

ENGLISH

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- TRANSLATIONS

OF

GURMUKHI EXHIBITS

P. 451-T.

" The second gathering of Panjabi Workers (&) Peasants will be held at Lyallpur on the 28th, 29th and 30th September 1928- the days of the Panjab Provincial Congress (Session) .

(Here in the poster is given a cartoon in which one person with red unifrom is depicted holding a red flag bearing the sign of sickle and hammer, and the other with a unifrom of the same colour is depicted pounding " the old system " with a hammer-Tr).

" The old system.

" Be united and pound the old systems, O labourers of the world

"Pound the old system.

" Be organised, O labourers of the world.

" Mr. S. A. Dange, Bombay , will be the president.

" Leading (&) well-known leaders of workers will put in their appearance.

"The poor Workers and Peasants of the Punjab will be pleased to hear that the second annual gathering of workers and peasants will be held at Lyallpur with great eclat on the 28th, 29th, and 30th September 1928-the days of the Punjab Provincial Congress (Session). The president of this gathering will be Mr. S. A. Dange, Bombay. He is a staunch patriot (lit-devotee of the country) and a well-known communist, and was convicted in the Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case. Besides him, Mr. P. Spratt author of the prescribed book " India and China ", Mr. Bradley, member Communist Party, England, Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad, General Secretary, Workers' (&) Peasants' Party, Bengal and several other sympathizers of workers belonging to the Bombay Presidency, the Bengal Presidency and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh will attend (the meeting) and add to its glory.

" Remedies for the grievances (lit. sufferings) of poor and oppressed workers will be considered at the gathering and big (and) able leaders having sympathy for the poor will express their views. " Mr. Ramchandrar Ji B. A.-national-has accepted the Presidentship of the Reception Committee. It is the essential duty of every poor worker and peasant brother to come (to the meeting) personally, bring his sympathizers with him and (thus) add to (its) glory.

" Lala Kidar Nath Ji Sehgal, President of the Nau-Jawan Bharat Sabha, Mr. M. A. Majid, Lahore, and Lala Chhabil Dass Ji B. A., ex-Principal, National College, Lahore, will also put in their appearance. You too should flock (to this place) in large numbers and listen to the complaints (lit. sufferings) of the poor.

" Your well-wishers:—

Sohan Singh " Josh ", General Secretary, Workers' and Peasants' (Party), Punjab, Bhag Singh, Canadian Managing-Director. the *Kirti* Magazine, Amritsar.

"Printed at the Onkar Press-Old Telegraph Office-Amritsar.

Translated by

SherSingh B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

P. 549(2)—T

" O the oppressed ones of the World: Be united.

(Here is given a sign of hammer and sickle.) Tr.

" The Presidential address read out by Bhai Sohan Singh Ji ' Josh ', President, " All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference " on the occasion of the 1st. Session of the conference (held) at Calcutta on the 21st. December 1928.

(A copy of the English address of Bhai Sohan Singh Josh, has already been put in court as prosecution exhibit.....Tr.)

Translated by

Sher Singh B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

P. 746-T.

Ex. P. 746 including Ex. P. 911 and 918.

Translated by

Sher singh B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt).

Ex. P. 746. The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for (including Ex. P. 911 and the month of May 1926 publishes the Ex. P. 918). following:—

“Exiles of India”

*Brackets are given by the periodical-Tr

*(From Agnes Smedley)

Sirimati Agnes Smedley is an American lady. Since 1916 she has been serving the cause of the independence of India. Miss Smedley is a well-known “hard-worker.” She daily works at least for ten hours without break for the independence of India. Her habit is that she will not cease to work until she begins to feel utter exhaustion (lit—begins to fall down) after becoming tired. She is a greater ‘Worshipper of India’ than many (members) of the Indian nation who get themselves called nationalists (lit—‘worshippers of the nation’). Besides being the “Worshipper of India” (she) is the staunch “Worshipper of America.” (she) is the greatest protector of the interests of womenkind. She loves every Indian, who works for the independence of India, more than sisters. But she takes the Indians who put obstacles in the way of the independence of India to task thoroughly well. She feels greatly irritated by (lit: jealous of) the “cold temperament” of Indians and likes to be called *Agni*; and in truth she is “India-worshipping *Agni*.” She has so much love for the cause of the independence of India that (she) shares every trouble (lit—trouble and comfort) of Indian masses. But she considers flattery of every kind to be poison and takes the advocates of Home-rule to task thoroughly well (lit—serves in a very hospitable manner with tea and water those who demand Home-rule) editor.

“The question of the Indians in exile from (lit—deprived of) home have once again cropped up before the public. Their question has been referred to in the congress and the central legislature as well. During this discussion a novel mentality (lit—aspect of the mind) of Indian leaders has come to light. Miss Naidu remarked in the Cawnpore Congress thus:— ‘They adopted such a method for the service and emancipation of their country as was prohibited by general law. Most of them have undergone full punishment (lit

recompense) in return for (their) mistakes due to rashness resulting from (their) spirited youth."

"Although in the speeches of several swarajist members in the central legislature there was an element of sympathy with the exiles of the country (still) Mr. Duni Chand made the following remarks:—Hardyal who himself is an exile from lit—has been deprived of) home writes that the views of Indian exiles have changed. (and that) they are now prepared to render service to the country faithfully."

"Mr. Jinnah made these remarks:—'Ten or twenty exiles met me. They confessed having helped Germany during the (Great) war. And they added that they had been convinced that the lot of the country could not better by establishing connections with foreign countries. And they are prepared to give this undertaking in writing that they will keep no connection with a foreign Govt. nor adopt any unconstitutional methods.'"

"(I) have greater love for India

It cannot be concluded from whatever I am writing below that I am writing all this from a personal view-point. The Indian leaders in India who have made the above remarks are all highly respectable. But it is essential to resort to criticism in political matters, specially when (any) matter has a connection with well-known leaders. It does not mean that I have in my mind less regard for those persons. The (real) meaning is that I have greater regard and love for India.

"Rashness of Youth"

"When such remarks as Mrs. Naidu have made about 'the fire of youth' are read and heard, then it is involuntarily recalled to mind that Indians alone are such persons on earth as think of dishonouring the persons who have sacrificed their lives in (their) efforts to free the country and who preserved the dignity of the cause of the liberty of India at the time when the leaders of India, who are today talking loudly, were endeavouring to keep the country slave in cooperation with an alien Govt.

"As regards the reference made by Mr. Duni Chand to the remarks of Mr. Hardyal, Indians should, after avoiding (lit—escaping) misunderstanding, remember that whatever the latter has said has said from his personal viewpoint. All Indian exiles do not hold flexible (lit—raw) views as Hardyal does. Their life is a minaret of service, but of the British Govt., if the meaning of Mr. Hardyal's remarks is that whatever he says he says for himself. From the time when Mr. Hardyal stated "forgive (me) for the past work" in the articles contributed to his book (sic), the *New*

Statesman newspaper, he has no right to speak on behalf of all (other) exiles.

"Service of India"

"It is right that Mr. Jinnah saw Indian exiles abroad, and it is also right that several of them remarked that they had no faith in working in co operation with foreign Govt. But has Mr. Jinnah become so Anglicized that he thinks that the British Govt. is not foreign. If he has truly become so Anglicized, then he should remember that Indian exiles certainly reckoned the British Govt. among alien governments. Indian exiles are very respectable persons, and whatever efforts they put forth to free India in co-operation with foreign gov't. they put forth by keeping themselves quite independent (of it). They were not the agents or boot-licks (lit—heel-licks) of any Govt. What great joy, if all Indians say that they are not the agents and boot-licks (lit—heel-licks) of any Govt? And those bad days have not come yet when the persons who had spent the most precious part of their life for a sacred cause will admit that the British Govt has some right to secure any kind of pledge, undertaking etc. from them. When they do the work of giving a pledge they will give a pledge to Indians and not to Britishers.

"Are not hot-brained.

"It is not known why Indians consider these exiles as "hot-brained" Not even a single Indian should labour under the misunderstanding that these persons committed the offence of perpetrating "folly", or showed unreasonable rashness, or are required, like "unwise (persons)" or "evildoers", to becoming pure by repentance for (committing) the "sin" of (trying to) liberate the country. Whether or not Indian exiles have adopted any such methods as "are not sanctioned by the common law of England", there is no reason why any Indian should adopt apologetic views for their sake or hold derogatory views about them, as if they are little children who should not be held responsible for their own actions. That constitutional laws of England cannot be applied to a subject nation. It can have weight in such a country alone as can say that its Govt. is free and is a representative Govt) of people—According to justice it cannot be applied to such 'people' as have been conquered either by force or by cunning or as are being governed by force or cunning—the cunning which is characterised by Indians as diplomacy and statesmanship and also viewed by them with feelings of great appreciation (lit—with so cheerful a heart). The common law of England can have no meaning for England. But the working-class and a majority of educated persons of England too do not admit this thing—*(Translated from the Forward and to be continued)."

*Brackets are given by the periodical—Tr.

Translated by

Shersingh B.A.

Translator (Punjab Govt).

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of June 1926 publishes the following:—

“Indian exiles.

“Patriots (lit-devotees) of, and traitors to, country.

*Brackets are
given by the
periodical-Tr

* (From Miss Agnes Smedley)

I greatly wonder to see this that the persons who hatch plots not only against one or two particular patriots (lit-devotees of country) but also against the whole urban population and who destroy the liberty of all nations are dubbed patriots (lit-devotees of country). And on the other side, the persons whose only fault is to protect themselves and their own people are stigmatized as traitors to country. The great wonder is that Indians are so shameless that they propose that the exiles should give some kind of pledge to the British Govt.

“In the Central Legislature the English have found persons like Dr. Haider who by becoming the representatives of Govt. speak against Indian exiles under the cover of the fact that they are charged with violence. The chief excellence of the British Govt. is also this that the cunning of its representatives becomes visible so transparently as (things do) in a clear (looking) glass,

“It is not known what wrong has happened to these Indians that they entertain so much fear even of the little liberty given (to them) by the Govt by way of a plaything to console them). Has India become so impotent and so confirmed a slave? Otherwise, how can it be that, on the one hand, Indians support the imperialism that governs them and on the other they apply the hot iron rods of blames to the promising exiles of their own home, although imperialism is wholly meant to wield the cudgel against unarmed persons and to keep them under subjection. And the only fault with the sons in exile is that their might have arisen some crude thought of the cudgel in their mind (lit-brain). Have these Indians been so much overpowered by bodily comforts and have their bodies become so weak that they are selling off their conscience (lit-souls) for the sake of mean worldly comforts? or perhaps they entertain the fear that Govt will then call them shameless.

“Free Western people

“You can point out to us that we western people are devoid

of real happiness. It is right. But do you derive real happiness from the peace obtained in exchange for slavery and destruction or from spiritual degradation? And it is due to your slavery that you give to the Emperor who governs you the soldiers who can sell their heads for money; and it is with (the help of) these soldiers that other nations are subjugated. Your slavery is worse than the liberty for which we are making efforts: because your slavery spreads (the infection of) slavery among other people as well, and (thus) their freedom is destroyed. Amongst us the Western people there is at least such an international movement the object of which is to do away with (lit - break) that imperialism and which is supported by several (persons) who become your representatives even from among your own men (sic).

“Disinterested service.

“It is true that at the time of starting work these exiles never expected praise from India. They had been doing work by exercising some highly spiritual and deep judgement and they did not work either for any personal gain (lit-fruit) or for (winning) the approbation of people. They are about to devise a new contrivance. And like all other persons who acted in a similar manner they knew that they would not be backed by any one.

“Those persons in exile do not care whether or not the English honour them, and they have no desire to receive the epithet of “gentleman” from them. And since according to custom the British Govt. considers them to be its enemies, they regard this as a (matter of) honour for them. We have read in an Indian newspaper that of all (persons) Mr. Horniman have suffered the greatest hardships for the service of India. What great lie (lit—heresay) Such remarks are made in the country of Tilak and Gandhi where several persons have been rotting (lit-writing) in Jails for several generations together and in the country which produced such persons of lofty views and of pure (mind) and kicked off bodily comforts and worldly praise. These good persons would have enjoyed this comfort and honour if they have lived in India and not elected to suffer the hardship of foreign countries and do service abroad where there are a few (persons) to value (others).

“The painful thing.

I do not wish to dishonour Mr. Horniman; but it is worth noticing that when he was banished and went to his country, he enjoyed full comfort there. This is the thing which pinches Indian exiles. Several of them have been in exile for over 25 years. They did not get even a single pice from home and they have been passing their days in exile without receiving any kind of help and have been doing the work all alone. Have they not suffered this hardship because (their) skin is not white? I believe that they have suffered hardship for this very reason and this belief of mine is not without

a reason. Since I became acquainted with these Indian moths I have been guessing how Indians treat myself and them. Whenever they stood in need of money for helping any student in Straitened circumstances or for their own work, they usually sent only myself to rich Indians tourists to bring money; because the colour of my skin is white and Indians do not spurn the request of a white-skinned (person). I do not say that the same is the case with the whole of India. But I can furnish about a dozen of instances (showing) that while my white skin succeeded in accomplishing a task, the dark-blue skin of an Indian exile could not. And these Indian exiles are those persons whose service to India is a thousand times better and more sacred than the greatest service on my part. From where has this disgraceful mentality of slaves come - such slavish mentality that you Indians become ready to erect (lit - make) very costly statues of a white skinned person, who may laugh before you a bit, and to worship them?

Translated by

SHER SINGH B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt).

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi) edition for the months of June 1926 publishes the following:—

“Folly of seekers after liberty. From the (present) constitution of India.

*Brackets are given by the periodical—Tr.

“(From Shahpurji Saklatwala).

I am writing to draw the attention of the Indian public to the fresh activities of Mr. Chintamani and Basanti Devi. It appears to me from the latest issues of Bombay newspapers that they have begun to carry on (lit-spread) their activities in Bombay after coming from Bengal and are making a statement (lit-announcement) about the new political programme. And there are two items in this programme, about which a newspaper cutting is sent herewith.

“Responsive Co-Operators will certainly put forth an effort for Home-rule. This effort will be put forth only through constitution and the Legislature, and no direct action will be taken in this. Responsive co-operators will not help any such candidate who does not stick to the above views. They will be free to help any such candidate who holds a different opinion on any special question’.

