the Girni Kamgar Union. We must interpret the situation from our view point.

The following is the quotation from "Spark:—" "Shaukat Usmani, the president, graphically described the scenes of frenzied grief of the Russian people at news of Lenin's death, to which he was an eye-witness'. Please ask Usmani to contradict it with out fail and immediately. Lenin died on the 21st January 1924 on which date Usmani was a prisoner in Peshawar District Jail. I do not know through whose mistake such a report has appeared in the "Spark." In any case Usmani must clear his position.

I am spending Girni Kamgar Union money in conducting the cases of the Bauria Workers.

Aftab Ali along with Nripendra Nath Majumdar is being prosecuted before the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta. They have been asked to show cause why they should not be bound down for good behaviour for one year under section 108 C.P.C. for disseminating sedition under section 124 A of the I.P.C. You must have read in news-papers that on the 19th January last in the Anti-Simon procession we had carried a large number of banners inscribed with all kinds of radical slogans. Two of them were:—"Long Live Revolution" and "Long Live the Revolution of India". The case has been instituted by the Govt. for carrying these two banners.

After the conference we have been fallen in bad days. There is no end of pecuniary difficulties. Comrade Spratt had wired for his allowances, but nothing has reached him as yet.

Ajudhiya Prasad is still here. For the present he will not leave Calcutta. How Bradley is doing?

With comradely greetings to all Comrades.

Yours.

Sd. MUZAFFAR AHMAD.

P. 1336.

Tele Address. "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

Workers' and Peasants' Party of India.

2-1 EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE CALCUTTA.

Bengal Provincial Branch.

February 16, 1929.

Organs "Ganavani" (Bengali Weekly)

Lal Nishan

(Hindi weekly)

Comrade S. V. Ghate,

17, Dwarkadas Mansions,

Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

Dear Comrade,

I am quite at a loss to understand the cause of your silence. Do please write to us to say all about the happenings of Bombay. Nimbkar never replied to my urgent letters I do not know what has happened with him. When does he propose to hold the meeting of the National Executive Committee? One member of Bengal has suggested that it should be held during the Ester Holidays. Because, Ry Concession will be available at that time. Notice must be issued now.

How Usmani is doing? I believe he has served a useful purpose in Bombay. Is it not? You told me to let you know my impression about the new book which was received by us from Europe and which you saw in our possession when you had been ✓

here. Well, I gave a very careful reading of the book and found it absolutely worthless. This kind of presentation is really very discouraging. We would like to throw it away rather than to keep it in our library.

Comrade Spratt wired to London for his allowance, But, have not received any till now. He is very much in troubles so far as financial affairs are concerned.

With fraternal greetings to you all,

Yours

Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 1337.

(1) A pamphlet in English entitled

“Political Resolution.”

(Vide Exh. P. 56)

(2) A pamphlet in English entitled

“Workers’ and Peasants’ Party Principles and Policy”.

(Vide Exh. P. 161).

(3) A pamphlet in English entitled

“The Trade Union Movement.”

(Vide Exh. P. 51)

P. 1338.

Two books containing Counterfoils of Cheques issued by the Secretary W. and P. Party. The counterfoils show as follows—
Cheque no: C 6302: Issued to Mr. K. M. Shinkar Manager, Loksevak Press, Bombay.

- " C 6303: Issued to the Secretary Marwari Vidyalaya,
 Bombay.
- " C 6304 } Issued to Mr. K. M. Shinkar Manager,
 " C 6305 } Loksevak Press, Bombay, in full settle-
 " C 6307 } ment of "Krantī" Printing.
 " C 6308 } Issued to Mr. K. M. Shinkar Manager,
 Loksevak Press Bombay.
- " C 5452 } Issued to Mr. K. M. Shinkar Manager,
 " C 5454 } Loksevak Press, Bombay, in full settle-
 " C 5455 } ment of "Krantī" printing.
 " C 5456 }
 " C 5457 }
 " C 5458 }
- " C 5460 Issued to Mr. K. M. Shinkar, Manager L. S.
 Press.

P. 1339.

A pamphlet in English entitled "The Bengal Peasants' and workers' Party" constitution.

(Vide Exh. P. 549 (8)).

P. 1340.

3 copies of the pamphlet in English entitled "Presidential Address of the First All India Workers and Peasants Party Conference", delivered by Comrade Sohan Singh Josh at Calcutta on December 21, 1928.

(Vide Exh. P. 596).

P. 1341.

3 Copies of the pamphlet in English entitled "Political Resolution."

(Vide Exh. P. 56)

P. 1342.

A piece of paper with the following matter written on it:—

Agenda

1. Discussion on the recent strikes and Tactics to be adopted in egard to the same.
2. Action and Tactic with regard to the Kaiwari disruptionists.
3. Discussion re. Volunteer Corps, and resolution.
4. Membership application.

P. 1343.

A note book containng the names of the members of the Workers' and Peasants' Party with their subscriptions noted against each name. The following namems appear amongst others:-

D. R. Thengdi	R. S. Minbkar
S. S. Mirjakar	P. Spratt.
S. H. Jhabwala	S. A. Dange.
S. V. Ghate	A. A. Alve.
K. N. Joglekar	G. R. Kasle.
	G. A. Adhikari

P. 1344.

(A minute book of the Executive meetings of the Workers' and Peasants' Party Bombay.)

The Workers' and Peasants Party

Executive meeting 30-4-27

Members present :—

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Mr. D. R. Thengdi. | sd. D. R. Thengdi |
| 2. „ S. H. Jhabwalla. | „ S. H. Jhabwalla |
| 3. „ K. N. Joglekar | „ K. N. Joglekar |
| 4. „ R. S. Nimbkar | „ R. S. N. |
| 5. „ Lalji Pendse | „ L. J. P. |
| 6. „ S. S. Mirajkar | „ S. S. Mirajkar |
| 7. „ S. V. Ghate | „ S. V. Ghate |

Following resolutions were adopted.

(1) Resolved that a weekly paper be started to put the party's programme before the country,

2 The editorial board consists of Mr. Parwate, Joglekar, Mirajker, Nimbker, and Ghate and to be responsible to E. C. for the policy of the paper.

(b)

(6) Proposed by Joglekar and seconded by Zabwala that Mr. T. V. Parwate be elected to E. C. in place of Mr. Sivagiri resigned.

This resolution was not put to vote, and this stage the meeting was adjourned by majority sine die.

Dhoondi Raj Thengdi

Dt/-30-4-27.

The Workers' and Peasants' Party

Executive Committee.

4 May 1927.

The following members were present

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Mr. K. N. Joglekar | sd. K. N. Joglekar |
| 2. „ Lalji Pendse | „ L. P. |

3. „ S. S. Mirajkar . „ S. S.. M.
4. „ S. V. Ghate . „ S. V. Ghate
- 5.

6.

Following resolutions were adopted :—

(As attached herewith)

Resolutions.

(1) Resolved that a Weekly paper in Marathi be started under the Editorship of Messrs Joglekar and Mirajkar and it be named "Kranti"

(2) Resolved that Messrs Mirajkar and Joglekar be authorized to make all the necessary arrangements regarding the publishing of the same from the 7th May 1927.

(3) Resolved that a Financial Committee consisting of Messrs Joglekar, Mirajkar and Ghate be formed to look after the general financial affairs of the Party and the management of the paper in particular. (This sub committee functions right from the passing of this resolution, but its permanent status is subject, of course, to the confirmation by the general body at its next meeting which shall be within one month from this date.)

(4) Resolved that an Editorial Board consisting of the following eight members be formed to ensure an efficient conduct of the Paper and to assist the Editors in their work of propagating the views of the Party through the party Journal.

Editorial Board

- | | | |
|-----------|---|---|
| Editors . | { | 1. Mr. K. N. Joglekar |
| | | 2. „ S. S. Mirajkar |
| | | 3. „ T. V. Parvate |
| | | 4. „ D. V. Kelkar |
| | | 5. „ Lalji Pendse |
| | | 6. „ S. V. Ghate |
| | | 7. „ S. A. Dange (subject to his con. on his release) |
| | | 8. „ R. S. Nimbkar |

(5) Resolved that Mr. Mirajkar does act as the official manager of the Paper and be the publisher of the same.

K. N. Joglekar
President

11-7-27

Workers' and Peasants' Party

Executive meeting

17 Novr 1927.

The meeting of the E. C. of the W. & P. Party was held on 17 November 1927 consider the then situation. 3

It was resolved that Mr. R. S. Nimbkar to act as secretary of the Party in case Mr. S. S. Mirajkar was convicted.

The following gentlemen were present.

- (1) S. V. Ghate
- (2) R. S. Nimbkar
- (3) K. N. Joglekar
- (4) S. S. Mirajkar

President.

The Workers' & Peasants' Party.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The adjourned meeting of E. C. was held on 23rd January 1928 when the following gentlemen were present

- Mr. D. R. Thengdi
" S. S. Mirajkar
" K. N. Joglekar
" R. S. Nimbkar
" S. V. Ghate

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

(1) That the annual General meeting of the Workers' and Peasants' Party be held on 18th February, 1928 to pass annual report, re-election of the E. C., amendments and alterations to the constitution if any and such other subjects and resolutions as may be allowed by the President.

(2) That a meeting of the E. C. be held next Sunday (29th Jan. 1928) to consider Resolutions put by the group leaders where sympathisers will be specially invited to attend at 2 p. m, at the Congress House.

(3) Resolved that the time is now ripe for all Party speakers to put forward in connection with the boycott Campaign the slogan of a "constituent Assembly" elected by universal Adult

suffrage as the only proper body to draw up the constitution of Independent India. The meeting was then dissolved.

President.

The Workers' and Peasants' Party

E. C. Meeting

The meeting of the Executive Committee was held on the 8th. February last the following members were present;—

- (1) R. S. Nimbkar
- " S. S. Mirajkar
- " S. V. Ghate

The following points were discussed:—

(1) The draft open Letter to the All Parties Conference was discussed and adopted.

(2) Date for the annual General meeting was fixed at 4th March 1928.

(3) Recruitment of Members, Regarding a list was to be drawn and those were persons, it was decided, to be approached with a request to join the Party.

(4) It was decided to send a circular Letter to all India Trade Unions regarding the affiliation of A. I. T. U. C. to the I. F. T. U.

(5) Following comrades will attend the meeting of the E. C. of the T. U. C. which was to be held at Delhi.

- (1) Mr. S. A. Dange
- (2) " K. N. Joglekar
- (3) " R. S. Nimbkar.
- (4) " D. R. Thengdi

Lalji Pendse.

President.

7-3-28.

The E. C. of the Party met on the seventh instant the following members being present.

R. S. Nimbkar

Lalji Pendsi.

S. V. Ghate.

R. S. Nimbkar.

Lalji was voted to the chair

It was decided to hold the Annual Conference on the 18th March 1928—and issue invitations. Reports from different group leaders were called for, it being decided to meet again on Thursday 15th inst.

Lalji Pendse consented to go to Bardoli to enquire into the Satyagraha movement.

15-3-28

President.

The E.C. meeting was held on the 15th instant Com. Nimbkar was voted to the chair.

Coms. Joglekar, Nimbkar, Ghate, Mirajkar were present.

Applications of Com. D. B. Kulkarni Zulmiram J. Chaudhory P. J. Bhat were accepted-com. Narayan Swamy's application was rejected.

The following names for office bearers were suggested-D. R. Thengdi as President, to move an amendment for creating the Vice President's Part-Dange suggested—Secretary-Ghate. Treasurer's duties be done by the secretary, and a new group be added called youth's group.

E. C. Members—

Jhabvala, and T. V. Parvate.

(1) Congress—L. Pendse.

(2) T. U. Joglekar

(3) Youth Spratt

(4) Peasants Nimbkar

(5) Education and Propaganda. S. S. Mirajkar—

(Resolutions to be moved before the Annual Congress.

(	General Resolution—Dange)
(	Trade Union—	T. U. Leader—Joglekar
(	Organisation—	Mirajkar—
(	Youth —	Ghate
(	Peasants —	Nimbkar

The Executive meets again at 9 P. M. Saturday. Notices should be issued.

Correctly recorded.

Dt/-17-3-28.

D. R. Thengdi

President.

The E. C. Meeting was held on the 17th instant. Present.

D. R. Thengdi

R. S. Nimbkar

K. N. Joglekar

S. S. Mirajkar

S. V. Ghate—

The secretary's Report with some corrections was accepted.

25-3-28

LALJI PENDSE

President.

I Annual General Meeting of the W & P. Party.

The first annual general meeting of the Workers and Peasants Party, Bombay was held on Sunday the 18th of March 1928, at the Congress house. Com. Thengdi, the President was in the chair. Messages were read from R. R. Bakhale, C.P.G.B. and P. League Moscow.

The secretary read the first annual report of the work done during the past year, wherein he outlined the work done by the Party, and its group leaders in different sections, such as the Trade Unions, Congress, Youth Movement etc. Certain additions were suggested to the report, the first being the inclusion of the name of Com. J. B. Patel, as the third member of the Party that was elected to the A.I.C.C. as also to the Vice Presidentship of the Congress. The other addition was the names of the Kishi Karigars Union, and Jariwalas Union started by Jhabvalla, among the names of Unions for the creation of which the members of the Party were solely responsible. Com. Patel suggested that the name of Com. S. S. Mirajkar be included with that of Com. Spratt, in connection with the Spratt case. All the above suggestions were agreed to unanimously, and the report was adopted, together with the accounts that were submitted - unanimously.

The President then called in Com. Dange to speak on the General resolution as was adopted at the enlarged Executive Com. meeting of the Party. The rest of the Resolutions on Trade

Union, organisation, Youth, Peasants' and the attitude of the Party towards other institutions were taken up and passed by the Meeting.

Com. Patel moved a resolution stating that "this meeting adopts the thesis prepared by the Enlarged Executive, with the co-operation of friends, and calls upon the Executive Committee, to follow in entirely the policy laid down therein, and not to act in any way which would be inconsistent to the fundamentals of the thesis." Com. Dange seconded the resolution. Com. Joglekar moved an amendment, seconded by Ghate that the words "with the co-operation of the friends" be deleted. The amendment was carried by a majority, and the resolution as amended was passed unanimously.

The next item taken up was the election of office bearers.

There were several amendments to the constitution. The President called upon Mirajkar to move his amendment. Com Mirajkar, seconded by Ghate, moved that a new office, that of the Vice President be created. The resolution was lost on voting for, and three against. On a poll being demanded, the resolution fell through for want of a 2/3 majority, as required by the constitution. Five voting for and three against the motion.

Com. Joglekar then moved that the office of secretary and treasurer should be held by one man, instead of two as in the original constitution. Com. R. S. Nimbkar seconded, and the motion was carried.

Com. Joglekar also moved, seconded by R. S. Nimbkar that there should be four members on the Executive, instead of two, as at present. The motion was carried.

Another motion moved by Com. Joglekar, and seconded by Com. Nimbkar, to add a fifth group called the "Youth group" was unanimously adopted.

The meeting then took up the election and of the office bearers -

Com. Thengdi was re-elected President.

Com, S. V, Ghate as secretary and Treasurer.

The following group leader were elected -

Congress group	Lalaji Pendse.
T. U. Group	K. N. Joglekar.
Education and propaganda	S. S. Mirajkar
Youth	P. Spratt
Peasants	T. V. Paryate.

The following members were elected to the Executive committee.

S. H. Jhabvala, R. S. Nimbkar, S. A. Dange, J. B. Patel.

A resolution in the name of Lalit, stating that "The Party believes that the time has come when the Asiatic federation be organised, was referred to the Executive Committee for consideration.

Com. J. B. Patel moved a resolution, seconded by Dange that "The Executive is directed to explore the feasibility and possibility of contesting seats for the Municipalities, local Boards, and local legislatures, and to submit its conclusions to a general meeting. The resolution was passed unanimously.

The consideration of the formation of the All India workers' and Peasants' Party, as also the question of electing delegates to the A. I. W. & P. Conference to be held at Calcutta in April next was left to the New Executive Committee.

The question of a Youth Committee to carry on organisation work amongst the youth, was left to the leader of the Youth group newly created.

Finally, it was unanimously decided that the Executive should meet every Sunday at 2 P.M. at the Party's office.

R. S. Nimbkar moved a vote of thanks to the President and secretary for their works during the year.

President.

25/3/28.

E. C. MEETING

The Executive meeting of the Party was held on Sunday 25th instant. Com. Lalji Pendse was voted to the chair.

Applications of C. K. Narayan Swamy, Alve, Kamalakar Kulkarni and Vasista were accepted. The consideration of the application of Mr. Parekh was stayed still the next meeting.

The question of putting up candidates for the ensuing Municipal elections was discussed. Com. Nimbkar outlined his scheme of putting up several candidates in different words, and dwelt on the possibility of success of each candidate. Com. Dange moved that this question be postponed for 4 months during which period each member of the executive was to make 50 members for the Party. Three voting for and 3 against, the chairman gave his casting vote against the motion.

Com. Pravate then moved that a sub committee consisting of the President, the secretary, and Com. Bradley (as adviser) with power to Vote be appointed to discuss the Municipal elections, and that they do submit a report within three weeks. Nimbkar seconded. This was agreed to.

Com. Joglekar demanded Rs. 10/- towards organising left wing in Trade Unions, this was agreed to, he being asked to submit account of the same within a month. Com. Parvate suggested that the budget should be formulated before for group works. The meeting came to a close.

R. S. NIMBKAR

1/4/28.

President.

The Executive Committee met on 1st April. Com. Nimbkar was voted to the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were adopted as also a statement of a/c till the end of March.

Mr. Parvate moved that Mr. C.K. Narayanswamy be expelled from the Party. In support of which he said that when he recommended his membership before the party, he was assured by the Swamy that he would be acting in accordance with the Party discipline. But now he was convinced that Swamy was not fit to be a member of the Party. The resolution was passed Unanimously.

The application of Mr. A.C. Parek was considered, the committee decided that the secretary should write to him about the constitution etc. of the Party to enable him to study the programme and rules and regulations of the party after which his application may be considered.

Only two group leaders were present. Com. Joglekar, reviewed the work that was being done in Trade Unions, and referred to the success the workers had in the Textile mills strike. He referred to the formation of Dock and Tramway Unions which were formed under the leadership of the Party.

There was nothing done so far as the peasant section was concerned. The peasant group leader, had called for names of those that wanted to work in his section, and so far, he had not received any.

The executive decided to co-operate with other bodies, that were celebrating May—day. ✓

The question before special B.P.C.C. Meeting was considered. It was decided to make it a Party question. It was decided that the Party was to vote for 250/- in connection with the May-day, when it came before the B.P.C.C.

Objections were raised with regard to the demand of Press Workers Union, and finally it was resolved to make the demand a Party question, and to utilise any grant of the B.P.C.C. for reorganisation of Press Workers' Union. The last demand for Ginni Kamgar Maha Mandal was to be withdrawn.

S.A- DANGE

8/4/28

President

The Executive met on the 8th instant with a S. A. Dange in the Chair.

After reading the minutes, and correspondance, the question of unpaid bills with reference to Kranti advt. were postponed till after complete information from S. S. Mirajkar would be forthcoming.

Com. Nimbkar proposed that P. Spratt, S. A. Dange, and S. V. Ghate, be elected to the provisional Executive of the All India Worker and Peasants' Party, which were agreed to.

The report of the sub-committee to advise on municipal election contest by the Party was taken up. It was decided that the party should contest the seats, on its own ticket, and the number was fixed to 4. The following people only should stand for election

C Ward ...	...	...	K. N. Joglekar.
D Ward ...	...	...	R. S. Nimbkar.
F Ward ...	...	...	A. A. Alve.
G Ward ...	...	...	Jhabvala.

This was agreed to.

The group leaders were asked to submit their reports in writing in finally the secretary was asked to make arrangements for co-operation between the Pro. Trades Union Congress, and Trades Council for celebrating the May-day.

Com. Joglekar, was elected to inquire into the question of the W and P Conference at Nagpur—and report.

S. A. Dange.

15-4-28.

President.

12 The E. C. met as usual on the 15th with S. A. Dange in the Chair.

The minutes were read and passed and the correspondence was gone through. Com Pendse submitted the report of the Congress section, which after some discussion that reports should not be loosely written, was filed. The Propaganda group leader was

informed that he should be in touch with papers to see if there was any adverse criticism in the Press regarding the Party and should reply such criticism whenever necessary.

There was some discussion about mill strike, but nothing was settled.

Lalji Pendse

29-4-28.

President.

The E. C. met on Sunday 29th April with Lalji Pendse presiding..

Reports from group leaders were not submitted.

It was decided to publish a manifesto of the Party on the question of mill strike, and Dange and Mirajkar were deputed to prepare the same for distribution on the May-day.

Nimbkar was elected Leader on the strike question. It was decided that the Party should join Joshi group and prepare a draft to be submitted to the mill-owners, in conjunction with Joshi.

The meeting terminated.

6-5-28.

R. S. Nimbkar.

President.

The Executive Committee met on Sunday the 5th instant as usual.

The discussion centered on the strikes tactics, and particularly on the question of picketing Mr. Mirajkar agreed to undertake leading a Picket party as a test case, and to offer himself for arrest, if it came to that. This action of Mirajkar's, was agreed to.

12-5-28.

President.

Adjourned for want quorum.

S. V. Ghatge.

Passed

*12-5-28

Secretary

D. R. Thengdi

20/3/28

The E. C. met on Sunday the 20th instant with D. R. Thengdi in the chair,

Minutes were read and the accounts for month ending April 30th 1928 were passed.

The question of the Party's attitude towards the A. P. C. Resolutions, came in for discussion. It was suggested, the Party's

Point of view was not clearly placed before the conference, and the Party's representatives came in a for a great deal of criticism. Mr. Nimbkar said that he was bound by the B. P. C. C. instructions, and as its representative he could not say anything against the resolution. It was finally decided to issue a statement on the Party's action on Saturday' last in voting against the Resolution of the A. P. C. Comr. Ghate was asked to draft a statement to be placed before an urgent meeting of the E. C. on the following day.

On the question of guidance to Party members in the strike, the following decisions were arrived at that they should ask the Jt. St. Com. to assist as many workers as possible to leave Bombay, that the committee should be asked to issue handbills and leaflets amongst the workers, explaining to them, the situation, their demands etc. in the strike.

The E. C. decided to meet in a special urgent meeting the next day, to consider the a draft statement to be issued.

S. V. Ghate,

S. H. JHABWALA,

21-5-28.

President
22-5-28.

(1) The question of G. I. P. Strike.

22-5-28.

The adjourned urgent meeting of the E.C. was held on Tuesday 22nd. instant with Jhabvala in the Chair. The question of the G. I. P. Rly. workmen's strike was taken up. Com. Jhabvala explained the situation, and said, that the committee had unanimously agreed for a strike, and that the men were all determined to get their demands, through a strike in case they were not granted by the Agent. Jhabvala also said, that he was, that very morning called by the agent again for discussion, before the meeting of the general body. Com. Joglekar opined that a strike at this juncture may act as a set-back to the organising work that he had undertaken. And that it was better to see that the signal men etc. joined such a strike, which was not possible at this stage. The general tendency of the committee was that if the majority of the workers were determined on a strike we should not advice them otherwise. And Com. Jhabvala, was asked to bear this point in mind that he should leave the decision for a strike to the men themselves.

Then the Committee heard the draft statement that was prepared in connection with the Party's vote at the A. P. C. which was passed for publication.

The meeting terminated.

S. S. MIRAJKAR,
President.

Adjourned as none turned up

S. V. GHATE.

The adjourned meeting of the E.C. came off on the 3rd June, with Com. Mirajkar in the chair.

After the reading of the minutes correspondence was gone through. Com Muzaffar was to be informed that the two representatives could not leave now for Calcutta, in view of Com. Dange's arrest and hence the question was to be deferred. The consideration of the letter from the League against Imperialism was also deferred.

Com. Mirajkar submitted his report, which was recorded. Discussion centred on the strike situation.

The consideration regarding a paper by the party for the period of the strike was deferred.

10/6/28

R. S. NIMBKAR

President

24/6/28.

The Executive Committee met on Sunday the 24th June, with Com. R. S. Nimbkar in the chair.

After the minutes of the previous meeting were read and adopted, reports from group leaders were called for, and the Congress group leaders was asked to submit his report at the next meeting of the Executive on the following Sunday.

Discussion was centred on the Mill strike, and the question of picketing vigorously in future was considered.

The need for Party propaganda was held to be urgent, at this stage in the mill strike situation, and it was unanimously decided that the "Kranti" official organ of the Party be revived, within the following week, with S. A. Dange as Editor, Pendse to assist Dange in Editorial work, and Ghate, to look into the management side of the paper. It was also agreed to make it bi-weekly paper. ✓

The meeting terminated.

24/6/28

S. H. JHABVALA

President

17-28

*Name of Mirajkar to be added also to assist in
Editorial work.*

"Resolved that the basis of negotiations by a way of counter proposal should be on the basis of a living wage i. e. Rs 30/- Joglekar moves Pendse seconds:

1/7/28

That a counter scheme of rates and wages be prepared by the Party on behalf of the Party and that Pendsi and Joglekar take up the work of formulating the scheme.

Dange moves the amendment Joglekar proposes that Dange be included in the committee.

Agreed unanimously.

Mr. Dange to draw up a circular asking other unions to give an amount monthly for the paper and the paper publish a column about different Trades Unions.

To be included in the minute.

The resolution protesting against the action of the E. C. of A.I.T.U.C. at its session at Delhi on 26th February last in severing connection with the W. W. L., and stating that the Executive had no right to pass such a resolution.

S. V. G.

The Executive met in on Sunday the 1st July, with Comrade S. H. Jhabvala in the chair.

After the minutes the statement of accounts for the month of May was passed.

At the outset it was suggested that the name of S. S. Mirajkar be added to the Editorial Committee of Kranti, which was agreed to.

Discussion centred about the strike situation and the question of negotiations was discussed. The majority were of opinion that the basis of counter Proposals should be demand of a minimum wage of Rs 30/- which was opposed by Dange who held that there should be no fixing of a minimum at this stage of the strike. It would have been a good slogan at the beginning of the strike, but not now. After much discussion the following resolution moved by Joglekar, and seconded by Pendsi was passed, only one voting against.

“Resolved that the basis of negotiations by way of a counter proposal, should be on the basis of a minimum wage i. e. Rs 30/-

Dange moved an amendment that a counter scheme of rates and wages be prepared by the Party and that Joglekar and Pendsi take up the work of formulating the scheme.”

Joglekar proposed that Dange should be included in the Committee, which was agreed to unanimously, one dissenting.

Finally Dange was asked to draw up a circular asking other unions to give a certain amount every month for the paper ‘Kranti’

and on the papers undertaking to publish a column from each union every time.

The consideration of the question of the letter from D. B. Kulkarni, was put off till the following week.

The meeting terminated.

1/7/28

R. S. NIMBKAR

President

8th July 1928.

— Editorial Committee to be called immediately —

Against Rly men's new organisation—

Resolution that a cheaper place be found for the Party's office and that the G. K. Union be asked whether they would let us have the use of a part.

The meeting of the E. C. was held on Sunday the 8th July with Com. Nimbkar in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were confirmed, and the letter from the League against imperialism was read to the Committee, which was to be suitably replied to and filed. L

It was also decided that the secretary should call the Ed. Committee meeting immediately.

The applications for membership from R. V. Nadkarni, and C. G. Shah were considered. Mr. R. V. Nadkarni's application was deferred for some time, as it was contended that he had just started working in the Labour movement. C. G. Shah's application was accepted.

On the question of Railway men's organisation, the Committee decided that it would stand for one organisation and declared itself against any attempts to start rival Railway men's federation.

The consideration of D. B. Kulkarni's letter was deferred till Sunday the 15th inst; at which Mr. Kulkarni himself was to be asked to be present. It was also resolved that another place should be found for the Party's office, at a cheaper rent. The Girmi Kamgar Union was to be asked if they could let the party have a portion of their office, for the branch office of the Party in Parel.

The meeting terminated.

8/7/28

S. H. JHAB WALA

15/7/1928

President.

(1) Consideration of W. W. L.

Protest meeting agt landholdings bill etc.

Party members spoke.

(1) Nimbkar condemned the attitude of the Leaders-only-not the movement.

(2) Telegram saying that strikers were being utilised for breaking the movement.

Peasants' leader-Parvate to prepare a manifesto to be presented at the next meeting.

First meeting of Ed. Com. to meet on Tuesday 17th 9 a. m. at Parel Kranti office.—Mr. Mirajkar to be informed-application form for membership to be put up at the next issue.

Ed. Com. to send a circular for help to the Trade Unions. Strike situation and policy-arbitration to be rejected and court of inquiry if at all to be accepted.

Congress Elections-deferred.

Nadkarni's application to be put up at next meeting Sunday.

MEETING OF SUNDAY, 15/7/28

The E. C. met on Sunday 15th July, with Jhabvala presiding.

The minutes of the previous meeting were adopted.

The letter from the Workes Welfare League, asking information, regarding the party's attitude on the Bardoli question, as also for details re—the Taxtile strike in Bombay, was next taken up.

Com. Nimbkar explained that he had only condemned the apathy of the leaders towards the strike, & that he had not condemned the Bardoli movement as such. It was the publication of a report in the Chronicle, that the strikers, would be used by the Govt. against peasants, that had made Nimbkar, attack the leaders, for their mischievous propaganda against the strike. Com. Parvate was asked to prepare a manifesto of the Party on the Bardoli question to be placed before this meeting on the 22nd July. 28.

The secretary was asked to reply to the other points raised in the letter.

With regard to the letter of Mr. Kulkarni, the Party had already laid down that there would be no two unions in the same trade, and as such that it was opposed to any New organisation as against the Present A. I. Rly. Federation.

The manifesto that would be issued said Parvate, would clearly explain the Party's attitude on the Peasant question. He pointed out the lines on which the manifesto would be issued. But already the Party members had taken active part against the landholding Bill Land Revenue bill and Nagur Conference etc.

Next it was decided to call up the Ed. Committee meeting at Kranti office on the 17-7-28. Application form for party membership were to be published in the Kranti and the Editor was asked to issue a circular to the different unions, for assistance to the paper, while Com. Joglekar was asked to see that different unions considered the circular favourably.

The question of strike was then taken up. The E. C. was against any arbitration board for the settlement of the strike, but they had no objection to a Court of Enquiry, if any was suggested.

The question re congress committee Election was deferred.

The E. C. decided that Mr. Nadkarni's application should be considered at the following meeting of the E. C.

Regarding the question of amalgamation of Rly Unions, the T. U. group leader was asked to see that all the representatives attended the next meeting while amalgamation question would be taken up. It was also decided that even if S. C. Joshi did not want to unite, with the others, the 2 unions, should be amalgamated, and also to start propaganda against the anti-amalgamationists.

K. N. JOGLEKAR.

22/7/28.

President.

22/7/28

Nadkarni's application-

2 for 2 against (including President)- passed by casting vote Dange questions this decisions. Dange raised a point that Non-members should be asked to withdraw- President allows them to sit because they are members- and that they should not take part. Mr. Parvate to prepare a manifesto-

The workers and Peasants party heartily sympathises with the just cause of the S. I. Rly- men, and wishes them complete success in their Heroic struggle. It further emphatically condemns the Police terrorism, in shooting on the strikers.

Agreed that the Telegram be sent to the President. S. I. Rly strike committee- to Negapatam Mill strike- nothing new- to decide upon.

Amalgamation of 2 union in G.I.P. General and work men's Union meeting called on 2nd August.

Party members to try and stop ultimatum etc.

Sub committee be appointed to frame constitution of the Party with K. N. Joglekar, and S. A. Dange-

Reopening Nadkarni's application question- passed

The E. C. met on the 22nd July. Joglekar presiding.

Minutes of the previous meeting were adopted.

The application of Nadkarni was taken up. Two members voted against his membership, and 2 voted for, (which included the Chairman's vote) and Nadkarni's application was accepted with the casting vote of the President Dange questioned this decision saying that the president caused the tie. President ruled that it was in order. Dange requested the president, to ask non-members to withdraw- The president allowed them to sit in the meeting, but debarred them from taking any part in the meeting. At a later stage, Nadkarni's application question was reopened, his membership was accepted.

Mr. Parvate draft reply to Dutt's arguments was read and the question of the manifesto was taken up. Parvate, was asked to be ready with the manifesto for the next meeting. He was asked, to also condense the contents in the reply to Dutt's letter.

A resolution of sympathy with the S. I. Ry. men, was unanimously passed. The resolution ran as follows:

The W and P. Party heartily sympathises with the just cause of S. I. Ry men and wishes them complete success in their heroic struggle. It further emphatically condemns Police terrorism in shooting the strikers.

It was decided to send a Telegram to the President S. I. Ry-strike committee, at Negapatam.

With regard to the mill strike no new decisions were arrived at as the situation had not changed.

The question of G. I. P. amalgamation was discussed. Joglekar informed the house that the union had agreed upon amalgamation, and the meeting was called for the 2nd August. The Party members were asked to see that no ultimatum was sent to the agent, with regard to the impending strike on the G. I. P. as the withdrawal of the ultimatum in the part was sure to have had a bad effect on the men.

A Committee consisting of Com. Joglekar, and Dange was

appointed to draft the constitution and rules, of the Party.

22/7/28

R. S. Nimbkar

President.

The E. C. met on Thursday the 2nd Aug. instead of Sunday the 29th. Jhabvala presiding.

At the outset it was decided that an application form for membership of the Party, should be inserted in the "Kranti" in future.

The next question taken up was about the G. I. P. Railwaymen. The Committee was told, that a deputation was to meet the agent on the following day, on behalf of the amalgamated unions. They would be putting up combined demands before the agent.

It was decided that a month's time should be given to the agent for consideration of the combined demands, after which ballot would be taken for a decision regarding strike. In the meanwhile propaganda was to be carried on in favour of the demands.

The next question taken up was regarding the strike. It was reported by Nimbkar and Mirajkar. that Dange had made a statement at a workers meeting, which was contrary to the Party's policy regarding the strike. Dange contended that he was misreported after some argument it was decided that "No statement should be made by any party member, that is detrimental to the declared Policy of the Party, and if anyone had any suggestion to make, it should be first decided by a meeting of the E. C. Comrades Nimbkar and Mirajkar, were asked to prepare a statement, regarding the speech of Dange, above refered, to be placed before the E. C. on Sunday the 5th inst.

R. S. Nimbkar

12/8/28

President

4/8/28

Congress Election to be discussed every week.

Discussion on Municipal election.

Lalji Pends adopted for D ward, and Nimbkar and Mirajkar case to be considered later.

Meeting tomorrow 9 P. M.

S. V. Ghatе.

The E. C. met on Sunday the 12th instant, Nimbkar presiding.

The minutes of the Previous meeting were adopted and the accounts for June and July were passed.

Applications from B. R. Shinde and G. R. Kasale, were placed before the committee, and accepted.

The question of election to B. P. C. C. was taken up. It was decided to discuss this question every week from the following week.

Next question was re - Municipal Election. In view of the new situation, Mr. Nimbkar wanted to stand from Parel Ward, and leave the Girgaon Ward to Lalji Pendse, who was adopted as a party candidate from Girgaon ward. The question of adopting Nimbkar and Mirajkar from the other wards, was deferred.

The committee considered the question of the conference between the owners and the Jt Strike Committee convened by the Bombay Govt. It was decided that our representatives should demand a certain percentage on the weavers' wages, (30%) on the standardisation schemes, of the owners, and and that they should demand the raising of the wage of the spinners to a pre-wage - cut level.

R. S. Nimbkar

President

19/8/28

No reports - group

Letters from W & P of Bengal.

Trade Council and W & P to cooperate in carrying on a campaign to decide protest resolutions to be passed against this bill - by each union and trade union representative to enforce this resolution calling a conference by the first week of October. Party is intending to send some representatives to Simla, to create opposition to the Bill.

Letters to be sent to the M. L. A S requesting them to oppose the bill - Letter to reach Simla by 4th - All Non - official

What measures they should take to oppose the bill-

(1) giving them a copy of resolution which they should pass.

Should send copies of these resolutions to Govt. of India, T. U. C. and the Press.

Resolution to be drafted by K. N. JOGLEKAR.

Workers' and Peasants Party to issue a statement on Roy's letter - also C. P. At the mayor's conference to stick for a position of reiteration to Pre cut-wage level.

Congress

Joglekar, Pendse, and Nimbkar to be in a committee to manage B. P. C. C. Election.

Party candidates-

Jhabvala - F

Joglekar - C

Pendse - D

{ Mirajkar } G ward
{ Nimbkar }

Jhangir Patel - E

In the meanwhile Mirajkar should investigate into the possibilities of E. Ward.

A meeting of the E. C. was held on Sunday 19th instant Nimbkar Presiding.

The minutes of the previous meeting were adopted, after which reports were called for from different group leaders. No report was submitted.

Consideration was given to a letter from the E. C. of the Bengal W & P Party and it was decided that the Trades Council and the W & P Party should cooperate in carrying on a campaign against the Trade Dispute Bill.

A resolution was to be drafted by Bradley and Joglekar, to be circulated to different Union, to be adopted by them at their Protest meetings against Trade Disputes Bill. And it was decided that the Trade Union Representative should see that these resolutions were brought forward in the different unions. It was agreed that a representative conference, of all unions should be called in October first week for protest against the bill. The question of sending some Party man to Simla, to create opposition against this bill, was raised and since Joglekar was going to Simla in the following month, he was asked to carry on propaganda against the bill, amongst the members of legislature. A letter was to be addressed to the M. L. A S by the Party, on this bill, and to be sent to them before the opening of the Simla session on 4th.

The secretary was asked to reply to the Roy letter that

appeared in the papers, taking a stand that the letter was a fabrication.

A manifesto was also to be drafted against the Trades Disputes bill, to be presented at the next meeting of the E. C.

Discussion took place on the strike situation, but no definite decision was arrived at.

A Committee consisting of Pendse, Joglekar and Nimbkar, was elected, to look after the B.P.C.C. Elections.

The following names were adopted as the Party's candidates to contest the ensuing Municipal elections.

A Ward	..	None
B "	..	"
C "	..	Joglekar
D "	..	Pendse
E "	..	J. B. Patel
F "	..	Jhabvala
G "	..	Nimbkar and Mirajkar

The meeting terminated.

Lalji Pendse

President.

26/8/28

An urgent meeting of the E.C. was convened on the 22nd instant, at Kranti Office to consider the draft letter of terms and proposal that was passed by the Jt. strike committee in the morning. Joglekar presided.

The secretary stated that the letter was drafted by a Party member but latter withdrew the statement, apologising for the members concerned. He stated that the letter emanated from the S.I.S and was given to Dr. Deshmukh by Joshi. Nimbkar informed the committee as to how he came in Possession of the letter, at the informal discussion at the Mayor's office. At this stage Dange raised a point of order, asking if this could be considered, by the committee. The President ruled that the Draft being new matter should be discussed. The discussion centered round as to whether a Percentage should be demanded on the standardisation scheme, or if a precut wage should be demanded, after discussing the whole question on its merits the following resolution was adopted, for the guidance of the Party members, on the negotiations question.

"Resolved that in the course of the new negotiations that are going on, the Party decides on a compromise to be effected on securing Pre-cutwages and accepting the principle of standardisation scheme and to set up a committee of representatives from both parties to investigate and prepare the scheme in the course of a year".

The meeting then adjourned till the next day at 9 p.m. in the Party's office.

26-8-28

Lalji Pendse

President

The adjourned meeting of the E.C. was postponed till Sunday the 26th instant.

26-8-28.

S.V.Ghate

Matter of letter put off—Priority Criticism of members attitude.

The E. C. met on the 26th instant Nimbkar and Lalji Pendse were proposed and Lalji Pendse was elected to the Presidential chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were adopted.

Letter from Thengdi, Party's President was considered. It was decided to hold the E. C. on the 29th instant at 9 P. M. as desired by the President.

Letter from Mirajkar asking the secretary to convene a meeting of the Ed. Board of Kranti was considered, It was decided to call the meeting at night on the 27th instant at the Party's office.

Letter from S. A. Dange, resigning from his position of "The economist" of the Party on the Jt. strike committee was taken up. Dange's attitude on the question of negotiation came in for severe criticism from the members.

Priority at this stage for the 5th item on the agenda i. e. criticism of members, re. work done by them on Party's behalf, was asked for and given by the chairman. Dange was accused of having failed to adhere to the Party's policy, as decided at the E. C. meeting on the 22nd instant. He was also charged of not having placed before Party the result of his investigations into the standardisation scheme. Dange contended, that he had brought the papers on a particular day when the members had not turned up. After much discussion, the following resolution was adopted.

"Mr. Dange may be particularly requested to always conjure himself within the limits of the Party's decisions in all public positions, where he has been deputed by the Party to function, on its behalf, and lay before the Party all facts and figures concerned thereto whenever called upon."

Joglekar moved that this E. C. meeting is opinion that Mr. Dange has failed in his duty to supply the party with full details of standardisation scheme and has thereby done a great harm to the Party by keeping it in a position of uncertainty in the most important and responsible cause of the strike. It is further resolved that he now do keep all the facts and figures before the E. C. and help it to arrive at a right attitude in the negotiations in the settlement of the strike. The resolution was lost 1 voting for and 3 against.

The next resolution that Dange be asked to place before the house at its meeting on Monday 27th instant at 9 P. M. all the facts and figures he is in possession of re-standardisation scheme, to help the Party in arriving at a correct decision, was adopted.

Then the question of Dange's letter was taken up, and it was resolved that in view of the fact that negotiations had advanced to this stage, the resignation (from the position of Economist) of Dange could not be accepted and that Mr. Dange be asked to go on with the work, and unanimously agreed. The Draft manifesto on T. D. B. was discussed and adopted.

The meeting terminated and the next meeting fixed for the 27th instant at 9 P. M.

R. S. Nimbkar.

27-8-28.

President.

We prepare our own scheme.

The E. C. Met again on Monday on the ^{27th} 29th instant, Nimbkar Presiding.

After the adoption of the minutes of the previous meeting, Mr. Dange was called upon to explain the standardisation scheme, which he did, after considerable discussion, Mr. Joglekar, said that we should go back on our resolution of July 1st and prepare our own scheme, in consultation with the workers. Which was agreed upon. The question of demanding 1925 wages was therefore dropped.

Dange's resignation was then taken up. After some discussion the Chairman inadvertently tore the formal resignation of Dange, and, prepared a statement to that effect, which was taken up as his formal resignation.

It was decided to request Dange to reconsider his resignation.

After which the meeting terminated.

D. R. Thengdi.

President.

29-8-28.

29-8-28.

The E. C. met. on wednesday 29th August with comrade D. R. Thengdi presiding.

The minutes of the previous meeting were passed.

The question of Roy letter was again discussed, and the President wanted it to be made clear that the W & P was not a cover to the communist Party of India. He said that this particular point was not made out in the statement that was issued by the Party. Some members suggested that the question need not be reopened. After considerable discussion the following resolution was passed unanimously.

"Resolved that as there seems to be much misunderstanding about the aims and objects of our Party as a result of the consistent Propaganda carried on against us by our enemies the anglo-Indian Press, and the Govt henchmen, the aims and objects of the Party should be published through the Press and it should expressly be made clear that our Party has no organic connection whatsoever with the communist Party, which is a distinct Party existing in the country". Proposed by Joglekar and seconded by Dange.

The strike situation was explained by Nimbkar, as desired by the President.

Complaints were made regarding the non-receipt of 'Kranti' by E. C. members, and the secretary was asked to see that copies of Kranti were posted to the E. C. members.

Question of holding propaganda meeting against the Public safety Bill and the Trade disputes Bill, and it was decided to hold the meetings in conjunction with the congress Committees, meetings against these bills, the house having been informed that the Congress propaganda sub-committee was going to decide on this question on the 1st of september.

Dange raised the question of Hartal on the landing of the Simon Commission on 12th October. He thought that the conditions for a Hartal, were non-existent, as the Simon Commission had no more importance in view of the attitude of the other parties. The question was whether we should bring out the workers on a non-revolutionary Political issue.

Joglekar said that he wanted to take advantage of this landing for declaring a general strike on the Railways.

Later on it was suggested that this question should be discussed on or before the 16th September.

The question of Dock workers union was taken up and it was decided that Mirajkar should hand over the charge of the union to the usurpers.

Report correctly recorded.

D. R. Thengdi

2/9/28.

President.

30 The E. C. met on Sunday 2nd September Com. D. R. Thengdi, presiding.

Minutes of the previous meeting were adopted.

The strike situation was discussed at length, and as the situation had not changed since the previous week, it was decided to continue the strike as before.

The question of B. P. C. C. election was taken up, and the sub-committee promised to be ready with its report at the next meeting of the E. C. on the 9th instant.

The meeting dispersed.

S. A. Dange

9/9/28

President.

agreed that Joglekar is deputed to go to Simla—II—

31 The E.C. met as usual on Sunday 9th September, with Dange in the chair.

After the adoption of the minutes of the previous meeting, the sub-committee which was elected to look after B. P. C. C. Elections, was asked to submit its report. Com. Nimbkar on behalf of the sub-Committee stated that arrangements were being made by the committee for enrolling members to the Congress.

It was next decided that K. N. Joglekar who was going to Simla should be authorised by the Party to represent the Party at Simla, and that he should try to do propaganda against the Public safety Bill, amongst the M. L. As.

After some discussion about the strike situation the meeting terminated.

K. N. Joglekar

23/9/28

16/9/28

President

Adjourned till 2 P. M. Monday 17th Sept. 1928.

16/9/28

S. V. Ghate

Secretary.

K. N. Joglekar

23/9/28

Resolved that 1/2 yearly report of the Party working should be submitted to the E. C. by the end of October by all the group leaders.

The Party does not take initiative in the Simon Hartal, but would ally with the B. P. C. C. if it decided about Hartal.

The E. C. should meet in case of any need or so, Dange not to go to Lyallpur.

The sub. committee to do the work of Election.

The E. C. met on Sunday 23rd. September, Comrade Joglekar Presiding.

The question of Hartal at the time of the Simon Commission return was discussed and it was decided that the Party should not take any initiative in the Simon Hartal, but that it should ally with the B. P. C. C. if the B. P. C. C. decided on a Hartal.

The group leaders, it was decided should submit a half yearly report before the 31st of October, about the work done by their sections.

The strike situation was discussed at length, and it was decided that the Captain should pay more attention to Picketting which was being conducted rather in a lax manner.

As Danges going to Lyallpur at this juncture, would stand in the way of negotiations it was decided that he should not leave Bombay at this stage. It was decided that the E.C. should be called in case of emergency.

As the B. P. C. C. election, were approaching, the sub Committee appointed, it was decided should see that membership form etc. were submitted in time through different words.

The complaint of Alve against Nimbkar was taken up, and after the explanations from both the parties concerned, the question was dropped.

30/9/28.

K. N. JOGLEKAR,

14/10/28.

President.

Adjourned to 8. A. M. on Thursday 11th instant.

S. V. GHATE,

7-10-28,

Secretary.

K. N. JOGLEKAR,

14-10-28.

President.

Adjourned.

On the 11th 4 members came Joglekar, R. S. Nimbkar and Lalji and Mirajkar, attended in time for the meeting of the Executive as announced but the office being locked and the secretary being absent, the meeting was not held.

K. N. JOGLEKAR,

14-10-28.

President.

✓ That the workers and Peasants Party Bombay, be affiliated to the League against Imperialism -

Resolved that the E. C. recommends that this Party be affiliated to the L. A. Imperialism.

General body meeting to be called in the 2nd week of November.

Report of the B. P. C. C. Election.

30 Seats

R. S. Nimbkar

Joglekar

S. A. Dange

S. H. Jhabvala

Jhabvala President.

Jehangir Vice President

R. S. Nimbkar } Secretaries.
Lalji Pendse }

S. A. Dange Treasurer

E. C.

Ghate, Balubhai Desai, R. V. Nadkarni, Joglekar,

D. V. Kelkar, Alve, Krishna Iyer,

Mirajkar—Purandare, P. G. Sahisrabhudhe,

Shinde, K. G. Kulkarni - Gopal Kadam, Manibhai Desai - Thakkar -
Municipal elections

that the nationalist Municipal Party should be written to that and
the W. & P. members should not be opposed by them.

5 people to attend the Union.....

JT. COMMITTEE.

21-10-28.

Mr. Nimbkar Chairman

Question of union organisation -

Dange's Report.

T. U. Resolutions -

8 - 11 & 5 - 8.

Time for entries

Joglekar moves that the pledge of the Congress Nationalist
Municipal Party be signed by the W. & P. members with the
Proviso subject to the membership of W & P Party.

A letter should be written to Jhabvala - asking for an
explanation -

A meeting of the E. C. was held on the 14th instant Com.
Joglekar Presiding.

After the minutes of the previous meeting were passed, the
letter from the secretary of the League against Imperialism, asking
if this Party had decided to affiliate itself to the League. It was
resolved that this E. C. do recommend that the Party be affiliated
to the League. It was also decided that a meeting of the General
body, be called in the 2nd week of November.

The next question taken up was the report of the B. P. C. C.
election. About 30 seats were secured by the members or associates
of their Party out of a total of 75 seats. The question of officials
for the B. P. C. C. was then taken up.

The following names were suggested Jhabvala, as President,
J. B. Patel as Vice President, Nimbkar and Pendse as secretaries,
Dange as Treasurer. Names were suggested for the E. C. of 10
Party members.

The question of Municipal Election was then taken up.
It was decided that the Party members should contest the Election
on Party ticket only, and that the Nationalist Municipal Party

should be written to, that the Party members, should not be opposed by them, since the Party members, stood for the Congress creed.

The meeting terminated

R. S. Nimbkar

President

15/11/28.

A Meeting of the E. C. was held on the 21st instant, Nimbkar Presiding.

The report of Mr. Dange about the Union work was taken. He informed the E. C. that the Girni Kamnagar Union had decided to open 6 centres, with five Party members, in charge of each centre, and the other with an associate. It was decided that Party members should be at their posts for six hours daily 8—11 and 5—8 P.M.

Com. Nimbkar stated that the municipal workmens Unions had passed certain resolution to be sent to the T. U. C. at Jharia. According to the instructions from T. U. group leader.

The G. I. P. and B. B. Union also had passed resolution for the forth coming T. U. C.

The question of Municipal election was opened again. In view of the situation, Nimbkar opined that, it was necessary for the Party members, if they wanted to get elected at all, to sign the congress ticket without which they would be fighting against great odds.

It was resolved to change the resolution of the previous meeting, so as to allow the Party members to sign the Congress ticket, only one member dissenting.

Jhabvala's action in signing the form prior to this resolution, was taken exception to and the secretary was asked to write to Jhabvala, asking for his explanation.

The meeting terminated.

R. S. NIMBKAR,

President

15/11

28/10/28

Adjourned to Tuesday 29th at 9-30 P. M.

S. V. Ghatge

Secretary

Adjourned owing to the other members excepting Dange not being present in time 9-50 P. M.

S. V. Ghaté

30/10/28

R. S. N.

15/11

The meeting of the E. C. was held on Thursday the 15th November Comrade Nimbkar Presiding.

After the passing of the minutes of the previous meeting application for membership, from V. B. Purandare was taken up, and accepted.

Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad's letter for assistance for the forthcoming all India Workers and Peasants' Conference at Calcutta, was taken up. It was decided that he should be written to stating that while we could not promise any amount the party would be trying its best to send some amount towards the expenses.

The resignation letter from Jhabvala was taken up. Before coming to a decision on his resignation it was decided to demand from Jhabvala an explanation re-the allegations against the party that he had made in his letter of resignation.

The following points amongst others were to be mentioned- His curious position, of vice president of two unions and president of one third Union, all amongst mill workers his intrigues against Party members, his conduct in connection with the Russian money, his refusal to pay 1500, from G. I. P. Union inspite of its having been passed for payment, sabotaging workers interests by trying to control more unions than he could attend to, putting down the able men, and being the editor of all papers, general apathy against the party and anti party propaganda since the settlement of the strike.

The question of organisation of Girni Kamgar union was taken up. The secretary charged the Party members in charge of different centres, of having neglected their task comrade Nimbkar denied that he had ever neglected his work, which was contradicted. Nimbkar stated that he had successively 8 days at his centre which statement was challenged by the secretary. Nimbkar promised to prove his statement.

Joglekar said that he could not do more than what he was doing.

Dange stated that owing to uncertain atmosphere it was necessary that all Party members, should give more attention to the centres, than they were doing hitherto.

The meeting then terminated.

D. R. Thengdi

7/12/28.

President

S. V. G.

25/11/28

Adjourned, since no members turned up except Lalji Pendse.

S. V. Ghate

2. 45 P. M. 25/11/28

Secretary.

D. R. Thengdi

Dt 7-12-28

The meeting of the E. C. was held on the 7th of December Com. Thengdi presiding. The minutes were read and confirmed and the application of S. V. Deshpande, and Khanderao Desai, were accepted.

It was decided that Dange should stay in Bombay to look after the Girni Kamgar Union affairs, while the other members were absent at Jharia and Calcutta.

It was also decided that com. Kulkarni should be put up as a party candidate for the Presidentship of the T. U. C. party members were to refrain from contesting the election of Delegates for Geneva, and to vote against affiliation to I. F. T. U.

The meeting terminated.

R. S. Nimbkar

Chairman

13/1/29

In view of the fact that the annual meeting is coming of shortly, that it be postponed—Dange proposed that the resignation be accepted on the ground that he went against the Party's decision.

That Parvate and Mirajkar, Patel be asked to state whether they are willing to work on the E. C. as they are absent generally

Adhikari,

Sumant

Randive

question of Party members in the Girni Kamgor Union.

13/1/29

A meeting of the E. C. was held on Sunday with Com. Nimbkar Presiding. After the confirmation of the minutes of the previous meeting, the resignation of Com. Thengdi from his presidential position was taken up. It was suggested that the question be postponed till the Annual General meeting, which would come of shortly. Dange proposes that the resignation be accepted forthwith on the ground that the president had gone against Party decision at Jharia. The secretary informed the house that the President had adhered to the Party's decision, and as such Dange withdrew his proposal and the question was to be brought before the annual general meeting.

It was decided that coms Parvate, J. Patel, and mirajkar, be written, to, asking as to why they were absenting themselves from the E. C. meetings generally.

Nextly applications for membership from Adhikari Sumant and Randive, were put before the meeting, and they were admitted to the membership of the Party.

The question of the communal differences that had arisen in the Girni Kamgar Union was next taken up. Com. Alve admitted that he had met Javalkar, but that he had never asked him to take up the lead in the movement, but as far as he was concerned, he said that he would not be influenced by this communal movement.

Kasle stated that since Dange engaged some non-working class clerks, this question had cropped up. He also objected to Dange's attitude on the settlement made by Kasle and Alve, with the Bradbury Mills.

He also referred to the attempt of the office clerks to make a union.

Dange stated that he had not gone against nor did speak against the agreement arrived at between Kasle, Alve and Bradbury mill authorities.

It was finally decided that Javalkar should not be allowed in the union meeting, and that members should not fight over this communal question.

The next question taken up was about acquainting some other party man, with regard to the Union so that we would be ready to take up the union affairs, if Dange were arrested.

Com, Pendse wanted the deletion of the clause that prevented the party members from standing as Congress candidates. Mirajkar opposed the suggestion, while Bradley, wanted the withdrawal of the Party candidates from municipal election. Finally it was

decided that the Party members should contest the election, on the Party ticket only.

Com. Joglekar raised the question of Nimbkar's resignation of his secretaryship of the Municipal workmen's union, which was put off for the following meeting. The E. C. adjourned to meet again on Tuesday 15th at Kranti office.

20/1/29.

S. A. Dange

The adjourned meeting of the E. C. came off on Tuesday, Com. Joglekar Presiding. As the minutes were not ready, it was decided to have them at the next meeting.

Com. Joglekar was asked to give his report on the Jharia Congress and since he was not ready with it, he was asked to submit a written report. Com. Nimbkar state that he was not informed about submitting his report, and stated that he would be ready with it at the next meeting. The T. U. group leader was asked to contradict the Jharia Congress report that appeared in the Nawa Kal.

The question of contradicting Jhabvala's statement that appeared in the papers, was taken up and Dange was asked to prepare a reply and submit it to the Party before publication.

The communal question came up for discussion again. Dange asked if it should be taken up in Kranti. The E. C. decided that only theoretical discussion should be taken up without any personal attacks and to emphasise the clear point in our paper.

Suggestions were made re—enlargement of Kranti and Adhikari was asked to assist Dange, Nimbkar stated that Jhabvala had brought the communal question in the Municipal workmen's union and he thought, that by resigning he could have exposed Jhabvala's incapacity. The E. C. thought this was wrong method, and laid it down that no Party member should withdraw without the Party's sanction.

Nimbkar then gave a statement regarding the oil strike situation. The strikers were in need of money, and Party members should try to help them, through unions where they had influence. Ginwala had refused to hand over the money that was standing in the name of a new defunct Petroleum Co. worker's union.

The meeting terminated.

20-1-29

S. A. Dange

Chairman.

The letter would be sent tomorrow.

Send Sumant to Baglaure.

A meeting of the E. C. was held on the 20th Jan. Com. Dange Presiding.

After the passing of minutes, Com. Nimbkar gave an oral report of the happenings at the Calcutta Congress and promised to give a copy of written report, which he would be submitting to the All India W & P. Party.

The next question taken up was the question of Lenin day celebration on the 21st. Dange stated that since no propaganda was done there was no use of holding a meeting in the working class area. But it was decided that meeting should be held amongst the workers as well as in Girgaon. The Girgaon meeting was to be held on the 21st while another meeting in Parel was to be held on the 28th Jan. Handbills etc. were to be issued.

The meeting terminated.

K. N. JOGLEKAR.

3-2-29

President.

A meeting of the E. C. was held on Thursday 30th instant, Com Nimbkar Presiding.

The report of Com. Sumant on Bassein was submitted to the E. C.—Discussion centred on the point as to whether the Party was in a position to take up the lead of such movements. There was no use of assisting sporadically. It was thought desirable that we should establish our influence amongst the Peasantry, and in view of the Peasant leader of Bassein who was coming to Bombay, a committee consisting of Dange, Joglekar, Pendse, Sumant and others from Bassein to discuss these matters.

Discussion then took place regarding the Party policy on Girni Kamgar Union. Dange stated that he was creating a bloc against Kastle's intrigue. Joglekar stated that the creation of Bloc was a wrong policy. It was decided to make vigorous propaganda in affected areas, and keep the rank and file with us. The Policy of completely isolating the centre was not approved of.

It was decided to draft the most class conscious Workers into the Party. Adhikari was asked to up the members of the Committee into our ideology.

The discussion on municipal elections was postponed till a later date.

When Mirajkar was to be present.

The meeting terminated

K. N. JOGLEKAR

3/2/29.

3-2-29

President

3/2/29

1. Admission of Fernendey—
2. Withdrawal of members from Independence League
circular to be issued to members for withdrawing from
the League.

3. The G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union. Joglekar's report. Jhabvala refused to obey the decision of the Committee which authorised Joglekar to go on the lines. Jhabvala's obstructive facts—

(1) The Main question—

1. How to fight Jhabvala—
2. Whether he should be forced out of the Union if possible—
3. If possible, who is to replace him.
4. Whether Party can finance them even temporarily.

The question of Mirajkar, should be taken up when Mirajkar is present. Mirajkar should be specially asked to be present.

200 copies of Kranti should be circulated amongst the G.I.P. workshopmen—

If the split is to come, Jhabvala should be forced to deny a correct policy.

Election to the Municipality—

Electoral Labour college.

Members

B. B. - 31 + 4 + 8 = Shinde should be made a candidate & Cooperation of Bakhle to be sought—or if Bakhle promises cooption, it should be agreed. Question of Labour Commission to be opened at the next meeting.

OVER

17/2/29

DANGE-CHAIRMAN

1. Minutes of last meeting to be ready at the next meeting.
2. (1) No definite and clear laid Policy in the first hand bill.
(2) Usmani thought that the G. K. U. looked as if it was a Hindu body—Muslims should have been taken on the Executive. Many things done by individuals like

feudal chieftains. Any sort of instructions given—No definite control of the Volunteers.

- (3) Even after Wednesday when definite decision was taken, the Party members were hesitating to carry out the Policy. Failure of individual members in his being absent on the 11th which caused the closure of a large number of mills. 8th and 9th Feb. Party members did not insist on urging the members to keep to their work on both these days. Some sort of looseness was allowed to grow.

Criticism of individual member's policy On Friday Spring Mills and Kohinoor and Maneckji Petit closed—Mills Saturday—Panicky condition of the Party members resulting in indecision—Nimbkar and Dange Party members failure to stick to the usual routine work—

1. Lal Bag centre uncared for—Mirajkar
2. Ferguson—Nimbkar
3. Delisle Rd—Joglekar, Kasle
4. Party showed a Hindu bias—in all handbills
5. many of the decisions of the Party were hurried, arrived at in a Panic-hesitation—throughout the riot deliberately failed to carry out the decisions including our decision.
6. Question of arming of centres. No propaganda against this.

What the Riots have revealed.

Basis of the organisation itself.

The factory committees aren't functioning properly.

Anticipation.

Bradley's statement

Irrespective of the rumour ask the Workers to go back to work.

Attack on the union by Pathans—instead of union men on Pathans.

Whether we could have foreseen from the oil strike affair, that the situation was going to develop into Hindu Muslim riot.

It could not be foreseen that Pathan trouble could develop into a religious riot—On Monday—

2. Remedy—Propaganda.

Having no Muslim workers weakened our position in fighting

Lack of organisation ?

Adjourn

Kranti Question Committee suggested of Adhikari, Deshpande and Dange arranging sales, advt, etc.

(cost)

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

P. 1345.

The following resolution was adopted at the meeting of the executive committee of the Worker's and Peasant's Party, Bombay held on 1st. July. 1928.

"That this meeting of the E.C. of the Worker's and Peasant's Party, Bombay protests against the several resolutions passed at the Council meeting of the All India Trade Union Congress, at Delhi on the 26th. February, on the grounds that these resolutions being of vital importance to the Indian workers cannot be passed by the Council of the full Congress meeting of the All India Trade Unions.

The nature of these resolutions renders them inoperative unless they are also accepted by corresponding British or International organisations. We therefore repudiate them in their entirety.

We realise that if these resolutions are allowed to pass unnoticed there is a great danger that their consequences will be a dangerous weapon in the hands of our enemies, both inside and outside India.

We therefore emphatically declare these to be null and void until such time as the next All India Trade Union Congress has had the opportunity to express its opinion upon them. We also desire to inform the Central Council of the British Trade Union Congress that the resolution appointing them, and displacing the Worker's Welfare League of India, as the Agent of the All India Trade Union Congress was passed at a meeting where only nine out of fifty-eight possible organisations were represented, and which was attended by two representatives of the British Trade Union Congress, who went far beyond the ordinary etiquette expected from fraternal delegates, whilst there was none present to put the alternative point of view.