“Seekers after liberty from such constitution want to please Government through their statements (lit-announcements). They are

labouring under the misunderstanding that this very method is devoid of political wisdom or statesmanship (lit-politics,—[sic])

"In the eyes of the living part of the world the greatest grievance of India is that it has no constitution made by itself. The Governments of all provinces and the central Govt. (lit-the Government of the whole of India) are despotic and foreign, and they are empowered to act in a perfectly arbitrary manner, and they can in no real sense be called the Governments bound by Constitution. The British Government has several times refused to grant India the rights of a representative Legislative body. Even according to the present reform, 95 per cent. population have no suffrage at all. Responsible ministers of Great Britain have already declared that the Montague Reform scheme is not calculated to take a preliminary step to establish in India a representative Government responsible to the Legislature. The British Government called the Labour Government has also the same object to govern India as the Governments of the parties of conservatives and liberals had. A few days ago this object was endorsed in the Independent Labor Parliament Conference. Unfortunately it was supported by Mr. T. Sinha, an Indian. It is the question of denying complete political liberty to India about which the Labor Party of Great Britain is holding discussion (lit-quarrelling) with the communist Party, and it is for this reason that reactionary Labor societies are hatching plots against the propaganda (lit-effect) which the Communist Party is spreading against the policy of autocracy (lit-oppressive Government) in the Workers' Union Congress.

"What is the object of people in opposing, through constitutional method and the method of the Legislative, a lawless and unconstitutional Government (at a place) where there is no constitutional Government organised by people themselves and where people are denied the Government responsible to the Legislature and (also) the right of electing the Legislature? There can be some justification (lit-argument) if political leaders ask people in Europe and America to act upon the systems devised by these capitalists, because those countries have constitution relating to capitalist classes and also constitutional bodies of capitalists. But in a country like India where foreigners hold a sway such things amount to madness.

I hope that swarajists will discard these receipts of the old world courageously and take the trouble of realizing that the salvation of India lies only in organising workers and peasants in it in order to get rid of every kind of subjection of foreigners and be saved from being fleeced (lit-squeezed).

* Brackets are given by the periodical—Tr.

* (Translation from the *Nation*).

Translated by.
(Sd.) Sher Singh, B. A.,
Translator (Punjab Govt.)

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of December 1926 publishes the following :—

“Martyrs

Brackets are * (From— Siriman Ma. Sohen Singh Ji'Josh' of given by the Chetanpur), periodical Tr.

“The epithet ‘martyr’ is very lofty. A very lucky person alone can win (lit-obtain) the honour of (attaining) martyrdom. Ordinarily, thousands of persons die, the report of whose death hardly reaches the ears of others. And those who come (in this world) enjoy (lit-eat and drink) for a few days (lit—for four days), complete the days (of their life) and then pass away. The world neither gains by their arrival in this world nor loses by their departure (therefrom). But the martyrdom of the ‘martyr’ works great wonders (lit-shows great colours). It makes the world more glorious and charming (lit beautiful) than before. It awakens the sleeping nations by giving them a jerk and infuses a national spirit in the awakened ones. By his martyrdom the ‘martyr’ not only makes his nation and country glorious and charming (lit-beautiful) but also makes the whole world charming. After the ‘martyr’ attains martyrdom, he does not belong exclusively to any particular country or nation. He becomes a Universal person. He crosses geographical limits, and becomes the joint asset of the world. Then not only his nation and countrymen feel proud of him, but the whole world greatly admires his true love, love of principle (Lit-fundamental-love) and independent views and does not become tired of singing songs in his praise.

“The martyr is far higher than (the standard of) his time, and his views are far loftier than those of (other) people. The people who are tightly bound with the chains of conservative views cannot understand his lofty flights (of imagination) and independent views. (They), therefore, subject him to tortures and sufferings, rain condemnation on him and boycott him. When (the source of) all punishments short of death (punishment) is exhausted—he, however, sticks to his own inclination and remains firm and unshaken in his views like a mountain—then comes his turn for execution. Does he become upset on hearing of his death (sentence)? Does he begin to cry? Does he make entreaties to save himself? Never. He rejoices, merry-makes, leaps and jumps and sings smilingly: ‘We have to go to the country of the Beloved one, O friends?’

“Hanged. Who got (him) hanged? Those who held views contrary to his. Why? Because he did nothing like them. Because he did not believe in the prevalent customs and rites. In short,

his entire fault was not to follow the procedure of these people. The entire offence on his part was not to say ditto to these people. Beyond this he committed neither any fault nor any offence; because he did not commit theft, etc. On the contrary, he used to preach against dacoities, falsehood and fraud and to prevent people from committing sin. What offence did he then commit? None at all. (He) was hanged for no offence. "Yes, was hanged for no offence. In short, it is his innocence alone which bears fruit, which opens closed eyes and which brings the rays of light into utter darkness. At first, people wonder at his fearlessness and intrepidity. Then this astonishment takes (them) to his merits, and some people begin to realize that the poor man was hanged for no offence. They write elegies for him and sing them, and also compose verses (in his praise) and recite them. His name becomes the tale of the tongue of every child; and some persons begin to follow in his footsteps, and disseminate his views among people. The result is that his varacity is brought to light, and the people who, at first, considered him to be misguided begin to consider themselves to be misguided and him to be true. It is then that they get knowledge of their own mistake; and they weep loudly. But what can be done then. The inevitable had happened long ago.

"This is not any new thing that while the whole world may be on one side, one person alone may be on the other; and that while the whole world is in the wrong, that one person alone is in the right. The perusal of the history of the world shows that several times generation after generation commits a mistake, and when the next generations come to have knowledge of their mistake than it provokes a smile (to think) why the people of that age considered themselves quite unerring. The truth is that just as one person commits mistakes so do nations as well. A nation cannot become unerring simply because it is composed of many persons. On the other hand, it is composed of erring individuals taken together and so it too can be (an) erring (nation). So it is essential that no nation should consider itself unerring. Thinking that even a nation can err, every such person should be listened to as holds any opinion against the views and customs of the nation. Because it is just possible that that person alone may be in the right. No nation should, even by mistake, silence any person holding independent views, by threatening him with excommunication. On the other hand, he should be listened to attentively and discussion held cheerfully; because real truth can be found only through the clash of two conflicting things, and through discussion several cloudy things become clearly visible. The other advantage which a nation derives by acting on this principle is that it avoids to commit the mistakes for committing which it has to feel ashamed afterwards.

"If nations had continued to hear the persons holding independent views than the world would have been saved from [witnessing the death of several martyrs caused for no offence, and who can say that the world would not have become more fascinating & charming than it is now, if they had remained alive? But wisdom dawns after committing mistakes and one can become an (expert) rider after having falls (lit-stumbles). And nothing is lost even now, 'Freedom of thought' is a well-known principle in the twentieth century; and nations and individuals should act upon it at all times and not consider themselves to be erring even by mistake.

"The Martyr sees a hidden and obscure truth; and he wishes to make the world look more charming than before by propagating that truth. He propagates it and himself assumes the appearance of a propagandist. People laugh and jeer at him. And then they call him mad. Sometimes they begin to call him misguided. Ultimately, that truth goes beyond the limit of public condemnation and ridicule. But the martyr remain firm on his principle in the same way (as before); and, at last, that obscure truth becomes well-known, and the world derives boundless benefit therefore, although the martyr has several times to lay down his life to pay the price, of this truth.

"People are tightly bound with (the chains) of public-usages and public customs. Whatever new thing (or) truth there may be, people have inherent opposition against it. They go on following the current rites and customs blindly however flimsy and absurd they may be. They consider the system in vague stable and well-founded whether it may be religious, social or political. They have special love for the 'old' system. They don't want to see even the face of any new system. It is not known why people are reactionary. It is not known why people have cultivated this conservative (lit-stationary) habit. It is not known why people are the worshippers of the absurd policy of following the customs of their forefathers. To follow customs of forefathers in the 20th century, what wrong! (Blind) obedience to the customs of forefathers is another name for superstition. To follow the customs of forefathers is to blindly follow the old system. To support the customs of forefathers is to become (the members) of a reactionary.

"The martyr breaks asunder the stout chains of (blind) obedience to the customs of forefathers making them (chains) produce a sound. He does not care for public-approbation (lit-reconciliation) and public criticism (lit-reproach). He is the lover of truth, progress and freedom. He can divorce all old customs for the sake of advancement. He revolts against the practice of imitating and following (others) blindly; and he can perform every kind of sacrifice for freedom. He considers it an insignificant thing to sacrifice (himself) for truth.

"The martyr does not care for public-opinion (lit-approval). He does not think even in dream as to how people will talk of him. He is the passionate lover of his own principle. He understands that no heed should be paid to public-opinion (lit-approval) which is based on (the principle of following others blindly and winning public-approbation (lit-honour). In his opinion, he and his principles have a greater support than others in the whole world (lit-than the world) (sic).

"The martyr takes great pity on people. He thinks in his mind as to why people are the worshippers of (the policy of) following the customs of their forefathers and imitating others blindly. Why do not they discard the mentality of following others blindly (lit-sheep-mentality) and the habit of imitating other (indiscriminately)? After consideration, he comes to the conclusion that sacrifice is required to rouse people from sound sleep. For this reason he sacrifices (himself). People get a severe 'shaking through this sacrifice and they begin to think. As they think, their faith in blind obedience to the customs of their forefathers becomes somewhat slack and their eyes open gradually and they come to realize that the martyr was not 'misguided' but 'well guided', was not mad but a national asset and an inestimable diamond.

It is true that merits of a person are recalled after his death. Well, what then? Funds are raised for his memorial and praises are lavished upon him. Appeals for unity and mutual love are made in his name, and the day of his martyrdom is celebrated. This is the trend of public mentality! It does not know how to credit a person during his life-time. Nothing short of 'death-trial' will satisfy it. This demon becomes satisfied after conducting "death-trial". It becomes the worshipper of the same truth as was formerly considered by him to be a "mere trifle". Wonderful are the ways of God, in truth. How to account for the little progress we see? How did this civilization we are proud of attain this position? How was this little freedom we are enjoying left to us? All this is the fruit of the sacrifice of these martyrs who nurtured these plants by irrigating them by means of their blood. If this had wholly depended on public views then we would have perhaps hardly been excluded from (the category of) barbarians up to this day.

"Many a great person and martyr lived in old times who gave (lit-sacrificed) their heads for their 'belief.' Great persons and martyrs are found in the present time as well who not only can offer their heads for their belief but also sacrifice their belief itself if they come to know that their belief is based on public-usuages and (the principle of) following forefathers blindly and is wrong. It is through the sacrifice of such martyrs that nations are elevated and countries reformed. It is such martyrs who keep the flame of independence ablaze for ever and go on elevating civilization. It is such

martyrs who make history & immortalize their own names. Undoubtedly, it is very fruitful to have a look at such great persons, and to follow in their footsteps is to attain salvation. O friend, have you too ever enjoyed, or do you ever intend to enjoy, the company of such great persons? Think and think again.

Translated by,

Sher Singh B. A.,

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of February 1927 bears the following quotation on its title page :—

“Workers of the World, unite together. In so (doing) you will lose nothing nay (lit except that) the fetters of your slavery will be cut asunder.”

Translated by,

Sher Singh, B. A.,

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of February 1927 publishes the following:—

“Free Afghanistan

*Brackets are given
by the periodical Tr.

*(From Master Sohan Singh Ji “Josh”
of Chetanpur)

“The British Govt. is very astute and cunning. At first, it sends to the country on which it wants to establish its hold christian missionaries who clear the field (for it) there. Then capitalists begin to enter it step by step. And they spread a net of their dealings, business (and) trade in that country. At last, the inhabitants of that country open their eyes, and they see that they are being bound hand and foot, (that) the whole business as well as trade is in the hands of foreigners (and that) it is they who are draining all raw articles and money through trade. The advancement of a country depends only on business and trade. For want of money the children of a (lit that) country cannot acquire education, and for want of education it cannot make progress in any direction. The physical condition of (the inhabitants) thereof grow bad. It lags behind all other countries in regard to military, air and navel power. In these days, only that country can remain free which out does all others in killing human beings or in other words, which always remain prepared to wage war, trains its armies by adopting new methods and continues to watch whether it lags behind its neighbouring countries in any way.

"When this awakening is produced in that country that foreigners are 'castrating' it and that if it does not get rid of them at an early date, the yoke (lit-the bag containing the load) of slavery, will remain lying on it for ever, than they (its inhabitants) begin to stir themselves, devise measures for rescuing their country from the grip of capitalists and preach hatred among people against foreigners.

"Capitalists too begin to entertain anxiety.

At first, they preach to that county to simply remain obedient and also remark that:—'we have come for your service, and our foremost object is to promote education and trade in your country'. But people come to understand these moves and to realize that the things which, in the opinion of aliens, are (the basis of) their advancement are alone in reality, the cause of their degradation. It is for this reason that they are not taken in by aliens: and (they) go on producing an awakening among people and produce (lit-start) a wave of abhorrence against aliens.

What does then happen? The same happens at every place, In other words, aliens send for the military, air and naval forces from their own country and say: 'see, our life and property are in danger. Therefore we shall have to do everything in the interest (lit-for the protection) of our life and property. You should refrain (from acting in this manner) even now'.

"The countries which got frightened on seeing the force of aliens became slaves for ever. But those who did not care for (their) lives and staked their all for "The war of independence" became free and were left in a position in which they could look at the world with arrogance (lit-With raised eyes).

"The drama which we have written above has been and is being, enacted at every place in exactly the same manner. Whether you read the history of Egypt or China, or go through (lit-see) that of India or Afghanistan, (you will find that the same moves and machinations continued to be practised over and over again at every place. What did happen in Egypt? How, at first, the British Govt. purchased shares of the Suez Canal and then purchased all shares of Khediv also step by step and spread a net of trade there. And how their mouth watered on seeing the cotton of Egypt, (how) they gained a footing (lit-stretched their legs) there, and how they got their claims in that (country) recognised by others powers too'.

"Again what did happen, is still happening, in China. How, at first, missionaries went there and opened schools for education! (How these Capitalists then took ship after ship of opium there made the inhabitants thereof (lit-them) opium-eaters and secured agreements

in writing from them that they were the owners of (lit-in' the harbours near the sea, and that they could enforce there own laws there. How then opium war took place and footing of capitalists there became still more firm. And what is happening now? China has awakened and it now wants to turn out capitalists and enforce its own laws in harbours too. And how capitalists are now collecting their armies in China under the pretext of 'danger to life and property', how they do not want to abandon it, how China has now gird up its loins (saying) that it will rest only after becoming free, etc.

"The same thing happened in India to a small or great extent. But unfortunately it could not take time by the forelock and was tightly bound with the chains of slavery. And what is now happening to it is known to all. This need not therefore, be reduced to writing here.

"The British Govt. went on securing a good footing in Afghanistan too. But the Afghans took time by the forelock; and they became free. They raised the standard of revolt in 1919, and this revolt was for independence.