Realising that the British Trade Union Congress is growing ever more intent upon furthering the political programme of the Imperialist British Labour Party, and consequently ever less intent upon fighting the struggle of the workers either in India or in Britain we repudiate the claim and pretension that they are a fit and proper body to act as our agents and refuse to adopt this unnatural and dishonest means of severing our long-standing bond with the Workers' Welfare League of India.

Sd/- S.V. Ghate.

Secretary.

Workers' Peasants' Party office.

17 Dwarkadas Mansions. Girgaon.

12 th. July 1928.

On the back of this printed leaflet there are certain names written in ink with certain figures against each name, probably showing the subscriptions paid by them on certain dates. The following names are important:—

D.R. Thengdi.	S.V. Ghate.	S.S. Mirajkar.
K.N. Joglekar.	R.S. Nimbkar.	S.A. Dange.
P. Spratt.	S.H. Jhabwalla.	G.A. Adhikari.

P. 1346.

Tele. Address: "GANAVANI" Calcutta.

Workers' and Peasants' Party of India.

2/1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta.

Bengal Provincial Branch.

January 22 1929.

Organs:
"Ganavani"

(Bengali Weekly)

"Lal Nishan"

(Hindi Weekly)

My dear Ghate,

Your letter is to hand. I received Rs. 500/- by a telegraphic M.O. on Saturday last.

No instruction was sent with it. I was about to make over the money to com. Spratt thinking that the same was meant for him. But on the second thought I preferred to wait for instruction. Had I not done so it would have been very hard with me. I do not understand why you people are so very loose in your action. I have, however, asked Radha Raman Mitra to call a meeting of the workers. I shall make over the money to him in presence of the strikers. No relief is possible with such a small amount of money. But it will be helpful in conducting the cases against the workers.

There are many pending. I shall let you know, if another sum of Rs 500/- is necessary. on Saturday last a big demonstration passed through Calcutta streets to protest the arrival of Simon Commission. Our Party took the most prominent part in it. We came out with red flags and party slogans in black and white. Aftab and another member, were arrested on the spot for carrying a poster inscribed with "Long live the Revolution." They were released on personal recognisance. No charge has been framed against them. The Police is waiting for the Govt. instructions. Lenin-day meetings were pratty successful. I shall send a long report to our boss, the General Secretary who perhaps is not functioning as yet. At least there is no sign of it.

Ajudhya is here.

With greetings

Yours fraternally

Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 1347.

Received

Receipt No. 1542 D/- 14th June 1927 passed by Thos. Cook & Sons Ltd. to Mr. R. Spatt, in respect of one hold-all, one trunk and two leather suit cases, received by them for storage as per usual conditions.

P. 1348.

A file headed "Workers' and Peasants' Party." Copies of Resolutions and Manifestos issued by the W and P. Party, Bombay, and containing Exhibits Nos. 1348 (1) to 1348 (50).

P. 1348. (1) *Rejected.*

To Party Members Only M. S.

To The Members of the Strike Committee.

"A review of the workers' unrest in the country,"

To

The leaders of the Labour Movement.

Comrades,

I am attempting here in the following brief survey of the various forms of Labour Struggle in the country. To bring before you the lessons which are visible on the surface and which should be taken as a guide to our future struggle for workers emancipation. It should not be noted at the outset that these different forms of unrest are only seeds for future revolution and therefore these first anticipations should be watched and tended with the utmost caution and care. The chief characteristics of these forms of unrest are that they are scattered without any visible contact between them, that they are all disjointed and they show in coordination under a common leadership and control. But a general wave of unrest is passing over the country and this is a fact of the first rate importance for future struggle. Superficial leadership may just content with few crumbs for the dissatisfied, Cerberus and get disheartened by defeat which is always inevitable in the present days of unequal strength and endurance. But this sort of mentality ought not to overtake us, but we should go on carefully and tactfully till the goal is reached.

The first serious defect which appears to me in the conduct of these strikes and look-outs now in progress is that intense craving for compromise is visible in the minds of our leaders, and negotiations are set afoot in pursuance of this sort of mentality. For instance in the beginning of the Bombay mill strike, this sort of mentality was too apparent. The admission of petty bourgeois leadership into the conduct of this great upheaval was fatal to the subsequent progress of it. The farcical leadership which characterises Liluah lockout has become a course to the beautiful behaviour of the 14000 Railway men of the E. I. Ry. Bluff, Bluster and Braggart characterised this leadership from the very beginning and it is feared the end of the gallant stand of the Liluah heroes is perhaps near. The Scavengers' strike at Calcutta was also tainted with this craving and the settlement was made to be unsettled as soon as the strike was off. This has necessitated a second strike which is now in progress. The historic failure at

Khargpur was the direct result of the compromising spirit evinced by a section of its leadership. Even the partial success that is the payment of lockout wages of 9 lakhs was due entirely to the uncompromising tendency of the other section of its leadership which never faltered at any movement of the 2½ months of struggle. The coming struggles in S. I. Ry. and G. I. P. Ry. are coming too late on account of the same tendency and it is also apprehended that they will also share the same fate unless carefully handled. This must be understood by our comrade Jhabwala who is likely to lead the coming Great Indian Railway struggle. And lastly the lockout of 20000 men at Jamshedpur should candidly be admitted that this gigantic struggle was launched without any preparation. No fund, no union, nothing to rely on. No doubt this is the universal characteristic of all Indian unions. But here it is hopeless. I simply put this question - how long this emotional determination to hold out will stand? The Jute mill strikes sprang up like mushrooms and vanished likewise without leaving any trace upon the general movement.

Summarising the above, we may say that the initiative for compromise, settlement and other strike breaking monsters, taken on behalf of labour was destructive of the fair progress of the struggles now in progress all over the country. In this connection, I have to note with regret that any observations on the necessity of a mobile committee to coordinate these various forms of unrest for a common end was not given that attention which it deserved. The other serious defect is that these leaders look upon their respective struggles as disconnected, disjointed, inorganised moves in a chessboard and this view has been suicidal for unity of action. Each struggle interests its own leader, as separate from the rest of the struggles in the country. This vicious parochial view has to be destroyed without pity or remorse before our party can make any headway in the country. The counter moves of the employers in the form of trusts, combines and syndicates ought to have opened the eyes of these leaders for a large vision of these movements. Nay, nearer home, the common attack launched upon all Indian workshop men in the guise of retrenchment which is slowly aimed at the destruction of Railway Unions, should have brought all the Railway Unions in the country for a common united front, but alas! the stupidity of this sort of leadership has been so profound that it is now more than 10 ten months since this offensive was launched at Khargpur, Liluah, S. I. Ry. G. I. P. Ry etc., and yet this leadership is in profound slumber. The danger is growing; defeat one after another is certain, but fatality reigns supreme in the minds of these men. Would they aware?

No doubt, compromise at a certain stage may be welcome, but in every Indian strike or lockout, this has been kept in the forefront to the utter demoralisation of the rank and file. Expectancy of a settlement in the course of a struggle has been the bane

of a strike which would have otherwise ended with at least partial success. Once you begin challenging the employer, it is cowardice to expect or court for a compromise or settlement at any time, unless the tendency for it is forthcoming from the employer himself. In the beginning of a great fight no quarter can be expected on either side but to raise expectation of any such step is foolish. I think this must suffice to bring home to the minds of our Comrades a few of the salient points which ought to be borne in mind in the successful conduct of these struggles.

Yours in Comradeship

M. Singaravelu.

P. 1348 (2)

REPORT OF THE PROPAGANDA GROUP.

The members of the Party attended the last All Parties' Conference held at Bombay and participated in the proceedings of the Conference. Mr. S. A. Dange in a vigorous speech made it clear to those present that the conference was nothing but a mere farce.

The accredited representatives of the Party ultimately voted against the resolution of electing a Committee to draft the future constitution in accordance with the Party mandate.

It was however necessary while voting on that proposition to make clear the position of the Party and clearly point out what it stood; for that being not done then, a statement why the Party representatives voted against the resolution was issued to the press,

The Party members are enthusiastically busy with the strike work in Bombay and doing everything in their power to make the struggle a success.

Our Party member Comrade Spratt is conducting the strike of the Railway workers at Lillooha with the assistance of the Bengal Comrades. Comrade Joglekar has been steadily organising the Railway workers on the G. I. P. lines and at Bhusaval. Comrades Jhabvala and Joglekar successfully organized the Railway-men's

Conference at Bhusaval recently. Our influence is slowly and steadily increasing amongst the G. I. P. Railwaymen.

The other Unions' activities are proceeding well,

S. S. MIRAJKAR.

Record.

P. 1348 (3).

Poona City, 4th April, 1928.

My dear Ghatge,

I have received your notice for a meeting of the E. C. I. I should have been pleased, had you kindly given me an inkling into the agenda, so that I should have sent you my opinions on by post. I hope you will kindly do that in future for my sake.

I am sorry, I did not hear from you if you have taken the charge of your work from Mr. Mirajkar. Kindly do let me know the result of my letter on the subject.

There is a proposal by the proprietors of the "Swaraj" paper that they are willing to help the reappearance of our journal "Kranti". Their estimate is Rs. 40/- for the first thousand and Rs. 15/- only for the next thousand, per week. The paper will be 8 pages of the size of the present "Swaraj". Out of which 6 columns will be advertisements, and 18 cols matter. I should like the E.C. to consider this proposal let me know the result of their deliberations. If you can effect actual sales by hawking a 1000 or 1200 in Bombay at 9 pices per copy you will be able to pay for it. The paper will be printed here and sent to you to reach in the morning.

Hoping to hear from you early.

I am yours fraternally,

D. R. THENGDI.

P. 1348 (4).

Telegrams: THENGDI ENGINEER, POONA.

D. R. THENGDI.

A.B.C. Code 5th Edn. Used.

ENGINEER.

POONA CITY.

LABOUR & EMPLOYMENT OFFICE.

(BRITISH INDIA).

Date 3rd April 1928.

My dear Ghaté,

Your letter of the 1st. inst. to hand. They will shall be done. I do not however hope to get any news from the jail authorities. I am however going to try.

You may have read in the Kasery of today that "they" are going to hold the 1st conference of Peasants and workers in C. P. at Nagpur, under the presidency of Pandit J. Neheru, or Mr. N. M. Joshi, or Mr. Giri. The Chairmen, R. C. is one Mr. Pardhan who is a rank communalist and does not understand a bit of labor movement. I feel this a move, on the part of the moderate labor leaders to capture the name acquired by the P. and W. party. I would not have been sorry for their move had I not anticipated that their move will adulterate the real spirit of the movement. Kindly therefore let me know if our party is going to take part in it. Is this conference being held under your initiative or independent of you.

You may have read the names of labour representatives for the Geneva conference, selected by the government. What do think of that? Hoping you all are doing well.

I am yours

Fraternally,

D. R. THENGDI

Do acknowledge the receipt of my letters. D.

P. 1348 (5).

The Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal.

2-1 EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE,

ORGAN:

Calcutta, April 4, 1928.

GANAVANI;

(Bengali Weekly)

The Secretary,

THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF BOMBAY

17, Dwarkadas Mansions, Sandhurst Road,

BOMBAY No. 4.

Dear Comrade,

At the Annual Conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal on the 31st March and the 1st April a sub-committee consisting of me and Comrades Dharani Kanta Goswami, N. Roy and Abdul Halim was appointed to represent the Party in making arrangements to form the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India and to hold an All-India Conference in December next. I believe such a committee was also appointed by your Party at its last Annual Conference. Please do communicate to this office the names and addresses of those comrades who are constituents of this sub-committee.

Yours fraternally

MUZAFFAR AHMAD

General Secretary.

To send a reply — Replied.

S. V. G.

P. 1348 (6).

Bombay Trades Council.

C/O The Bombay Municipal Workmens'

Union. Improvement

Trust Chawls,

Foras Road, Bombay, 8.

Bombay, 9th April 1928.

To.

The HON. SECRETARY,

The Workers and Peasants Party

BOMBAY.

Dear Comrade

The Bombay Trades Council wants to organise the coming May Day Celebration, on a very large scale. I am sure, you are aware of importance of this day, of an international character. May I request you, on behalf of the Council, to move your committee to actively participate in this celebration. Hoping you treat this as urgent.

Yours comradely.

R. S. NIMBKAR

Jt. Hon. Secretary.

P. 1348 (7).

(Manuscript sheets containing notes of Meetings).

(1)

AGENDA.

- (1) Minutes of last meeting.
- (2) Monthly statement of a/c.

(3) Consideration of C. K. Narayanswamy's conduct at the B. P. C. C.

(4) Application of A.C. Parekh to be sent Congress Meeting. Constitution differed.

(5) Group Reports.

(6) May-day celebrations.

(7) Annual Report Printing. Referred for Quotations.

(8) Election of members to the E. C. of the All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party.

(New meeting of E. C.)

(9) Any other business with the permission of the Chair. President, Secretary, Dange, Bradley to form a Committee for constitution.

S. V. Ghate.

1/4/28.

Secretary.

Report of the Sub-Committee appointed by the E. C. to submit a report on the question of putting up candidates for the ensuing Municipal Elections in Bombay.

See next
No 9 & 11

The Committee consisted of Coms. D. R. Thengdi, S. V. Ghate and B. F. Bradley, who were asked to submit a report within the 15th of April 1928.

Com. D. R. Thengdi was informed by letter of his nomination in the Sub-Committee, and he submitted his opinion through a letter which he sent to the Secretary.

R E P O R T.

We have considered the question of putting up our Party Candidates for the ensuing Municipal Election in Bombay.

The considerations mainly revolved round the following three heads, viz :

(1) Whether it was advisable to put up Party Candidates.

(2) Whether it was frittering away our energy in a useless direction while there were more important problems before the Party;

(3) the number of Candidates the Party can reasonably put up for election.

On the first question we were of opinion that it was advisable for the party to put up its own candidates, wherever it was possible, without seriously interfering with the party's main work. We think

that the Party should try to secure 2 or three seats in the Corporation, where certain amount of propaganda can be done amidst the petty Bourgeois section. It may not bear much weight at the outset but the Corporation can be used to a certain extent as a "loud speaker" for the Party. While arriving at this conclusion we have in mind certain situations that may arise, as the one, when the Municipal workshopen went on strike and when it was found very difficult to find anyone to move an adjournment motion. There is reason to believe that such situations may increase in future and the Party's men can do some work in this direction. Labour questions have always been disregarded in the Corporation till now and some useful work is possible by criticism from on members in the Corporation.

The point whether at this stage of the Party's development with a very few organisers, putting up candidates would not mean frittering away the energies of the Party in a doubtful direction, were also considered by us. It is obvious that the Party should direct its attention more and more towards Trade Union organisation. And if we put all our man-power, with the limited number of organisers it would certainly mean wasting of our energies. But this problem can be solved by limiting the number of Candidates to a minimum necessary on the first consideration.

✓ And the minimum number of candidates would be two.

We therefore think that the party can nominate two candidates only, who should stand for election to the Corporation. Consideration must be taken of such Candidates' chances in getting elected.

Com. Thengdi wrote that it was necessary to make this a Party question.

S. V. Ghatē

Secretary.

✓ Nimbkar proposed

Dange

Ghate

Spratt

Passed. (to be given to the papers)

AGENDA.

8/4/28.

- (1) Minutes.
- (2) Correspondence and Bills.
- (3) Election of All India Party (Provincial) Executive members.

- (4) Question of Municipal Election.
- (5) Reports of Groups (*written reports must be submitted*)
- (6) Bakhle's Representation at Ghent Congress.
- (7) Attention of Propaganda Section to contradict or explain or comment views, announcements etc. in the Anti Party Press to be drawn.
- (8) Framing a Constitution of the Party

Point—1. That the Party agrees to contest elections.

2. Minimum 4 seats to be contested in the four wards of C. D. F. G.

3. (1) Jhabvala—G.—Ward.

(2) Alve—F. ”

(3) Joglekar—C. ”

(4) Nimbkar—D. ”

—oO—

Finances are left to the individual candidates and Party is not to incur any expenses on that.

Manifestos, programmes of Party Candidates should be submitted and sanctioned by the E.C. of the Party before publication.

Candidates not to stand on joint ticket.

—O—

That the Secretary try to arrange co-operation with Trades Council, Prov. Trade Union Congress and the Party in connection with the May—Day.

Passed.

P. 1348 (8).

229, Sadashiva Peth, Poona-City,

D/ 28th March, 1928.

Dear Comrade Ghate,

Your letter of 26th inst. to hand.

I approve of your activity in running candidates for the

coming election of the Bombay corporation, on behalf of the workers. But you should not run them in the name of the party. Voters association should be organized by you, who should be made to run the candidates on your program. In fact if an association can be formed for specific purposes, such as T.U. work, Coop activity, Municipality activity, under your leadership, it should be formed and the work should be done in their name under your guidance and your principles.

2. I propose that a congratulatory letter should be sent to the National Trade Union Centres of Egypt and Guatemala, that have been newly inaugurated.

3. Please let me know the considered opinion of your E. C. if they mean that the statements of the party and its "Slogans" are to be adhered to under all circumstances. In case they do, I wish them to be more careful in making them in future, to avoid embarrassment. This is my personal suggestion without any aspersions.

I hope you are doing all the correspondence that is required for carrying out the resolutions of the last Conference.

Please let me know if the work of drawing up the report of the last Conference in sections, is going on well or not.

Hoping you are doing well,

I am yours fraternally,

D. R. Thengdi.

(Written in manuscript)

To

The S. E. (Municipal) R.S.N. 1-4-28.

P. 1348 (9).

Rejected.

A piece of paper having the following letter written on it:—

From the N.R.P.I.

To

S. V. Ghatе, Secretary
W. & P. Party
Bombay.

You have to pay me bill for typing.

- 1 Report on canton Pp. 9.
- 2 Party Thesis on Attitude P.p 9.
- 3 Party's report. 6.

Charges have been already reported to you while giving delivery of the matter.

Yours

S. A. Dange.

6-4-25.

Bill for—Rs. 4/-

for two copies of No. 1 }
" five " " " 2 } Total 93 pages typed.
" five " " " 3 }

P. 1348 (10) A.

A piece of paper containing the following matter:—

To

The Secretary,
Workers' and Peasants Party.

Dear comrade,

I am enclosing herewith Kesari Bill, as also bills for printing hand bills during mill strike last September.

Yours fraternally,

K.N. Joglekar.

- (1) Kesari Bill—Explanations from Mirajkar.
- (2) Hand bills—Await spratts' return.

P. 1348 (10) B.

B. DATTARAM & Co.,
Advertising agents.

Office:—
Old commercial
museum building.
Girgaon, Bombay.

Grant Road.
Bombay, 27th March 1923.

K. N. Joglekar, Esqr.

168 Phanaswadi, Bombay 2.

Dear Sir,

You may be remembering that you had placed with us an order to print the advt. of the Kranti in the Kesari of Poona and a bill for Rs. 30/- was sent to the Kranti office which is as yet outstanding. Will you kindly arrange to pay us this amount as we have to clear our dues which are long outstanding.

Your favourable & immediate attention to this will highly oblige. Thanking you

Yours Faithfully,

Sd/. Illegible.

P. 1348 (10)

A receipt for Rs. 17/- passed by Mr. D.G. Savarkar, manager, Shradhdhanand Mudranalaya, Girgaon, Bombay, to K.N. Joglekar of the Workers' and Peasants' Party. The receipt No. is 15 and is dated 13-1-28.

P. 1348 (10) D.

Rejected.

Bill No. 17 dated 13-1-28 for Rs. 17/- submitted by Shrad-dhanand Mudranalaya, Bombay, to K. N. Joglekar, Esqr. of the -Workers' and Peasants' Party, in respect of 5000 copies of hand-bills headed "Public Warning to the Mill Labours".

P. 1348 10 E.

Rejected.

Receipt No. 373 dated 17th January 1928. Passed by the manager of the New Art and Litho Works, to K. N. Joglekar Esqr. in respect of Rs. 18/- being part payment of bill No. 451.

P. 1348 10 F.

Rejected.

Bill No. 451 dated 17th January 1928, for Rs. 30/- submitted by the New Art and Litho Works, Bombay to K. N. Joglekar Esqr. in respect of 3000 copies of certain hand-bills.

P. 1348 11.

A Typewritten copy of "Resolution on organisation"

(Vide Exb. P. 832.)

To

The Secretary Workers' & Peasants' Party.

REPORT OF THE TRADE UNION GROUP.

The T. U. Gr. of the Workers and Peasants Party was formed at the inaugural meeting of the Party along with other groups. Mr. K. N. Joglekar was elected the leader of the group. In all eight members of the party have shown their desire to work in this Group. (1) Mr. K. N. Joglekar (Group leader), (2) Mr. Lalji Pendse, (3) Mr. D. R. Mayekar, (4) Mr. S. V. Ghaté, (5) Mr. S. S. Mirajkar, (6) Mr. Phirozdin, (7) Mr. S. H. Jhabawala, (8) Mr. D. R. Thengdi. Of these Mr. Joglekar, Mr. Mayekar, Mr. Jhabwala and Mr. Thengdi were already in the Trade Union Work before the Group was formed. They have since then also continued their activity. Mr. Joglekar and Mr. Mayekar are in the Textile Union (Something written in Marathi) and the Union activity is satisfactorily going on. This Union sent its delegates to the last A. T. U. Congress and chiefly contributed to the success of the party in the T. U. Congress floor. Messrs Ghaté, Mirajkar and Joglekar were the important party men put forth by this Union on the A. I. T. U. C. floor. This Union is also conducting the vernacular paper Kamakari for which two of our party men Mr. Joglekar and Mr. Mayekar are working.

Mr. Joglekar has been engaged in the formation of "the Bombay Press Workers Union", and this Union has been successfully organised on the 6th of March last and its position is slowly being worked up and it is completely under the control of our party. Mr. Joglekar is busy in the formation of its Local Branches in different presses; two such committees are formed and four more are in the formation. This is the other Union that contributed equally to the success of the party in the A. I. T. U. C.

Mr. Jhabawala is busy with his Union activities but the party leader has no record of this work as he has never submitted himself to the party control. He has never attended any party meeting and more it is even doubtful so far as I know, whether he has accepted the party regulations and constitution and signed the party creed.

Mr. Thengdi is the President of the party and is also busy with his Union work in Poona. There is no report of work from him also.

The other four members of the Group have not been found to be active in this group activity. None of them has so far taken

any direct Union work in hand and even though the T. U. Group leader asked them to take up the work of the newly formed Press workers' Union and help him in forming the "Local Branches" so far none of them has reported anything to the Gr. Leader in the matter.

The Group Leader has done everything that he could to start the working of this group. He managed to get our men on the floor of the A. I. T. U. C. and his work was chiefly responsible for the success of our party in the A. I. T. U. C. We have been successful in getting Mr. Thengdi and Mr. Ghate two of our party-men successfully elected as the Jt. Secretary and Jt. Assistant Secretary respectively of the A. I. T. U. C. Another of our Party man Mr. Jhabwala has been appointed as the provincial organiser of the T. U. Congress and Mr. Joglekar has been elected on the newly formed Negotiation Committee of the A. I. T. U. C.

Mr. Lalji Pandse, one of the members of this Group has been the secretary, on behalf of our party, of the Labour Sub-Committee of the Bombay Provincial C. Committee. The Group leader gave him suggestions regarding work to be done, but there is no report as to what has been done in the matter.

Messrs. Thengdi and Ghate are the office bearers of the A. I. T. U. Congress on behalf of our Party. They have yet submitted no report of their work or even of their having taken charge of their duties.

While on a private business excursion the Group leader had occasion to meet a number of fishermen and Country Craft seamen and on investigation and inquiries held about their economic condition it can safely be said that there is considerable scope for the formation of a Union of these country craft seamen and the task is not a thing beyond achievement if enough facilities for meeting these men and travelling or moving amongst them are available to one or two of our party people.

This is in general the report of the work done by the T. U. Group to date which please keep before the party Executive and oblige.

Yours faithfully,

K. N. Joglekar.

T. U. Leader,

Workers and Peasants Party, Bombay.

D/- 21st April
1927.

P. 1348/13.

THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY.

17, Dwarkadas Mansions,

Girgaum,

Bombay 15th February 1928.

Comrade.....

Dear Comrade,

The Annual General Meeting of the above Party will be held on Sunday the 18th March 1928 at Congress House at 2. P.M. to transact the following business :—

1. Adoption of the report (wherein the reports of Group Leaders are included of the work done during the year with the Statement of accounts.
2. To adopt the resolutions passed by the Enlarged Executive Committee on the following subjects:—
Trade Union, Peasants Organisation, Youths, General Political Situation.
3. To consider and chalk out a programme of work for the next year.
4. To consider the proposal of the formation of an All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party.
5. To elect delegates for the All-India workers' and Peasants' Party Conference. 3 Representatives.
6. To elect the new Executive Committee and office-bearers.
7. To elect a Youth Committee to carry on organisation work amongst the youth.
8. To consider the amendments suggested by the members in the present Constitution of the Party.
9. Any other work which may be brought forward with the permission of the President of the meeting.

The work to be transacted is of very great importance and I

request every member of the Party to make it a point to attend the meeting.

Yours fraternally,

S. S. MIRAJKAR,

N. B.—Please send in all your amendments to the Constitution and other suggestions at least a week earlier so as to allow time to circularize the same to the members.

P. 1348 14

A Manuscript article on "Secretary's Report—W. & P. Party—
(Vide Exh. P. 826)

P. 1348. 15

A piece of paper containing the following entries.—

WORKERS' and PEASANTS' PARTY.

Annual Meeting 18th March 1928.

- (1) General Resolution ... Moved by Dange.
- (2) Trade Union Resolution ... Joglekar.
- (3) Organisation ... S. S. Mirajkar.
- (4) Youth ... S. V. Ghatge.
- (5) Peasants ... R. S. Nimbkar.

P. 1348. 16

A piece of paper with the manuscript entries on it:—

*F.

That the Executive is directed to explore the feasibility and possibility of contesting seats for the municipalities Local Boards and local legislatures, and to submit its conclusion to a general meeting.

Prop. PATEL

Sd. S. A. DANGE.

Carried unanimously.

D. R. THENGDI.

5/3/28.

P. 1348. 17.

4 pieces of papers containing the following:—

- (1) Report of the Secretary and Statement of a/c was unanimously adopted.

Proposed by S. V. GHATE

Seconded by S. A. DANGE.

- (2) Letters from.

- (1) R. R. Bakhle.
- (2) Communist Party.
- (3) Moscow Letter.

- (3) Resolutions—

- Resolutions were read
- (1) General Political Situation moved by Dange.
 - (2) T. U.
 - (3) Youth.
 - (4) Organisation.
 - (5) Peasants.

(4) At this stage Mr. J.B. Patel..... moved the following resolution as follows—

Resolution.....

Mr. Joglekar moved, Ghate Seconding, an amendment that the following words be deleted.

Amendments.....

(5) (a) Mr. Mirajkar moved an amendment that there should be a post of "Vice-President".

GHATE Seconded.

Lost voting being 5 to 3.

(b) Secretary and Treasurer be one carried by 7 to 3.

(c) New "Youth Group" be formed and its leader be elected.

(Carried.)

(d) 11 members of the E. C.

Carried unanimously.

President.....

D. R. Thengdi.

Secretary and Treasurer

... S. V. Ghate.

1. T. U.

... K. N. Joglekar.

2. Prof. and Edt.

... S. S. Mirajkar.

3. Youth

... P. Spratt

4. Peasant

... Parvate.

5. Congress

... Lalji Pandse.

E. C. Members

(1) S. H. Jhabwalla

(2) J. B. Patel.

(3) R. S. Nimbkar.

(4) S. A. Dange.

Mr. J. B. Patel moved and L. Pandse Seconding.

(6) (a) Items Nos. 4/5 be considered by the E. C.

(b) Items No. 7 be left to Group leader and disposed of.

Messrs Dange and Joglekar explained what has been done with regard to the All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party.

P. 1348 18.

Three half sheets containing the signatures (1) of the members of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, (2) Invited guests and (3) Representatives of Trade unions, present at the General meeting of the Workers and Peasants Party Bombay. Among the signatures of the members, the following are noticed:—

S. H. Jhabwalla.

S. S. Mirajkar

S. V. Ghate

R. S. Nimbkar

D. R. Thengdi

K. N. Joglekar

S. A. Dange.

P. 1348 19.

A quarter sheet of paper containing the following entry—

This meeting adopts the thesis prepared by the executive *with the Cooperation of friends*, calls upon the executive to follow in its entirety the policy laid down therein and not to act in any way which would be inconsistent to the fundamentals of the thesis

Proposed by Mr. Patel

Seconded by Mr. Dange.

Amendment moved by Joglekar is to delete the wording "With the Cooperation of friends" and seconded by Ghate.

The amendment was carried by majority.

The resolution as amended passed.

Sd. D. R. Thengdi.

18/3/48

P. 1348 20

A typed copy of the "Resolution of the Trade Union Movement".

(Vide Exh. P831)

P. 1348 21.

Copy of a Thesis on our attitude towards the Congress and present Labour Leadership

(Vide Exh. P.)

P. 1348 22.

The Workers' and Peasants' party of Bengal

ORGAN:

GANAVANI

2-1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE,

Calcutta. May, 28. 1928.

(Bengali Weekly)

Com. S. V. Ghatge,

Secretary, the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay.

Dear Comrade,

Nothing has been heard from you for a long time. I am writing to you this letter with a view to remind you that the "Provisional Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India" must now meet once. It is true that we are all engaged in strikes, but, that is no plea that we should not meet at all. Half the portion of the year has nearly passed away, yet we have not met once. Our meeting, I believe, will facilitate our works. We

must not forget that we are to hold our First All India Conference in Calcutta in December next. If we do not begin work for it now it will surely be failure. So, we must not keep ourselves engaged only in one work. Please inform me whether it will be convenient for you and Dange to come to Calcutta for the purpose of the meeting of the Provisional Committee. As the majority of us including Comrade Spratt are living here, this, that is your coming to Calcutta will save us a great deal of money. I have already written to Majeed to this effect. Please reply at once.

As to other informations, the workers of the Keshoram Cotton Mills of Calcutta have gone on strike for more than a week. A fresh strike of the Calcutta scavengers is imminent. We are thinking of restarting "Ganavani" from the 14th, June. The theses and resolutions of our Party Conference have been sent to the press.

The book will be published under the name of "A Call To Action." Coms. Spratt and Goswami have gone to Ondal (E. I. R.) to conduct a new railway strike there. One of our party members is being prosecuted in connection of the Lillooah strike. Please send us cuttings of news papers whenever you can make time

Nothing more today. With greetings,

Fraternally yours

Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 1348 23.

LIGUE INTERNATIONALE CONTRE L'IMPERIALISME

et pour l'Indépendance Nationale

Berlin Sw 48, Friedrichstrasse 24.

BERLIN, MAY 11th. 1928.

K.S. NIMBKAR

Secretary of the

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay

Dear Comrade Nimbkar,

The International Secretariat of the League against Im-

perialism expresses its deep appreciation of the active steps taken by the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay in favour of the League at the last session of the Indian National Congress. We desire to obtain the direct affiliation to the International League of as many Indian organisations as possible and we should feel very happy if your executive would decide to affiliate to the League and to send us a formal declaration of your affiliation.

We are sending you under separate cover a copy of the Resolutions of the General Council, as well as a copy of our Press-Service No. 6 containing a report on the last Meeting of the Executive Committee of the League, held in Brussels at the end of April.