"Afghanistan is somewhat a hilly country. The Afghans are deeply imbued with the spirit of independence and they always remain prepared to sacrifice (their) all for their country and nation. Well, how can a country which has such patriotism and love for freedom remain slave? And, at last, it became free by waging a war of independence in 1919. What about the situation there today? Amir Amanullah is the king of that (country), and it is now making progress in every direction. Great stress is being laid on female education. Afghan ladies have begun to unveil (their faces.) Armies are being trained by Russian Generals, and special emphasis is being laid on the manufacture and flying of aeroplanes. Unlike India, it is free from disputes between Hindus and Mussalmans. They also live in peace and amity in houses situated close to each other, and all take pride in being called the members of the Afghan nation. And youths are going to foreign countries one after the other to acquire education. "We rejoice over the advancement, independence and patriotism of Afghanistan, and we wish that independence may reign elsewhere, and the lot of workers may better. Although we do not approve of the despotic rule of one man and want a labor-Govt., still Afghans' love for freedom, is commendable".

Translated by

Sher Singh B.A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of March 1927 publishes the following:—

"Message of English women-workers *(to the Indian workers through Mr. Saklatwala).

*Brackets are

given by the

periodical-Tr. *(By Babu Feroz Din, "Sharaf", Punjabi Cuckoo.)

"Get up O fast sleeping brethern, (and) recover yourselves: Advance and show your mettle (lit. hands) like European workers.

"All workers should join together and form a sort of union and establish a labour-rule in the world. "Do not silently look at the face of the rich who do not want you to even pass your time easily. "Put the cloaks of false hopes off your necks and put on the novel garb of other countries.

"You are dozing in (your) starvation (while) capitalist leeches are sucking your blood.

"They have administered (you) such a herb of fatalism that you do not recover yourselves even though they are giving you kicks.

"Their woolly spaniel dogs live on milk and cream (while) they ask you to always resign yourselves to destiny.

"Fate is the name given by all wise people to division; God has however made a fair division if the world only realises it.

"(He), has opened such gates of cool air in the world that rich and poor get gusts of it equally.

"If it stops blowing for a moment, (the creatures of) the whole world will feel agonies of death be he a king or a worker or be it a poor beast.

He has distributed this nectar-like blessing to all equally by means of the scales of nature, giving a grain neither more nor less (to any one).

Like (air) He let flow springs of water and made the Sun, the Moon, stars, earths and heavens.

"All taste equally of pain, pleasure, cold, heat, death and life every where.

"Now break asunder the fetters of fate on your feet; (and) all workers should now get into the boat of enterprise.

"Take back all joining together the God-given rights (you) had lost owing to the cunning of the rich.

"If these our bread-givers do not agree (to restore them) amicably, then donot avoid a struggle (lit. war) and stick to it."

"If you want to live and die honourably in the world make bold to shake the yoke of lethargy off your neck."

"You cause the folwers of labour to blossom by working hard, O Princes (in the forms of workers); but the rich, suck all the Juice out of them by becoming flies."

"Scatter all these flies with the smoke of strikes; squeeze all the honey and throw away the hive."

"If you want to have anything, get up all you taking courage in both hands, since the "labouring-sisters" have now come together to wake you up, O "Shar, of"."

Translated by

Shersingh B.A.

Translator, Punjab Govt.

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition for the month of March 1927 publishes the following:—

"Labour Government will come into existence here one day."

Brackets are given by the periodical Tr. [From Gyani Gurmukh Singh ji "Muzaffar", General Secretary, Shiro (mani) A. (kali) Dal,

"Rich persons are becoming more and more rich; workers are suffering humiliation from day to day."

"On the one hand, thirty six dishes are arranged in a plate (for a rich person); on the other, workers are in distress owing to the pinch of hunger."

"Some have filled their boxes with silken suits; but there are innumerable workers who are roaming naked."

"The worker returns home in the evening after doing labour the whole day long."

"He gets fever and falls sick on seeing his children naked and hungry."

"Capitalists do not pay any heed whatsoever, although workers have cried themselves hoarse and spent up their brains."

"If there is God anywhere, then there, will come in a change as soon as the sighs of the worker reach Him."

" If time takes its course according to its own laws, a Labour Government will come into existence here one day.

" What work can be accomplished in the world satisfactorily, if the workers does not do work sincerely?

" From where can (we) get clothes to cover (our) bodies with, if the worker does not connect yarn with yarn.

" How can nine dishes be arranged in a single plate (for the rich) if the worker does not labour hard?

" The intoxication due to satiety will disappear if the zamindar worker does not plough.

" Pleasure-trips from city to city cannot be undertaken (it will be forgotten), if the worker does not keep the (Railway) engine clean.

" Boots with high heels will break, if the worker does not prepare motor cars.

" What thing can be done without (the help of) the worker? The worker is a wire of the capitalistic puppet.

" If the worker keeps the wire in his own hands, he can make dance anybody he likes.

" If the workers gets ready and demands his rights, the capitalist—big contractor—can do nothing (against him).

" If railways and workshops stop to work today the capitalists will certainly fall prostrate at the feet of the workers.

" This fact is wholly true: If the workers want to effect their own betterment.

" They should organise themselves and preserve their rights and foster mutual love among themselves.

" If (we) consider the matter carefully, (then we shall find) that the worker proves sympathetic towards the distressed.

" He who suffers always triumphs; a Labour Government will come into existence here one day.

" The worker remains active at heart, although he may have to pass his time in distress for want of food.

" He is proved of his own strength (lit. arm); the worker is there (ore) independent.

" It is only in a lucky country that a worker is a king and workers are officers.

"(That) workers are revenue officers Deputy (Commissioners) *chaukidars* (watchmen), Kanungoes, Munshis and lambardars.

"(That) the whole staff consist of workers; (and that) workers are *thanedars*, *patwaris* and *Sardars*.

"It is right to say—luck, however, stands in the way—that a Labour Government will come into existence here one day."

Translated by

Shersingh B.A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of May 1927 publishes the following:—

" 'Either death or a Labour Government (lit. or a Labour Government will spring up)' "

*Brackets are given
by the
periodical-Tr.

** (From S. S. B. A.)

"If (you) once enquire, then (I) can open my heart (lit. chest) narrating why workers are roaming unhappy in Bharat.

"The people of England too have taken the reins of Government in their own hands. Why are workers roaming here in distress from door to door?

"The people of Russia have got hold of Government; the workers of China look prepared.

But what calamity (lit. a disease common among dogs and camels) has befallen us that we, the workers, have become extremely helpless?

"When (I) thought (over this, then I) came to know that workers were sitting quiet after becoming tired.

"Well, have (you) ever seen anywhere before that a Labour Government came into being while (people) remained sitting idle.

"If workers want honour and respect, they should become vigilant and awake.

"These workers should, at first, get prepared like the people of China (and then) carry on propaganda at every place.

"(We) shall rest only after removing (the burden of) idlers from the shoulders (lit. heads)—

This should be the goal and business of workers

"These workers should establish republics like Russia and then hold darbars satisfactorily

"But this can happen here only if workers become organised at one and the same time.

"And stake their heads and bodies and say:
'Either death or a Labour Government (lit. or a Labour Government will spring up).'

"Work will not be accomplished here by mere talks, if you want to take (your) boat ashore, O Workers.

"You are sitting idle. How can a Labour Government come into being in this way?

"Well, how can work be done by sitting at ease; gird up the loins (lit. tie pieces of cloth on the head by passing them over the chin and ears) and become ready, O Workers!

"Act upon what Lenin remarked —Workers deserve rule."

"The advice of *Karl should not be cast to the winds-O worker friends; Unite together;

"You will lose nothing in this way, (nay your) chains, of workers, break'

"(We) remain absorbed in anxiety day and night as to how reform will, at last, take place, O workers.

"How will the halters of slavery break (and) when will good times (lit. spring) come again, O workers?

"When will pains, hunger, financial stringency and poverty disappear (and) the *Kirti*—world flourish.

"After thinking again and again I come to the conclusion that if workers, however want to obtain a Government,

"They should at once bestir themselves (lit. awake jumping up) and say at the top of their voice:

"Government is ours, throne and crown are ours, and strangers should go beyond the sea, O Workers!"

(Note by the periodical):—§ Democratic Governments)

*Karl Marx.

Translated by

Sher Singh B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of July 1927 bears the following quotation on its title page:—

“Workers of the World, unite together. In so (doing) you will lose nothing, nay, the fetters of your slavery will certainly be cut asunder.”

Translated by

Sher Singh B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of August 1927 publishes the following:—

“At the hands of the Capitalist.

“Having grown sick of sufferings undergone for centuries together and become distressed, workers have, at last, begun to complain,

“The flowers (? fruits) of (their) labour are enjoyed by others, (while) Workers suffer thousands of hardships day and night.

“Ah ? Workers carry the burden of ploughing, of toil and of labour on their shoulders.

“They do not get their belly full in the evening; innumerable Workers are maintaining patience.

“On the one hand, (they) are being subjected to trouble by idlers, and on the other, (they) are suffering oppressions at the hands of Government.

“O God ? We shall thank you (if) our lives are saved from the hands of the capitalist.

“(Our) crops ripen after we irrigate them with (our) blood; (still we) do not receive in our houses sufficient grain to consume.

“Alas ? They make fifty (rupees) out of five, O friends; these accursed ones lit these who are fit to die) fleece us.

“Our children do not get a loaf; nor can we bag alms to support ourselves.

“Our children are being driven from pillar to post owing to their being illiterate; We are unable to give education (to them).

“May we get a cup of poison to drink (or) commit suicide by shooting down ourselves with our own hands.

"Or else we the workers should become victorious (so that) our lives may be saved from the hands of the capitalist.

"Labourers in factories and cultivators are complaining (lit. weeping).

"They do labour day and night still they cannot get their bellyful; they are complaining (lit. weeping) along with their families.

"Capitalists are laughing by clapping their hands; (while) distressed Workers are crying and complaining.

"At last, these times will change (and) these friends who cause (us) to weep will weep themselves.

"The days will come (when) the sword of oppression will break and fall down from the hand of the capitalist.

"O "Balbir ! Join together and foster unity; (your) lives will (thus) be saved from the hands of the capitalist.—

"Balbir of Firozepore"

Translated by

Sher Singh B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt)

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of August 1927 publishes the following:—

"Socco and Vanzetti"

"The storm of agitation raised by the Workers and communists of the whole world for the release of Sacco and Vanzetti, has produced great effect. Both these worker heroes were to be hanged, on the 10th; August. But owing to this agitation their execution has now been postponed to the 22nd; August. We have full confidence that the workers of the whole world will continue this international agitation in the same manner, and not let it abate even a whit, because Capitalists are amenable to (lit. friends of) the rod alone and do not care for entreaties at all. So until these innocent Worker heroes are set free we should continue to follow the same course.

"Cable from the *Kirti* for release.

"The following Cable has been dispatched to Governor Fuller of Massachusetts State on behalf of the *Kirti*.

"Amritsar,

" 26th; August 1927.

"(The) *Kirti* Magazine most emphatically urges the release of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Bagh Singh "

Translated by

Sher Singh B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt)

The KIRTI (Gurmukhi editor) for the month of September 1927 publishes the following:—

" Longing of the Worker.

" When will my red flag be seen fluttering ?

" O astrologer ! Say, when will my difficulties be mitigated ?

" What offence or fault have I committed ? Why has the world become my enemy ?

" Say, what gross sin have I committed, that even God does not become my protector ?

" How long shall I thus continue to suffer disgrace at the hands of tyrants in the world ?

" How long will capitalists go on spilling my blood with (lit. under) the edge of the sword by catching hold of me ?

" How long will capitalists vultures continue to suck my blood and eat my flesh ?

" When shall I get my dwelling-place on the earth of God owned by all jointly ?

" How long will the sinful sky continue to put me to the test by humiliating me ?

" How long will my family rot in front of the doors of the rich (?) for the sake of loaves ?

" I have cried myself hoarse ; when will anybody hear my wail and woe ?

" When will my dear ones get my usurped right restored to me by joining together.

" How long will India-my dear home-be seen enchained tightly.

" When will subject Bharat-my garden-become free and flourish.

" When will the blood-coloured red flag be seen fluttering at the peak of the Himalayas ?

" When will my class govern India and the whole World ?

" When shall I see the Workers' rule in the World ? This is the only longing in my heart, O 'Jauhar' "—

" ' Jauhar' "

Translated by Shersingh B.A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

The KIRTI (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of September 1927 publishes the following:—

" The second manager of the KIRTI.

" Before the publication of the KIRTI, the names of the managers who made an announcement in the press (about it) were Bhai Bhag Singh Ji Canadian and Bhai Santokh Singh Ji American. The perseverance and good motives with which Bhai Santokh Singh ji managed the KIRTI beggar all description.

" After his death an able person having a (ferling) heart for workers like himself was required to fill up the vacancy. So the readers and the sympathizers of the KIRTI will rejoice to hear that Bhai Sohan Singh ji Josh of Chitanpur has taken the place of the Bhai Sahib. Bhai Sahib Bhai Sohan Singh's articles continued to be published in the KIRTI in the time of Bhai Santokh Singh, from which his views can be gauged. And it will be sufficient to write this much about him that at this time he is the only suitable person in the Punjab to replace him. He has patriotism and a feeling heart for workers from the beginning and had been to jail several times in this connection. And he is one of the self-respecting leaders who did not accept (Govt) conditions. So congratulations to all readers on this selection. Henceforth Bhai Bhagh Singh ji Canadian and Bhai Sohan Singh ji "Josh" will be the managers of the KIRTI.

" (your) servant the editor, the KIRTI Amritsar. "

Translated by

Shersingh B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

The KIRTI (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of September 1927 publishes the following:—

" Appeal of the new manager".

" I have been appointed second manager (to work), with,

Bhai Bhag Singh ji Canadian. I do not know what merits I possess (lit. have been seen in me) that this grave responsibility has been thrown on my shoulders. As far as I know about myself—and none else can know about myself better than I do—I am filled with demerits and demerits alone. Again, there are thousands, nay, lakhs of good sons of Mother India who are superior (lit. unique) to me in education, in intellect, in (making) sacrifice, and in sharing the sorrows of workers and peasants. But why did worker brethren select me ignoring all of them? This is nothing short of enigma for me.

“This responsibility is very grave. The native and foreign worker brethren will call me to account for it every minute. Shall I be able to stand the test? Shall I be able to shoulder this responsibility? Shall I be able to win the confidence of native and foreign brethren? These are the questions which arise in my mind over and over again and are causing anxiety to me.

“I know Bhai Bhag Singh ji Canadian—He is a friend of mine. Special pleasure is derived in working with him. But when (I) think of responsibility, a voice comes from within (asking me) to tread cautiously. But one thing which encourages me and persuades me to shoulder the responsibility is that the worker brethren who have selected me will certainly extend a helping hand to me and continue to make me take to the right path by pointing out my mistakes.

“I specially appeal to my foreign brethren that I shall be able to fulfil this responsibility only if they repose confidence in me and extend their benevolent hand to me like Bhai Santokh Singh, although they are not personally acquainted with me.

“The servant of native and foreign workers—

“Sohan Singh ‘Josh’ of Chetanpur”

Translated by

Shersingh B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of September 1927 bears the following on its title page:—

“Workers & Peasants of the world, unite together. In so (doing) you will lose nothing, nay, the fetters of your slavery will be cut asunder.

“The monthly magazine *Kirti*, Amritsar—the only preacher of labour-principles in India for creating class-awakening among Indian Workers and making them stand on their own legs by putting them in possession of their birth-rights.

(Here is given a sign of Sickle & Hammer-Tr.)

" Second year—No:8. September 1927—Asu, 1984

" Editor:—Harnam Singh Nidhark.

" Printed at the Onkar Press—old Telegraph Office, Amritsar, under the management of Bh: Harnam Singh—Printer & Publisher, and Published at the *Kirti* office "

Translated by

Sher Singh B.A.,

Translator (Punjab Govt.).

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of October 1927 bears the following on its title-page:—

" October—The Kirti Conference Number: Volume II. No:9.

(Here is shown the red flag flying on the globe with a sign of sickle & hammer on it. Two persons are depicted having fetters on their feet and shaking hands. One is shown with a sickle in hand and the other with a hammer. A rake is shown lying near the feet of the former, and a shovel near those of the latter—Tr)

" The only labour organ in Punjabi.

" Regd: No: LI440.

" Engraved & Printed by F.W. & Co., Lahore."

Translated by

Sher Singh B.A.,

Translator, (Punjab Govt.).

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of October 1927 publishes the following:—

"Cable from Berlin

"The following Cable was received from the League against Imperialism, Berlin, Germany, to the address (lit name of) Bhai Sohan Singh Ji Josh at Hoshiarpur on the 4th October.

"The League against Imperialism sends you hearty greetings on organising the Kirti Conference, and hopes that workers' and peasants' parties will be organised and (then) affiliated to the League and thus complete freedom will be gained through the united and

joint efforts of oppressed people and classes. Send report of your decisions by cable.

Gibarlic Andolia,

Berlin"

Translated by

Sher Singh B.A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi Editor) for the month of November 1927 publishes the following :—

History of the *ghadar* movement of India :

"How this movement worked in foreign countries.

Brackets are
given by the
periodical—Tr.

(From-Miss Anges Smedley).

"I write to-day the history of the movement which Indians had been carrying on in foreign countries to liberate Mother India. But from where should I begin? Well, I begin from the war of independence of India of 1857. When Indian people put forth the most strenuous efforts to throw the yoke of the slavery of India off (their) neck, and (they) failed. At that time the representatives of Indian nationalists leaders were trying in foreign countries to establish connections with France and Russia. But they failed. Since then some Indians or other have been driven out of India in almost every war of independence. They had either to remain there in secret or take refuge in foreign countries. Generally such persons were men of (lofty) ideals and firm determinations they would have either been imprisoned or sent to the gallows if they had moved in India openly. I shall write only about those persons who lived in foreign countries; because they are well-known. The British autocracy which had made every (lit. any, *ghadar* movement in India impossible, became the cause of keeping the centre of Indian *ghadar* movement in foreign countries for several years.

"There were only a few Indians in India who had dedicated their lives to Indian *ghadar*. One of them was Bal Gangadhar Tilak. They passed the major portion of their lives in (undergoing) imprisonment. Thus it was the exiles in foreign countries who were the source (lit. centre) of the ideas and propaganda (lit. work) about Indian *ghadar* up to the end of the Great War. It was their ideas, their writings and their incessant work which kept the dream of liberty fresh within Indian youths. After the Great

war, India had become more slavish than before, this slavery was not only political and economic slavery but also mental slavery, the most dangerous of all other (kinds of slavery.) India is still slavish mentally and also in every other respect. Most Indian leaders too are still looking to (lit. casting their eyes on) England or some British political party for help. But Indian exiles and their companions who were hardly six in number in India without any support did not advocate any compromise whatsoever while emphatically opposing the policy of British Government, without having any resources at their back (lit. stark naked—)

“The first effort put forth to establish a connection with foreign powers after the war of independence of India of 1857, was from Maharaja Dalip Singh. This took place in 1884. Although he was bred and brought up in England, still he never forgot the slavery and dishonour of India. He made secret endeavours to secure help from Russia to subvert the British Government; but he too could not succeed. After that similar other efforts also were made on the frontier of India in this way. But I have not so definite knowledge of these things as may enable me to narrate them with certainty. The first *jatha* (band) of exiles about which I have come to know consisted of two or three persons. About twenty years have elapsed since they fled to Persia; and there they started (their) work. These persons did two kinds of work there. First, they published *ghadar* newspapers and sent them secretly to India. And they tried that these should reach military sepoys and college students. Secondly, they worked in co-operation with the republic movement of Persia. And in this way they established school and issued newspapers, and imparted education to Persian youths. The republic movement of Persia was against the British *raj*. And for this reason it was but natural (for them) to work in co-operation with this movement. At the same time, they usually liked such views.

“Among them, Sufi Amba Parshad and Ajit Singh of the Punjab were well known persons. Both of them alone had suffered great oppressions in India at the hands of Government.

“Sufi had become very popular in Persia for teaching Persian and the methods of organisation. After a few years of Marhatta assumed the name of Mohammad Ali in Persia, and became an officer in a Persian army. When a *ghadar* broke out in Persia in 1905, then this very Marhatta was the leader of the armies which conquered Tehrañ. There were several other persons of Maharashtra in this *jatha* whose names need not be mentioned “The political movement which continued (lit. sprang up) in India from 1905 to 1911 brought another *jatha* of exiles into being, who went to Europe, America, China, and Japan and started the work of *ghadar* movement. We know this that the

defeat of Russia by Japan in 1904 produced very deep impression on India, especially on Indian youths. In this war Indian young men saw that an Asiatic nation could defeat a European one. And they came to realize that the slavery of Asia was due not to the writ of fate but to arms, organisation and strength. Although there were other political and economic causes still this was the chief cause, as the result of which conspiracies and threatening movements sprang up in India after 1905. The year 1905 was an historic year for the whole world. It was during this year that disturbances took place in Russia, Turkey, Persia, Mexico, Ireland and America. It was during this year that a *ghadar* society of workers was formed in America, and this very year was the year of the beginning of *ghadar* in India.

"This thing should be remembered here that when I use the terms, '*ghadar*' and 'the promoters of *ghadar*' I mean (by them) 'national *ghadar*'. If we consider (the whole matter) very minutely, we cannot call the national and *ghadar* movements of India and *ghadri* movements. In Europe the terms '*ghadar*' and 'the promoters of *ghadar*' (lit the meaning of the terms '*ghadar*' and 'the promoters of *ghadar*') are used in their social sense. But after the Great war and the success of Russian *ghadar* there were not more than five or six socialists among Indian exiles."

"After the *ghadar* time of 1905 we come across several Indians who were in exile in China, Japan, America, France and other European countries. For instance, we come across several persons in France and England alone whose very act of doing work in the cause of the liberty of India had made them exiles. In both these countries there were many *jathas* of such secret revolutionaries (lit. rebels). Most of them were students. The aged persons of India asked for some crumbs of justice from the table of England; but youngmen were not satisfied with the policy of begging. They used to collect many together in England through their secret societies and issue *ghadri* newspapers secretly and send them secretly to Indian universities. One of these newspapers was entitled the *Talwar*. This newspaper was issued fifteen or twenty years ago. But when any person reads it to-day, he wonders what nice articles are written in it. This newspaper has so sound a knowledge of international politics and economic advancement that it can be said that if India had relied upon the knowledge of its Indians in foreign countries for international things, then it would not have been considered one (of the countries of) slave nations to-day. For instance, an article appeared in (some) issue of the *Talwar* newspaper of 1909, containing a prediction about the coming war between Germany and England, and giving the causes of its early out-break. It was (also) written in it that India would get an opportunity in that war to set up a *morcha* for its

emancipation. This article is written clearly and in nice terms. It clearly exhibits the economic and political condition of Europe at that time. India has greatly suffered for not believing in its men abroad; because their education was very high and their ability very great.

The history of the war of independence of Indians of 1875 was written in England for the 1st. time. This was the 1st. history which was written from the view-point of Indians. It was secretly printed in Holland, because the exposure of truth was dangerous for the English and also for those who wanted to propagate truth. It was secretly and very freely (lit. nicely) distributed in India and England. Its author was Vinayak Savarkar who was the leader of a *jatha* in England. Now-a-days this book is considered to be (a book) of great historic and literary value. Sir Valentine Charolè, who is the great enemy of India, also appreciated it. He remarked:—Deep survey of things (lit. research) has been made in this book, although some true facts have been distorted. And this has been written in a very nice manner; but it is filled with great contempt'. And Thomas writes in his book. 'Other side of the medal'—that; 'Madness was working in the brain of Savarkar. And the book was proscribed because it was as good as it should have been. We consider the bad opinion of such Englishmen to be a good thing,—because they object to a true thing. The bad story of the war of independence of India which is written by the English and taught in schools and colleges in India now-a-days teaches (us) that India should feel ashamed of (the actions of) the men who fought in 1857 for the emancipation of their country. The truth is that Indians are taught also this that they should consider these fighters of the war of independence to be 'traitors'. The offence of all exiles and promoters of *ghadar* was this that they tried to teach their native brethren that slavery should be hated in whatever form it might be and work done for the emancipation of their country.

These promoters of *ghadar* had (their) members in every university in England. The British Government says that they purchased pistols and sent them secretly to India to help the *ghadar* movement of the country. They might have done so. The promoters of *ghadar* in America also did the same thing in the first instance. The only difference is that they purchased a very large number of guns from France and sent them to the promoters of *ghadar* in America.

Sir Curzon Wylie who enlisted secret police against Indian students, was killed by Madan Lal Dhingra. This man was a member of the Indian *jatha*. This took place on the 1st July 1919. Dhingra was hanged in London on the 17th. August 1919 and his

dead body was buried in the prisoners' cemetery, and his countrymen were not allowed to perform his obsequies. He mounted the gallows (lit. plank of the gallows) with a very still neck (lit. raised head) and shook hands with all and said that he had no fear of death. When he was standing on the gallows (lit. plank of the gallows) he was asked to say any last thing if he liked. He replied with "Bandematram", Every Indian who was present there at that time was a sepoy who was greatly impressed by the bravery of Dhangra. After that, the English practised great oppressions on Indians in England. Several persons had to flee to France and they are still in Europe as refugees. Savarkar was arrested in England and sent to India to take his trial there. While he was in French waters he jumped from the ship into the sea and swam to the soil of France. According to international law he was entitled to protection. But the English pursued him caught hold of him, broke the international law, put him in the ship and sent him to India. He was tried there, Sentenced to a term of imprisonment longer than that of transportation for life (lit. transportation for one life) and sent to the Andamans-the Siberia of India.

Owing to his having become seriously ill with *Note by the consumption, he was released two years ago. Now periodical-Now-a-days he is *interned in Ratnagiri. "a city in a-days the Bombay."

order (lit. punishment of internment has been withdrawn against him and he has started a newspaper. "Among the companions of Savarkar there was one named) B. B. S. Iyre who afterwards lived in Pondichery. Government showed clemency to him. He continued to work for Indians and at last died as the result of an accident two years and a half ago."

"Some other persons were also sent to the Andamans from India at the time when Savarkar was convicted! Several were sentenced to ten year's imprisonment and others (lit. several) to fifteen year's—But I shall not write (anything) about them, because this article is exclusively about the promoters of ghadar living abroad.

"At the time when Indian students were working in England, there existed a society in France as well! The leader of this society was an Indian women named Madam Kama. She is still alive and has now grown very old. She remains somewhat sickly in Paris. These French jathas started a ghadri newspaper, The Bandematram; and (they) used to send it to India secretly and endeavour to awaken Indian youths. This newspapers used to be sent to Indian students too after reading it in foreign countries (sic). Fortunately Madam Kama was a rich lady, and the whole work in France was carried on at her support alone, Afterwards the exiles

of England continued to work in co-operation with the French jatha had a deep connection with the national movement of Egypt, as well and worked in co-operation with it.

“Indians took great part in the second congress of the Egyptian national party which was held at Brussels in 1910. The delegates of Ireland were also present in it, and (they) did much work. By the by, I also wish to point out this that the promoters of the national Ghadar of India, who were putting up in England & France, work shoulder to shoulder with the promoters of ghadar in Ireland. And many Irish man and women were their trustworthy companions.

“In 1912 an Indian threw a bomb on Lord Harding, who was then recently appointed viceroy, when he entered Delhi. Although many rewards were fixed still the bomb-thrower could not be arrested. He fled to Japan, and began to do work there for the freedom of India. At that time some Indians were working in China and Japan as well. They started newspapers in their own languages, and used to send them to India secretly. One of these newspaper was entitled the New Islam which was edited by a musalman who put forth efforts to produce an awakening among Indians Mussalmen and incited them for the emancipation of the country.

“All propagandists were working very vigorously in almost all cities in China where Indian troops were used to keep the chinese slaves. And in order to produce an awakening among the troops they preached that they (troops) were doing an unpardonable act by letting themselves be used in that manner.—*(to be continued)”

*Brackets are given
by the periodical—

Translated by

Sher Singh B. A.

Translator Punjab Govt.

The Kirti (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of December 1927 publishes the following:—

“The Second Session of the League against Imperialism.

“We have felt great joy to see that the second session of the League against Imperialism will be held at Brussels from the 9th to the 11th December with great eclat. And preparations are being made very vigoursly to make it a success. The League against Imperialism is the only league which can be called a league for the good of workers and peasants. The League of Nations is, on the other hand, a mere plaything in the hands of capitalists, and it has been established simply with a view to strengthening capitalism. Workers should await its decisions.

"It has come to light t'at Pandit Moti Lal ji Nehru will attend it as a representative of India. It would have been better if some worker had gone there as representative (instead). But Pandit ji has perhaps been appointed representative for want of sufficient time. At any rate, he is not, it can be said, a bad representative.

"We pray that this (session of the) League may prove more successful than the last (one)."

Translated by

Sher Singh B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of December 1927 publishes the following:

"The tangle of the Royal Commission

*Brackeets are given by the periodical—Tr,	* "(From Bhai Sohan Singh Ji Josh) "I remember definitely that when the labourers of England came in power we were under arrest along with (lit.in) the 1st. <i>Jatha</i> of in the Shiromani Gurdwara Probandhak Committee & were detained in the Amritsar Jail. And by that time the second <i>Jatha</i> of the Shiromani Gurdwara Probandhak Committee too had come to us. When it was read in jail that British labourers had come in power (lit. secured rule) in England, then several brethern of ours exulted with great joy and entertained high yet empty hopes and expectations (lit-built <i>Kacha & pucca</i> forts of great hopes and expectations). Among these persons who entertained great hopes were included several extremist leaders as well. They thought that justice would then be done to India and them and the state of affairs then prevalent would not continue any longer.
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"On the other side, there was another party which did not believe at all that this change would do any good to us. They were of opinion that whatever was to happen was to be brought about by us and brought about by means of our own strength and that no good will accrue in building hopes on others. I too was included in this party. I did entertain the idea that in the present time, when railway, télégraph, aeroplanes, etc had annihilated large space (lit-great distance) and time and one nation and country had become the neighbours of the other, it was essential that the state of affairs of one place should affect the other, whatever that effect might be, and that one nation could get moral help from the other in the same way. But I have naturally formed the opinion that whatever is to be done is to be done by us. No body will put

a morsel of food into our mouths while we are lying down : we can take care of our house by getting up and by no other means.