Although we obtain news of the activities of the Workers' and Peasants Party through the Indian press we should be obliged if you could keep us regularly supplied with all your literature, press reports etc.

With revolutionary greetings,

Yours very fraternally

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

International Secretariat

Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstr, 24.

V. Chattopadhyaya

Joint Secretary

P. 1348 24.

Report

First Annual Conference

of the

Workers and Peasants Party, Bombay.

The first annual conference of the Workers and Peasants Party was held in the Congress House, Bombay, on Sunday, 18th March 1928.

The party was founded in February 1927 by a group of Congress men interested in mass-organization and mass-action of the workers and peasants and believing that India's emancipation can come only from them.

The Secretary's report of work showed that the party had taken an active part in the Congress work in the City, there being about 22 men of the Party on the Provincial Congress Committee, including the vice-president and the secretary of the Congress. It has also three members on the All India Congress Committee. The Report shows that in pursuance of their creed the Party members were actively engaged in trade union work. The Party has amongst its prominent members Mr. Jhabwalla and many other radical trade unionists of the rank and file workers. During the year under report meetings were held to welcome Comrade 'Sak' to Condemn Sacco-Vanzetti-murder, to celebrate the Lenin Day, the Russian Anniversary etc. The Party had also sent delegations to several places to report on labour and peasant organizations to enable the Party to formulate tactic and plan to work amongst them.

The statement of accounts showed receipts amounting to Rs. 2527/12/3 and expenses to Rs. 2418/5/6 leaving a balance on hand of Rs. 109/6/9. The items of receipts were membership subscriptions, donation of Rs.1000/- from Mr. D.R. Thengdi, President of the Party, sale of publications and the Party organ, "Kranti", a marathi weekly, which had to close down, when the Government prosecuted Messrs. P. Spratt and Mirajkar (Party members) for the book "India and China".

Then messages were read from R.R. Bakhle of the All-India Trade Union Congress, the British Communist Party and the Peasants League of Moscow, expressing a wish of success to the Party.

The Conference, insisted of passing resolutions, adopted a number of theses analysing each problem, in its historical and present aspect, in the light of the Party's principles and arriving at a conclusion and programme of work to be followed during the next year. The thesis embraced subjects like the Simon Commission, Independence, Peasant movement, trade unions, Youth organisations etc. One of the theses was a statement on the attitude of the Party towards the Congress and its present leadership and also the labour movement. It repudiates the charge that the Party is anti-Congress and says that it stands for complete independence but trusts that only the masses by their militancy can achieve it and that the present leadership instead of organisation is concentrating on constitution, which is to be framed only by a universally elected Constituent Assembly, after capturing political power. Similarly, the Party's attitude towards the present labour-leadership was determined by the ultimate goal

of working all the Industries for the benefit of the nation and not for profit. The labour-leadership of to-day was guided by a spirit of mere welfare work and redress of grievances.

Thesis contained appreciation of the Alibag and Bardoli movement, with a warning that the peasants must lead themselves and not be led by the landlords or their sympathisers urged concentrated organisation of the Railway workers on a slogan of 100% increase in wages and condemned the split amongst the Textile leaders as it has facilitated the employer's attack on wages and conditions.

Congratulatory paras regarding the colonial worker's movements in China, Egypt, Japan, Persia were found in the thesis.

The Party also considered the question of reviving the "Kranti" or starting some English organ and contesting seats on the municipalities and local bodies on a ticket of working-class demands.

Will you please publish the above and oblige?

Yours etc.,

S.V. Ghatge, 20/3/

Dwarkadas }
Masion }
Bombay. }

Secretary Workers and
Peasants Party.

P. 1348. 25.

A typed copy of "RESOLUTION ON ORGANIZATION".

(Vide Exb. P. 832).

P. 1348. 26.

A type written copy of the resolution on "YOUTH".

(Vide Exb. P. 833.)

P. 1348. 27

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

And For National Independence.

International Secretariat

24, Friedrichstrasse, BERLIN, SW 48.

Paris Office:

Cable Address: ANKOLINA; BERLIN.

55, Rue Faubourg Montmartre

Telephone: DONHOFF 6061.

LIGUE CONTRE L'IMPERIALISME

LIGA GEGEN IMPERIALISMUS

et pour l'Independence Nationale und fur nationale Unabhangigkeit

Com. S. V. GHATE

Hon. Secretary

The Workers' and Peasants' Party,

BOMBAY:

Dear Comrade,

Many thanks for your letter of June 1st. We shall look forward to your announcement that the Executive Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Party has decided to affiliate to the League.

We are following the strikes in India and especially the textile and railway strikes with very deep interest and have noted with pleasure the very active part that the Workers' and Peasants' Party has been taking in giving a proper lead to the workers. The

League can unfortunately not give any financial assistance to the strikers because no political question is directly involved. But we have taken the initiative in drawing the attention of workers' international relief organisations to the urgent necessity of giving support both moral and material to the Indian workers in their struggle against the capitalists.

With sincerest greetings,

Yours fraternally

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

International Secretariat

Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstr. 24

Y. Chattopadhyaya.

P. 1348 28.

A type written copy of the Resolutions for Calcutta Congress December 1928.

[Vide Exb. P. 1373 (8) (a)]

P. 1348 29.

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

And For National Independence

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

24, Friedrichstrasse, BERLIN, SW 48.

Paris Office:

55, Rue Faubourg Montmartre

Cable Address: ANKOLINA BERLIN.

Telephone: Donhoff 6061

LIGUE CONTRE L'IMPERIALISME
et pour l'Independence Nationale

LIGA GEGEN IMPERIALISMUS
und für nationale Unabhängigkeit

Berlin, September 5th. 1928.

The Workers' and Peasants' Party of

BOMBAY.

Dear Comrade Ghate,

We have not yet received any communication from you regarding the affiliation of your Party to our League, which was to be discussed at the meeting of your Executive Committee. We are anxious to have an official statement as early as possible and should be much obliged if you could see to it that the matter receives immediate attention.

With sincere regards,

Yours fraternally

V. Chattopadhyaya.

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

International Secretariat

Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstr. 24.

P. 1348 30

'Union is Strength'

G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union.

Shetye Buildings, Poibavdi, Parel.

No.G/S/328.

BOMBAY, No. 14.

Dated: 26th September, 1928.

President:

F.J. Ginwala, M.A.L.L.B., M.L.C.

(Solicitor).

—: o :—

Vice-Presidents: To,
B. F. Bradley, Esq.
D. B. Kulkarni
V. B. Purandare.

The Secretary,
W. & P. Party,
17 Dwarkadas Mansion,
BOMBAY 4.

—: o :—
Hon. Gen. Secretary :
S. H. Jhabvala, Esq. B.A.
—: o :—
Organising Secretary :
K. N. Joglekar, Esq. B.A.
—: o :—

Comrade Secretary,
The All India T. U. C. Session

is drawing nearer and I have to make arrangements to get party resolutions framed and forwarded on behalf of several unions. May I therefore request you to send me a full copy of the same at an early date.

Yours fraternally,

S. H. Jhabvala
T. U. C. Group Leader.

P. 1348. 31

Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal.

2/1 European Asylum Lane
Calcutta.

11 August, 1928.

CIRCULAR TO ALL PARTY MEMBERS, BRANCHES AND
AFFILIATED BODIES.

Dear Comrades,

We wish to draw your attention to the Trade Dispute Bill which is to come before the next Session of the Assembly. It is designed to deprive the Trade Union movement of practically all

functions and activities, and there can be no doubt that, when the Peasants' movement develops, similar legislation will be carried through against it. India will be put under Czarist conditions.

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

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

You will see that nothing short of action of this kind will meet the situation, and we call upon you to exert the utmost activity in the following ways (1) to carry on propaganda within any Unions or Peasants organisations which you know in support of the Conference and the General Strike. (2) to form Unions or Peasants' Leagues which will send representatives to the Conference (3) to recruit members to the Party who will assist in this agitation (4) to distribute as widely as possible "Ganavani" and "Lal Nishan" and the special leaflets etc which we are bringing out (5) to hold local public meetings condemning the Bill and supporting General Strik against it.

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

Yours fraternally,
Executive Committee.

For the favour of publication.

MANIFESTO OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS PARTY.

The Government of India not content with the innumerable instruments of oppression 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 Trades, Disputes Bill at the next session of the Imperialist Legislature is aimed 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, who due to Imperialist domination, have been kept in a chronic state of ignorance in-discipline and disorganisation to satisfy the needs of exploiters both foreign and Indian. 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 exploiters have found that their monopoly to exploit the Indian workers, unhampered is receiving a severe check. The representations of the Bengal chamber of commerce, and the shouts of the Bombay Millowners against communist agitators have brought the Government to the rescue of the capitalists who are alarmed at the growing manifestations of mass energy. By this Trades Disputes Bill the imperialists make no secret of their intentions of giving a death blow to the Trade Union Movement in this country.

The Trade Disputes Bill which the Government have tabled for introduction in the Legislative Assembly is a counter part of the Rowlatt Act in the Economic sphere with the drastic powers contained in the bill for coercion, intimidation and suppression the Government will be enabled to cripple the Trade Union Movement making it impossible for the workers to fight their employers to obtain better living conditions. Because the Government will in essence control the internal administration and the external policy of Trade Unions in India.

For instance the Bill provides the Government smells a dispute between the employer and the workers. (The Government canine powers of smelling revolutionary plots particularly in Bengal should be borne in mind) the Government can force itself and appoint a semi-judicial enquiry. In a fight between the employers and the workers, the result of such an enquiry will be a forgone conclusion. Hence an impartial enquiry does not exist in a *class dispute*. By intervenin 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.

If, by any chance the Government intervention fails in the first stage, the Ghost of the Government will dog the steps of the fighters at the next stage. For, 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, subterfuge and hypocritical methods of 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 dirty trickeries, as in the textile strike it took about two years for the workers to discover their wages were being systematically reduced; and the talk of a month's notice before such hypocrisy, will be sheer tyranny, only unmasked.

As if this were not enough, resorting to strike in semi-Government institutions, such as the Railways, post and Telegraphs, 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. Once the Government is armed with the necessary weapon, it is common knowledge, how the Government runs riot, in enforcing the provisions of the law. The history of the Bengal ordinance and the ruthless manner in which the Government utilised this machinery *should be warning to those that may fall 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 the ruthless manner in which modern capitalism works. And since there is a chronic state of exploitation, struggle against this exploitation will be a chronic feature of the age. And neither imprisonment, not even hanging will have any terror for the masses struggling to free themselves from capitalist tyranny.

The clause that lays down a more drastic punishment to the abettor while aimed against the communists and Agitators' that are supposed to be rousing the workers revolt (while they are only exposing the fraude of the capitalist class) will have little effect. For, the very inhuman conditions that are the necessary effects of capitalist and Imperialist exploitation, will rouse the masses to fight their exploiters. And once the mass energy is awakened, no force can stay its mighty ire which sweep away all obstacles before it. Such drastic powers, therefore, in the hands of an Imperialist Government are a menace, and should be fought out.

Finally, the intervention, of the Government into 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 freedom from interference in its internal 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 unions in future will be honeycombed with Government spies and capitalist agents who will swarm the unions and sabotage their growth.

The Bill leaves no ground, therefore for a straight fight, for the workers against their exploiters, The elementary right of a trade union of freedom from interference in the internal administration being snatched away, as also the right to strike, the exploitor is left free to continue in his ruthless job, assisted by an Imperialist Dictator. For any strike can be interpreted as coercing the Government or the community.

Protests from all over the country must be against this bill being passed, in the shape of mass demonstrations, and also an agitation should be carried on for a country-wide General strike, to force the rescinding of this bill as also to obtain an eight hour day, minimum living wage, better housing conditions and etc., for the workers, and show the Government that the masses will not tolerate any such repression in future.

S. V. Ghate,

Workers' & Peasants'

Secretary.

Party office, 17,

Dwarkadas Masions,

Girgaon, 26th August 1928.

P. 1348 33.

A typed copy of "General Political Situation."

(Vide Exh. P. 523)

P. 1348 34.

WORKERS' WELFARE LEAGUE OF INDIA

The Agent of the Indian Trade Union Movement in Great Britain.

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

President: Treasurer: Secretary: Indian Secretary

DR. K. S. BHAT. MR. K. SHELDRAKE. MR. J. E.

POTTER-WILSON. MR. S. SAKLATVALA. M. P.

June 28 1928.

S. V. Ghatе,

c/o Dr. Narayan Rao,

Girgaon Road,

Bombay.

Dear Ghatе,

I notice in a copy of the Bobay Chronicle for June 4 an attack made in a speech by Nimbkar on the Bardoli movement. I have been asked to write to you for more particulars on this subject as it is difficult for us to make out what is the declared policy of the Workers' and Peasants' Party in the matter.

Apart from the above, the only other reference I have found is in the short press report of the annual conference of the W. P. P. in March, where there is some vague statement of sympathy.

The position as I see it is this. The Bardoi agitation is not a typical peasants' movement in the sense of being directed against landlord exploitation, nevertheless it is an anti-imperialist movement of a mixed class character in which poor peasants as well as rich

peasants are taking part and which consists in active demonstration of protest against injustice of the British Government. It is true that the movement is sponsored by many elements not at all sympathetic to the real interests of the workers and peasants, including Gandhi himself, but that is not in itself a reason to declare against it any more than the fact of the participation in it of rich cultivators. I would incline to believe therefore that it is a movement which should have our active support and that the silence of the W. P. P. about the movement does no good to the latter. The peasants, rich or poor, have a legitimate grievance, and the W. P. would, I believe, have done well to have come out as their champions, even if only through manifestoes and public statements, from the very outset.

At the same time we know quite well that the rich peasants and the bourgeois supporters would make sabotage if the movement developed on a large scale and met with resistance. That seems only an additional reason for the W. P. P. to throw its weight in and to call for an extension of the struggle and to make clear the importance of the role of the poor peasants who alone would really carry through the struggle in an active fight. Further, when this differentiation comes (and even before) there is a great opportunity to bring home to the poor peasants the difference between their fight and that of the rich cultivators and exploiters of labour and the need for putting forward their independent demands & for linking up with the W. P. P. For all these reasons I think the W. P. P. needs to make its position clear. After all, the W. P. P. is the only party which claims to defend the interests of the exploited peasants, hence its silence produces a curious effect.

We are much indebted to you for your reports on the progress of the textile workers strike. All of us here appreciate the heroic work of the W. P. P. comrades on their behalf. We hope there will be sufficient agitation to shatter the dastardly attack on comrade Dange and attempt to remove him from active participation. From the reports in the press it is possible to make out the simplest outward history of the events, but we should like very much as full information as you are able to give on the sequence of events, the inner history, and explanations which do not appear in the press. For instance, it is only with great difficulty that we have been able to realise that there are *four* registered unions and we still do not know the exact differences between them, the number of members in the new unions and their character and activities.

We should be glad if you will try and arrange to send to me at the League address several copies of all printed pamphlets and documents relating to the labour movement as they come out. For one thing I received urgent requests for Usmani's book from the place it describes, because until I sent a copy recently they had

never seen it. They had not even got a copy of the A. I. T. U. C. report.

By the way, Kirk's infamous "Review" seems to me to need drastic treatment in the press wherever open to us. The May number outdoes previous ones in attacks which are on a lower level than even the social traitors of the European movement.

I hope that you will be able to send me a reply to this letter.

With good wishes,

Yours fraternally,

C. P. Dutt.

(London Secretary).

P. 1348 35.

Telegraphic Address: GANAVANI' Calcutta.

THE FIRST ALL INDIA

WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY CONFERENCE

2-1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA.

Ref. No.....

The 30th November, 1928.

My Dear Ghaté,

Your letter of the 27th instant reached me yesterday. I was astonished to learn that you have not received the receipt book of the Reception Committee. I sent it to you under a registered packet on the 9th instant from the Asylum Lane Post Office, Calcutta. The number of the p. o. receipt is 819. please send a complaint to the Post Office at once. The book contained 25 receipts. It was, as I understand from the Post Office receipt addressed in the following manner:

S. V. Ghaté B. A.

17 Dwarkadas Mansions, Bombay No 4.

I am sending a separate complaint to the Presidency Post Master, Bombay. It will be necessary to sue the Postal Department for the damage they have caused to the conference by not giving delivery of the receipt book.

Comrade Sohan Singh Josh has been elected President of the Conference. Publicity was given to the Press through Free Press and the Associated Press of India. I wonder why it escaped your eyes. Your report should have reached us by this time. Please send it at once under an insured cover. I believe no separate report will be necessary to be read by you. Minimum expenditure has been estimated Rs 2000/- Just imagine what to do. Resolutions and theses have not yet been completed. How to draft a Constitution on a national basis without your help? At least you or Dange must reach Calcutta by the 10th December. If Dange can not be spared do you come, please.

How many of you are coming? Will it be possible to bring one or two actual workers who are member of the party? Please let us know the actual strength of your membership, both individual and affiliated. Please reply at once. How Com. Bradley is doing?

Yours fraternally,

Sd. Muzaffer Ahmad,

P. S. The Socialist youth Congress is a bunkum of Dr. Dutta. He himself will be the President. One should not take any notice of it.

Sd. M. A.

P. 1348 36.

Telegraphic Address: GANAVANI' Calcutta.

THE FIRST ALL INDIA
WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY CONFERENCE
2-1, EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA.

Ref. No..

6-12-1928.

Dear Comrade Ghate,

Just to-day I have received your report in a registered cover. Please inform us at once how many of you are coming to Calcutta. Who again are going to Jharia? Please note that all of your individual members will be admitted to the conference as Delegates. Your affiliated unions will send 5 delegates per one thousand members. Please do come in large numbers. Why Dange is not replying to my letter?

Have you received the receipt book ? Please do start at once.

Yours fraternally,

Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 1348 37.

INDEPENDENCE OF INDIA LEAGUE OF BENGAL,

CALCUTTA.

Dear Comrades,

Let me greet very heartily your efforts and determination to form a new party which breaking away from the "old policies and programmes" will fight for "full, all round freedom" of the nation. The appearance of such a party is long overdue although spasmodic efforts for its organization have been made from various directions during the last years. While enthusiastically offering my comradely services and complete cooperation for the historic task you have undertaken, I must avail myself of your invitation for criticism of the manifesto and programme published by you. Let it be emphasised that the following critical remarks will be made in comradely spirit and only with the object of assisting the growth of a national revolutionary party. My observations will not be confined to the manifesto and programme issued by you. They will touch the whole problem of organization of the party throughout the country.

You are perfectly correct to begin your manifesto with a critical review of the past. But the criticism should be more searching. If the defects of the movement in the past are not clearly seen, the future will not be entirely free from them. The analysis of the past will make it evident that even in its best days the movement floundered for the absence of a clear programme. Therefore what is needed now is not a new programme; but to present before the country, for the first time clearly formulated programme of national revolution, free from metaphysical ambiguities, untempered by constitutional prejudices and unfettered by reactionary social conceptions.

What is the programme of a movement? A simple statement of its goal is not the programme. Nor is it the formulation of a series of demands. The programme of a movement must be the statement of its object as well as of the reasons for the attainment of

that object. Then-it should be explained how the mission of realising the object has been bestowed by history on the social elements involved in the movement, and particularly on the political party constituting the conscious vanguard of those social elements. Further, the appropriate means for the realization of the goal should be defined without ambiguity. Lastly, immediate economic and political demands corresponding to the requirements of the constituents of the movement should be put forward for developing the movement.

The pre-requisite for the formulation of a clear programme for any movement is the understanding of the social composition of the movement. Every political movement is essentially the expression of a deeper social-fermentation. Only from this point of view is it possible to comprehend why certain section of the Indian people are out and out loyalists, some will be satisfied with gradual reform under British protection, others will be happy in the heaven of "equal patnership" within the British empire and the remainder must have "full, all round freedom". The reason for these variations of political outlook is not the temperament of the various sections of the population, as is often said and believed. The diverse political outlooks are determined by divergent interests of the respective social elements. Therefore, in order to have a clear and appropriate programme, the Independence League, that is the Party standing for an all-round" national revolution, should, in the first place, be clear about its social composition. It must be ascertained which sections of the Indian people can never and in the least be accommodated inside the British Empire, and, therefore, must fight for its complete and unconditional overthrow. To start a political party on the basis of age is a false start. If the Independence League will be what it should-what is needed in the present situation of the country, namely a national revolutionary party its appeal should be directed not to the "youths" (as is usually the case now), but to certain social elements irrespective of age. Age is a shifting thing. A youth is not always a youth. Therefore to build a political party with the youth as the foundation is to build on shifting sand. There must be soldier foundation if the structure is to stand.

Looking back into the past we find that this was precisely the defect of the "new spirit" of 1905. It was only an effervescence of youth which did not seek a social foundation to build upon. Therefore it ended but in "adventure, emotion and enthusiasm", which all were of no avail because" those who were borne down for ages under the weight of economic serfdom and of the social inequities and inequities were not thrilled when the clarion-call of political freedom reached their ears". Indeed, in those days of "emotion and enthusiasm", the clarion-call was exclusively for the youth; it totally ignored the existence of "those borne down for ages" Should the effort of to day not again end in glorious but futile

"adventure", the mistake of the past must be frankly admitted. The Independence League must consciously represent not the effervescence of youth, but the interests of the oppressed, exploited and expropriated majority of the nation. Then its programme will not be burdened with meaningless verbiage, utopian demands, impractical proposition, and reprehensible ambiguity about the means and methods of struggle.

In your manifesto the Non-cooperation movement is correctly estimated; but it is not fully subjected to the search light of revolutionary criticism. Lessons must be derived from the rich but bitter experience of 1920-22 for the benefit of the future of the nationalist movement. The 1921 period of the movement was distinct from the 1905 period in that then the movement found a tremendous access of dynamic strength in consequence of a deep social fermentation, which had not been the case fifteen years ago. The movement collapsed because its programme did not reflect that social fermentation. Instead of developing that fermentation into a veritable revolution, the leaders of the movement discouraged it. Antagonism of class interests created a wide gulf between the rank and file, on the one side, and the leadership, on the other. This gulf could not be bridged with all the reactionary formulas of Gandhism. Finally it swallowed the movement. The new movement should differ from Non-cooperation not "in details" as Jawaharlal Nehru maintained in his speech at the Delhi Provincial Conference, but essentially, in the social homogeneity of its composition, character of its leadership, clarity of its programme, firmness of its demands and courageousness of its action. The "possibilities of non-co-operation are limited", because they are only negative. Owing to the lack of sufficient appreciation of the gravity of the task undertaken, the limitedness of a purely negative action is not understood even by those who take the initiative in striking out a new course for the movement. For example, speaking to the Delhi Provincial Conference at Meerut Jawaharlal Nehru declared that "with organised masses tremendous pressure can be brought, and any Government will give in." This is a grievous error for a leader of a revolutionary movement to fall into. In support of his these, the speaker asserted that "in Europe the main methods of developing sanctions and of seizing power are based not on violence, but peaceful organization of workers, peasants and others." This is the most distorted view of the European situation that one could give. The Social Democratic parties in Europe, which propose to capture power by peaceful means have today become instruments of the capitalist and imperialist state. The British Labour Party is the most glaring example. It is an illusion to think that the state equipped with formidable means of offence and defence will give in under the pressure of peacefully organised workers, peasants and others. It will stubbornly resist the pressure, as has been the case in a series of countries during the last years, and the pressure will

be of no avail, unless it develops into an attack upon the state. We could learn something from the British General Strike of 1926. The pressure of the organised workers upon the capitalist state collapsed as soon as it hesitated to be developed into an open attack upon the state. If we begin with the admission that the existing states are too strong to be overthrown, then, why take up the fight? Take it lying down. Then, be prepared to accept gratefully what imperialism will be pleased to grant, and glorify that as "equal partnership" or even "independence". If the Independence League is born with the ideology propounded by one of its founders at Meerut, then, comrades, it will not go further than the non-cooperation movement, it will not meet a more dignified end.

You are perfectly correct in stating in your manifesto that the masses will rally under the banner of national independence when national independence promises to introduce change in their present economic and social conditions. But if you propose to form the Independence League as a band of "self-sacrificing adventurous, emotional and enthusiastic" youths taking upon their devoted shoulders the noble mission of arousing the masses from "ignorance and inertia", then, the new party will not have the much-needed social homogeneity of composition, and a gulf will still divide its constituents from the leadership. These two grave defects of the non cooperation movement should be eliminated, if the new party would lead the national revolution. The youthful intellectuals from the oppressed, exploited and expropriated lower middle class should know that their interests are identical with those of the workers and peasants. They should appeal to them not as benevolent saviours, but as comrades fighting for a common interests—One should not put the cart before the horse. The revolutionisation of the nationalist movement which process is evidenced by the efforts to break away politically, ideologically and organisationally from past traditions of the movement, has been caused by a growing restiveness of the masses. These are no longer in a state of inertia. As long as they were in that state, the nationalist movement was a movement for reforms and concessions. The present demand for a new course is the voice of the masses. The new party will be the conscious vanguard of the majority of the nation, if it is born as the organised expression of the revolutionary discontent of the masses. As the vanguard leader, the party's task is to develop this discontent, to organise it into concrete actions preparatory to the final revolutionary upheaval. But it must be known that the party comes into existence to meet the needs of the situation—not to create the needs. The party should not pretend to have been born ahead of its generating force. It cannot uplift the masses, it should be the organ of the masses.

With this clear conception of its genesis will the party be able to formulate its programme correctly. As it is, the programme

is not what it should be. While detailing what are arbitrarily termed "Economic Democracy" and "Social Democracy", the main question of "Political Democracy" is left entirely underfined. The masses are not told how the perfunctory, ill-defined and utopian demands chronicled under the former two heads are connected with political democracy. The weakness of the programme, which is given an apparently radical complexion by the inclusion of such terms as "Social Democracy" "Nationalisation" etc, was soon exposed in a very ironical manner. In addressing a gathering of students at Allahabad at the beginning of October, Motilal Nehru referred to your manifesto as not materially different from the report of his Committee. He tauntingly remarked that he was prepared to accept entirely your programme of "Economic and Social Democracy" if the term "Complete political independence" were replaced by "Dominion Status". This remark should give you food for thought. There must be something amiss with your programme, otherwise it could not be acceptable precisely to him whose policy it purports to oppose. Your demands under the heading of "Economic and Social Democracy" cannot be so radical, their realisation cannot be so beneficial for the masses as you mistakenly believe. They could not be so, if it were possible to realise them under dominion status. In other words, those demands do not attack the foundation of imperialism. you placed yourselves in such a false position by not dealing with the burning question of national freedom—by leaving it entirely untouched.

Those measures of "Economic and Social Democracy" which can be realised within the frame-work of imperialist domination "may be somewhat camouflaged" will not satisfy the vital demands of the oppressed and exploited majority. Don't forget the real thing for the glamour of the deceptive toy of "Social Democracy". Economic and social freedom of the masses will be attained only under Socialism, but in the present Indian situation Socialism is a for cry. Over throw of foreign domination is the task, the accomplishment of which will open up the way to Socialism for those who want to go that far. The working class, whose historic mission it is to establish Socialism, must at this moment struggle for national freedom as a step towards the final goal.

National Independence should be made the central point of the programme of the new party; and this is not done just by writing it in bold letters. The question should be clearly put in contrast to dominion status. All its implications should be boldly visualised and stated. By begging the question one will inevitably land in dominion status by the back door, as Jawaharlal Nehru has done. In his speech at the Delhi Conference he made the amazing statements that the question of accepting dominion status might be considered when independence had been secured.

Those elements of the Indian population, which bear the burnt of imperialist domination, must have complete independence. They are the productive classes. Imperialist booty represents so much taken away from those sections of the Indian people who produce value by their labour. The complaint of other classes against foreign rule is that they do not get what they would have got in the absence of the foreign overlord. The basis of dominion status is some understanding between imperialism and the upper strata of the Indian people as regards the distribution of what is taken away from the producing classes. Imperialism will never make this argument by foregoing a portion of what it derives from India today. It will concede to the Indian upper classes a share in the booty by increasing it, that is by intensifying the exploitation of the producing classes. This is what dominion status will essentially mean for the majority of the population; Therefore those sections of the population, which by their toil produce value considerable portion of which goes out of the country as imperialist booty, are the uncompromising enemies of imperialist domination. The lower middle class whose political and economic conditions will hardly improve in any regime of make-believe self-government based upon a compromise between imperialism and the upper strata of the Indian population, must also fight for the complete and unconditional termination of imperialist domination. Under the shadow of imperialist domination any formal democratic right granted to the Indian people will be of no material value. If democracy come to its own in India, if the people of India becomes the sovereign power in the country, there cannot be any room for a foreign agency exercising control over her economic & political life even in the most indirect way; therefore dominion status will not introduce democracy in India. In it the upper strata of the population may be raised to "equal partnership" with the British overlord, but the majority of the population-workers, peasants, lower middle class-will remain politically unfranchised for all practical purposes, and economically oppressed. "Indianization" of the public services, a tempting plum held out to the lower middle class intellectuals in order secure their trusting adhesion to the bourgeois leaders, will satisfy but very few when it will actually be sent around to the hungry multitudes. So, not only the workers and peasants, but the lower middle class are pitted against imperialism which they must fight and destroy not for a sentimental reason, but pushed on by the iron law of struggle for existence. They are against dominion status, not because it is beneath the dignity of the Indian people to accept a gift from the foreign ruler, but because it will subject them to greater exploitation-while not giving them any material political right.

By this appreciation of the relation between India and Britain, and among the various sections of the Indian population should the programme of the Independence League be determined. By putting

forward apparently radical but ill conceived demands, by using high-sounding terms having no immediate bearing with the crux of the present situation, the League weakens the very reason of its being. The vital question of political power should be placed in the centre of your programme. It must be stated clearly that in order to reconstruct itself politically, economically, culturally in order to catch up the progress that was obstructed by several centuries of foreign rule, the Indian nation must have access to sovereign political power. An independent democratic state is the precondition for any change or improvement of existing economic conditions and social relations. As explained above, this change will not take place under dominion status, except for the worse. Ask the supporters of the Nehru Scheme, will "dominionised" India stop paying Britain *two hundred crores of rupees a year* as profit for capital invested by the latter in India? If not, who will continue meeting this huge bill? This fabulous amount is found by depriving the Indian producing masses of a portion of their extremely reduced means of subsistence. Now the Indian workers, peasants and others, who live essentially by their toil, pay approximately six rupees a year for the benefit of the British rule, presently the quota will be increased at least 50 per cent to pay for the "equal partnership" of the Indian upper classes in the British Empire. *Repudiation of India's "Indebtedness" to Britain; confiscation of British capital invested in India*, - these are the elementary conditions for the real independence of the Indian people. Can these conditions be created either by a compromise on the basis of dominion status or by "peaceful pressure of the organised workers, peasants and others" as suggested by one of the founders of the Independence League - Jawaharlal Nehru? Obviously, not. Capture of the state power by the Indian people is the only way to the creation of these conditions. The imperialist state must be overthrown, and a national democratic state must be established under the control of those, who today foot the back-breaking bill of British imperialism - these, Comrades, are the implications of the slogan of "Complete Independence" with which you propose to organize a new party. —

Once the party has a clear vision of its goal and knows clearly why this goal must be reached, the means for the realisation of the object - the methods of fight for freedom - should be determined. The object, of course, predetermines the methods of fight. Reform can be realised through constitutional means. It is otherwise with revolution. The object of your party being *National Revolution*, you must employ revolutionary methods of fight, unless you want to betray yourselves. Then, as the party can attain its object only by mobilising the energy of its social constituents, the methods it proposes to employ in the fight should be incorporated in the programme. A revolutionary party is not a conspiracy. It operates with the masses of people. Its methods of fight, plans of action, cannot, therefore, be shrouded in mystery.