"At any rate, the labour party remained in power for about nine months. India built high hopes on it, but these all were frustrated. In order to fully open the eyes of Indians, it on, the other hand, enforced the Black law in Bengal and thrusting many a young nationalist into jails. That was not all. It made several other announcements, which made India believe that all (Englishmen) are ships of the same block (lit-all sheep are black-snouted). Englishmen are after all Englishmen, be they workers or Capitalists. They all want to keep India under their own thumb (lit-shoe). And as long India goes on, by becoming the wish-fulfilling cow, granting the English the boons asked for by them as long they will go on filling their pockets (lit-bags), and denying everything (lit-showing thumb) to it.

"It is the characteristic of human nature that a man's (lit-its) confidence is reposed in one thing (lit-place) and then shaken; it is again reposed and again shaken. This state of affairs continues for a long time and at last the final stage comes and confidence is reposed in one thing (lit-place) Indians reposed and lost their confidence in the English public several times. Now after over about one hundred and fifty years they had lost their confidence in the English public. Still they had built high hopes on English Workers; but these too were frustrated by the Royal Commission. The reason is that out of seven members of this commission two are labourer members. Indians demanded that workers should withdraw (lit-recall) their members. But the labour members of Parliament did not come for this a-whit, and said that the members would not be withdrawn. Whereupon, it appears, that Indians have lost confidence in all Englishman and they have begun to realize that all Englishmen-whosoever they may be are brothers of Birkenhead. It will be better if this confidence remains wholly shaken (li-vamished) and Indians try to stand on their own legs by having self-reliance.

"Several persons taunt us; Say, you preached international labour principles and used to remark that workers of all countries would join this movement that distinction of colour, race and religion would disappear and that the inhabitants of every country would have the right to govern themselves as they liked; but now your English workers want to keep us slaves'

"These persons are informed (lit-requested) that if some persons turn traitors, how workers principles can be blamed for that (lit-what fault can lie with worker's principles for that) The general public have to follow leaders. The reins of the leadership of British

workers of the time is in the hands of such persons who from (outward) appearance look workers but are inwardly capitalists. Whatever work they do they do keeping in view (the question of) election because they again want to gain power in the coming election. They do not, therefore, want to give any such weapon (lit-thing) in the hands of Capitalists whereby they may be able to start agitation against them. At this time Mr. Macdonald is the leader of British Workers who is considered as a well-known reactionary among the workers of the whole world, and whom they certainly consider to be a semi-capitalist if not perfect one. He has never done anything for India whatsoever. To expect any thing from such persons is to deceive oneself.

"The British labour Party held a conference at Blackpool before the appointment of the Commission. It was passed there at that the Commission should be so constituted & the programme of (lit-arrangements for) its Work so made that it might gain the confidence and co-operation of Indians.

"But has the Commission been formed in the way in which it might gain the confidence of people? Not at all, I think that no nation has any right to appoint a commission and thrust it upon (lit-send it for) another nation. Every nation has a birth-right to govern itself in whatever manner it may like and enact its law in whatever manner it may choose. The pretext of 'teaching (us how to govern' may be considered good by mad persons; but any persons who has (sound) brain will simply laugh on hearing of it.

Owing to the treachery of British Labour leaders, no heed has been paid even to a moderate resolution like the Blackpool one, and by not withdrawing its members from the Commission, British Workers have forfeited the entire confidence (of the Indian public).

What greater treachery towards workers principles and India can there be than this? .

"It will be wrong to think that almost all British workers are in favour of this Commission. At this time there is a minority movement of workers in England which is in favour of granting India its full rights. The leader of this movement is Mr. Pollet. He is wholly against this Royal Commission. There is also a communist party there, (one) of whose leaders is Mr. Saklatwala. This too is very vigorously opposing this movement. Mr. Saklatwala is himself opposing it greatly, and his messages are pouring in India one after the other, Both these movements have been (started) by Extremist British workers; and their number is not large. The third (Party, is the Independent Labour Party whose leader is Mr. Maxton and which is considered to be a strong party. This too is in favour of boycott. One of its leaders Mr. Brailsford writes that. Under the leader ship of Mr. Macdonald, the Workers Party has like

capitalists, taken a step against Indian people and they have betrayed Communist principles and forfeited the confidence of India.' The weekly *New Leader* of this party writes that: The Commission appointed by Government will fail before it starts its work. The editor of this paper is Mr. Brockway who is held in great esteem and honour.

"This proves that a voice has begun to be raised in England against the commission, and we should accept as much help as they may give us. But this does not mean that we should depend on others and do nothing ourselves liberty will come to us only if we secure it ourselves and in no other way.

"At this time the voice of one or two persons is heard from some place or other that the Royal Commission should not be boycotted. These people are on very intimate terms with Government and to expect any thing from them is to dupe oneself. Well, how can the persons who have already sold up their conscience to the English out of money temptation become the (friends) of Indians. Hence these too should be considered the myrmidons of the English.

"We the Workers should understand that when-ever liberty is to be gained it is to be gained by us. (We) should, therefore, become organised; and (we should) exert our utmost to boycott this Commission, as all of its members are English and we think no Englishman has any right to enact any law for us. At the same time, these members have never shown any interest for any Indian matter. It is just possible that they might have offered opposition, on the contrary. Again, Mr. Simon who is the president of this Commission is that person who caused the big strike of England to be ended giving the verdict that it was against law. How can the man who can ruin (lit-sink the boat of) British Workers save us lit-take our boat ashore? We, the Workers should get united and boycott the Commission and not betray the nation and country".

Translated by

Sher Singh B. A

Translator (Punjab Govt).

The " Kirti " (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of December 1927 publishes the following:—

" History of the Indian *ghaddar* movement:

" How this movement worked in foreign countries.

* Brackets " (From—Miss Agnes Smedley) *

are given by " Continued from the last (issue) .

the Periodical. A new kind of revolutionaries and exiles sprang up in 1911. Owing to financial stringency many peasants of Northern

India-Punjab-went to America and Canada. At that time a large number of demobilized sepoys too went to those countries. These were the persons many of whom had either revolted or left Shanghai or Singapore. They brought revolutionary impression therefrom for peasants. From 1911 to 1913 about five thousand peasants and sepoys went to America from among them. A number of educated exiles organised them in the Hindustan Ghadar Party and imparted (Lit: taught) national ideas about liberty to them. Of the Central revolutionary organisations (Lit: revolutionary centres) of Indians in foreign countries, this *jatha* was a well-known central organisation (lit: Centre). Physically they were quite stout and strong--(They were) fearless and simple-minded; and from that time they have proved by their work that the emancipation of India can be secured through common peasants, workers and sepoys.

“ The story of the *Kauma Gata Maru* of 1914 has also a connection with their work. This was a Japanese ship, which was chartered by a party of Indians under the leadership of Sardar Gurdit Singh with a view to testing the law regarding the immigration of Indians to Canada and opposing it. It was laid down in the Canadian law, with the astuteness like that of Englishmen, that no Indian could enter that country unless he arrived there on board a ship sailing direct from India (to Canada). And as no ship could sail direct from India, Indians chartered *Kauma Gata Maru* steamer and sailed direct. They had to face several policemen who arrested most of their leaders and did not allow them to disembark. Hot boiling water was thrown over them and they were compelled to sail back to India. In India, the military opposed them and treated them like offenders. And when they withstood it, most of them were riddled with bullet in *bazars*.

“ The persons who entered America first of all were quite illiterate. They used to do labour in the morning or take land on lease in western America. They used to lead a very simple life and save money. Their money remained always ready for national affairs. They had taken (? on rent) a house in 5, wood street, Sanfrancisco. It is still (with them). They have their library and a printing press for Urdu, Hindi and Gurmukhi in it. They had been issuing newspapers in these languages for a long time. This organisation continued to do much work during the war days.

“ In the beginning of the world-war, some Indians who were putting up in Germany hoped that India would certainly avail itself of this opportunity for securing liberty. Some of them were the members of the old (?) *Jatha* residing in London.

“ All of them believed that although India had been disarmed still it had great revolutionary spirit during 1915 and that if they were supplied with arms and other ammunition this movement could succeed. They, therefore, tried to supply this

material. They chalked out a programme of their work, approached the German Government and advised (it) to work together. They called a Conference of all Indian revolutionaries in the world at Berlin. Indians arrived (there) from every place, and those who could not come for any reason, expressed a desire to work together. These Indians were persons of every shade of political and social opinion. They believed that every method should be made use of for the liberation of India. They were quite willing to work in Co-operation with the German Govt. subject to the proviso that they would be free in every way to pursue their own work, programme and methods. They formed a Committee for liberation of India and are reported to have also taken loan from the German Govt. which was to be repaid on the liberation of India. They were quite independent in their work and programme. They were in no way the agents of the German Government. Germans gave them military and other help whenever they needed. They started a vigorous international propaganda (lit: work) against England. They effected (their) organisation, and used to work in cooperation with Indian national organisations, *jathas* and the individuals they came across, no matter whether they were in France, Afghanistan, China, Turkey, Switzerland, England, Sweden, Mexico, Ireland and Amria (? America). They used to send to India their men who could effect organisation and take their messages, so that Indians might work in cooperation with revolutionary organisations, and devise means to procure arms and other material (sic.) They several times sent guns *via* Persia and Afghanistan so that these might reach India; but these did not reach there and many brave and fearless men from among them who went there with guns were arrested and (subsequently) hanged.

"It is also stated that the Indian Committee of Europe which worked through the Hindustan Ghadar Party sent two ships full of guns from the western coast of America; but those too were seized. Here I want to point out that I am not disclosing any such fact as is not already known to people or which has not already been recorded in history.

"The English have used these facts against Indian revolutionaries after distorting them. As far as my knowledge goes I am narrating all this truly. Guns were sent from America in 1915. And afterwards when America joined the war, the English demanded the arrest of all Indian suspects. The Secret Department of the English is very strong. They had (a list of) the names and addresses of many persons. They asked America to arrest them because they had broken the neutrality laws of America. They were arrested. Although the English themselves enlisted recruits, armed them and took them in ships to England in that very time of neutrality. Still those Indians were arrested. Indians did not

take a more (objectionable) step than that taken by the English; On the other hand, their step was perhaps less (objectionable). Both broke the neutrality (laws) of America; but Indians alone were arrested and (subsequently) imprisoned. Whatever Indians did they did for the liberation of India; (and whatever England did it did for making others slave.

"It was at this time that a very large number of Indians were arrested, and cases of Conspiracy were launched against them at Delhi, Lahore, Benares, Mandalay, and other places. Most of them were hanged. I do not know what their number was; but it was very large. Six here, ten there, and similarly several at other places. Many were sentenced to very long terms of imprisonment and sent to the Andamans. By the by, I would like to point out that the attitude of India revolutionaries was, when they faced death, as good as before in time of work. When they joined the movement for liberty, they knew that it meant death for them. Still, they joined (it). There are several things which are dearer than even life.

"The Committee of independence of Indians in Europe carried on vigorous propaganda among the Indian sepoys who had been arrested in Germany and Turkey. They had made Constantinople as the headquarters of their propaganda work; and (they) used to carry on (their) propaganda in co-operation with the Turkish Government.

"The Indians living in Persia used to fight against the English in co-operation with southern Persian tribes. Sufi Amba Parshad, an exile, whose (name) has already been mentioned, was one of them. He was an old man of more than sixty years of age and had only one arm. Still, he had learnt how to fire bullets with, the left hand. He had a gun and was one of the bravest fighters. He rested only when he was caught hold of by the English and executed in a fort of Southern Persia.

"He secretly sent his last message to his companion. It was written in Hindi at the Corner of a Persian newspaper. The message runs as follows:—

"I have discharged my duty. I am now on the verge of death. You, youngmen, should continue the fight until India becomes free"

"During the Great War the Indians in China used to carry on their propaganda in the troops in Shanghai, Hong Kong and Canton. And they always remained in the jaws of death. Still, they too went on discharging their duty. The cause of their failure was the poverty of India—the poverty which compels persons to sell themselves up for military service for the sake of fifteen rupees So that their families may get bread.

"The Committee for the liberation of India in Europe carried on propaganda in Europe and America about the condition of India. They published books, pamphlets and articles in several languages in thousands. The adequate knowledge which Europe and America have today of the condition of India is the result only of the propaganda of Indian exiles. Several foreigners who worked with them belonged to Ireland, Sweden, Germany and America.

"As I have already stated many members of the Hindustan Ghadar Party and other Indians were thrown into prison in America. During their imprisonment several Americans from amongst us formed an organisation to continue their work and save them from banishment. The English asked America to banish them to India. And if this had happened, it would have meant death for them. Several of us put forth efforts to maintain the right of protection of political refugees. The name of this organisation was "Friends to the Liberty of India". It organised workers, socialists and the Ireland movements for the protection of India and carried on propaganda in the whole nation in the press and on the platform of every kind of organisation. Many independent Indians worked in cooperation with it. The first goal of this (propaganda) work was to save Indians from banishment. Secondly, work was done for preaching the cause of the liberty of India. Indians were, at last, saved.

"The War came to an end. India did not sit afoot any rebellion. A very small number of guns reached India. The aeroplanes and arms used against Germany were directed against India to silence (its voice for) the demand of liberty.

"The important feature of the whole ghadar movement of India is that since the (outbreak of) war its centre has been shifted from foreign countries to India. This is a very good and important thing. Indian youths are not now so much dependent on out-side powers to imbibe views. India is still isolated and its exiles are still taking sufficient part to send information about the situation in the world. And these Indian exiles are such persons that most of them know better than even Indian leaders on what political and economic forces the luck of India depends. English education has poisoned the minds of Indian leaders and they depend on the English for (receiving) the accounts of the world. As Indian exiles are distributed over (lit: live in) many countries and know their languages, they can see the things in the world with their own eyes and not with those of the English. But most Indian leaders are afraid of them because their safety and honour lie in looking at the world through the "oblique spectacles" of England. And as India, according to my statement, is isolated, no reports from the new Chinese Government can go to it because the Informa-

tion Bureau is prohibited from (from sending them). A few selected news from Europe alone are allowed to be sent (there) through cables. India is therefore in the dark; and (it) is slave owing to mental inclination. But barring these obstacles, there are several economic forces at work which are creating revolutionary movements among the masses.