There must be a programme of action for the realization of the object. It is not enough to declare that we want independence as against dominion status. A mere-expression of wish or view has no practical political value. Still, the resolution of the Lucknow Conference which proclaimed the inauguration of the "Independence for India League," is but an expression of opinion. Your manifesto is an improvement upon that resolution. But even that does not contain a concrete programme of action. According to the Lucknow resolution, the League will be a mere propaganda body. This resolution can only be the result of the belief that there are but a few in India who want national independence; and that these few must carry this gospel of freedom to the "inert and ignorance masses." I have shown above that this is a mistake belief. The necessity for national independence, and the desire for it are there. The task of the new party is not only to give expression to this desire; but also to set those having the necessity and the desire into action. For this the party must have a programme of action.

While having no illusion as regards the final culmination of the struggle for the realisation of its object, namely, the overthrow of the imperialist state root and branch, the party can set the masses in political action without committing futile violence. Every body including those in favour of dominion status, dispute the self-arrogated right of the British Parliament to settle India's political fate, and demand that the constitution of India should be worked out by the Indian people. On recommendation of the Simon Commission, British imperialism will grant India constitutional reforms which it will consider suitable to her stomach. A section of the Indian people as represented by the All-parties Conference, has already produced a Constitution which they think is good for India. There are other proposals and suggestions of minor importance. But none of them has been submitted to the verdict of the entire Indian people. Your party can and should intervene in the situation effectively by demanding the convocation of a *Constituent Assembly*, elected by universal suffrage, to settle the political future of the country. Irrespective of the attitude of the imperialists, their Indian allies and the protagonists of dominion status, your party should carry on a vigorous agitation to mobilise the people on the slogan of Constituent Assembly. At the same time the programme of National Revolution and the establishment of the National Democratic State should be worked out to be placed before the Constituent Assembly. Incorporating the demands and representing the interests of the majority of the population these documents will secure the support of the majority. The struggle will have entered a higher stage requiring other tactics when the election of the Constituent Assembly becomes an actual issue. Meanwhile the very demand and the mobilisation of the majority of the people in support of it will represent an actual challenge to the authority of the imperialist state.

After these observations on the subject as a whole my criticism of the various details under the heads "Economic Democracy" and "Social Democracy" in your programme will appear more Pertinent. Plans for changes in the existing economic conditions of the country should be stated in the programme of national revolution. If after the overthrow of the foreign rule the country will continue in the *status quo ante*, the national democratic state will not be the organ of national revolution. Then, immediate economic demands of the oppressed majority should be incorporated in the programme of action of the party. These two things, the end and the means—are confused in your programme. Further, some of the demands are ill-conceived, mis leading and do not represent the interest of the masses. For example, the realisation of all the demands under the heading "Economic Democracy" will not eliminate the exploitation of man by man; thus there will be no economic democracy. The items under the heading "Social Democracy" have nothing to do with Socialism (and Social Democracy must mean Socialism if you mean anything by it), they are measures of superficial social reform, and some of them are utopian at that. Democracy cannot be put into water-tight compartments labeled "Political". "Economic" and "Social". It is an indivisible whole characterised by certain political and economic features.

Now let us examine the measures proposed in your programme as measures of economic democracy. As pointed out above economic democracy can be realised only after the social system of private ownership, which leads to exploitation of one member of the society by the other, is abolished. This is also social democracy. There are not two things as "Economic Democracy" and "Social Democracy".

They are one and the same thing. One cannot be realised without the other. Now, you demand "Equitable distribution of wealth". What does it mean? Who is going to decide what is equitable? Obviously you do not mean equal distribution, because your programme provides against that. You do not propose abolition of capitalism. The rights you demand for labour will not in the least restrict the operation of capitalism. On the contrary, you expressly desire to "make strikes and lock-outs unnecessary". You propose to abolish the expression of class-struggle without abolishing classes. The most indulging critic will condemn these—demands as utopian.

"Economic Democracy" proposed in your programme as regards land is much worse. You leave the vital question of land-ownership alone, suggesting "uniform system of land tenure". This is very vague. What will be this system? Your advocacy of "the abolition of landlordism" defeats the object you presumably have in view. Your proposal is to buy out the landlords. Where is the money to be found? The state can raise the money only by taxation—that is by making the masses pay to the landlords who have

sucked their blood for ages. The landlords may be paid in bonds issued by the Government. In that case the landlords will continue as a parasite on the economic life of the nation only in a different form, free from all worries, interests on their bonds guaranteed by the state. Your proposal for the "annulment of agricultural indebtedness", a measure sorely needed by the peasants, is equally un-availing.

I am constrained to say, comrades, that concrete demands and propositions in your programme mock at the apparently radical headings "Economic Democracy" and "Social Democracy". It is precisely for these reason that men like Motilal Nehru, who would not agree with you on the vital question of national independence, are prepared to support your economic and social demands. Therefore my recommendation is that you should consider the matter more carefully paying more attention to the contents than to the head-lines of the programme.

The party you have undertaken to organise is not a Socialist Party. It need not be a Socialist Party. Therefore, it should not pretend to be one. The working class, which must eventually establish Socialism, will join hands with the lower middle class in the fight for *democratic*—freedom guaranteeing them certain political and economic rights, and objectively representing an advance towards Socialism. Your Party must have a *programme of National Revolution*, not of pseudo-socialism. Indian people must be free from foreign domination, because it has, for centuries, obstructed the normal economic and the political progress of the country. National Revolution means not only the over throw of foreign rule, but also the destruction of antiquated economic systems and social institutions which have been galvanised by imperialism as support to itself. Even to-day imperialism is planning to mobilise the native states into an active instrument against National Revolution. Destruction of feudal landownership- parasitic, not productive, ownership of large landed-estates. is a condition for the establishment of democracy. Therefore next to the overthrow of imperialism, root and branch, liquidation of feudalism as embodied in the native states and landlordism is the fundamental task of National Revolution. The party desiring to lead the National Revolution should, therefore, not go around this task and be a revolutionary party.

Summarising; the cardinal points in the programme of the party you propose to organise should be: (1) The capture of the state-power by the people (2) establishment of a democratic state under the effective control of the majority of the people; (3) Confiscation of British capital invested in India, (4) Repudiation of India's "Indebtedness" to Britain. (5) Abolition of the native states and landlordism, (6) Nationalisation of Public utilities, and key industries.

In addition to these basic points, the programme should include measures corresponding to the immediate demands of the workers and peasants in order to guarantee that the national state will be really democratic, and to make national independence of practical value to the masses. The following are the main of these measures:—

A. For all 1. Universal Suffrage, 2. Centralised democratic state guaranteeing protection for minorities; 3. Complete freedom of press and platform and association, 4. Freedom of religion and worship. 5. Free and compulsory primary education, 6. Right to carry arms, 7. Equal political rights for women. 8. Abolition of indirect taxation. 9. Taxation of large and unearned income.

B. For the workers. 1. Minimum wage raising the present standard of living. 2. Legislation guaranteeing an irreducible standard of the conditions of labour. 3. Eight-hour day, 4. Insurance against unemployment sickness, old age, maternity etc, at the expense of the employer. 5. A month's holiday with full wages in a year. 6. Legislation of the economic and political organisation of the workers, and of the right of strike; 7. Establishment of worker's committees in the factories to guard workers' interests, 8. Workers' control of nationalised industries.

C. For the peasants. 1. Abolition of all other charges except the land tax payable to the state not exceeding 15 per cent of the net income. 2. Freedom of taxation for peasants living upon "uneconomic holdings", 3. Liquidation of agricultural indebtedness without indemnification, 4. Control of usury-rate of interests not to exceed 5 per cent per annum. 5. Cheap agricultural credit. 6. Transfer of the Co-operative Credit Societies to the control of peasant's organisations, 7. State aid for the mechanisation of the cultivation of land.

Finally, comrades, I believe that the critical observations of mine will receive in the comradely spirit they are made.

Yours fraternally,

P. 1348 38.

A typed Copy of "The Report of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay."

(Vide Exh. P. 420)

P. 1348 39.

A typed copy of the "A. I. T. U. C. Resolutions

(Vide Exh. P. 666).

P. 1348 40.

A typed copy of the "Secretary's Report" Workers' and Peasants Party.

(Vide Exh. P. 826)

P. 1348. 41

Two note papers containing the following manuscript notes:—

**The Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bombay
Enlarged Executive Committee**

29th. February 1928.

The following resolutions have been tabled for discussion:—

(1) Trade Union (Com. Jhabvala.)

- (2) Organization (, , , Mirajkar.)
- (3) Youth. , , , Ghat.
- (4) Simon Commission. , , , Joglekar.
- (5) Peasant , , , Dange.
- (6) General Political , , ,
situation.

Any other work with the permission of the Chairman

(Below this the following note occurs in red pencil "Chairman moves resolution about Thengdi.")

On the second note sheet the following entry occurs:—

"Following comrades and sympathisers attended the meeting of the enlarged Executive Committee held on the 29th. January 1927 at Congress House."

Below this amongst others the following signatures are noticed:—

R. S. Nimbkar.	S. V. Ghat.
S. H. Jhabwala.	S. S. Mirajkar.
A. A. Alwe,	K. N. Joglekar.
S. A. Dange.	P. Spratt.
Muzaffar Ahmed.	

P. 1348 42.

A typed copy of an article on "The Simon Commission."
(Vide Exb P 833 second part).

P. 1348 43.

A telegram of 8-3-28 from Calcutta to Ghate, 751 Girgon Road, Bombay, The message runs as under:—

Municipal Scavengers struck work fourth instant demanding higher wages and better condition Swarajist administration attempting sabotage. Scavenger union Bengal 2/1 European Asylum Lane.

P. 1348 44.

2 printed copies of the leaflet containing a letter from the Executive Committee of the Workers and Peasants Party Bombay, to All Trade Unions and their Executive Committees of 11th Feb. 1928.

(Vide Exh. P. 827) (1).

P. 1348 45.

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Brussels Conference.

December 9th., 10th., 11th. 1927

RESOLUTION ON INDONESIA

The General Council of the League against Imperialism and for National Independence held on December 9th., 10th. and 11th. 1927 at Brussels, having heard the report of the Indonesian delegation concerning the conditions in Indonesia.

Protests energetically against

1.) the mass arrests and deportations of Indonesian fighters for freedom without any trial;

2.) the arrest of the leading members of the Perhimpoean Indonesia who are kept in prison for more than three months;—

decides the support with all strength the Indonesian liberating movement; and

appeals to the Dutch proletariat to strengthen the power of the Indonesian movement for freedom which is labouring under a regime of ruthless oppression, by rallying to the Dutch Section of the League to which the Perhimpoean Indonesia representing the Indonesian emancipation movement is affiliated.

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Brussels Conference

December 9th., 10th. and 11th. 1927

Resolution of the General Council of the League against Imperialism on the attitude of the 11nd. International

With reference to the document of October 7th, 1927 published by the L. S. I. (Second International) purporting to be a "History of the League against Imperialism" and alleging that the League was nothing but a communist manoeuvre, the General Council of the League against Imperialism

Protests emphatically against the publication of this misleading unjustified and untrue document, which this General Council regards as a direct attack on the numerous nationalist organisations of the oppressed peoples, affiliated to the League, and on all revolutionary workers taking part in the work of the League:

declares that by its action the Second International is violating the principles of Socialism and assisting the capitalist and the imperialist Governments, which are continually and everywhere arresting and condemning active nationalists for alleged "communist" activities, "relations with Moscow", etc.,

and urges all socialist workers, members of the parties affiliated to the Second International, to adhere to their socialist principles, to support by all means the struggle for freedom of their comrades in the oppressed countries, and consequently to disregard the attitude of the leaders of the Second International and to affiliate individually or by groups to the sections of the League in their particular country.

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Brussels Conference

9th., 10th. and 11th. December 1927.

RESOLUTION ON PERSIA

The Socialist Party and the Republican Revolutionary

Parties of Persia submit the following resolution concerning the general situation in Persia to the General Council of the League against Imperialism:

- 1.) Abolition of all unequal treaties.
- 2.) All secret agreements by an imperialist government which might harm the independence of Persia will not be recognised.
- 3.) To break the chain of exploitation of the foreign capitalists, who due to the unequal treaties, are able to exploit the Persian workers.
- 4.) To call to the proletariat of the world to come in an effective manner to the aid of the Persian workers who are exploited in the most ferocious manner in the workshops and above all in the petroleum concessions of the Anglo—Persian company.
- 5.) We ask the League to intervene through the Members of the English Parliament—we are in a position to make a protest—against the four demands which the Government of Great Britain addressed to Persia and which constitutes in our eyes a flagrant violation of the independence of this country.

This to remind you of these demands:—

- a) Recognition of the Persian debts which are not at all justified.
- b) Establishment of airlines between the central regions of Persia and the Persian Gulf.
- c) Recognition of the Government of Irak.
- d) Reestablishment of Sheike Khazaal.

signed: Suleiman Mirza

Delegate of the Persian Socialist Party

Ahmed Assadoff

Delegate of the Republican Revolutionary Party of Persia.

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

BRUSSELS CONFERENCE

December 9th., 10th. and 11th. 1927

PHILIPPINES RESOLUTION:

The Philippines delegate, realising that another world war is inevitable and is likely to be fought in the Pacific, at the expense

of the workers of the world in general and the workers and oppressed peoples of the Pacific in particular, submits the following resolution:—

(1) That the General Council shall instruct the Executive Committee to devise ways and means by which the workers of the North and South American countries, the workers and nationalists of Indonesia and China, and the workers and nationalists of the Philippines could come into close connection, so as to help one another.

(a) in the event of an imperialist country trying to suppress by force any national movement ; or

(b) in the event of an imperialist country attempting to use force behind its concessions and investments ; or

(c) in the event of an imperialist country trying to use the workers to fight for its own greed and profits.

(2) That the General Council shall instruct the Executive Committee to establish a branch of the League in the Philippines, the function of which shall be

(a) to win by all means the Philippine nationalists and workers into the League ;

(b) to keep reminding them that to win back their freedom they should use force with the help of all workers throughout the world ;

(c) to keep the Executive Committee informed of the Philippine situation in order that, in the event of a Philippine revolt against American imperialism, the Executive Committee could give immediate instructions to the different secretariats throughout the world as to the method to be used in helping the Philippine revolution to a successful end.

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

BRUSSELS CONFERENCE

December 9th., 10th., and 11th. 27.

Resolution of the General Council of the League against Imperialism on the Chinese Question.

After having the reports of the delegates from the All China Labour Federation, from the peasants unions as well as of several other Chinese comrades, who have until recently been official representatives of the Kuomintang in Europe and America, the General Council of the League against Imperialism makes the following declarations :—

(1) Imperialist intervention and the betrayal of the native bourgeoisie have dealt a series of defeats to the national revolution in China.

(2) The official policy of the Second International and the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) as regards the Chinese revolution is a flagrant violation of the principle of self-determination and a direct support for imperialist intervention.

(3) In spite of imperialist and militarist terror, the Chinese working class stands firmly and loyally on the road to revolution. The fascist unions set up in Shanghai by the militarists and the renegade nationalist bourgeoisie do not have the support of the proletarian masses who are behind the All China Labour Federation.

(4) The national revolution not only weakened the position of foreign imperialism but also threatened to liquidate native reaction (feudalism) as the means to the democratisation of the political and economic life of the people. In view of this, the reactionary feudal bourgeois elements left the nationalist front and began a fierce attack upon the workers' and peasants' movement. After a period of vacillation between revolution and counter-revolution, the Kuomintang as a whole finally betrayed the national revolution. The Kuomintang has surrendered itself to the feudal militarists and frankly repudiated its own ideals and programme. The workers and peasants masses had suffered and sacrificed so heroically for the national revolution and had stood loyally by the Kuomintang, while under the fire of imperialist guns the feudal bourgeois element deserted it. Now in the territories of the Kuomintang there is a reign of terror. Workers and peasants are massacred in thousands. The Kuomintang flag is soiled with the blood of the working class. The Kuomintang has abandoned the struggle against imperialism and has undertaken the task of crushing the revolution. Consequently it has become an instrument of imperialism. The national revolution can no longer develop under the Kuomintang flag. As a matter of fact, having betrayed its own ideals and programme, the Kuomintang has destroyed itself. It is broken up into warring groups with only one thing in common, namely, hatred for the workers and peasants who stand true to the cause of democratic national freedom.

(5) Foreign imperialism, native reaction and the renegade nationalist bourgeoisie have made a united front against the Chinese revolution. Over 90 per cent of the population of China belong to the exploited classes. They must continue the struggle against imperialist oppression and native reaction. More than ever they are in need of support from the toiling masses in the imperialist countries and revolutionary democratic movements in the colonial countries. They must organise their support and help the Chinese masses to overthrow imperialism and destroy native reaction

in spite of the treachery of the Second International and the do-bacle of the Kuomintang.

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

BRUSSELS CONFERENCE

9th., 10th. and 11th. December

Political Resolution of the General Council of the League against Imperialism.

1.) Since the Brussels Congress of the League, imperialist policy in the colonies has become increasingly aggressive. In a number of oppressed countries the movement for national freedom has suffered defeats in the face of formidable imperialist attack. French imperialism has crushed the revolts in Morocco and Syria. The American army and navy have helped reaction to gain supremacy over the democratic forces in Nicaragua, reducing it to the status of a veritable colony. In all the other Latin American countries, United States imperialism supports reactionary Governments against the will of the democratic masses. The insurrections in Java and Sumatra have been defeated by brutal measures of repression. Dutch imperialism has introduced a veritable reign of terror in Indonesia. Even the Chinese revolution has met a set-back, mainly owing to the concentrated efforts of all the imperialist powers. Finally, British imperialism has thrown down a most insolent challenge to the Indian nationalist movement by refusing the Indian people the most elementary rights of self-determination.

In this situation the task of the League is to intensify its activities with the object of mobilising, in a world-wide resistance to imperialist offensive, all the revolutionary forces fighting for freedom and democracy in the oppressed colonial countries. The heroic efforts of the oppressed peoples to free themselves can be frustrated by imperialism if they are not united and are not fully and effectively supported by the toiling masses in the imperialist countries. The gigantic upheaval of the Chinese people, which has dealt a severe blow to the power and prestige of imperialism in the Far East, enlisted the sympathy of the toiling masses in the imperialist countries; but this sympathy could not find a sufficiently effective expression in action to prevent imperialist intervention in China.

2.) The reformist and social democratic leaders of the Labour movement in the imperialist countries are largely responsible for the insufficient action of the proletariat in the imperialist countries to assist effectively the struggle for national freedom in the colonies. These leaders not only sabotaged the action of the proletariat in support of revolutionary movements in the colonies, they actually endorse the imperialist policy of colonial exploitation. They fully

believe in the imperialist doctrines of the "white man's burden", "civilising mission" etc. The official policy of the Socialist International and of the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) as regards imperialist intervention in China, for example, was to make a hypocritical protest while agreeing with the imperialist government on the necessity of taking measures "to protect foreign lives and property in China".

The General Council of the League, which has on it a number of representatives of the revolutionary sections of the political and industrial labour movement in the imperialist countries, is of the opinion that the official policy of the Socialist and Amsterdam Internationals as regards imperialism does not correspond with the interests of the proletarian masses in the imperialist countries. There was a time when a small part of the super profit derived from colonial exploitation could be devoted to create imperialist prejudice among the home proletariat. The situation has radically changed. From this period of capitalist decline the super profit derived from colonial exploitation must be increased by intensified exploitation and is badly needed for the stabilisation of capitalism at home. Thus Colonial exploitation is an indispensable method of capitalist rationalisation having an adverse influence upon the economic conditions of the whole proletariat. By exploiting more intensively the cheap colonial labour through industrialisation, imperialism seeks to lower the standard of living of the home proletariat.

In these conditions the interests of the proletariat in the imperialism countries demand an end of colonial exploitation. And colonial exploitation cannot cease to have an adverse effect upon the economic conditions of the home proletariat, unless the oppressed peoples become completely free. The League, therefore, must explain the situation to the toiling masses in order to mobilise them in a real struggle against imperialism in conjunction with the oppressed peoples. It must be explained to the masses that the social democratic theory of helping the backward races to advance gradually on the road to self determination is a direct aid to imperialism and therefore detrimental to the interests of the home proletariat.

3.) Since its formation the League had done considerable work of agitation and propaganda. The call of the League has found a response in the colonial countries. A certain amount of sympathy for the League has also been aroused in the imperialist countries. To give definite organisational shape to these preliminary achievements is the task of the League in the immediate future. The League must penetrate proletarian mass organisations in the imperialist countries. In the colonial countries it must base itself upon all the social classes that are prepared to carry on a real

struggle against imperialism for national freedom. While endeavouring to mobilise all available forces in a joint struggle against imperialism, the differentiation inside the nationalist movement in the colonies should be noted. As the movement for freedom inevitably develops revolutionary social aspects (liquidation of feudalism and other forms of native 'reaction'), the upper strata of the colonial population leaves the movements and tends to a compromise with imperialism. This process of class differentiation greatly helps imperialism in its fight against the Chinese revolution. As the national revolution developed, the feudal bourgeois elements left the nationalist ranks and allied themselves with imperialism against the revolution. Finally, the Kuo Min 'Tang as a whole betrayed the national revolution. A similar process is to be expected in other colonial countries also. In India the land-owning class and the big bourgeoisie are willing to compromise with the British imperialists in return for some concessions on the part of the latter. These elements weaken the nationalist movement by creating the illusion that national freedom is possible inside the British Empire. While supporting and organising every form of resistance to imperialist domination, the League must base itself primarily on those classes that must conduct a revolutionary struggle for complete national freedom, namely the workers, peasants and the democratic petty bourgeois masses.

4.) As regards the right of exploiting the so-called backward races, all the imperialist powers are united, but the rivalry of particular interests creates conflicts between imperialist governments. This conflict can be often utilised to promote the cause of freedom of this or that colonial people. But the League is of the opinion that under no circumstances should this tactical policy be adopted at the sacrifice of the struggle against imperialism as such. The League should also support the semi-colonial states, for example of Central and South America (Mexico, Nicaragua etc.) in their resistance to the aggression of the great imperialist powers.

5.) Finally, the General Council of the League is of the opinion that the setbacks suffered by the movement for freedom in a number of colonial countries do not provide reason for pessimism. On the contrary, they impose upon the League the great responsibility of organising active support for those peoples who are bearing the brunt of imperialist attack and terror. For example, the debacle of the Kuo Min 'Tang has left the workers and peasant masses alone in the struggle for national liberation. They are faced with a formidable counter-revolutionary united front of the imperialists, militarists, native feudal reaction and the renegade bourgeoisie. The Chinese people need international support more urgently than ever. The League must undertake to organise this support for the Chinese revolution.

The General Council resolves to create a powerful organisation of the League embracing militant mass organisations in the imperialist and colonial countries to face the offensive of imperialism.

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Brussels Conference

9th, 10th and 11th December 1927

RESOLUTION ON ORGANISATION.

I. *Basis of organisation:—*

All political organisations, all Parties, Trade-Unions, and persons who are fighting against capital-imperialist domination for the self-determination of all nations, for the national liberty of all people, for the equal rights of all races, classes and individuals shall be allowed to affiliate to the League against Imperialism and for National Independence.

II. *Plan of organisation:—*

(1). The Executive shall aim at organising in each colonial and each capitalist country, so far as practicable, a Section of the League consisting of all organisations and individuals that endorse the policy of the League and affiliate to the Section.

(2). Taking into account the particular situation in each country, the Executive shall seek to obtain affiliation to the International League of all organisations, at the same time informing the National Section in question of the new affiliation.

(3). That wherever possible, the Executive shall encourage the holding of Conference or Congresses by the National Sections or Group Conferences in which representatives of both the exploiting Empire and its exploited colonial peoples should participate.

III. *Immediate organisational steps.*

(1). The Executive must publish regularly a News Bulletin in several languages to disseminate information about imperialist oppression and the activities of the League.

(2). The General Council empowers the Executive to explore the possibilities of publishing a monthly organ of the League. The organ should be a journal dealing with imperialism, the attitude of various classes and parties in relation to it, colonial exploitation, all aspects of the struggle for freedom in the colonies, etc.

(3). National Sections of the League must be created and developed in the most important imperialist countries; namely England, France, and the United States. The main basis of the

League should be secured by the affiliation of Parties, Sections of Parties, Trade-unions and other organisations prepared to take an active part in the struggle against imperialism. To guarantee that affiliated sections of the League will be live organisations, promoting the anti-imperialist struggle, they should be mainly upon the basis of dues paying individual membership.

RESOLUTION ON ORGANISATION,

(4). In the colonial countries, the League must seek the affiliation of the nationalist organisations, and chiefly of the peasant and labour organisations.

(5). All affiliated organisations, shall pay dues either to the national sections or to the central office of the League according to agreement reached between the League and its sections. The proportion of dues received by the sections and paid by them to the central office, shall be determined in each case by agreement between the Executive Committee and the section involved,

(6). The Executive should seek to secure the affiliation of all trade unions, and particularly of the Pan Pacific Trade Union Federation.

(7). The central apparatus of the League should be strengthened by the creation of an efficient secretariat. The Executive is empowered to decide which is the most suitable seat of the International Secretariat and how the efficiency of the Secretariat will be strengthened.

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Brussels Conference

9th., 10th. and 11th December 1927.

RESOLUTION ON THE WAR DANGER.

The General Council of the League against Imperialism and Colonial Oppression records its appreciation of the great gesture for peace made by the Soviet Delegation at the Disarmament Conference at Geneva, in its proposals for total Disarmament by land, sea and air. The Council considers this proposal the more significant, because it is in striking contrast with the public announcement made a few days later by President Coolidge on behalf of American imperialism, - as it were in reply to the Soviet Republic's proposal for complete disarmament, that the piling up of armaments by the U. S. A. would continue under the guide of safeguarding "national security". Similar statements were also made by British ministers.

Nor are these mere empty boasts. In America and Britain first and foremost, but in every other capitalist country also the

burden of expenditure on armaments grows greater every year; and the productive forces of society are diverted more and more from constructive to destructive ends. Year after year sees the invention and mass production of more and more hideous and costly means of destruction—tanks, big guns, air bombs, poison gas etc. Simultaneously the moral and ideological preparations for war are being intensified, by propaganda through the schools, the press, the film, military displays etc. to cast a false halo around militarism, navalism and imperialism.

The Lithuanian-Polish crisis, the constant friction between Fascist Italy and her neighbours, above all, the constant provocation offered to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by hostile acts which in other circumstances would inevitably entail war (the attacks on Soviet consulates and official in particular) demonstrate how powerful are the forces making for war and how ever-present is its danger. But these and similar incidents are only the pretext, not the cause of war, just as the monstrous growth of armaments is only a visible proof of the peril, not an explanation of its cause.

The war peril is growing once more because the robber imperialist powers are once more finding themselves locked in conflict throughout the world, first of all over the redistribution of the right to oppress the colonial peoples and subject races, to monopolise colonial markets and sources of raw materials, to sweat super-profits out of cheap colonial labour. The struggle between British and American imperialism over the right to exploit China, Central and South America and the peoples of Eastern Europe; the struggle between French and Italian imperialism over the economic control of the Mediterranean shores and between French and British imperialism over the right to exploit Syria Palestine, Arabia and the Near East generally—these are typical of the fatal international antagonism of imperialism which show themselves, now here, now there, but always and everywhere bring the peril a step closer.

Even those antagonisms, however, are temporarily reconciled whenever the imperialist world as a whole finds itself face to face with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the first great challenge to world imperialism. The U. S. S. R. does not depend for its existence on the subjection and exploitation of colonial peoples, since the power of the imperialist bourgeoisie who formerly ruled Tsarist Russia has been utterly destroyed. Consequently the U. S. S. R. is the only power which could come to Geneva with a genuine and practical scheme for disarmament.

RESOLUTION WAR DANGER.

On the other hand, the very existence of the U. S. S. R. is a standing encouragement to the oppressed colonial peoples and therefore an object of perpetual and increasing hostility to the imperialists of all countries. Military diplomatic and moral

preparations for war on the U. S. S. R. have been pushed ahead by British imperialism in particular, ever since its present conservative Government came to Office, and the rupture of diplomatic relations in May, 1927, was an important step forward towards this object.

The bloody intervention of British imperialism in China, during 1927 and the heavy temporary defeat it has inflicted upon the Chinese revolution both directly and through its agents, the Northern and the Kuo Min Tangs militarists, are a further measure of the fact that war today is inseparable from imperialism. The revolt of the 400 millions of the Chinese people, in which the exploited masses—the working class and the peasantry—were playing an increasingly active part, was encouraging similar movements for national liberation in all oppressed countries. And for this very reason British imperialism, supported more or less actively by Japanese, French and American imperialism, was determined not only to destroy it by force of arms, but to launch an attack, if necessary, upon the Soviet Union also, as the ally, guide and champion of revolutionary China.

The League against Imperialism and Colonial Oppression calls upon the toilers and the exploited of the whole world to realise that, so long as imperialism lasts, so long will new bloody catastrophes menace the peace of the world and the lives of millions. So long as a few robber cliques of financiers can continue to appropriate and monopolise the exploitation of natural resources, of human labour, of the ordinary requirements of existence, so long will they continue the struggle over these privileges at the price of countless lives, endless suffering, boundless destruction. In these wars it is upon the colonial people that falls the main burden of suffering, of material loss, and of human wastage of human life. Their countries become the theatre of military operations, their manhood becomes cannon fodder in the war to rivet the chains of imperialist slavery still more firmly on their own bodies. Therefore, it is to the special interest of the colonial peoples to fight against the war danger and, in the event of imperialist wars breaking out, to refuse to aid or participate in them. The League declares that all the imperialist talk of disarmament and of security are an impudent fraud, since they continue to rely upon arms to shoot down their own workers and colonial slaves, and the only security they conceive of, is security for their profits at the price of the misery and the destruction of human race. The League calls on the workers of the imperialist countries, in particular, to realise that in a close, fraternal and effective alliance with oppressed peoples for the overthrow and destruction of imperialism lies the only hope for the salvation of mankind from new fratricidal massacres.

P. 1348 (46)

A Manuscript copy of a letter from the Executive Committee of the Worker's and Peasant's Party, Bombay to all Trade Unions and their Executive Committees.

(Vide Exh. P. 827 (1)).

P. 1348 47

A Typewritten copy of the "Manifesto of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India".

(Vide Exh. P. 441).

P. 1348 48.

A pamphlet in English entitled "Manifesto of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, to the Indian National Congress" Madras, December 1927.

(Vide Exh. P. 23).

P. 1348 49.

**Manifesto issued by the Executive Committee
of the workers' and Peasants' Party of
Bombay on the Royal Commission.**

The Workers' and Peasants' party as the political representative of millions of exploited Masses of India unreservedly stands for

a universal and really effective boycott of the Royal Commission. Besides co-operating with the other Political Parties, Congress and non-Congress in organising a concrete method of boycott it will utilise all its resources and influence amongst Trade Unions and other Mass organisations in the Country to carry out the said boycott in more concrete and effective terms than mere obstinence from tendering evidences before the Royal Commission or partaking in any formal or informal gatherings where the members of the Royal Commission might possibly attend with a view to gauge public opinion in any direct or indirect form.

The Workers' and Peasants' party has no illusion about the Royal Commission and reiterates its conviction that not through such commissions but only by developing and bringing into action the basic force of the Nation, the dynamic action of organised workers and peasants, can alone be productive of any really valuable and vital political results. It therefore proposes to call on the organised and unorganised toiling Masses of this land to demonstrate in unambiguous and unmistakable terms (Mass action including Strikes and demonstration) their active indifference towards such Commissions intended to sidetrack the attention of the Indian people.

Further the Party challenges the very right of British Imperialism to sit in judgement over the political destiny of this land and emphatically condemns the short-sighted policy and compromising tendencies of other Political Groups who quibble over the personnel of the Commission and thereby fundamentally forsake the principle of self-Determination—the Inherent Right of every Nation.

Editor,

Bombay Chronicle

Bombay.

Please publish the above

and oblige.

S. S. M.

S. S. Mirajkar.

Secretary.

Four note sheets containing the following:—

The following comrades be invited to attend the Enlarged Executive Meeting of the W. and P. Party, Bombay on Sunday the 29th instant.

1. Com. D. R. Thengdi
2. „ S. H. Jhabvala
3. „ J. B. Patel
4. „ K. N. Joglekar.
5. „ S. V. Ghate
6. „ R. S. Nimbkar
7. „ Lalji Pendse
8. „ S. S. Mirajkar
9. „ S. A. Dange
10. „ A. A. Alve (President Girmi Kamgar)
11. „ P. Spratt
12. „ R. B. Mantri
13. „ C. G. Shah
14. „ Juwekar
15. „ Khardikar
16. „ Gajanan of the Mun. Workers
17. „ Kulkarni of the G. I. P. Ry. Workers
18. „ Sadanand of the B. P. T. Employees.
19. „ Y. J. Meherally of the Youth Movement.
20. „ Shrinagarpur
21. „ Ramzan Ali of the Dockers' Union.
22. „ Gopinath Singh of Lahore
23. „ Muzaffar Ahmad of Calcutta
24. „ Mrs. Dange (on behalf of Women workers).
25. „ An actual woman worker of Municipal worker.
26. „ A peasant (from Junnar Taluk)

27. „ P. J. Bhatt of R. L. Trust (Student)
28. „ T. V. Parvate
29. „ V. H. Joshi
30. „ Miss Bachubai Letvalla
31. „ Natesan
32. „ Zhulmi Ram, G. I. P. Staff Union.
33. „ Man who proposed boycott resolution in Youth Conference: (Daruwala?)
34. „ Two students from Wilson attending our class.
35. „ Manerikar
36. „ Babu Alve.

The following gentlemen have been invited to attend the Sunday Meeting to be held at Congress House at 12/30 P. M.

1. Mr. D. R. Thengdi
2. „ S. H. Jhabvala
3. „ J. B. Patel
4. „ K. N. Joglekar
5. „ S. V. Ghate
6. „ R. S. Nimbkar
7. „ Lalji Pendse
8. „ S. S. Mirajkar
9. „ S. A. Dange
10. „ P. Spratt
11. „ A. A. Alve-(Girni Kamgar)
12. „ Babu Alve
13. „ R. B. Mantri
14. „ C. G. Shah
15. „ Juwekar
16. „ Khardikar
17. „ Gajanan Khemar (Mun. Workers)
18. „ Kulkarni—(G. I. P. Ry. Workers)
19. „ Sadanand—(B. P. T. Employees)

20. „ Y. J. Maharally—(Youth Movement)
21. „ Shringarpure — (Docks)
22. „ Ramzan Ali— (Dockers Union)
23. „ Gopinath Singh of Lahore
24. „ Muzaffar Ahmad of Calcutta
25. „ P. J. Bhatt of Students (R. L. Trust)
26. „ T. V. Parvate
27. „ V. H. Joshi
28. Miss Bachuben Lotvala
29. Mrs. Ushabi Dange
30. Mr. Natesan
31. „ Zulmiram of G. I. P. Ry. Staff
32. „ Manerikar
33. „ Batliwala
34. „
35. „
36. „

WILSON
COLLEGE

P. 1349.

A file headed "Kranti", Managers' Correspondence, containing Exhibits P. 1349 (1) and P. 1349 (2).

P. 1349 1.

Office copy of a letter written by S. S. Mirajkar to the superintendent Yeroda Prison, Poona. The letter runs as under:

Shantaram S. Mirajkar

2/3 Khandke Building

Dadar, Bombay.

4th July 1927.

The Superintendent,

Yeroda Prison.

Yeroda, Poona.

Sir,

I want to meet Mr. D. Campbell who, I understand is in your prison at present.

Will you kindly let me know the date and hours when I can have an interview with him.

Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours &c.

P. 1349 2.

Bombay, 30th June 1927

In the Court of the Chief, presidency Magistrate,

BOMBAY.

I, Shantaram Sawlaram Mirajkar, am the Printe of the Weekly Newspaper called "KRANTI" printed at the Lokasevak Press and published at 17 Dwarkadas Mansion, Girgaon, Bombay, No 4.

SHANTARAM S. MIRAJKAR

Declared before me this 30th day of June 1927.

The Chief Presidency

Magistrate.

Bombay, 30th June 1927.

In the Court of the Chief Presidency
Magistrate Bombay.

I, Santaram Sawlaram Mirajkar, am the Printer of the Weekly Marathi Newspaper called "KRANTI" printed at the Loksevak Press and published at 17, Dwarkadas Mansion, Girgaon, Bombay, No. 4.

SHANTARAM S. MIRAJKAR

Declared before me —
this 30th day of June 1927.

Chief Presidency Magistrate.

P. 1350.

A file headed Sanjiwan, Dadar, containing Exhibits No P 1350(1) to P-1350(6).

P. 1350 1.

Jhansi

28.9.27.

Dear Sir,

Received your kind note dated 25th with a form of membership of workers and Peasants Party and some copies of Kranti, though it is need not to say but as a matter of fact I have to say that I am not in position to pay the subscription (Rs. 3) as I am earning nothing since the begining of the non coperation on account of devoting whole of my time in public services.

I also beg to add that the amount is too much for the persons of ordinary status for whom it is meant, accordingly I will request

you and the party to reduce it to such a extent so that every one may be able to afford it easily and become the member of the Party of the party. As regards Kranti, I like it very much but I am unable to subscribe it.

I am
Yours sincerely
Lakshman Rao Kadam
Municipal Commr
Secy Town Congress
Committee & Labour Union

P. 1350 2.

NATIONAL MINORITY MOVEMENT
Hon. Chairman: TOM MANN
Gen. Organising Secretary:
Hon. General Secretary Harry Pollitt
George Hardy.
National Treasurer:
Geo. FLETCHER
National Industrial sections.

Q Address all communications to Hon. Gen. Secretary.

Telephone: MUSEUM 6708

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

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

Room 14, First Floor,

38 GREAT ORMOND STREET
LONDON W. C. 1
Monday 12th December, 1927.

S. S. Mirajkar,
17 Dwarkadas Mansion
Girgaon,
Bombay,
INDIA.

Dear Comrade,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th August, for which

many thanks. I am not in a position personally to send you the literature you ask for but I am writing to the Labour Research Department and to the Communist Party who publish the various pamphlets for which you ask, to see if it is possible for them to send on to you copies of the pamphlets. I also understand that Mrs. Pollitt has written an article for the "Hindustan" which should reach you within the next week or so.

Comrade Saklatvala is getting better and is now again in action. In regard to his children and the Parsee religion, this is a domestic matter which I do not feel it in my province to pass an opinion on, whatever my personal views may be.

Thanks for your little note re the Indian textile mills.

All good wishes,

Yours fraternally,

HARRY POLLITT,

Honorary General Secretary.

P. 1350 3

LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT.

Chairman: W. H. HUTCHINSON 162 BUCKINGHAM PLACE RD.
Vice Chairman: G. BURGNAEY, J.P. WESTMINSTER, LONDON S. W. 1
Hon. Treasurer: A.L. BACHARACH Telephone VICTORIA 1046
Director of Research: R. PAGE ARNOT Telegrams LABOSEARCH
Secretary: EMILE BURNS CHURTON LONDON.

13/9/27.

Mr. S. S. MARAJKAR,

17, Dwarkadas Mansion

Girgaon, Bombay.

Dear Comrade,

I am sending on some specimen copies of the publications we have issued recently including some of our regular journal, the *Monthly Circular*. You will probably find the information contained in these books quite useful, and perhaps you could persuade

some bookseller in Bombay to buy from us—we allow the usual discount to the trade, and thus help to secure a wider circulation for our books.

Yours Fraternally,

E. BURNS

L. P.

Secretary.

P. 1350 4.

Two notesheets containing addresses of the following amongst others:—

- (1) The Labour Research Department,
162, Buckingham Palace Road,
London, S. W. 1.
- (2) The Editor,
Labour Monthly,
162a, Buckingham Palace Rd.
London S. W. 1.
- (3) The Plebs League,
162a, Buckingham Palace Rd.
London S. W. 1.
- (4) The Sunday Worker,
254, Grey's Inn Road,
London W. C. 2.
- (5) The Secretary,
Communist Party of Great Britain,
16, King Street,
London W. C. 2.
- (6) The Editor, New Leader,
47, George street,
Westminster.
London S. W. 1.
- (7) The Editor FORWARD,
Renfrew St.
Glasgow, England.

- (8) The Editor, Worker's Weekly,
254, Grey's Inn Road,
London. W. C. 1.
- (9) The Bomb Shop,
Charing Cross Road,
London, W. C. 1.
- (10) The Editor, Worker,
33, Gt. Ormond St.
London, W. C. 2.

P. 1350. 5

A telegram from Mirajkar to Page Arnot, Labour Research Department London. The telegram runs as under; Spratt Defence arrangements made through Ginwalla Cable assistance to Mirajkar Workers' Peasants Party Bombay.

Mirajkar.

P. 1350 '6.

An envelope having the following address written on it:—

Workers' and Peasants' of Bombay,

Room No. 17 Dwarkadas Mansion,

On the corner of Sandhurst Road and Benamhall Lane.

BOMBAY ?

INDIA.

P. 1350 (7)

EXPLANATIONS TO POSTERS HAVE BEEN SENT
YOU UNDER REGISTERED MAIL.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE SOVIET UNION

1917 — 1927

General Denikin

Admiral Kolchak

Those who headed the white guards and who were supported by
the Imperialists.

Lloyd George

Prime Minister of the Liberal Govt..... who inspired the
Intervention

BRITISH INTERVENTION.

Oil works in Baku under temporary British occupation in 1919.

Civil war ends in victory for Soviet Russia. England throws
one milliard roubles into the gutter to maintain British troops on
Soviet territory and to support the White Guards.

Civil war, inspired and supported by the Imperialists, ruins
but does not destroy Soviet Russia.

Failure of Intervention forces the Lloyd George Govt. to
renew trading relations with Soviet Russia..... which is the chief
source of agricultural products and raw materials for England and
a large consumer of British goods.

England and the R.S.F.S.R. conclude Trading Agreement
on March 16, 1921 with the Conservative, (Reactionary) Govern-
ments rise to power at the end of 1922 relations with Soviet
Russia are estranged. On May 8, 1923 Curzon in the name of his
Conservative Government sends Ultimatum to Soviet Government,
which bristles with discourteous attacks and unwarranted demands,
THREATENING to break-off trading relations. The Soviet
Government, desiring to settle the dispute peacefully, makes certain
concessions, while Curzon under PRESSURE of the British
workers is forced to withdraw his *Ultimatum*.

Lord Curzon Minister of Foreign Office in British Letter which stamped British public
Conservative Govt. extreme opinion, conservatives again come to
me imperialist, formerly power (Baldwin's Govt.). Conservative
Viceroy of India. Govt. refuses to put up above-mentioned
Agreement with Soviet Russia for con-
firmation of the House of Commons
(Autum 1924.)

Raid on Soviet Trade Mission Chamberlain J. Hicks
(7) 0701 Baldwin

Storming of Winter Palace Oct. 25, 1917

Diagram of Fronts The front line 1919
1918-1920 The line of greatest advance of White Guards 1918-1920

The Front in 1920.
Archangel Viborg Petrozavodsk Shekursk Yamburg
Petrograd Vologda Pskov Kostroma Vyatka

Perm Polotsk Yaroslav Nijni-Novgorod

Sarapul Minsk Vitebsk Kazan Smolensk

MOSCOW Mogilev Tula Simbirsk Samara

Gomel Kamenets-Podolsky Region of Rumanian Occupation.

ODESSA Kherfon Simferopol Novorossisk Vladikavkaz

Rostov Ekaterinoslav Tula Voronezh Kharkov

Tsaritsin Saratov Penza Ufa Orenburg

Uralsk Gurev ASTRAKHAN

The great Industry of the USSR

gross value of production 6, 691, 000, 000 rubles. Number of workers in thousands.

Trade between Soviet Russia & England

Export Import

Comrade Vorovsky

murdered by British hirelings on May 11, 1923, three days after Curzon presented his ultimatum.

Our friends—English Communists.

BRITISH CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT BECOMES STRONGHOLD OF WORLD REACTION.

British Conservatives endeavour to set up united imperialist front against Soviet Russia. Carries on intervention in China. Carries on struggle against British workers. Supported rendered British miners (May-October 1926) by USSR workers enrages Conservatives and strengthens anti-soviet campaign. In February 1927 Chamberlain sends Note to the Soviet Government accusing it of supporting the Chinese Revolution and of discourtesy to British Government, etc. British Government instructs Chinese

White Guards to raid USSR Embassy in Peking (April 1927). In May 1927 the British Government carry out pirate raid on Soviet Trade Mission in London and breaks off relations with the Soviet Union.

- Comrade VOIKOV—murdered on June 7, 1927.—10 days after rupture of British and U.S.S.R. relations.

British conservatives rupture relations in order to prepare war against the Soviet Union to destroy it.

Workers and peasants of the Soviet Union will still more cordially close up their ranks, and strengthened and fortified will continue their creative work of Socialist construction. Workers and peasants throughout the world will uphold Soviet Russia.

The onslaught of imperialists will be ruthlessly repulsed by the Red Army.

PERIOD OF INTERVENTION (1917-1920).

Why did the British bourgeois Government war against the power of the Soviets? The Soviet Government (1) meant the transfer of power to the workers and peasants and the beginning of the World Socialist Revolution, (2) while not desiring to participate in the imperialist war, Soviet Government concluded peace with Germany and her allies, (3) and abrogated the enormous loans solicited by the Tsarist and Provisional Governments for war needs and also the pre-war loans, (4) nationalised the industry in which the British bourgeoisie had invested hundreds of millions of rubles and (5) the existence of the Soviet State was a contagious example for the British workers.

Victims of the Intervention

26 Baky Bolshevik Commissars shot in 1918 on British officer's order (from the picture by I. Brodsky).

A. DJAPARIDZE AND S. SMAUMYAN—two of those shot.

PERIOD OF AGREEMENTS

(1921—1927)

Mac Donald's "Labour Government" formed at the beginning of 1924 officially recognised (de jure Soviet Union on February 2 1924, while in April 1924 Anglo-Soviet Conference opens to discuss question of settling debts and opening credits for Soviet Russia. Agreement signed on August 9.

L. Krassin R. Mac Donald—Prime Minister of "Labour Government extreme opportunist and social traitor.

G. Chicherin H. Rakovsky

Miners' strike of May—October, 1926.

Mass demonstration of protest.

Workers and peasants' in reply to the menaces of British imperialism mobilise your forces under the leadership of the All-Union C.P. (b)

P. 1350 8.

JHANSI

9-10-27

Dear Sir,

In reply to your kind note dated the Sept I had sent you a letter in reply but I could get no answer as yet; my letter reads as under.

I wish to be the member of the Worker and Peasant party but I am unable to pay the subscription fee Rs. 3/-, though it is need not to say but as a matter of fact I have to say that since the begining of the non coperation I am devoting whole of my time in public services and practically earning nothing but depending on my family.

I also beg to add that the fee is too much for the people of the ordinary class for whom the party is meant therefore I will request you and your party to reduce it too such an extent so that every one may be able to become the member easily. In the mean time I will request you to please enlist me as a honrary member of the party if there is any margin.

Regarding Kranti I beg to inform you that I like it much and I shall be very much pleased to have it but the same condition will also apply in this matter too as I have already explained you my unability regarding subscription.

Please send me the rules of the party if they have been printed as I wish to open a branch here.

Hoping to get an early reply.

Yours sincerely
Lakseman Rao Kadam
Secretary Town Congress and
member Municipal Board
Gudri Bazar

BOMBAY
Dated 9-10-1927

The Secretary,

THE WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY BOMBAY.

Dear Comrade,

I desire to be a member of the Workers' & Peasants' party, Bombay. I am willing to subscribe to the object, (Printed overleaf) Constitution and Programme of the Party, and pay the prescribed subscription.

Yours fraternally,

Lakshman Rao Kadam

Particulars to be filled up by an applicant.

Name (In full) Lakshman. Rso Kadam.....
Address *Secretary Town Congress Committee and member Municipal Board Gudri Bazar.*

Occupation.....

X Group in which you intend to work

- T. U.
- Ed.
- Congress.
- Peasants.

X Please strike off the rest excepting the one that you want.

FORWARDED TO THE SECRETRY.

I have known Mr.....who desires to join our Party. I have found him satisfactory to work in my group. I, therefore, recommend his Candidature.

.....
Group Leader.

Placed before the Executive Committee on.....

Approved or Rejected.

Secretary. /

on the back of the above Form occurs the Following printed matter :—

THE WORKERS' & PEASANTS PARTY, BOMBAY.

OBJECT

To establish Swaraj (Complete National Independence) wherein the means of production, distribution and exchange are publicly owned and socially controlled.

I do hereby agree to accept the above object of the Workers' & Peasants' Party, Bombay, and promise to work in its realization to the best of my abilities:

Signature.

Lakshman Rao Kadam

P. 1351

A file containing bills and receipts.

The following are important:—

..... 44 receipts passed by the Sarswat Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., to the Manager "Kranti" between 20-5-27, and 10-11-27.

Receipt no. 1320 dated 20th May 1927, passed by the Advocate of India, Job Department, to S.S. Mirajkar, Secretary Workers' and Peasants' Party, in respect of Rs. 15/- for printing 1000 copies of covering letter for the programme of the Party, and 1000 copies of the programme of the Party.

P. 1352

A file headed "Kranti" Editorial Correspondence, and containing the Exhibit P. 7352 (1) and P. 1352 (2).

P. 1352 1.

A piece of paper containing the following draft resolution:—

This meeting condemns the action of American Imperialism in sending to death two innocent labourers Sacco and Vazetti, in spite of the protests of the world proletariat, but again thanks American Imperialism for exposing the barbarism and ruthlessness of capitalism and thereby giving more impetus to the oppressed proletariat of the world to unite against Imperialism in every country.

28/8/27

P. 1352 2.

For the Emancipation of the Enslaved and Exploited Masses.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.

THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY.

Executive Committee 17, Dwarkadass Mansion.
President: Comrade D.R. Thengdi. Girgaun
Secretary: Comrade S.S. Mirajkar. Bombay,—1st July 1927.
E.C. Members Comrade S.H. Jhabwala. (India.)

S.V. Ghate

Group Leaders.

Congress: Com Laljee Pendse.
Trade Union „ K.N. Joglekar.
Education „ R.S. Nimbkar.
Peasants „ J.B. Patel.

Office Copy.

To

Dear Comrade,

I have sent you by this Mail under a separate packet Copies of my Weekly vernacular Paper "KRANTI" (Revolution) which is an official organ of the above Party. This Weekly is the only paper in Bombay which exclusively voices Working Class grievances and stands for strong and powerful Trade Union activities. I am glad to tell you that it becoming more & more popular—amongst the Workers of Bombay.

My Party though of a very recent growth is the only Working Class Party in India, which stands for the organisation of the Masses which form 98% of India's population. The Party also is attracting the attention of more persons day by day—towards it self and I am sure in a short time this Party alone will become a powerful Political Party in India with the Mass support behind it. So far three Provincial Branches of the Party are organised, they are Bengal, Lahore and Ajmere. Bengal and Lahore Branches have their vernacular organs, viz. "GANAVANI" (The Voice of the Masses) and "MEHNATKASHI" (The Worker) respectively.

I shall, therefore, be obliged if you will kindly send me a copy of your Review to the above address to enable us to be in touch with the Workers' Fight with our common enemy on the other end.

Hoping to hear from you soon,

I am,

Yours fraternally.

Editor, "KRANTI"

Copies-sent to

- 1 Labour Monthly.
- 2 Plebs
- 3 Worker.
- 4 New Leader
- 5 Forward
- 6 Workers' Weekly
- 7 Sunday Worker
- 8 C. P. G. B.
- 9 Bomb Shop
- 10 L. R. Deptt.

P. 1353.

A file containing the applications for the membership of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bombay. Membership applications of the following are on record:—

(1) D. R. Thengdi.

- (2) Shantaram S. Mirajkar.
- (3) S. H. Jhabvala.
- (4) Sachidanand Vishnu Ghate.
- (5) Keshav Nilkant Joglekar.
- (6) Nimbkar Raghunath Shivram.
- (7) Gangadhar Adhikari.
- (8) Govind Ramchandra Kasle.
- (9) Arjun Atmaram Alwe.
- (10) Philip Spratt.
- (11) Shripad Amrit Dange.

On the back of the membership form the following printed matter occurs:—

The Workers' and Peasants' Party, Bombay.

OBJECT.

To establish Swaraj (Complete National independence) where-
in the means of production, distribution and exchange are publicly
owned and socially controlled.

I do hereby agree to accept the above object of the Workers'
and Peasants' Party, Bombay, and promise to work in its realisation
to the best of my abilities.

Signature.

P. 1354.

A file containing exhibits No. P 1354 (1) to P. 1354 (6).

P. 1354 I.

Khurshed F. Nariman.
B. A. LL. B. M. L. C.

Wadia House.
Hughes Road, Chowpaty.
Bombay, 22 nd. January 1927.

To

The Conveners
Lenin Anniversary Meeting.

Gentleman,

I regret very much my inability to attend today's meeting though I am in full sympathy with the movement. I am suffering from sore throat and have practically lost my voice and the Doctor has advised complete rest. Wishing your function every success and hoping to be excused for this inability,

Yours Sincerely,

Sd/. K. F. Nariman.

P. 1354 I E.

An envelope containing the above letter. On this envelope there are drafts of two resolutions written both in pencil and ink. they are as follows:—

This meeting of the citizens of B. held under the auspices of.....places on record its deep sense of appreciation of the great services rendered by Valdimir Lenin to the cause of oppressed peoples not only of Russia but of the whole world.

This meeting of the citizens of Bombay held under the auspices of the labour Party of the National Congress to celebrate the anniversary of Lenin the Great leader of May movement in Russia, places on record the Citizens of Bombay's hearty prayers for the peace of the soul of the great martyr who during his lifetime successfully carried out the Russian Revolution to the great relief of the masses of that land.

P. 1354 2.

Rejected.

16, King St.

Coveht Garden.

London. W, C. I.

November 29th.

1926.

The Editor.

"Hindustan"

21, Dalal St.

Fort.

Bombay.

Dear Comrade,

I have read with great interest and enjoyment your excellent Diwali number of the "Hindustan". Of all the articles, I was most impressed by the one entitled "Confessions of a Prostitute." I was exceedingly glad to see that you are thus taking up the question of women; championing the move towards emancipation, and openly making your journal the platform for propaganda on the subjects of birth-control, womens' suffrage, and so on.

But why not go back to the root cause of all the misery and ignorance that is rife in your country? You have a population of 320 millions, of whom 160 million are women. At least 100 million of these will be between the ages of 12 and 60. How many of these can read or write their own names, let alone study books giving information on the subject of birth control? Almost all these poor women are totally ignorant, hungry, hard-worked and exploited from the cradle to the grave. Their wages cannot supply them with the ordinary necessities of food and clothing, let alone books or doctors' fees.

Every page of your paper shows how eager you are to do something to relieve the terrible lot of these millions of Indian workers. Yet no real relief can be effected until they have organised in strong mass Trade Union and Labour organisations, women equally with men; with the object of throwing from off their backs the burden of British Imperialism which is responsible for every one of the evils which your paper is struggling to combat.

Isolated movements for reform are totally useless while the shackles of capitalism are binding down hand and foot. Will you not throw yourself heart and soul into the task of educating and

organising these workers, particularly the women, with your paper as the organ of publicity, so that they may effectively prepare to overthrow their exploiters, and with them the evils which devastate the lives of countless thousands.

With fraternal greetings, and every good wish for the success of your paper,

Marjorie Pollitt.

P. 1354 3.

A telegram No. 3864. D/- 12-2-27 from K. Ghosh Vakil, Calcutta, to Bakhale, Servant of India Society, Bombay. The contents are as follows:—

“Inform Ginwalla Campbell Arrives Bombay Monday Morning Via Nagpur Arrange Bail.

Draft Constitution of Labour Party.

1. **Name.**—The party shall be called the Congress Labour Party.

2. **Objects.**—The object of the Party is:—

(A) To capture the Congress machinery.

(B) To establish Federated Republic of India based on universal adult suffrage.

Membership.—Members shall be:—

(1) Ordinary members.

(2) Associate members.

(A) Ordinary Member shall be members of the Congress accepting the object of this Party.

(B) Associate members shall be those who accept the object of the Party.

4. **Subscription.**—All members shall pay a yearly subscription of Rs. 2/- payable either fully or by quarterly instalments of Ans.-/8/- each in advance.

5. **Executive.**—The Party at its annual General Meeting will elect the following to form its executive:—

5. Members of the committee.

1. President.

2. Honorary Secretaries.

1. Honorary Treasurer.

9.

6. The above Executive shall meet at least once every month to conduct the business of the Party.

7. The President shall preside at all the meetings of the Executives and of the Party.

8. In the unavoidable absence of the President any member of the Executive may be voted to the chair.

9. At all meetings of the Executive five persons shall form a quorum.

10. No quorum is necessary at any adjourned meeting of the Executive.

11. **General meetings.**—There shall be at least one General meeting of the Party at the beginning of every quarter.

12. At a General meeting of the Party fifteen members shall form a quorum.

13. No quorum shall be necessary at any adjourned meeting of the Party.

14. At General Meeting a report of the work done and a statement of the accounts during the preceding quarter shall be read and confirmed.

15. There shall be an Annual General Meeting to be held in the 1st fortnight of November every year. At this meeting the following business will be transacted.

(A) Adoption of the Annual Report and a audited statement of accounts.

(B) Election of the Executive.

(C) Determination of the policy to be adopted by the Party in the Congress.

(D) Such other business as is notified eight days before the date of the meeting.

16. At all meetings decisions shall be given in accordance with the vote of the majority.

17. The decisions of the majority shall be binding on the members of the Party.

18. No change in the constitution, however, shall be effected save by a majority of two-thirds of the members present at the meeting.

19. **Special Business.** At the Annual General meeting of the Party members shall proceed to elect one of them as their Leader to represent the Labour Group in the Congress. Such Leader shall carry out the Policy and programme of the Party in general and its special mandates in particular.

20. A member who is found to be guilty of the breach of discipline of the Party shall be liable to be turned out by the Party at a Special General Meeting called for the purpose. No such step, however, be taken unless four-fifths of the members present vote for it, and unless he is given a sufficient opportunity to explain his conduct.

P. 1354. (5)

Rejected.

INTERNATIONALE *der*
KRIEGSDIENSTGEGNER.
L'INTERNATIONALE *des*
RESISTANTS *contre* LA GUERRE
WAR RESISTERS'
INTERNATIONAL
INTERNACIONAL *de*
KONTRAUMILITISTOI

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL 1925-7

A. FENNER BROCKWAY, *Chairman* CECIL H. WILSON, M. P., *Treasurer*
DR. HELENE STOKER, *Germany* DR. HANS KOHN, *Poland* ALLAN DEGERMAN, *Sweden*
PREMYSL PITTER, *Czecho-Slovakia* MARIANNE RAUZE, *France* HAROLD F. BING, *Britain*
OLGA MISAR, *Austria* JO. MEIJER, *Holland* ELINOR BYRNS, *U. S. A.*
H RUNHAM BROWN, *Hon Secretary* MARTHA STEINITZ, *Associate Secretary*

11 ABBEY ROAD, ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX, ENGLAND

Telephone: ENFIELD 0121

29th April, 1927

HRB/GMB

The Secretary,

Workers' and Peasants' Party,

2/3, Khandke Building,

Dedar,

BOMBAY, INDIA.

Dear Sir,

I am taking this opportunity of sending you a copy of "The War Resister." I hope you can make use of it.

The War Resisters' International has for the last three years been making contact with those who are determined personally to refuse all war service, as a first step towards constructive pacifist work. We have now affiliated with us some 40 groups in 20 different countries and many isolated individuals in all parts of the world, and over 100 men are in prison to-day as the result of their refusal, and the Movement is growing very rapidly.

I shall be happy to send you further information if you are interested, and shall trust to hear from you.

Sincerely yours,
Illegible.

P. 1354 6.

Telegrams: Thengdi Engineer, Poona.

A.B.C. Code 5th Edn. used.

D. R. THENGDI,

POONA CITY.

Engineer.

(British India).

Labour & Employment Office.

Date 8th Feb. 1928.

My dear Mirajkar

Your card of 5-2-28 to hand. I have already expressed my

views re our co-operating with the all party conference at Delhi. to Mr. Spratt, and I hope he will place them before you all for your information. In the mean time a note should be taken of the last letter of Joshi, (a circular) in deciding.

(3) When you issue invitation for annual meeting, please state that the meeting is the usual annual meeting to review the work of the last year, to accept the report of the secretary, to elect the new office bearers any E. C. and any other urgent business, with the permission of the President, when we shall introduce our new schemes which need not be mentioned in the agenda. Issue the notice as early as you can.

Yours fraternally,

D. R. Thengdi.

P. 1355.

A file Containing letters, telegrams, draft resolution etc. Exhibits no P. 1355 (1) to P. 1355 (8)

P. 1355 (1).

League against oppression in the colonies

Abteilung: Secr. Cha/E

Berlin, den 12th January 1927

To

The Secretary

The Congress Labour Party.

Bombay.

Dear Sir,

You will have already learnt from the Press that an "International Congress against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism" is to be held at Brussels, beginning on Feb. 10th. We have pleasure in saying that, in response to our invitation to the Indian national

organisations to participate in the Congress the INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS has officially appointed Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru as its delegate. From other organisations we have unfortunately not yet received a reply, but are hoping that the ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS and one or two other important organisations will also nominate delegates. We are aware of the enormous difficulties, both political and financial, that stand in the way of your sending a representative to the Brussels Congress, but we have not the least doubt that you are in complete sympathy with our objects. It is evident that no progress of any kind is possible in India or other oppressed and exploited countries, until they have been liberated from Foreign Imperialism. Whether your work is of political, Social, economic, intellectual or educational character, you undoubtedly realise at every step that the heavy hand of Imperialism is impeding your progress by placing all kinds of legislative, administrative, financial, commercial or other restrictions on your freedom of action. We feel, therefore, that you have the greatest possible interest in the proceedings and further programme of our Congress, and that, since you have been unable to cooperate by sending a delegate, you will at least be in a position to convey your sympathy and solidarity in a telegraphic message to the Congress. This message should be addressed as follows:—

Gibarti,

Schadowstr. 1b

Berlin.

It is sure to give encouragement to the representatives of the various oppressed nationalities of Assia, Africa and America who will meet at the Congress in order to take joint action regarding their national liberation from the yoke of the imperialist Powers.