"We learn from the end of the Russian revolution of 1917 and of the war that Indian exiles in foreign countries are not strung in the (chain of) jathabandi (organisation) as before. This is so because the greatest thing in the world at this time is class-war. The revolutionaries of Russia and the Socialist movement of the world have afforded an opportunity to many an Indian to think out new ideas, so that the persons whose brain can receive such new ideas may be able to reconsider their views. They are therefore, not united. They consist of the persons ranging from every kind of socialist rebels to the followers of social democratic principles. Reactionaries have connection with the reactionaries of different countries. For instance, with the moderate parties of Germany. These parties are those which are Capitalists themselves. Such persons take no interests in the masses. For them to talk of the organisation of socialistic workers and of the movement of the masses is to waste time. For them the masses are low people.

We have several such exiles with us as work in the anarchist and syndicalist movements. They are specially great writers. There are some Indians in England who work in cooperation with the British Workers' Party. They are not exiles. Such persons never prove dangerous to England. There are three or four Indians in England who are the members of the Communist Party. One of them is the editor of a "Workers" Monthly. This periodical preaches the doctrines of *Mahatma* Karl Marx in the English-knowing world. Its editor is a man of great wisdom and erudition.

Another communist is a member of the British Parliament.

A number of exiles are still in Mexico. But they do not take any satisfactory part in the Indian movement. Still, they are working against the British and American Capitalism in co-operation with Maxicans, and several are socialists of some kind or other.

"A large number of persons are still in Turkey, Prussia, and Afghanistan, some of whom have become the citizens of these countries; and these (lit: who) are working against British Capitalism in their capacity of Indians.

"Afghanistan remained for several years a centre of the hope of revolutionary movement against England and as it is situated towards the northern side of the boundry line of India, it is but natural that revolutionaries may flee to it, make it, the rendezvous of their activities and work against England.

"Besides these, a number of Indians live in Moscow. Some of them are members of the Indian Communist party. The representatives of this party sit in the communist international. Some members of the Hindustan Ghadar Party also live in Moscow. As a result of the Russian revolution the Hindustan Ghadar Party appears to have totally bent towards communist principles.

"The Indian Communist Party of Moscow publishes a monthly in English, entitled the *Masses of India*. It is a very nice periodical given to criticism. It is somewhat small and its main work is to criticise and to supply mental food. Issues of this periodical are received in India occasionally. But it is a proscribed periodical. There is a communist Party in India too which, although small does much work. I appear unable to throw more light on the work of such organisations.

"A party of Indians went to Moscow in 1920-21 and they tried to work together against the British rule in Asia but it produced no result. This was due not to any special difference of opinion between Indians but, on the contrary, to the lack of a programme. People of different shades of social opinion were present (there). Most (of them) refused to follow the programme of the communist International. They wanted to work in accordance with the situation in India. They could not find out a place to work together. It was greatly talked of in England at that time, that Russia was helping Indian revolutionaries. But it was not true. The Russian Government was right in saying in reply to Lord Curzon's note that it was giving no help to Indian revolutionaries. At this time most of Indian exiles are Communists but their names are not included among (the members of) any communist Party.

"We cannot describe full well what work Indians are doing in China now-a-days. An Indian Committee continued to work in Canton, Hankow and Shanghai from the beginning of revolution; and it rendered excellent service. A few months back some Indians were court martialled. This fact was not brought to the notice of India. This shows that the Committee had been doing its work very vigorously in order to discharge its duty. A cable was received from Shanghai on the 18th June stating that an Indian revolutionary Harbant Singh who shot down an officer of the Indian Police at Shanghai had been courtmartialled by the English and then hanged (lit killed). We have also received the report that a few months ago seventy members of the Indian police joined the Canton Government. The latest report is that Indian troops have been sent back to India from China. The reason is that they were not trustworthy. British and American troops have now taken their place.

"It appears that in Japan too Indians are not sleeping. They appear to be enthusiastically taking the side of Japanese. But)

Japan too is a Capitalist power like other Capitalist powers. Last August a Conference of all Asiatic countries, was held at Nangasaki, in which some Indians performed much work. One of the founders of this Conference was an Indian exile.

"In Germany, as I have already stated Indians are found among all parties from moderate to extrement ones . Some of them who are exiles and students, also work in the League against Impe rialism formed at Brussels last February. An Indian exile had a hand in the formation (lit in the founders) of this Congress. The Indian National Congress sent its delegates to this Congress. Simi larly, Hindustan Ghadar Party and the student organisations of Ireland and Europe too sent their respective delegates (to it).

"Indian exiles are found in almost all parts of the world and they do as much work as they can. I cannot say what the nature of their future work will be. Most (of them) will perhaps continue their work as before, and many will help in the conflict of Russia against England.

"The Indian Revolutionary movement has its history and this history is so encouraging (lit courageous that) every Indian should feel proud of it.

"Nothing has so far been done to study this history. Still it is living, and it will remain alive as long as Indians stand before the whole world with a stiff neck (lit a raised head) like free people-Finis.

"NOTE:—Whatever accounts of the revolutionary movement have been published by us so far have been written by persons other (" than the members of the Hindustan Ghadar Party) we want) some members of the Hindustan Gharder party to write this history (himself) so that true accounts may be brought to light and the lovers of history of India be able to get correct material. Will Bhai Munsha Singh Secretary, Ghadar Party, himself or some other person take (the burden of) this service on his shoulders? Editor"

Translated by,

Sher Singh B.A.

Translator (Punjab Govt).

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of January 1928 publishes the following:—

" Miscellaneous Comments.

*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*

The advantages of the British rule.

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*	*	*	*	*	*

(5) The right dwelling "place for any person who returns after receiving education at any Russian University is the jails of India."

Translated by,

Sher Singh, B. A.,

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of March 1928 publishes the following :—

"The second step towards liberty."

*Brackets are given by *(From Siriyut S. S. Mirajkar, Bombay. the periodical Tr.

"Now that the boycott agitation is achieving success beyond limit and the whole country has raised its united voice against the Simon Commission, it is absolutely essential to take further step. Young men and labourers have greatly supported the movement for liberty of India. The persons who had no confidence in these two great powers have now clearly seen what significance these possess for the movement of liberty. It has been admitted on all hands that the secret of the salvation of India lies hidden in the stable organisation of the above mentioned two powers.

"The youngmen of this presidency-Bombay-have very cleverly proved with what zeal and dash they are desirous of doing work in the political movement. The work done by the youngmen of this presidency and that for accomplishing which they are putting forth efforts serve the purpose of a good example for the youngmen of other provinces. The dash with which thousands of Youngmen of Calcutta and Madras have taken part in this work vying with each other, shows that they want to continue it with a very firm determination. Such zeal and dash were never seen after the non-co-operation movement. Now the only thing that remains to be considered is that with a view to perpetrate (both) the zeal and dash, these should be put on such a path by treading which good results may be expected for the liberation of the country.

"The movement of Indian labourers is now advancing with great speed. A political awakening is now coming among Labourers. They have now realized the necessity of obtaining a good place in the political movement of the country. Labour organisations are being established very vigorously, and the power of organised labourers is continuously increasing (lit, gaining strength). Labourers (lit, labouring-people) are fully realizing the necessity of producing (strength in themselves. The proof of this fact is fully furnished by the fact of Indian labourers having recently shown sympathy with

strikers on the occasion of the Kharagpur strike (lit. the proof of this fact is fully furnished by this fact—the proof which Indian labourers recently furnished on the occasion of the Kharagpur strike by sharing sympathy with strikers). So far as Indian labourers are concerned, it can be said lit, it can be said on that basis that the session of the Trade Union Congress held at Cawnpore was a great success.

“The participation of several thousands labourers and artisan in the strikes in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta proves with what dash the labourers of India want to work in the future.

“Paying no heed to Government threats, the artisans of Bombay declared strike for one day under the leadership of the workers’ and peasants’ Party and took part in the boycott movement. This has never been witnessed before in India where they always remain obscure owing to ignorance and illiteracy. The present circumstances are encouraging. But in order to take advantage of this political awakening. Which is coming among them, it is essential to lead it in some proper manner.

“What shall we do now ? This is an historic question which is, at this time, before the eyes of every country governed by capitalist Government. The future of India depends only on the satisfactory solution of this question. If (even) considering this opportunity good, we do not prove useful for the liberation of India for which we are putting forth efforts, then the question of liberty will be set back by several centuries together.

“The Madras Session of the All-India National Congress has decided that its foremost object is to attain Complete national independence in India. Keeping this very ideal in view, the Congress has flatly refused to recognise the right of the British Parliament to appoint the Commission. From every nook and corner of the country the boycott and strike movement has, without the least doubt, shown that the people of India are not prepared to accept anything short of Complete independence. Liberty can never be obtained by begging. It can be secured only after shedding (one’s) own blood. The whole world is enquiring from India what it wants to do in this connection. How will the first step be taken?

“The 1st. thing we should do in this connection is to form a Committee which should be elected according to democratic principles. In other words, every major person should be given franchise. Every woman and man above 18 years of age should be entitled to give vote for the election of representatives for this committee. The Committee thus elected should be considered the representative Committee of the whole India.

“The All-Parties Conference is to be held on the 12th of the current month. This too cannot prove a success. As it does not represent all, its decisions will not have the excellences which

usually exist in those of a Committee elected by the masses. This conference to be held at Delhi has been called only by the educated persons of different provinces and the members of the Assembly. And even if any outsider too has been invited to attend it, still it cannot properly represent all because democratic principles have not been kept in view lit. introduced in it. Only the above mentioned Committee proposed by me can be called representative and it can consider the law and future of India. The existing legislature is not a representative body of India, because the masses have been given no franchise for electing it. Only two per cent people have been given franchise for its election. Out of 30 crores of Indians only sixty lakhs posses franchise. How can then this be called the representative body of all; when the voice of 98 per cent people has not been taken into account in its election? And until they are given franchise, it is not essential for them to act upon whatever decision the remaining two per cent may give,

“So these honest persons, who realize the fact that India should completely get rid of the slavery of British Government, should give franchise to every one; and in this way, an elected committee should be appointed which should start the work of accomplishing its task in the name of India. This committee shall itself employ proper methods to continue the struggle for liberty in future.

“It will not be advantageous to evade this important issue. The inhabitants of India want Swaraj. We do not want Dominion Status; nor do we want to remain within the British Empire.

Work will not be accomplished by resorting to crooked moves like vakils. And the step which should be taken in this connection is that all major persons be given franchise and then an elected Committee of the whole India be appointed.

“The capitalist English will never accomplish this task because thereby they will suffer a good deal. The more the English suffer the more will India gain. For the sake of this tremendous gain youngmen and active labourers should be roused lit. set in motion.

Translated by

Shersingh B. A.

Translator Punjab Govt.

“The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of April 1928 publishes the following:—

Truth about the Canton massacre.

Brackets are given

“(From Mr. Shaukat Usmani ji)

by the Periodical-tr

Although reports from China are sent to India after sifting scrutiny and examination, still truth leaks out even though it may be kept carefully veiled. (lit. leaks out tearing hundreds of purdas), and the report of what the trend of the political movement in our neighbouring countries is finds out a way to India.

“The survey of what happened and is happening in China shows that whatever happened in Canton and Shanghai last December and prior to that was the same that took place in Italy during 1922. Similar massacres took place; and the efforts of organised workers and peasants to take possession of the tyrannical raj were also similar. Suffice it to say that in all these internecine wars and strifes—which are taking place through the interference of capitalists—the Chinese masses have put forth efforts for obtaining the same thing that the workers and peasants of Italy wanted to secure in 1922.

“Having betrayed the movement for liberty of China for a long time, petty generals of the strength of Changkeisbaik had placed in the hands of capitalist Governments. They had, for a long time, been going astray from the right path of liberty and working to gain their own ends in stead of working for liberty. The principles on which Sunyet Sen, a famous Chinese leader, established the Kwomintang Party were very badly put into danger for personal ends. Big Zamindars and the capitalists of foreign privileged *ulagas* too helped these Generals in these efforts. In this weakness these capitalists foresaw the death of this movement for liberty of China and their forecast turned out true to a great extent,

Although these Generals have up to this time been boasting of revolution and they) also swear by the doctrines of Sunyet Sen, still they have brought this Chinese revolution to an end very badly with the help of all internal and external reactionary forces, they have dashed the ship of liberty of China against a rock (lit.-hill) and thus reduced it to pieces.

“The present situation in China is like this. It was expected for a long time that disunity would spring up between the revolutionary Extremist.—Party—which works for two masses and the Moderate Party. This Moderate Party consists of raw generals, middle class people and Zamindars. After some time, friction became visible more clearly, and it was apprehended lest more parties should spring up. The unquenchable selfish thirst of these people of the reactionary party crushed the Extremist.—Party, and whatever took place in Shanghai exposed their doings full well. And the events that took place in Canton clearly exposed their actions. At the end of the autumn of 1927 workers and peasants had begun to recover from the shock of the attacks of Shanghai, and to gather again the masses after consolidating their scattered forces. They

started war and a very dreadful fight took place. Triangular war took place between two Southern powers and a Northern one, the Northern people withdrew themselves realizing their folly. They withdrew they saw one of their enemies being crushed. During this whole war they remained a distant spectator. From the fall of Hankow to the victory of Canton the war continued in a very dreadful manner and it has not yet come to any decisive end.

"After suffering defeat at Hankow, organised workers and peasants invaded Canton very fiercely. But there too their hopes were frustrated. Canton is the same city where their beloved Dr. Sunyet Sen laid the foundations of republic. There they assembled together and after collecting all forces invaded the city and captured it without opposition. This took place on the 10th December last.

"The force of ideas began to exert its influence, and the strength of troops broke down. A very large number of military men joined the revolutionaries. Within two days the generals silently retreated to the Hunan islands after turning their back.

"But this was a move. Because in this way these generals against revolution went and sat in the lap of imperialism. They received very great help in the privileged *ilaga* of Shamin. There were American war-ships at their back and [lit.-when] for making on slaught they had American cannon with them whose mouths were directed against the Canton City. In this way these reactionary generals gained much while the condition of the Canton troops became very bad. As these troops could not advance, they kept themselves confined in the city and began to watch the situation. In spite of this (double) help from the front and back sides, the general against revolution, trembled. They suspected even their own troops. The suspicion of revolt on the part of their own troops had become deep-rooted in their mind. They thought what should be done. Should they let the ideals of this new power spread? was not the propaganda of this power more dangerous than the dropping of bombs from aeroplanes by the allied powers?

"In this way these generals became involved in great difficulty. (When) alien imperialistic Powers saw that their game (lit.-work) would be spoiled, they patted these generals on the back and this joint help encouraged the latter to make an onslaught.

"With the help of these ships of different (powers) and American Cannon, a war commenced. The condition of the people confined in the city became very critical. They could not fire even a single shot, because if a shot hit the boat of any of the allied powers, they would get a pretext for armed interference. Therefore, the generals crossed the river without any hinderance and American cannon went on firing balls for them.