We trust that you will see your way to accepting our suggestion and that your cable will reach us at the latest, the first week of February.

We may also mention that An International Exhibition will be held at the same time as the Congress, showing the condition of peoples under Imperialist exploitation as well as the brutalities, etc., to which the population has been exposed in the course of their subjection. We shall feel very grateful to you if you could help us by sending us pictures (of famines, massacres, personal maltreatment, etc.) statistical material, historical documents etc. relating to capitalist imperialist tyranny and exploitation. The exhibition will probably become a permanent institution, and we hope you will keep supplying us with material as it comes to hand.

Trusting to have the pleasure of your co-operation.

We remain,

Yours sincerely

League against Colonial Oppression.

S. H. Jhabvala

GENERAL SECRETARY, BOMBAY.

P. 1355 2.

A telegram from Mirajkar, Secretary, to Gibarti, Schadowstr, Berlin. It runs thus:-

"Peasants workers Party, India Convey Fraternal greetings down rotten Imperialism

Mirajkar, Secretary"

P. 1355 3.

A telegram from Mirajkar, Secretary to councillor Chesterton, Labour Party, Townhall Battersea, London. The contents are as under:-

"Workers and Peasants Party Bombay Heartily Joins Labour Party In Address to comrade Saklatwalla and Hopes This will cement Unity British and Indian Workers."

P. 1355 (4)

Telegrams: Thengdi Engineer, Poona.

A.B.C. Code 5th Ed.
used.

D. R. THENGDI,

POONA CITY.

Engineer.

(British India).

Labour & Employment Office.

Date: 8th. April 1927.

My dear Mirajker,

I have applied for a passport, and was given to understand that I shall hear about it during the course of a fortnight. So the question of my going is now settled.

Kindly let me know how the other fellows are faring. I must congratulate you and your Peasants' and workers' Party for being supplied with the sinews of war by the rich marwarrees of Bombay. Now we shant be long in getting the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, when the capitalist class comes forward to help the workers' party. Bravo? Boy, Long live you and your party.

I notice that you have started the National week in right earnest. have you arranged for the Publicity of the work your comrades will have done in it.

With fraternal greetings to our

Redoubtable comrades, I am yours,

D. R. Thengdi.

P. 1355 5.

**THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF Gt. BRITAIN**

(British Section of the Communist International)

READ:

"THE 16 KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN, CENTRAL
WORKERS' LONDON.....W. C. 2 EXECUTIVE
WEEKLY" COMMITTEE

Fridays: One Penny Telephone: Gerrard 0877

"THE
COMMUNIST
REVIEW"

Monthly Fourpence

All communications to
be addressed to the
Secretariat and not to
individuals

ORGANISING DEPARTMENT

14th February, 1927.

Shantaram S. Mirajkar,
2/3 Khandke Building,
Dadar, Bombay,
India.

Dear Comrade,

Enclosed please find a copy of the Statutes and Rules as
per your request.

Yours fraternally,

Albert Irkjin

For the SECRETARIAT.

Enc.

P. 1355 6.

Draft Constitution of the congress Labour Party, 2 pages
Scribbled in pencil and 2 pages typewritten.

(Vide Exh. P. 1354 (4)).

P. 1355 (7) A.

A half Sheet of paper containing the following manuscript notice:-

The Workers' and Peasants' Party

The Ex. Committee of the above Party will meet on Monday the 13th. February 1927, at 9 P. M. at congress House, to consider the Preliminary working of the Party.

Sp. S. S. Mirajkar
Secretary, W. P. Party.

P. 1355 (7) B.

Two sheets of paper containing the following Agenda:-

WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY.

Executive Committee meeting, Business.

- (1) To consider a draft constitution.
- (2) To fix up office.
- (3) To open classes with a view to carry on Propaganda.
- (4) To start a fund.

DRAFT COMMITTEE.

- (1) J. B. Patel.
- (2) K. B. Sanzgiri.
- (3) Joglekar.
- (4) Mirajkar (Secretary.)

	Rs.	As.
M. D. R. Thengdi.....	2	8
„ Lalji Pendse.....	1	0
„ Mirajkar.		

P. 1355 (7) C.

Two pieces of paper, one small and another large, containing the following notes:-

Workers' & P. Party, Bombay:

Executive:-

Chairman	Thengdi.
Vice Ch.	Jhabwala.
Secy	Mirajkar.
E. C. Mem	Ghate.
	Nimbkar.

Group Secys.

T. U. Pendse.
Cong. Joglekar,
Educ. Dr. Chitnis.
Peasany. Thengdi.

Provisional

Spratt
Ghate.
Mirajkar.
Shah.
Joglekar,
Pendse.
Nimbkar.

P. 1355 (7) D.

A piece of paper containing the following notes:—

“Tasks in preparation for the meeting of January 26, and for the meeting itself.”

(1) Decide who are present the programme etc., (preferably the future committee members).

(2) Get the programme accepted by as large a majority as possible.

(3) Perhaps get an addendum proposed of an international nature.

(4) Get a committee of 4 elected—suggested names :

(5) Immediate enrolment of members.

(6) Immediate registration. (Name, address, capabilities, experience, speaking, writing, languages, organising, peasant propaganda, educational work &c.) Trade Union Membership, with particulars, Congress Membership with particulars, the organisation S. D? Club &c.

(7) Immediate allocation to groups.

(8) Fixing of post group and branch meetings, as soon as possible.

(9) If possible, immediate election of group secretaries, so that the full committee may meet at once.

(10) Suggestions from group secretaries.

(11) Fixing and if possible, immediate collection of first subscriptions.

(12) Get an announcement of the formation of the party in the "Herald".

(13) Formulation of principal tasks (1) obtaining representation in the National Congress Committees (2) getting programme accepted and our delegates elected by the T. U. C. (3) support for the textile paper. (4) increase the membership, (5) handsoff China Campaigne.

Peasant question must be tackled as far as possible, but the first task is with the working class.

Hence for permanent slogans, "Into the Unions,"

"Every member a Trade Unionist"

"Increase the membership."

For immediate purposes

the most important is:

Hands off China".

United provl committee, of Nat. Cong. Committee, S. W. Party, T.U.s, WP.P.? should be formed for Bambay as soon as possible.

P. 1355 (7) E.

THE CONGRESS LABOUR PARTY.

To

Sir,

The General Meeting of the Congress Labour Party will be held on Tuesday the 8th instant at 3-30 P. M. at the premises of the Students' Brotherhood, Mantri Building opposite the Royal Opera House Mr. D. R. Thengdi has consented to preside. The business to be discussed is as follows :—

1. Chairman's address.
2. Change of name.
3. Organisation.
4. Programme.
5. Election of officers.
6. Letter from the League against oppression in the Colonies.
7. Other business by permission of the Chairman.

Pro. Secretary, the C. I. P.

Bombay 5th February 1927.

N. B.—The business is important and it is hoped that you will do your best to be present.

P. 1355 (7) F.

A piece of paper containing the following manuscript notes—

“Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay Presidency”.

- (1) Resolution to be introduced by Mr. Lalji, Pendse.
- (2) Resolution on Organisation to be moved by Mr. Nimbkar.
- (3) Resolution re Demands to be moved by Mirajkar.

President:—Mr. D R. Thengdi

Secretary:—S. S. Mirajkar.

Treasurer:—

E. C. Member:—Jhabwalla

:—Ghate.

T. U. :—Mr. Joglekar.

Congress :—Pendse.

Education :—Dr. Chitmis.

Peasant :—Nimbkar.

P. 1355 8.

Two note sheets partly typed and partly containing manuscript notes regarding the constitution of the Congress Labour Party:—

(Vide Exh. P. 1354 (4).

P. 1356.

2 Copies of the booklet in English entitled "A CALL TO ACTION".
(Vide Exh. P. 523).

P. 1357.

A NOTE SHEET CONTAINING THE FOLLOWING ADDRESS:—

Gangadhar Adhikari

Droysen Str. 18 III bei

Warkos

Charlottenburg

Berlin

(Germany)

P. 1358.

Three note sheets containing a resolution and certain other notes.

RESOLUTION.

This meeting congratulates the Union of Soviet Republics on their reaching the tenth anniversary in spite of frantic attempts of world Imperialisms to smash it by blockades propaganda and invasion.

SPEAKERS.

(1) Mr. S. A. Dange.

(2) „ S. V. Lalit.

(3) „ R. S. Nimbkar.

(4) „ K. N. Joglekar.

(5) „ S. S. Mirajkar.

Presidential remarks.

7TH. NOVEMBER 1927.

10th. Anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

President:—Com. S? H. Jhabwala.

SPEAKERS.

Resolution.

P. 1359

A leaflet in English entitled

"Workers' welfare League of India Ninth Annual Reporter"

Presented to

The Annual Meeting held in London on January 15, 1927.

P. 1360.

1928 No. 6

May

PRESS SERVICE

OF THE

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

Cable Address:
Ankolina, Berlin

24, FRIEDRICHSTRASSE
BERLIN S.W. 48

Telephone:
Donhoff 6061

League Against Imperialism

RESOLUTIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism was held in Brussels on April 28th. under the Chairmanship of the new President of the League, James Maxton, M. P., Chairman of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain. Among those who were able to be present were, besides Maxton (Great Britain, Edo Fimmen (Holland), Vice-President of the League and General Secretary of the International Transport Workers' Federation; Dr. A. Marteaux, M. P. (Belgium); S. Saklatvala, M. P. (Great Britain); Willi Munzenberg, M. P. (Germany); Hansin Liao (China); R. Bridgeman (Great Britain), Secretary of the British League against Imperialism; Abdul Manaf (Indonesia), Secretary of the Dutch League against Imperialism; and V. Chattopadhyaya (India).

The Meeting of the Executive was devoted principally to organisational and financial questions concerning both the International Secretariat as well as the various Sections of the League already existing in the capitalist countries.

Maxton opened the proceedings with the statement that he had accepted the Chairmanship of the League after due consideration, because he regarded it as one of the most important international movements of today. Of the two secretaries, L. Gibarti. H. S. Liau, only the latter was present, as Gibarti who had been ill for some time sent in his resignation to the Committee. Liau also declared his inability to continue work as Secretary of the League, because of his having to leave Europe shortly. The question of the appointment of new Secretaries therefore came up for discussion. The Executive Committee decided in principle that the Secretariat should be composed of three persons, one representing the Communist movement another the Social Democratic workers, and the third the national liberation movements of the colonial countries, as these three were the main factors on which the League was based. After thorough consideration of the political and financial situation as well as of the names of the most suitable candidates, it was resolved that Willi Munzenberg, M. P. (Germany) and Virendranath Chattopadhyaya India should be appointed Secretaries and that a third Secretary, preferably an Englishman, should be found the next Meeting of the Executive Committee which has been fixed for next August.

A brief report was given by the International Secretariat on the work of the League during the four months since the last Session of the General Council held in Brussels in the beginning of December 1927, and reports were also given on the activities of the Sections of the League in England, Holland, Germany and France.

The following resolutions were adopted by the Executive Committee.

Resolution on the British Section of the League.

The Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism regards the creation of strong mass organisations of the League in the capitalist countries as an essential pre-condition for an effective anti-imperialist movement in the whole world.

The Executive Committee receives with satisfaction the declaration made by the British Delegation under the leadership of James Maxton, that in Britain also the League will proceed to secure the recruitment of thousands of workers as members.

Resolution on India.

The Executive committee of the League against Imperialism congratulates the Indian National Congress on having declared the complete independence of India as the goal of the Indian national movement, as all other formulae of so-called "freedom within the Empire" are but camouflaged forms of foreign domination.

The Executive Committee further welcomes the fact that, as the logical outcome of that declaration, India has unanimously adopted a rigorous boycott of the Simon Commission, thereby emphatically denying the insolent claim of the British Parliament to frame or to decide upon a constitution for the people of India.

The Executive Committee hopes that the Indian National Congress will devote itself wholeheartedly to the task of organising the workers and peasants of India, without whose active co-operation for economic and social emancipation Indian independence cannot be secured.

The Executive Committee appeals to the British workers to realise the disastrous effect upon their own standards of life and trade-union rights of allowing imperialist exploitation in oriental countries, and calls upon the organised workers of Great Britain to take steps to secure that their representatives use their power in support of the unanimously expressed desires of the Indian people instead of aiding the imperialist manoeuvres of the British capitalist Government.

Resolution on Egypt.

The Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism denounces the methods of violence and terror adopted by the British Government to prevent the Egyptian people from exercising their legitimate right of framing laws for their own benefit, including laws guaranteeing freedom of association.

The Executive Committee supports the people of Egypt wholeheartedly in their demand for complete independence, for the immediate withdrawal of all British troops from Egypt and the Sudan, and for the international recognition of Egypt as a sovereign state.

The Executive Committee takes this opportunity of warning the Egyptian people that these demands cannot be realised so long as they allow their affairs to be decided by statesmen whose economic and social interests do not coincide with those of the broad masses of the population.

The Executive Committee calls upon them to form a united front with all the other oppressed nations and classes of the world for the final overthrow of imperialism.

Resolution on Arabia

The Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism condemns the aggressive military operations conducted by the British Government against the Arabs, both on the borders of Aden in

the South of Arabia and on the Iraq frontier in the North,—operations which were absolutely unprovoked and deliberately undertaken, in order to strengthen further the hold of British imperialism on Iraq, Transjordan and the Persian Gulf.

It appeals to the national and Labour organisations in India to prevent by all means in their power the employment of Indian troops by the ruling class of Great Britain to destroy the independence of the Arab people.

The Executive Committee calls upon the organised workers of Great Britain to express their solidarity with the people of the Arabian countries, by adopting all such measures as may compel the British Government to abandon its imperialist policy of exploitation, aggression and annexation, which has already brought untold sufferings to the millions of Asia and Africa, and constitutes a growing menace to the standard of life of European working class.

Resolution on China

The Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism draw the attention of the workers of Great Britain, America and Japan to determined imperialist policy pursued by their governments in China, where they either undertake direct military attacks upon the people of China struggling for freedom, or where they carry out the recently inaugurated policy of backing up all the reactionary generals of the Kuomintang to associate themselves with the campaign of murder and rapine and to adopt a provocative and aggressive policy in Manchuria against Soviet Russia. As a result of this imperialist policy, leads of the organised Chinese workers and peasants, who has taken refuge in the foreign concessions have been mercilessly handed over to the cruel Kuomintang generals who have tortured and killed them. They have further assisted these reactionary generals to perpetrate wholesale massacres of the workers, as, for instance, in Canton last December, where they killed more than 6,000 persons in three days. Similar atrocities have been committed in Hunan, Hupeh, Kwangsi and Honan. It is the confirmed opinion of this League that, unless the workers of Great Britain, America and Japan bring effective pressure upon their governments to withdraw from China, these acts of cruelty and barbarism will continue.

Resolution on Indonesia

The Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism protests emphatically against the constant and systematic suppression of the Indonesian movement for independence by the Dutch Government, and especially against the incessant deportations for life to the concentration camps of Boven-Digul in the midst of the jungles and malarian marshes of New Guinea.

The Executive Committee demands full amnesty for all militant fighters for the independence of Indonesia who have been sentenced for so-called political crimes.

The Executive Committee calls upon the working class in Holland to give energetic support to this demand for full amnesty and to help the Indonesian people by every possible means in their fight for complete independence from the yoke of Dutch capitalist-imperialist domination.

Resolution on Latin America.

The Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism welcomes with great satisfaction the struggle of the nations of Latin America against the growing imperialist aggression of the United States of North America and especially expresses its fullest sympathy with the Nicaraguan peasants and workers led by Sandino in their heroic fight against the invasion of their country by American troops.

The Executive Committee calls upon all the anti-imperialist forces in all the countries of Latin America to form a single united front in order to resist successfully the threatening imperialist danger of North American oil capitalism, and urges the workers of the United States and of all European countries to stand by the workers of Latin America in their fight and give them all possible support especially to the Nicaraguan people in their fight for independence, to the workers of Venezuela in their fight for the overthrow of the tyrannical Gomez Government and to the Mexican peasants and workers in their efforts to build a wall against the constant attacks on their economic and political independence by the big finance and the oil capitalists of the United States of America.

P. 1361.

THE SOVIET UNION AND AFGHANISTAN.

(From the "Pravda", 29th April 1928.)

The social and political régime of the Soviet Union differs

profoundly from Afghan conditions. In the Soviet Union the power is in the hands of the workers, supported by the peasants. Afghanistan is in a very different stage of historical development (the fact of the existence of the monarchist form of government there is sufficient proof of this.) And yet history has placed these two states in close juxtaposition, for during the course of one whole historical period they fought side by side against European imperialism. And they have been drawn the more closely together as the strongest and most determined enemy of both is British imperialism.

The history of the origin of the Soviet Union and its struggle against imperialism is known to all of us. The peoples of the Soviet Union have only been able to attain real emancipation and independence from the yoke of imperialism, which forced millions and millions of workers and peasants of all nationalities of the "Russian Empire" into the disastrous war, by shaking off this imperialism altogether. The people of Afghanistan too took up the struggle against imperialism, and this Eastern monarchy has played a much more positive and progressive role in this struggle than many a reactionary and imperialist democracy. The history of Afghanistan in the 19th century has been the history of violation on the part of Great Britain and of Afghanistan's constant struggle for independence. Afghanistan, after losing one tract of territory after another, had become, by the end of 19th century, a feudal state dependent on Great Britain and possessing no rights to enter into relations with other countries. The Afghan people were trodden underfoot, abandoned to misery and ignorance. The British government, true to its principle of divide et impera, incited the warlike tribes of Afghanistan to war upon one another.

It was not until the great war shook British imperialism, until the proletarian revolution had been victorious in Russia, and the national revolutionary movement raised its head in India, that the Afghan people could deal a decisive and victorious blow to British imperialism. In February 1919 the reactionary ruler of Afghanistan, the Emir Habibulla, was murdered, and his son Aman Ullah, on mounting the throne, declared the independence of Afghanistan. This was however only the beginning of the struggle for the independence of Afghanistan. Then came the (third) bloody Anglo-Afghan war, in which the English were at first defeated, but afterwards gained the upper hand over the Afghans by the use of every method of regular colonial war, bombarding the Afghan towns, etc. This success on the part of the English was however so problematic that Great Britain was obliged to recognise the independence of Afghanistan. The Afghan people emerged as victors from this severe struggle.

The first state to recognise the independence of Afghanistan in 1919, and to extend a hand in fraternal aid, was the Soviet state.

This at once sent its ambassador to Kabul, and gave the young state much political support. On 27th May 1919 Lenin wrote to Aman Ullah in the name of the Soviet Union, expressing his fullest sympathy for "the independent people of Afghanistan, who have defended their freedom with heroic courage against foreign enslavers".

In the autumn of 1919 Lenin received the extraordinary plenipotentiary of Afghanistan, Mohomed Walli, and sent a second letter to Aman Ullah in the name of the Council of People's Commissaries, in which we read:

"From the first day of the heroic struggle for freedom of the Afghan people onwards, the workers' and peasants' Government of Russia has not hesitated to recognise the new situation in Afghanistan. The Government has solemnly recognised the complete independence of Afghanistan and has sent its ambassador to establish complete and indissoluble relations between Moscow and Kabul. At the present time prospering Afghanistan is the sole independent Mussulman state in the world, and destiny has appointed the Afghan people the great historical task of gathering around it the enslaved Mussulman peoples and leading them to freedom and independence.

The workers' and peasants' Government of Russia commissions its ambassador in Afghanistan to take up negotiations with the Government of the Afghan people for the purpose of concluding trading and other friendly agreements, to the end that neighbourly relations be established to the permanent advantage of both peoples" (Moscow, November 1919).

Aman Ullah is one of the most progressive monarchs of the Orient. He has been successful in mustering around him the most progressive elements in Afghanistan and has been joined by these in fighting the severe struggle against reaction and in accomplishing a number of reforms greatly benefiting the Afghan people; abolition of slavery, complete equal rights for the different nationalities, castes and religions, erection of a number of schools, factories and streets, abolition of the despotism of the landowners, establishment of secular courts of law and of a state council commissioned to draw up a code of laws, reorganisation of the army on modern methods, and finally, efforts towards the dissolution of the harem and the emancipation of woman. It was only possible to actualise all this in Afghanistan after the Afghan people had thrown off the English yoke.

The England of the Conservatives and the Lords, of colonial campaigns and territorial robbery, is now preparing for war against the Soviet Union, which it is anxious to seize upon as colony. Soviet Russia is a thorn in the flesh of England, for Soviet Russia is a true friend of the peoples and nations oppressed by imperialism

and has furnished the first demonstration that peoples and nations, freed by revolution from imperialist rule, can live side by side in peace and freedom, no nation trying to oppress another. Great Britain, fearing the influence of the Soviet Union in the Orient and assembling all its forces for waging war upon the East frontiers of the Soviet Union, is more than anxious to subordinate Afghanistan to its influence again, whether by threats and promises or by a war campaign. Hence the simultaneous diplomatic intrigues and mustering of Anglo-Indian troops on the frontier of Afghanistan.

History confronts Afghanistan once more with the problem of protecting its independence from British imperialism. The Afghan people will not forget the third Anglo-Afghan war, in which it bought its independence. The Afghan people will not forget the blood which it has shed in its struggle for freedom. Aman Ullah is too experienced a politician to sell the independence of the Afghan people and the friendship with the Soviet Union, which lends Afghanistan tangible political support, for any of the hypocritical "promises" of notorious colonial bandits.

The friendship between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union is dictated by the mutual enemy, British imperialism. Besides this, economic considerations bind Afghanistan more and more closely to the Soviet Union, which offers the best markets for the raw materials of northern Afghanistan and the best source of supply for industrial articles.

The object of Aman Ullah's visit to Europe has been to propagate the idea of the independence of Afghanistan all over Europe and to gain an insight into the lives of the most advanced countries including the Soviet Union.

Among the British imperialists, indeed, in every imperialist country, Aman Ullah has been given ample opportunity of observing the means for dominating land, water and air at the disposal of the imperialist standard bearers of capitalist "civilisation" and technical progress, and of seeing the possibilities afforded by these means for the suppression of the countries subject to these imperialists.

In our country, on the other hand, he will see the actual realisation of the free alliance of free nationalities with equal rights, within whose confines fraternal nations, renouncing all national, oppression and limitations, live and develop freely.

In western Europe he has seen the acme of technical progress, and a civilisation built up on the bones and blood of colonial slaves, on the exploitation of the working class for the benefit of a handful of magnates.

In the Soviet Union he will find a great working people composed of many races, defending, with its own powers, its complete independence against the capitalist exploiters surrounding it on all sides; building up and developing a gigantic national economy with its own forces; creating a new civilisation.

Yonder in Imperialist Europe rule the bitterest enemies of the people of Afghanistan, its onetime slaveowners and oppressors; here in the Soviet Union rule the workers and peasants, who will never betray their friends, the people who have fought against imperialism and for their freedom.

P. 1362.

(1) A book in English entitled

"Shop talks on Economics"

(2) A magazine in English entitled the

"Pan-Pacific Worker" dated 1-9-28.

P. 1363.

2 copies of a booklet in English entitled—

"Sacco and Vanzetti."

The Exploiter & the Exploited.

Their address to the Court.

P. 1364.

2 copies of the International Labour movement (R. I. L. U. Bulletin) in English dated 17-6-28.

P. 1365.

Account book of the Workers' and Peasants' Party between 13-2-27 and 31-10-28.

The following entries amongst others are important :—

Credit side

	Rs.	AS.	P.	
25-5-27	92	15	0	Retail sale of 2nd issue of 'Kranti'.
15-6-27	63	3	9	Retail sale of 3rd issue of Kranti.
12-7-27	62	0	0	Donation from Com. S. A. Dange (Gandhi VS. Lenin book).
15-7-27	13	4	0	Retail sale of 7th issue of Kranti.
20-7-27	96	0	0	Sale of India and China Pamphlet.
7-8-27	2	8	0	Subscription received from D. B. Khurda a/c. Kranti.
10-8-27	6	12	0	Subscription received from B. P. T. Staff Union, B. P. T. E. Employees' Union & G. I. P. Ry. Union a/c. "Kranti".
15-8-17	12	3	0	Retail sale of 10th issue of Kranti.
30-8-27	11	8	0	Retail sale of 11th issue of Kranti.
18-9-27	11	5	0	... .. 14th
5-10-27	11	15	6	... .. 16th
20-10-27	14	7	0	... .. 17th
30-10-27	15	0	0	.. .. 18th;
15-11-27	18	1	0	... .. 20th
22-11-27	14	8	0	... .. 21st

25-11-27	14	13	6	Retail sale of 22nd issue of Kranti
30-11-27	14	10	0	... .. 23rd
2-7-28				Subscriptions Rcd. from :—
	1	8	0	S. H. Jhabwala.
	1	0	0	K. N. Joglekar.
	2	0	0	D. B. Kulkarni.
	2	0	0	K. G. Kulkarni.
1-9-28	30	0	0	Amount received from Muzaffar by Money Order.
Debit side				
30-4-27	22	8	0	May-day leaflets printing charges.
6-5-27	22	0	0	"Kranti" Block-making charges.
7-5-27	3	8	0	Printing handbills &c. "Kranti".
20-5-27	40	0	0	Paid to Lok Sevak Press a/c. Kranti.
24-5-27	30	0	0	do
28-5-27	30	0	0	do
14-6-27	50	0	0	do
25-6-27	12	0	0	Marwari Vidyalaya Hall charges re. Lenin.
28-6-27	60	0	0	Lok Sevak Press a/c Kranti paid.
30-6-27	20	0	0	do
11-7-27	56	0	0	Paid to Acharya & Co., for paper a/c Kranti
15-7-27	10	0	0	Paid to Lok Sevak Press a/c. Kranti.
20-7-27	1	2	0	Postages on Foreign Mail.
21-7-27	40	0	0	Paid to Lok Sevak Press a/c. Kranti Printing.
25-7-27	30	0	0	do
24-8-27	12	0	0	Hire of Marwari Vidyalaya Hall (Sacco).
17-9-27	12	0	0	Hire of Marwari Vidyalaya Hall (Usmand),
24-9-27	1	0	0	Conveyance for distributing "Kranti".
1-10-27	0	8	0	do
8-10-27	0	10	0	do
7-11-27	12	0	0	Hire charges of M. V. Hall (Russian Aim)

24-11-27 15 2 0 Telegram sent to London.

20-2-28 5 0 0 Printing charges of (I.F.T.U.) circular:

Statement of accounts from Feb. 27 to 15th March 1928.

1703 11 6 Expenses incurred on Kranti, the official organ of the party including printing paper postages &c.

30-4-28 5 0 0 Amount paid for May-day.

P. 1366.

A copy of the R.I.L.U. Bulletin No. 7-II-2nd year entitled "Social Economic Review" for July 1927.

P. 1367.

A copy of the "Eastern and Colonial Bulletin" issued by the Red International of Labour Unions, dated 15th February 1928.

P. 1368.

A copy of the R. I. L. U. Bulletin no. II (15) 2nd year, entitled "Social economic Review" for December 1927.

P. 1369.

A copy of the R.I.L.U. Bulletin no. 2/17/3rd year, entitled
"Social Economic Labour Review" for April-May 1928.

P. 1370.

A copy of the English pamphlet entitled "The Workers'
and Peasants' Party of Bengal, Annual Conference, Bhatpara,
1928.

(Vide Exh. P. 219.)

P. 1371.

The Peasants and Workers Party

17, Dwarkadas Mansions

Sandhurst Road,

Bombay 4.

Poona City 2/6/28.

My dear Comrade,

Your letter of 31st May. I have been positively told by
the Superintendent that I shall get no information about the
exact time of the release of Comrade Cambell, and there will be no
use of my bothering him in future, re this matter. When released
I hope and expect, Cambell will come to my house first. I am sorry
to hear about Dange. I hope however that continuity of work will

be maintained till the successful end of a

COPIES

P. 1372.

A copy of a magazine in English entitled—"The Pan Pacific Worker". Dated 1/11/28.

Workers, The
Bharata, Hindia

P. 1373.

A file Containing miscellaneous correspondence, telegrams, leaflets etc Exhibit Nos. P. 1373 (1) to P. 1373 (20).

P. 1373.

A piece of paper containing the following notes:-

PARTY MEETING

- (1) Kasle's objection.....Clerks engaged for writing names.
- (2) Bradley's compromise.
- (3) Clerks (Eng.) attempt to make a union.

(4) Decision of the party that Jawalkar should not be given place in our union meetings and party members should not fight over Brahmin and Non-Brahmin controversy.

(5) The question of as to who should look after the union if any, was discussed—Adhikari's name was suggested and adopted.

Municipal elections:—

Pendse complained that our Party-Paper did not give prominence to the Party's nominees.

Bradley suggested that Party candidates should withdraw. Ghate seconded.

Pendse wanted the withdrawal of the clause which dropped their candidature. Party candidates should contest on party tickets, say Mirajkar.

Candidate not to withdraw. The previous clause should not be deleted.

Joglekar wanted to stand from F ward. Agreed. Joglekar asked why Nimbkar resigned from the Municipal Workmen's Union.

Tuesday night at 9 P. M. at Kranti Office.

P. 1373 2.

A note paper containing the following manuscript notes:—

Meeting held at.....28/12/27.

Present:—

It was decided that the formation of an A. I. W. & P.P. was desirable in the near future. That a Congress should be held for the purpose at Calcutta, with in the period Feb. 10—March 10, 1928. Arrangements, invitations etc to be left to Muzaffar Ahmad. Invitations to be extended to W. and P.P. of Bombay and Bengal, W. and P.P. of Punjab (if in existence) managers of Kirti, Mehnat-kash etc. Trade Unions in Bengal possibly individuals or the

Republican Party in Madras, to send delegates with votes to others to send non voting delegates. Visitors to be charged a small fee.

The business of the Congress (1, to establish an A. I. W., P. P. and its committee and offices, and to decide upon a centre, Bombay or Calcutta, for a working Committee should work in postal consultation with committee members in other districts.

(2) To formulate a thesis on the existing situation, international and internal, economic and political and hence to devise a comprehensive programme of work and a sketch of future lines of development, relation to other parties and social groups and organisations.

(3) To formulate resolutions on organisations of A.I. Party and Provincial parties, methods of work, publications, finance etc Co.

Comrades C. G. Shah and S. A. Dange were commissioned to prepare drafts of (2) and comrades S. Usmani and K.N. Joglekar to prepare plans for (3).

In addition were discussed:

(1) The question of youth and relation to student organisation and etc.

(2) organisation of parties in relations to T. U. affiliation the union pays some small affiliation fee and in return receives the services of the party for propaganda work, and of its members for educational work ect.

(3) Immediate tasks Boycott campaign to be pushed etc. in spite of defections. In particular unions to pass resolutions for 1 day strikes on the occasion the landing of the commissioners.

Exposure of shuffling and hypocrisy of Congress leaders.

P. 1373 3.

A telegram from Muzaffar Ahmad, Calcutta, to Halim. 17 Dwarkadas Mansions, Bombay, dated 24th. June 1928. The message runs as follows :—

"Urge Dange Ghate come immediately for Committee meeting.

Muzaffar Ahmad."

P. 1373 4.

A telegram no. 223 dated 2nd. September 1928, from Muzaffar Ahmad, Calcutta, to Ghate, 17 Dwarkadas Mansions, Bombay, Containing the following message :—

"Difficult for either leave Calcutta wire if essential.

Muzaffar Ahmad.