"The generals then entered the city to wreak vengeance. The picture of all aspects of the French revolution was very vigorously drawn in the Canton city. Indiscriminate massacres took place in the city. Gallows were fixed at every place. All dreadful punishments in the world were inflicted on the Chinese masses. The tyranny practised in the Canton city has no parallel in the present history. Within two days over 5000 workers and peasants were put to death, so much so that even the Soviet Citizens could not escape. Seven Russians too had to suffer death, (lit.-go to everlasting sleep) along with their Chinese brethren. One of these seven was Vice-Consul.

In a few words, this is the reward which the Chinese workers and peasants got for that movement of liberty for which they performed sacrifices last year very courageously. In this way, the interested generals betrayed their relatives and brothers. The Kwomintang Party which was once the party of the masses has now become the party of alien Capitalists.

Translated by

Shersingh B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of April 1923, publishes the following :—

" Conference of the youths of the Punjab.

" We are feeling great joy to see that an awakening is coming among the youths of the Punjab and they have started grand preparations to hold a conference during the Baisakhi days. Waves of patriotism are at this time surging in the hearts of youths, and all youths are working shoulder to shoulder with each other with great enthusiasm and zeal (Lit-love). It is a matter of still greater joy that all youths are, at this time, taking part in the conference solely in the capacity of Indians, and are busy creating an awakening in co-operation with the youths of the Punjab, by remaining above communalism.

" It is commonly seen in the history of the world that youths have taken great part in liberating slave countries. So the liberation of India cannot be secured without the sacrifice of youths. The greater the joy we may express at the fact that the youths of the Punjab too are realizing their duty the less it will be. And we hope that our youths will not go to sleep after merely holding a conference

may they will continue to keep the national movement red-hot until liberty is attained.

Translated by

SHER SINGH B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of April 1928 publishes the following :—

“British propaganda against Russia and India”.

“The English are pastmasters in carrying on propaganda. (If) once they gird up their loins to defame any nation or person, they will not then spare (lit. will not give up following) it or him. Now these people are bent upon carrying on a false propaganda against Russians. Not a single day passes on which some new mischief or other is not manufactured (lit. let off) against Russia. Sometimes Bolsheviks are stigmatized, (lit. called by the name of) assassins and sometimes dacoits. Sometimes several other false and self-manufactured charges are fastened on them. Suffice it to say, that no pains are spared to humiliate Russia in the eyes of the world.

“Now it is being repeatedly pointed out that the British Government apprehends great danger in India at the hands of Russians. Whenever any national movement springs up then it is called by the name of a conspiracy of Russians. Proofs for this conspiracy too have been collected. These are that Fazal Ilahi who had come (back) from Moscow has been sentenced for his being a Bolshevik agent, and Santa Singh who was with Mr. M. N. Roy in Mexico is now in Jail (lit. enjoying the breeze of jail). These persons who carry on false propaganda do not feel ashamed a whit. What great lies these people tell. The manner in which the British law has been dragged through the mire in the case of Fazal Ilahi as perhaps hardly anywhere in the world. The only charge that could be proved against him was that he received education at the Moscow University. He has been thrown into jail for five years in this very country. Is it a sin to receive education at Moscow? But so many severities are practised on innocent persons in our country in the name of law and order that it beggars all description. (lit. that we seek protection of God).

“Now as regards (lit. hear) the case of Bhai Santa Singh, let us admit for a short time that he remained in the company of M.N. Roy But has M. N. Roy any packet (of medicine) for turning out Bolshevik (s) that he sprinkles it on whosoever goes to him with the result that a human being at once becomes a Bolshevik? Can any Bolshevik have no friendly relations? But there is one thing more. Have the English enacted a mere force of freedom or has it any

meaning? If freedom has any meaning, then is it a sin to be a Bolshevik? In our opinion, every human being has a right to hold whatever views he likes and preach them.

"No offence could be proved against Bhai Santa Singh; nor was he tried in any court. He was arrested merely under the Black Law of Bengal, through deception and shut up in jail. How shameful to call him a Bolshevik, in these circumstances: But what is strange is that these people have become proof against such shameful things. Hence they utter whatever comes to their lips."

Translated by

Sher Singh B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of May 1928 publishes the following:—

"Review on books."

"(1) 'Kasai Raja te dukhi parja' (Butcherly king and the distressed subjects)—This book has been published by the Hindpal Agency Amritsar. It contains an account of the grossest atrocities on the part of the Czars of Russia. Every person who loves Russia should read this book; because it contains a description of the things which became the cause of bringing about revolution in Russia. (Its) Printing, get-up and paper are good, (and) price is twelve annas."

Translated

Shersingh B.A.,

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of May 1928 publishes the following:—

"Views of a person of the 20th Century.

*Brackets are given
by the periodical—Tr.

"*(From Bhai Chhabil Das B.A.)

* * * * *

"(11) In my opinion, revolution is, like doctor's operation the last remedy. If a dangerous abscess bursts by the use of a hot decoction or *Charaita* or by (the application of) any ointment or *poultice*, so much the better. Otherwise it is the Surgeon's sharp knife which alone can remove all defects and expel the filth (out

of it). If the knife is not allowed to be applied, then it is apprehended lest the abscess should become putrid and destroy (lit. drown) the whole body.

Translated

Shersingh B.A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of June 1928 publishes the following :—

“ The May festival.”

The day of 1st May is a sacred day for labourers and poor peasants. On this occasion the workers of the whole world stop doing their work and enjoy holiday without asking for leave from their respective employers (lit. masters) and also make demonstrations in cities holding red flags in their hands, on this day workers assemble together to see what strength they possess. This very day is celebrated in European countries with great pomp and show. It has begun to be celebrated in Asiatic countries as well. It is being celebrated in India too for some time (past). This festival was, first of all celebrated in Bombay. But now it has, step by step, begun to be celebrated in other cities as well. This is the only day on which all worker brethern rally under one and the same flag, irrespective of any religious bias and colour distinction and devise measures for their welfare. It is on this very day that consultations are held to get rid of every kind of slavery. As the organisation of workers will go on strengthening so will worker brethern go on celebrating this day very cheerfully, gladly and vigorously.

“This time this festival was celebrated in “Bombay” “Calcutta” and other cities. It was celebrated by the Naujawan Bharat Sabha in Lahore too where Lala Kidar Nath Sehgal President, Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Lahore”, Bhai Sohan Singh ji Josh,” General Secretary, “Workers and Peasants Party”, Punjab, Bhai M. A. Majid, Joint Secretary, “Workers and Peasants’ Party, Dr. Satyapalji and Bhai Gopal Singh ji-Qaumi-President, Shiromani Akali Dal, made speeches. This day was celebrated with great success. It is to be hoped that it will be celebrated in Amritsar too next year.

Translated

Shersingh B.A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of June 1928 publishes the following:—

Letter from China.

"There are several Governments in China in these days. But there are especially only two big Governments there. One is that which is governing the northern part of China and is in possession of the Peking City, the old Capital of China. It is for this reason that it boasts of being called the "real Govt." of China. It consists entirely of the reactionary party. Its policy was, from the very beginning, calculated to suppress workers but now-a-days all have lost confidence in it, and its aim is simply to collect money. Having grown sick of its oppressions and principles, workers and peasants have established sometimes ? several) secret societies and *jaths* for self-protection. For instance, there is a *Jatha* called "Wadhi Talwar wale" (Masters of the long Sword). This *Jatha* has grown very strong and powerful. It consists entirely of workers and peasants. And now it is openly defeating Govt troops. As it has (always been the custom with Governments not to hesitate to commit even the meanest and most contemptible act to decry and destroy the movement which rises against them. So the Govt caused its own men, who were well-versed in hooliganism, theft, dacoity and *Badmashi*., instead of in patriotism, to join that "Talwar-wala-Jatha!! As a result of which those *badmashes* have begun to loot villages under the cover of the "Talwar-wala-Jatha." They harass wayfarers and perpetrate several other kinds of wrongs. When even an ordinary incident takes place in any village *Brackets are (which is brought about by Govt *badmashes* alone) given by the then the whole village is harassed and ruined under periodical-Tr that pretext.

"The other Govt is governing the Southern part of China. This gets itself called the "National Govt." But owing to "Chang-kaishek" being its sole head, its policy has become altogether anti-worker (lit: worker-suppressing) policy. In this part too people are not leading a happy life. Here too workers and peasants have established secret societies for self-protection. The National Govt bear special enmity towards communist Party, several male and female members of which always continue to be slain. The average daily rate at which its male and female members continued to be slain in the Canton City from the 15th February to the 15th March was fifty. During these few days two hundred men and women have been slain in the Hankow city, and whenever this party gains ground in any city, it loots that. The work of kidnapping richmen, extorting money from them, etc. is in full swing. It must be remembered that all these acts are perpetrated only through Govt. hirelings, so that the national society may be defamed in the public.

"From this it can be said that until workers lead a happy life

no other class can live happily. If workers suffer through loot and murder, then the capitalist (lit. rich) class too can not remain secure against these things. Hence workers should always make endeavours to become happy.

"Shanghai, 25-3-28"

Translated by

Sher Singh B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi Edition) for the month of June 1928 publishes the following:—

"Strikes.

"On the one hand, *Satyagrah* is in full swing, and on the other, strikes too are not less vigorous. What affords us great pleasure is that (when) the country has revived, a struggle (lit. War) of peasants and workers has sprung up first of all. The effect of this fact too will remain (present) on the coming grand movement. In reality, it is these people who want liberty. Peasants and Workers want bread; and their bread problem cannot be solved until complete independence reigns here. They cannot be checked by a round-table conference or any other similar thing. Well.

"In these days, the Lillooah Railway workshop, the Tata Jamshedpur Mills, the sweepers of Jamshedpur city and the cloth mills of Bombay have resorted to strike. In reality, the main complaints of all are of one and the same nature:—Scanty salaries, heavy work and maltreatment. Under these circumstances, poor labourers manage to maintain themselves somehow or other, but, ultimately (this condition) becomes intolerable. To-day a lakh and a half, or two lakhs of persons have resorted to strike in Bombay. Only one mill is working (there). The real fact is that new weavers' looms have come recently and one man has to work on two looms and do more labour. Emphasis has been laid on specially raising the wages of those who work on these. Besides, some conditions have been offered that the wages of common labourers should be raised, that work should not be taken (from them) for more than eight hours and that (better) treatment (should be accorded to them). Strike is in full swing at this time. The conditions of the workers in the Jamshedpur mills too are somewhat similar. Strike is gaining ground there as well. Sweepers have struck work and the city is suffering greatly. We do not let the bretheren who do greater service than all others near us by calling them "Sweepers; make them (lit. him) work by giving them a few pice, taking advantage of their poverty, & drag them in *begar* as well? Well, they were at last bound to rise. They can bring people to the right path in two days,

especially in cities. Their rise is a matter of great pleasure. Some persons were expelled from the Lillooah workshop, and there was some complication regarding salaries. Hence strike sprung up. Afterwards, an announcement was made that the work of several thousands would be stopped altogether, and they would not be re-employed even at the end of the strike. This created great stir. Still, the strike is in full swing. Mr. (lit. sri) Spratt and other persons are doing work nicely. People should help them in every way, and get the preparations made to bring their strike to an end stopped. We wish that all workers and peasants should organise themselves and put forth efforts for their rights ?

Translated by

Sher Singh (B.A.)

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of July 1928 publishes the following:—

“The Bardoli Struggle (lit War) and our duty.”

*Brackets
are given by
the periodical.—Tr

*(From Bha(i) Harnam Singh Ji “Bhaura”)

Having grown sick of the atrocities of Govt, the poor peasants of the Bardoli *ilaga* have been carrying on their reasonable and non-violent struggle (lit. war) against Govt. for some time. During this period, they have suffered every kind of hardship and are still suffering. (The Same). Govt. officers have left no weapon unused to destroy this movement of these poor (people). These guardians of peace (lit. In the manner in which these guardians of peace) are practising highhandedness in the Bardoli *ilaga* in the name of law and are making those poor villagers the target for oppression (lit. practice) under the cover of the maintenance of peace. (& if this highhanded and oppressive action continues in this manner for some time to come, then the day is not distant, nay, will come very soon, when the scenes of the Bardoli struggle (lit. war) will be seen in every nook & corner of India. Although this struggle (lit. war) of peasants is being carried on (lit. waged) only in the Bardoli *ilaga* up to this time. Still we wish that it should, as soon as possible, be converted into a struggle (lit. war) of the peasants of the whole India. Several persons think that help of men, money etc., should be rendered to the (people) of Bardoli to bring this struggle (lit. war) of theirs to a successful issue. There is no doubt that it is our essential and foremost duty to render every kind of help to this movement of theirs. As they have taken a lead to start a struggle

(lit. wage a war) against the enemies, it is essential that special attention should be devoted to this struggle of theirs and, as far as possible, subscriptions etc., raised for their help. But, so far as I believe and so far as I have been able to understand this matter, I can say (lit. I can say on that basis) that with the exception of money, men will not be required for the help of the brethren of Bardoli; because men will be required only at the time when all inhabitants of the place begin to be thrown into jail. Let (lit. if it may) it be granted that after the confiscation of (their) lands Govt. brings simpleminded persons of some other *ilaga* and orders these to be cultivated. But when the real proprietors of lands—who are at this time engaged in a struggle (lit. war) against the oppression of Govt. decide that they will in no case let Govt. men brought from another *ilaga* cultivate their lands and (when) the appressed yet brave peasants of Bardoli thus determine to defy these orders of Govt. like brave men, then men will be required. But this (necessity) will arise only when all brethren in the Bardoli *ilaga* go to jail (lit. within four walls of jail) while doing this work of theirs. In (their) absence it will be our duty to continue the Bardoli struggle (lit. war) in addition to the struggles (lit. wars) of other *ilagās*. But so long as the Bardoli struggle (lit. war) does not come to such a pitch, it is incumbent on us to infuse a spirit of awakening in the peasants and other labouring people of other *ilagās* of India with a view to organising them, so that they may become prepared against Govt. and gird up their lions to enter the lists for the sake of their rights. But this task will not be accomplished by mere talks. The thing required to accomplish this is that the persons having sympathy in their hearts for peasants and labourers should step into the arena and, by going to villages and factories make them fully realize that—you are the real masters of the country, because you alone are the two strong and unbreakable pillars for supporting the magnificent and well-furnished palaces of Govts. All tasks of Govts depend upon (lit—have connection with) you alone. If you do not put your power in the hands of these few Capitalists, then the edifice of their richness cannot remain in existence even for a moment. You (are the persons who) do work throughout day and night. You (are the persons who) do the most difficult task in the world; still, these few richmen are the masters of the country. Why so?