P. 1373 5.

A telegram dated 28th. August 1928, from Muzaffar Ahmad, Calcutta, to Ghate, 18 Dwarkadas Mansions, Bombay, containing the following message :—

"Reach Calcutta Wednesday fifth try bring Dange.

Muzaffar Ahmad."

P. 1373 6.

For the Emancipation of the Enslaved and
'Exploited' Masses.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

THE WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY.

Executive Committee:

President: Comrade, D. R. Thengdi
Secretary: „ S. S. Mirajkar.
E.C. Members: „ S. H. Jhabvala.
„ S. V. Ghate.

Group Leaders:

Congress: Com. Laljee Pendse. BOMBAY,.....192
Trade Union: „ K. N. Joglekar.
Education: „ R. S. Nimbkar.
Peasants: „ J. B. Patel.

No: I.

I. Resolved that a weekly paper in Marathi be started under the Editorship of Messrs. Joglekar and Mirajkar and it be named The "KRANTI".

Unanimously carried.

II. Resolved that Messrs. Joglekar and Mirajkar be authorised to make all the necessary arrangements regarding the publishing of the same from the 7th May 1927.

Unanimous.

III. Resolved that a financial Committee consisting of Messrs. Joglekar, Mirajkar and Ghate be formed to look after the general Financial affairs of the Party and management of the paper in particular.

(Unanimous)

(This sub-Committee functions right from the passing of this resolution but its permanent state is subject of course to confirmation by the General body at its next meeting which shall be within one month from this date 4-5-27).

No: 2

IV. Resolved that an Editorial Board consisting of the following Eight members be formed to ensure an efficient conduct of the paper and to assist the Editors in their work of propogating the views of the party through the party journal.

Editorial Board.

Mr. K. N. Joglekar }
Mr. S. S. Mirajkar } with these as Editors.
,, T. V. Parvate
,, D. V. Kelkar
,, Lalji Pendse
,, S. V. Ghate
,, S. A. Dange
(subject to his consent on his release).
,, R. S. Nimbkar

Unanimous.

No: 3

V. Resolved that Mr. Mirajkar do act as the official Manager of the paper and be the publisher of the same.

Lalji Pendse.

The finance Committee being a Sub-Committee of the Executive, doesn't require the General Body's sanction.

S. V. Ghate.

P. 1373 7.

2 half Sheets of paper Containing the following manuscript notes in Pencil:—

Proceedings of the adjourned meeting of E. C. held on Monday the 23 rd. Jan. 1928.

PRESENT

- (1) Sd/- D. R. Thengdi
- (2) Sd/- S. S. Mirajkar
- (3) Sd/- K. N. Joglekar
- (4) Sd/- R. S. Nimbkar (Chairman)

(5) Sd. S. V. Ghate.

(1) RESOLVED

That an annual General meeting of the Peasants' and Workers' Party be held on 18th and 19th Feb 1928, to pass annual report, election to the new E. C. and amendments and alterations to the Constitution, if any, and such other subjects and resolutions as may be allowed by the President.

(1) That a meeting of the E. C. be held next Sunday the 29th Jan. to consider resolutions put by the group leaders, where sympathisers will be specially invited to attend at 2 P. M. at the Congress house.

III RESOLVED

That the time is now ripe for all party speakers to put forward in connection with the boycott Campaign the Slogan of a constituent assembly, elected by Universal adult Suffrage as the only proper body to draw up the constitution of Independent India.

The meeting was then dissolved.

Sd/- D. R. Thengdi

President.

P. 1373 8 A.

Resolutions for Calcutta Congress Dec. 1928.

(1) This Congress resolve that Article I of the Constitution shall read as follows:—The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment by the people of India of complete National Independence.

(2) This Congress reiterates the protest made at the Madras Congress against the war preparations being carried on by the British Government. It notes with concern that these preparations have continued during the current year, and demands that they should cease.

The Congress warns the people of India of the disastrous consequences to both sides which will follow if they are involved in war with other countries, with none of which they have any quarrel, and urges the necessity of adopting now all possible means, by

propaganda and organisation, to prepare the country for complete non-cooperation with the Government and paralysis of the military machine, and the transport and supply industries, in the event of the declaration of war.

(3) This congress expresses its emphatic protests at the Trade Dispute Bill and the Public Safety Bill which it regards as wholly reactionary attempts to restrict the growth of the organised labour movement and as absolutely unjustifiable infringements upon the rights of the people.

This Congress urges strongly the need for the organisation on the basis of their class struggle of the masses of industrial workers and peasants, as an indispensable preliminary to the attainment of independence, and as a means for the advancement of the economic and cultural status of the masses.

(4) This Congress condemns strongly the action of a large number of the members of the Bengal Council Party, in supporting the reactionary proposals of the Government embodied in the Bengal Tenancy Law Amendment Act, and in consistently supporting the interests of land lords against those of the poor cultivators.

P. 1373 (8) B.

RESOLUTIONS FOR CALCUTTA A.I.C.C. 1928 OCT.

(1) All Parties Conference.

This meeting of the A.I.C.C. considers that the All Parties Conference, by confining itself to producing a constitution, violates a fundamental principle of the National Congress in that it by implication admits the supremacy of the British Parliament, and its right to decide India's future status also considers that the drafting of a constitution at this stage is a violation in spirit of the Boycott of the Simon Commission. It declares that the All Parties Conference failed in its fundamental task of preparing an agreed programme of mass action whereby a sanction could be created for the establishment of complete independence.

This meeting further considers that the Principles of the constitution accepted by the A.P.C. are totally unacceptable even as an immediate aim. They constitute in no sense an advance towards independence, but rather an obstacle to its attainment in as much

as they propose a continuance of the subjection and exploitation of the Indian masses by imperialism, under the guise of freedom and democracy. The proposals to leave in British hands control of the armed forces, and of foreign policy, and to an undefined extent of internal policy, to leave undisturbed the enormous exploiting machine of the British economic interests, and to leave the states in the hands of the reactionary and despotic princes, reduce Swaraj, universal suffrage, and fundamental rights to a mockery.

This meeting condemns the Working Committee for its action in agreeing to proposals which violate Congress principles and contradict its resolutions for complete independence.

(2) This meeting of the A.I.C.C. expresses its sympathy with the workers who have been on strike in all parts of India and its admiration for the determined struggle which they have waged against hunger, and the armed forces of the employing class and the Government. It emphatically protests against the frequent and wanton shooting of strikes, and demands the practice should cease.

P. 1373 (8) C.

(1) Workers Welfare League of India.

This Congress considers that the British Trades Union Congress, by its neglect, until last year, for many years of the Indian Trade Union movement, and by the reactioning attitude adopted by its leaders towards the movement for Indian independence, has sacrificed all-right to act as the official agent of the A.I. T.U.C. It therefore resolves that the decision of the Executive Council at Delhi, March 1928, be rescinded, and that the "Workers Welfare League of India" be again appointed as the official agency of the A.I.T.U.C. in Gt. Britain.

(2) International Affiliation. R.I.L.U.

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 Unions (Amsterdam), because of its general support of European capitalism, its refusal to allow the unification of the world T. U. movements, and its reactionary attitude towards the Labour movements in the oppressed countries, cannot be accepted by the A. I. T. C. as a suitable body with which to affiliate. The Red International of labour Union (Moscow) has shown its intention to fight uncompromisingly 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 capitalist oppression generally, and the A. I. T. U. C. is in general sympathy with its aims and policy.

This congress therefore decides to apply to the R.I.L.U. for affiliation, and instructs the Gen. Sec. to take necessary steps.

3. 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 delegates at the I. L. O. Conference 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 for the positions of delegates or advisers to the Geneva Conferences.

P. 1373 (8) D.

League Against Imperialism.

2 a This congress declares that the most urgent general task of the Indian Labour movement is the overthrow of imperialism which demands close international cooperation of all anti-imperialist forces. It therefore resolves to affiliate, as invited, to the "League against Imperialism."

Pan Pacific Secretariat.

2 b 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 Union movements should be regularly held. It therefore resolves to affiliate to the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat (Shanghai).

P. 1373 (8) E.

COUNCILS & ASSEMBLY.

Add. ref. to adult suffrage.

(4) This Congress declares that in principle cooperation between the working class and the Imperialist Government is to be condemned, and that the attitude of the Government towards labour has recently become so reactionary that the degree of cooperation with it which has hitherto been maintained must cease. It further declares that in the absence of fulfilment of its minimum demand for universal adult suffrage, it can recognise no alternative special means of representation of labour in the legislatures. This Congress therefore resolves that in future those persons who are nominated by Government to the Legislative Assembly or Councils shall not be recognised by the T. U. Congress as representing labour.

(5) This Congress regards the Trade Dispute Bill as a most reactionary measure, which threatens the very existence of the Trade Union movement in any useful form.

The proposed establishment of Conciliation Boards and Courts of Enquiry by Government is likely to be used by the capitalist interests as an anti-labour weapon; and the effect generally of procedure of so-called "impartial inquiry" and "conciliation" upon the labour movement is deleterious inasmuch as it tends to minimise the importance of the organised strength of the workers, and to lead them to place their trust in the mere "justice" of their case, and in the arguments of their leaders. This congress therefore, condemns this proposal as reactionary and harmful.

(6) This Congress condemns the action of Messrs. E. Kirk, B. Shiv Rao, K. C. Roy Choudhry and others connected with the T. U. movement who have publicly expressed approval of the Trade Dispute 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 Trade Union movement, their action is deserving of the strongest censure.

(7) This Congress condemns the action of those nominated Labour representatives in legislative Councils who spoke in favour of, or refrained from voting against, cooperation with the Simon Commission, in direct contravention of the decision of the last T.U. Congress.

(8). This Congress protests against the Public Safety (Removal from India) Act, as a grave infringement by the imperialist Government upon personal liberty, and as a measure which has been and will be operated to the detriment of the Trade Union movement.

This Congress also condemns the proposal to deprive the workers in the Railways, Postal, Telegraph, and Telephone services, Light and Water Supplies, and Public Conserwancy of all right to strike and even to forbid the individual workers to absent themselves without notice, under pain of heavy penalties.

The Congress also condemns the proposal to deprive the workers of their right to declare sympathetic strike, and strikes of a political nature, or such as are intended to influence the Government. Especially in India, where there is not even a nominally democratic form of Government, the T. U. C. insists upon the right of the working class to express its political will by direct action.

This Congress therefore condemns the Trade Dispute 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

(a) a campaign of meeting, demonstrations, etc., shall be conducted by all affiliated Unions, under the general direction of the Congress and the Provincial Committees.

(b) 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

- (1) T. D. Act to be rescinded
- (2) freedom for all Unions, including those of Govt. servants to join the T. U. C.
- (3) Minimum wage of Rs. 30/- for all.
- (4) 8 hrs. day.

P. 1373 9.

A typed copy of the "First All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference Report."

(Vide. Exh, P. 669).

P. 1373 (10)

2 Leaflets, one in Hindi and the other in Marathi, both issued by the Joint Strike committee, advising the Mill strikers to continue the strike with a stubborn heart and not to fall a victim to the conspirators who are trying to break the strike.

P. 1373 11.

3 Note sheets headed 'The Workers' and Peasants' Party,' with the names of the members of the Executive Committee and Group leaders, printed in the lefthand top corner. The three note sheets contain the following notes:—

1ST. SHEET.

Bombay, 1-4-28.

Resolved that the party make it a party question and try to get the demand and it be utilised to recognise and put the Press Workers' Union on proper basis as laid down by a sub-committee of Messrs. Bradley and Joglekar.

3 for

1 against

carried.

2ND. SHEET.

The third grant for the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal:—

. That Com. Joglekar withdraw this item from the requisition.

3RD. SHEET.

That the grant be at present deferred file.

1. a report of the working of the Union with a copy of constitution and the account is circulated to the B. P. C. C. for information;

2. The Union is registered;

Sd. S. A. D.

One voted

2 against

Lost.

Sd. R. S. N.

P. 1373 12.

Rejected.

A piece of paper containing the following manuscript notes:—

THE WORKERS' & PEASANTS' PARTY.

18TH. DEC. 1927.

Subject:—Simon Commission.

President:—Com. Arjunlal Shethi.

Speakers:— „ S. H. Jhabvala.

„ R. S. Nimbkar.

„ S. A. Dange.

„ F. J. Ginwala M.L.C.

„ Naraindas Bechar M. L. C.

„ Veer Vamaurao Joshi.

„ S. S. Mirajkar.

„ K. N. Joglekar.

„ Usmani.

„ Lalji Pendse.

P. 1373 (13).

12 note sheets containing a letter from S. A. Dange to the Secretary, Workers and Peasants' Party, Bombay.

It runs as follows:—

The Secretary,

Workers and Peasants Party.

Bombay.

Dear Sir,

I have already given you my formal resignation of the Party's membership. I also am due to give some reasons for it.

What has happened in the executive's meeting on 26th need not be repeated here. The proceedings made certain things plain which drive me to the step of resignation.

One member directly expressed that taking advantage of the position on the Negotiations section of the Strike, I had come in

possession of materials, facts, figures, books etc, which I was deliberately keeping away from Party members with an intent to block knowledge of things from the Party, so that the resultant ignorance of the Party—members may facilitate the continuation of my “high post in the public eye”. The resolution of the Executive following this, almost indirectly endorses the above expression of ‘impressions’ of a member. In other words, an amendment tantamount to the above stands on the record.

In such a position, my only course is to resign membership to make way for others to the privileged position, which I am supposed to have blocked by my knowledge and the ignorance of others.

I might say here some more things reg. ‘discipline’ and certain decisions taken by the Party reg. the strike.

I hold that the Party as a whole is a group of individuals merely who for a time agree in a certain policy, based upon their “impressions regarding direct and indirect attitudes either of circumstances of individuals” Decisions arrived at in such a manner are made the basis of Party policy, action and discipline. For example when the Party took the decision of throwing away the standardisation schemes for textiles, it never discussed or analysed the economics of the situation, economics based on our Marxist creed, verified by the working class instinct in cases where objective facts & theories may fail us. The decision was based on a mere statement of ignorance, out of proportion to the immensity of the event, the Party is handling. It was based merely on this. “We do not know what the scheme contains”. In my opinion, the Party ought to base its policy and decisions on an understanding basically of the economics and psychology of the working-class. No member can afford to take decisions by simply pleading ignorance of a certain thing.

Therefore, when a decision is purely born out of impressions, whims or a group of such whim, not preceded by any scientific study and analysis of the position, based of course, on pure marxism, that decision, I am unable to carry out. It is no decision of a Party functioning on Marxian lines but mere grouping of whims of individuals. Therefore, discipline in such a situation does in no sense, carry that same iron meaning that a ‘Leninist’ would apply to it.

The Party members finding themselves in that position have only vented their anger at their failure to “know” things.

Another member styled open meetings as “intrigues”, even when such meetings have taken place within the knowledge of almost everyone.

This only points to one conclusion, and that is that as one member very pertinently and significantly remarked, “We cannot

continue in this position very long."

Therefore, I have decided to resign from the Party, so long as the Party functions irrationally on occasions and so long as the Party members decisions are not based on Marxist studies but on "impressions" out of proportion to the huge task of the working-class which can tolerate no pleading of ignorance of its essential needs and facts and so long as the Party by record of resolutions and amendments, directly or indirectly attributes motives to me of blocking the ways to posts and privileged positions by my knowledge or possession of materials. I would request you to take charge of the Paper and the a/c relating to it. The next issue of Thursday, I will undertake to bring out in conformity with your policy, in case you find it difficult or inexpedient to make arrangements within such a short time.

The secretary should let me know of any books of the Party lying with me, so that I may send them on to you.

I should like to point out that I am perfectly agreeable to keep these differences within the fold, and not allow them to react on the strike, in any manner you may like, of course, barring the withdrawal of this resignation, which can be done only on condition that the Party rescinds the insinuations contained in the resolution and record of 26th and decides to base its decisions on Marxist studies and not on pure impressions. So also I can foresee that you may dub this as a desertion, in view of the coming repression, and make capital to put me down. If you will only pin yourself on that slogan, I keep with you a standing offer to be the first communist victim of repression, and an ordinary soldier-recruit, in the army you may like to draft into your ranks, in case, repression starts.

Yours

S. A. D.

P. 1373 (14).

A piece of paper containing the following Manuscript notes:—

Nimbkar's report on the I. N. C.

Vote of Censure on the President—

Bengal Swarajists and Zemindars—

Gandhi's resolutions—

Against Independence.

The Papers didn't publish the programme—first part was passed—Trades Disputes Bill—Organisations of General strike deleted—

Report will be submitted by Com. Nimbkar to the A. I. Party—and also he will be giving a report to the B. Provincial Party.

Lenin Day.

Nimbkar reads the letter of Com. Muzaffar. Handbills to be issued.

Next Sunday—Lenin meeting to be held—special addition of "Kranti" on Lenin.

Jinnah Hall Meeting.

Com. Usmani Presides.

Alve, 6-30 P. M. W. and P.

P. 1373 15.

Telegram No. 361 D/ 24-11-28 from Shaikat Usmani—Dange, Cawnpore, to Ghate, Mirajkar, Kranti, Sandhurst Road, Bombay. The message runs as under:—

"Congratulate bring Spratt Congress more Court quashing proscription order."

P. 1373 16.

**Weekly Report of the Propaganda Section of
the Workers' and Peasants' Party.**

The Party members participated in the May-Day celebrations

held on 1st instant this year and explained to the Workers' what the Workers' and Peasants' party was doing for them; how it was necessary to have on independent political organisations of the Workers etc. and appealed to them to rally round the Party by being its members individually as well as by affiliating their Unions.

A propaganda leaflet was also issued pointing out the necessity of working class solidarity. The leaflet was enthusiastically received by the workers.

In addition to the above, the party members are actively participating in the existing textile strike and are consistently pushing on the party propaganda.

S. S. Mirajkar.

P. 1373 - 17.

A leaflet in Marathi issued by the Workers' and Peasants' Party executive Committee. The heading of the leaflet is : |

"Workers, take a vow of fight".

P- 1373 18.

A piece of paper containing the following manuscript notes:-
Speakers :—

1. Com. S. H, Jhabvala.
2. „ R. S. Nimbkar.
3. „ Veer Vamauroo Joshi.

Ginwalla.

K. N. Joglekar.

P. 1373 19.

Workers and Peasants.

The Workers' and Peasants' Party since its inception has been misrepresented by its foes and may times misunderstood by its sympathisers, who but for the misunderstanding would have joined its ranks and made it ever more vigorous. The deliberate misrepresentation of its enemies, we need not take into account, because, if we try to meet them on one point they will invent another. But we must look in to what are sympathisers, admirers, and neutral elements have to say and if possible meet them somewhere, without essentially compromising our principles or outlook.

The analysis of their attitude, as presented by Party members who have toured round the country, shows that we have to consider the following points mainly.

Our attitude to (1) the Nationalist Movement as a whole and and the Congress.

Present Labour Leadership.

From the criticism that the Party has levelled against the present congress leadership and its policy, many have inferred without proper justification, that we are following anti-congress ideas or are undermining that institution. When that inference is made, it is forgotten by those who made it, that criticism of the Congress are made by (1) Anti-Congressites and pro-Imperialists (2) the non-Congress Moderate Nationalists (3) The leftists who want a still furthermore. The utterances of our Party members and the official manifestos it has issued from time to time must make it clear to every one, who is not interested in misrepresenting us, that so far as Congress attitude towards Imperialism goes, we are more or less allied with the Leftists. The Party from its very beginning has stood for complete Independence of Imperialism and its representatives in the A.I.C.C. whole-heartedly supported the Independence Resolution. But our Party still goes further than the Leftists, Independents and Republicans in the Congress. These groups at present are content with the adoption of the principle in the new resolution on our goal but are not prepared to take the reins of the Congress in their hands, on grounds of false respect to old Gods. They are prepared to allow the older groups and veterans of the Congress to seriously shift the movement on not the right lines, simply because the veterans have done services in the past. Our Party is not bound by shackles of tradition. When men have worked for the Nation, we pay them respect for past work but we are not prepared to allow them a premium of dictation on that ground merely. When they are found to be side-tracking issues,

leading the movement from Political to unimportant and non-political issues, we cry "halt" while others are prepared to submit under the illusion, that veterans are always right. So, when the criticisms the present leadership, we do it not because of personal considerations or anti-Congress motives, but because we feel it is not now fit to carry us to action and Independence. Therefore it has been our policy to ally ourselves with the most radical section of the Congress ranks like the Independent and Republican groups so far as the political action of the Swarj movement is concerned. The toll in sacrifices that the Government has taken of the Individual Party members must silence ever the suspicion of our adherence to nothing short of Independence.

An almost correct interpretation of the Party's views on these matters is lucidly put forth by comrade Palme Dutt in his "Modern India" published in Bombay.

When we have done that and put forth our firm conviction that Swarj or Independence is unthinkable without the support of the masses we are at once confronted by very serious, tried and trusted, radical leaders and rank and file workers in the Congress or in other sections of the Nationalist movement, with the statement.

"Let us first fight foreign Imperialism and then think of the class fight between our capitalists and our workers and peasants. Till that time let us not embarrass ~~our~~ capitalists, who are as much anti-Imperialists as any advocate of Independence." That statement is common and therefore requires to be treated more in detail.

The statement reveals an incorrect formulation of the real question and a confused grasp of the real issues. After all ~~for~~ ~~what and~~ for whom is the fight going on and who is going to fight it.

India as a whole is one geographical country and so far as its relation to imperialism is concerned it has to be one against a common enemy. But when it comes to human aspirations of the human beings, known as Indians, it becomes a different matter. It comes to ideas and ideals, to every day life, to the problem of living, housing clothing etc. because just as man does not live by bread alone, he does not live by ideas alone, he lives by bread more than by ideas. Ninety nine and nine tenths of the people have to think in terms of money, bread and living for more time than they can think of mere abstract ideas. For the big mass of human beings known as Indians, whether in cities, villages offices, or any where, the sole criteria of ideas, activities is the material yield that every thing promises them. The measure of judgement of the goodness or badness of a course of life, of an ideal is determined more in terms of what kind of ease in life it would mean. The same measure will apply to the ideal of Swarj.

People live by extracting useful things from Nature, moulding them into useful form that can yield comfort, ease or satisfy some primary want say food, housing clothing etc. Speak of anything, which is not first and foremost concerned with this and let it be grand and imposing and ideal to any length, the majority of people will remain apathetic. Speak of how to get more food from the land to lessen the taxes, reduce debts and it will move that class to action which is mainly suffering in life because of their not having sufficient means to earn living and such a class of beings in the country is 80 per cent of the whole people. Speak of more wages, full employment, shorter ^{hours of} work and you move 95 per cent of the people, because of the things that matter most, of material things, which are the basis of all life and on which is built culture, ideas, power etc. Thus the everyday problem is better life and the men who most suffer are peasants and workers; they form the bulk of the nation and they alone have the will be asked are in a power to fight for it.

So even if it is a question of mere Swaraj i.e. freedom from foreign yoke, the forces which will really fight are the workers and peasants, so long they have been the real forces and in future also they will command the position.

But you cannot make the fight for a thing which does not contain the solution of their most essential need. Their ideas are not abstractions but concrete material reality. The peasants must have lands, less taxation, no debt. The workers must have a sufficient wages, decent housing and living and all the comforts that a middle class intellectuals expects on a decent salary. They are everyday thinking of it, working for it, and in their own way making united efforts to get what they want. When they are oppressed too much their shortest method is rebellion. To make them realise the implications of the Swaraj movement, it must have an ideology, of their class, if they are to achieve it.

Then when you come to identify Swaraj with their demands, the conflict within the class, within what was known as a one whole Indian mass becomes revealed. It is found then the workers and the peasants as a whole have two masters. The Imperialists and their Indian masters, some of them in the most advanced nationalist ranks. The class interest comes to the front. The workers and peasants unhesitatingly judge both the masters by the same rod and deliver the same blow. Therefore in the most hightened period of the Swaraj movement the workers and peasants took to grind down the police, military, landlords, factory-owners and all in one and the same mill. The process revealed that the Swaraj movement cannot be separated from the class movements, the two are inseparable.

The hesitation of choosing sides comes up before the intellectuals and the owning class nationalists and the cultural

adherents. They would have the big mass of humanity, half clad and half fed to appreciate the great moral idea of the struggle, offer sacrifices, till it is achieved and speak of the sordid things like the lard, wages, hours etc. The press which governs ideas, belongs to the ruling class, the key positions of the social and political life belong to the owning class. They influence the intellectuals, who vacillated once their way, once that way. Radically or luke-warm as their position gets better or worsened in social life.

The Capitalists don't hesitate. If it comes to choice between Imperialists and Labor, they side with their bigger masters and class-rates. They would rather not have the overthrow of Imperialism than grant relief from oppression to agriculturalists or more wages to workers. If you leave aside the Government members of all the legislatures all the elected men are Indians and yet majority of them have consistently opposed Peasants and Workers' bills. Their interests have more in common with the imperialists than with the other class. So, when they have found that the poorer class are getting more radical in their material demands, they have abandoned the real organisation of the rank and file fighters and have reverted to more or less constitutional wrangling.

It is plain from what has been said upto now that the fight for Swaraj cannot be diverted of the class conflict' if it is to be really fought by the people, who are the most capable of it and have in the whole history of India done it.

A radical nationalist movement can only be built, if in material terms of everyday it shows unity between the working class demands, their achievement and the achievement of Swaraj. And this cannot be done on mere promise. Because the first instalment of the sincerity of the promise is related directly to present conditions and can be worked out in reality immediately. How can the 25 crores of peasants and five crores of workers believe that Swaraj is better than the present life when they find that its best advocates are their very oppressors and refuse the most minimum needs of life to them?

Therefore, the Workers' and Peasants' Party cannot divest its nationalist activities of their working class character. The two are inseparable. The Congress predominantly belongs to the ~~own~~ working-class big and small. Therefore, it is that our Party in its role of working class comradeship in many a time finds itself ~~oppressed~~ ^{oppressed} ~~oppressed~~ to best nationalists. And we unhesitatingly choose for the most oppressed, as they are the real nation. At the same time when the Indian oppressors of the Indian masses oppose Imperialism when their interest are threatened, we unhesitatingly lend out support to the anti-Imperialist section and strengthen their hands.

That is why we were most emphatic in the absolute and complete boycott of the Simon Commission.

Thus the only class that is capable of anti imperialist struggle is the exploited class of workers peasants and the lowest ranks of the Petty-bourgeois. This class will not fight for a thing which means Utopia to them, which does not holdout to them definite prospects of a better condition of society. Nor can we do without the active participation of this class. So, the Swaraj agitation cannot be separated from the economic emancipation of the exploited poor. We do not expect the Congress ever to become the champion of this class. Our constant harping on the Congress failure to organise the masses does not mean that we believe the Congress to be capable of it. It is only done to make it radical as far as possible, to eliminate prejudice against the workers demands. That is our answer to the most common question put to us.

Next come the questions of relations to the existing Labor Parties and individual labour leaders. We do not doubt for a moment the sincere desire of any of these groups and individuals to do some good to the workers and peasants. Many of them have been the first to start various labour organisations in the country, when we have to consider and analyse their position, we do not look to their personal motives. We only look to the *ideology*, with which they enter labor field.

And that ideology has the most serious defect, that it is unscientific and therefore necessarily merely humanitarian. By unscientific, we mean, they do not know the social currents that under lie the workers movement, they do not know the very ideology of the worker, whom they wish more to dominate and mould according to their light than according to his class ideas. They leave the fundamentals and run after the minor details. They do not see the contradiction between the workers' interests and their masters' interest. They believe the employers would be angels if they manage to convince them of the workers rights. They believe that all would go ^{well} if they could just satisfy the employer and just get more wages of a few pias, just one or two windows for the workers' dingy rooms and so on. They have not yet grasped the essence of the movement and that is that the employer cannot go on profiting, if the worker is to go on demanding more and more wages, shorter hours and better life. And when it comes to that, the existing labor parties think more of the employers profits and safety than the workers interests. We differ here.

We know that that economics of capital is such that the employer can go only to a certain length in giving ~~opportunities~~ ^{amenities} of life to his servants. The employer may be very religious, god-fearing may found hospitals and nurseries for his servants but he must have profits, he must be employer and when competition forces him all, his

goodness gives way to profit hunting. The worker remains a worker, always threatened with dismissal, cuts etc, for the safety of the industry that is profits. There is no reconciliation between the interests of the two.

The dignity of labor, culture, ease, comforts, literature, and intellectual life for the big mass of the toiling people are mercurutopia and false promises, when the worker is a worker and the employer is the owner, the boss.

We ask for a fundamental change in those relations. The whole ~~was~~ become a cooperative of the people, who serve and work. In the words of the resident of the Trade union Congress, society must own the things that produce its bread and living.

This essential difference in ideas leads to difference in methods. We agree with the existing labour-leadership that the immediate need is organisation, one organisation from one industry. But we do not want to harp merely on redress of grievances. The leaders are content to write a letter to an employer, if his manager licks a worker. We want the worker to be so conscious and fearless, as to reply insolence with a fitting reply. While the present leadership's last faith is in the goodness of the system our faith is in the goodness of spirit of the peasants and workers.

Then, many do not want the workers to think of politics, and even if they want, they want them to think of the employers-politics. By all means a worker should have a vote, a seat in the councils and all that. But what is he to legislate for? He must think how the Industry can prosper!! Others say politics is no concern of his, though it is the politician that force on him all the laws, the police, and law courts to help the employers.

With all these fundamental differences, we believe in the need of the movement, that of organising the worker and peasants on the basis of certain reforms. And therefore, we always offer cooperation. We do not go with a spirit to break the organisation, therefore it is that we disallow formation of rival unions; we are not aiming at overthrowing the leaders as such but we do aim at changing the outlook of the present trend of the movement. We know, we cannot immediately transform conditions in a day. Therefore, it is that, immediately ask for more wages, shorter hours for the workers, more land and less taxation for the peasant. So long as these demands are not realised, and so long as the present leadership genuinely wants these to be realised not by conviction of the employers but by the solid organisation of the workers, there is no reason, why they should reject our co-operation or misunderstand us.

We have had differences with many personalities on many occasions in the labor field. The differences mainly centered round the correct reading of the situation and the goal. We have been

misrepresented as advocating General strikes and no compromises, violence and so on at every time and place. But it is gross misrepresentation. When we speak of compromises etc., we make plain to the worker the implication of the struggle, the goal that he is to aim at, and the necessity of sectional strike or compromise or whatever the measures are to be adopted in the particular situation. We are particular about sharpen us the mind of the worker, make him class conscious a still harder fighter and unbeliever in the goodness of a system ^{that} wants to starve him. We make him see that the particular occasions ~~are~~ skirmish in a general campaign. And then with his consent, we determine the issue or its end while today the trend is to make the monetary ^{man} issue as the sole thing and decisions are foisted upon the rank and file and resolutions are put ~~for~~ more for adoption than for discussion. The workers level is not raised. These have been our grounds of differences with other organizations and none others.

The other parties on the contrary have attributed the misdeeds of individuals to our Party as a whole. There might be many, who may go and do something individually without a mandate from the Party, there may be many who may not be our Party men and yet declaring themselves to be ours. How can we or our principles and theories be held liable for personal deviations and lapses. A principle cannot be vilified because its exponent turned sometime a wrong way. When an offensive was anywhere taken against us, we have only retorted. We only warn our friends and sympathisers not to be duped by such misrepresentations and attacks.

P. 1373 20.

Draft notes both typewritten and in pencil on the need for a Workers' and Peasants' Party.

(Vide. Exh. P. 807).