“ All this is the result of your own negligence; because you have placed your rights in the hands of those few clever richmen who fatter on your hard-earned income, and then begin to subject you to oppression and highhandedness. (lit. begin to throw mountains of oppression and highhandedness on your heads). If you do not let yourselves be entangled in the net of these clever richmen, then no power in the world can keep you under its own subjection, etc, etc.—If they gain full knowledge of all these things, then they can become ready to give up the present wretched life.

"If these poor people have up till now been losing their lives unnecessarily writhing in the pits of jungles, then they are not to blame for this. The entire blame lies at the door of those leaders of ours who even on seeing such wretched and pitiable condition of peasants and labourers, have not organised them (lit. these poor people) to give them a lead to enable them to break asunder the bonds of slavery put by (lit. of) capitalists.

"The British Govt. had, of course, to keep these (poor people) deprived of the inestimable thing like education because its own good lay in that alone. Hence Govt. had to practise oppressions on these poor people for its own good. But political leaders too sided with Govt. by paying no heed to their sad plight. With the exception of (their) having passed a resolution at the annual session of the Congress for organising peasants and labourers, no practical step was taken to bring them at one place. "Now that the Bardoli *Itaqa* has set an example before us like brave men to work among labourers and peasants, it should be our duty to go to villages, visit the residential places of peasants and other labouring people, create a spirit of awakening among them and prepare them to follow in the footsteps of the people of Bardoli.

"By working in villages at this time, we shall certainly gain two things. First, the Govt. will, on seeing awakening being produced among peasants at every place, come to its knees in this struggle (lit. war) started by the peasants of Bardoli and lay down all its weapons. Secondly, whenever an opportunity is obtained, after an awakening springs up among common peasants and labourers then it will not take a good deal of time to make them join the movement for the freedom of the country. We should not therefore, let this golden opportunity slip and should, as far as possible, busy ourselves to commence this very pressing work and immediately begin touring villages. I hope that the sympathizers of poor peasants and labourers will certainly take this proposal of mine into consideration ?

Translated by

Sher Singh B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt)

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of August 1928 publishes the following:—

"Invitation from Russia."

"Mr. Srinivasa Iyenger has gone to England in these days. He has received an invitation from Russia (asking him) to visit it

and ascertain the condition of the workers of that Country (with his own eyes).

"The Russian Govt. is expressing sympathy with Indians. Bolsheviks sent invitation letters to several (other) Indians prior to this. Of these, some Indian leaders have already visited Russia, and many have not been allowed to go there. We wish that our Indian brethren should continue to visit Russia from time to time and see the state of affairs with their own eyes, so that they may come to know what the condition of the worker and peasant brethren of the place is and what sort of life they are leading.

"Capitalist Governments cannot make as much progress as made by Bolshevik Russia during these ten years, even if they remain busy in this (sort of) work for centuries together; because capitalists have become so stony-hearted that they cannot even understand what things peasants and workers require.

Translated by

Sher Singh B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of August 1928. publishes the following:—

"The Red Flag.

"The following poem has been written on the basis of Connell's poem (entitled) "The Red Flag", after taking great pains. And it was got composed by specially pressing the poet. We wish that it should be learnt by heart and recited in public meetings. Editor.

"(We) Shall unfurl the Red Flag in the west, east, north, and south.

"(We) Shall sing its songs after mounting the gallows (lit. plank of the gallows).

"It is the shroud of our corpses, its glory is high.

"Its colour makes the blood hot; wonderful is its parade (lit. going about),

"Its glare is brighter than that of a lakh of suns and moons.

"When it flies flapping, it infuses great courage.

"Our life and death lie in it; (we) shall always raise it.

"By freedom (we) swear that (we) shall unfurl the Red Flag over the whole world.

"This always teaches us this lesson:

" "Advance (&) pluck courage'; (it) removes cowardice.

"(It) infuses the spirit of life by giving the lesson of sacrifice.

"(It) Catches hold of the fallen poor by the arm and raises them.

"(We) Shall go about taking it with (us and) entertain no fear.

"Yes, yes, (We) shall unfurl the Red Flag over the whole earth.

"The French are immolating themselves on (seeing) even its single flash.

"The Germans have sacrificed (lit. sold) themselves for (its) red glare,

"The Russians sing its songs and sacrifice themselves for its flash.

"The Americans too receive light from this light-house.

"It is the common (flag) of all; (we) shall honour it.

"(We) Shall unfurl the Red Flag in the west, east, north and south.

"Its elevation elevates us greatly.

"It infuses new longings for liberty in every heart.

"The flutter of its flap removes the sufferings of the worker.

"On seeing it, the heart (s) of peasants become cold like ice.

"Undoubtedly, it is a revolutionary, (&) we shall create revolution.

"(We) Shall unfurl the Red Flag by going round to the whole world.

"This will bring peace to the world by becoming the mausoleum (?) of peace.

"This will end the anxieties of all by removing the hunger of the hungry.

"It will pull out the root of all differences and throw it away.

"It will soon take the man to he real progress.

" (We) shall make resplendent glory more resplendent.

"(We) shall unfurl the Red Flag in every house, lane and street.

"It is the companion of the destitute and the friend of Labourers.

"It is friend to peasants and foe to the proud.

"It is the preacher of "Communism" and enemy of disturbances.

"It is a remedy for the poor, (and it breaks the back of prides.

"We have now raised it and shall take it to the poles.

"Not to speak of earth, (we) shall unfurl the Red Flag even on the sea.

"Do not fear richmen now, (but) stand before them.

"Pull out imperialism from the root, (&) expose the doings of ministers.

"Break the head of capitalism (&) play the hero.

"Suffer (lit-ward off) the attacks of bullets and arrows exposing your chest.

"It matters little, if (we) are bare-headed; we shall go round, to all the four sides.

(And) unfurl the Red Flag hither, thither (&) every-where.

"This is the common national song; sing it together every-where.

"Send this message to every house by all means, exerting (your) utmost and joining together.

"Our goal is 'communism'; embrace all joining together.

"Rescue workers from capitalists by advancing and joining together.

"Say on the 'plank of the gallows, (we) shall sing this very song:—

" '(we) shall unfurl the Red Flag in the west, east north and south'.—

"Avtar Singh Azad"

Translated by

Sher Singh B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of August 1923 publishes the following:—

"Bolshevism in Bardoli".

"See the mentality of these Anglo Indian Newspapers! Just as every thing looks yellow to a person affected with jaundice so they too see Bolshevism and Bolshevism alone on every side.

"A correspondent of the *Times of India* writes about the Bardoli Satyagrah that: 'The leaders who are leading the movement for the non-payment of land revenue are not prepared even for a honourable compromise. Mr. Vallabh Bhai Patel and his friends are performing the experiment of Bolshevism and have succeeded in making all actions of Govt. useless. If an enquiry is held anywhere then these "Anglo Indians" smack of Bolshevism; if a procession is taken out any where, then Moscow's hand is (suspected) in it; and if, owing to starvation, the inhabitants of an ilaga raise hue and cry, then too Bolshevik mischief is suspected (lit-considered). Suffice it to say, that poor Bolsheviks are being decried full well. But for how long?"

Translated by

Sher Singh B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.).

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of October 1928 publishes the following:—

"Master of the Country, soon take care of the Country.

Brackets are given by the periodical—Tr. *(From Badhi-khich)*
"Wake up, O Worker; see, O brave peasant, how strangers are creating division in your camp (lit-house).

"Not a single bundle of pressed sugar-cane can be obtained for your *murha* (a kind of stool made of pressed sugarcane and reeds); dacoits are chewing "sugarcane" after wresting them by force.

"O lion! You are sleeping soundly like *Kumbh* (an epithet of one of the younger brothers of Ravana) (whilst) the wicked ones are burning your ripe fields.

"O you who fill the stomachs of others! Strangers too are watching your efforts.

"O dear! Advance after organising (yourself) and soon take care of your fatherland.

"Why to delay (lit-breathe) for soon breaking asunder the net of the *Ferangi* as long as there is breath (in you)? "Well,

remember another thing as well ; O dear, arrangements are in progress for a secret conflict (lit. war). "Wretched (lit. filthy), Cunning and Satanic capitalists are concocting schemes by joining together, o dear.

"(They) say that (they) will remove the thorn of Russia which is the true life of workers, o dear.

"O dear, worker and peasant of India ! Say, what is your duty, when all this is happening ?

"To cut short, get up and get ready to remove (lit. cut) everyday strife from the world.

" If (you) want to live, live like a man to fix the " Red " flag of liberty."

Translated by—

(Sd.) Sher Singh B. A.,

Translator,

(Punjab Govt.).

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of December 1928 publishes the following :—

Appeal to Indian Youths.

" India is at this time passing through a change of mentality and adopting new ideas new programme in place of old ideas and (old) programme. And it is to-day drifting altogether away from the current of old ideas. Young India has realized the present trend of world and started the work of adopting and acting upon new ideas.

" The freedom of country is in the hands of youngmen, and the future too is in their hands. The duties of Indian Youths are, therefore, great and extensive. The constructive work of India is in their hands alone. Hence it is essential and absolutely essential (for them) to know their methods and ways full well. India is to-day divided by communalism (lit. communal division) Capitalists make efforts to solve every problem by means of their Capitalistic views. Interested classes and personalities are presenting a different solution to the intricate question of India, and these solutions, in reality, prove advantageous for their own party alone.

" Desperate youths of the country (lit. the youths who can stake their heads) are, therefore, required to extricate (people) from the mire of these perplexing views. Those desirous of extricating educated people from this mire should assemble together and

exchange views regarding Indian topics. In these days Marx's teachings are much liked in the whole world; and in reality, these too are solving the tangled and intricate problems of several countries. Marx's teachings should be acted upon for solving Indian questions too. Therefore, those Indians who repose confidence in Marx's doctrines should express the views of India in unequivocal terms. For this object, it has been decided to hold the 1st session of the All India Socialist Youths' Conference at Calcutta in the last week of December. The persons who repose the fullest confidence in Marx's teachings should, therefore, become the members of the Reception Committee and delegates (as well.) Cultivators, peasants, labourers, workers and the educated youths of the kind mentioned above are invited to (attend) the Congress.

" Servant of the Country—

" Bhupindar Nath Dutt, Assistant Secretary,

" Reception Committee, All-India Socialist

" Youths' Conference-Office 67 Cornwallis

" Street, Calcutta."

Translated by

(Sd.) Sher Singh B. A.,

Translator,

(Punjab Govt.).

The *Kirti* (Gurmukhi edition) for the month of January 1929 publishes the following :—

*Brackets are
given by the
periodical-Tr.

" Our letter from Russia.

**“(From an executive member of the Kristentern.)

" The Kristentern is an international organisation of the revolutionary peasants of the world. Its headquarters or central office is in Moscow. Its object is to collect revolutionary peasants of different countries under its own banner and to make them take to the revolutionary path. Every revolutionary peasant has the right of organisation to set up connections with the Kristentern, because it is his (? or its) foremost duty to help in creating revolution. Lakhs of peasants of different countries are connected with it—editor.

"We continue to hear some thing or other from our Indian brethren regarding your *Kirti* (workers') movement. We feel great pleasure when we hear that this movement is gaining ground (lit-strength) in India in general and the Punjab in particular from day to day. We have been told that the day is not distant when

the workers (&) peasants of India will be organised and rise, and make efforts to gain their class-rights. Strikes have voluntarily taken place in India at different places, and the courage, bravery and pluck displayed by labourers in these are unprecedented. The persistent resistance offered by the peasants to oppression in Bardoli proves that they have a sense of honour in their. Although the leadership of Bardoli, as we have come to know, was not in the hands of any genuine and successful leader, still the bravery and courage of peasants are commendable; and we think that the method pointed out by Bardoli to obtain our rights and to get rid of pains and sufferings is the right and successful method, provided it is adopted on a fairly large scale. We are very glad to hear that the youngmen of India are arriving at the conclusion that a small conspiracy of some brave armed people cannot deliver their country from the tight grip of British capitalism. History too bears testimony to the fact that such small conspiracies have usually proved unsuccessful, nay, on several occasions these became such a cause of oppression and coercion that even the least movement in the country continued to be trampled upon. The people who work in this way have always secretly worked under-ground and have never done anything openly. Our Kristentern does not approve of these things, as it is of opinion that whatever thing is uttered should be uttered courageously and in public (lit-on stage) and that the people should be made fully acquainted with their rights.

“If people gain knowledge of their class-rights, they know how to fight (lit-fight and die) for the protection of their rights.

“It is also clear that Kristentern views Mr. Gandhi's non-violence too with contempt. It has never occurred in the world up to this time where a tyrannical nation or class might have, merely out of shame, ceased to exploit slave nations or parties for its economic good. By bringing into use the police, military, courts and jails, British capitalism is trampling over all those organisations of the country, which wish to expel the English from it. Just on the contrary, Mr. Gandhi's philosophy is making the people fall victims to capitalists by disarming them and making them give up the desire to create a struggle (lit-war) for freedom. Therefore, this philosophy is supporting British Capitalism and is altogether injurious for national freedom. Open rebellion and violence against tyrants for the freedom of the oppressed peasants and nations constitute a necessary means. The red dread of revolutionary people ought to be set up in opposition to the right of capitalists. But we know that India is not at all prepared for this. But mere (?) violence under which neither open agitation can be set afoot nor revolutionary questions can be disclosed to people, can never succeed. The murder of individual Govt. officers can efface

some tyrants from the face of the world; but this measure can neither destroy the "tyranical system" nor secure freedom for India. This very lesson can be learnt from all past revolutions-changes of the world; and our international movement teaches the same.

"The reports that have reached us go to show that the youths of India and the people who cherish a desire for bettering its condition, are now realizing the necessity of working after organising themselves and are trying to effect a grand organisation of all people. We have also seen the resolutions passed by the Kirti Conference at Hoshiarpur in October 1927. In these emphasis has been laid on the organisation of workers and peasants:

"It appears from these things that your political ideas have undergone a sufficient change, and this change will be the cause of freedom. You should not now remain aloof but should attach your movement to the revolutionary workers and peasants of the whole world. The revolutionarr peasants of the world are at present cutting asunder their chains of slavery under the leadership of Kristentern. You should now place a class revolutionary programme before the peasants, and it is necessary that they should be organised on the basis of their class interests, so that no peasant should remain out of JATHABANDI (organisation); nor should there be any member who remains unaware of goal to be sought.

"In my opinion you should call a conference of some workers which may contain the representatives of all different JATHAS. At this conference or executive committee should be elected which should carry out the decisions of the conference and give a lead by placing a class-programme before the organisation. This Committee should be required to know the working(lit-activities of the Kristentern and change the programme at all places in emergency on getting information (regarding the working).

A change is about to take place in India. The new weapons which the British Govt is using to destroy workers and peasants and retain capitalism, and the work of constitutional (lit-departmental) reform which has been entrusted to the Parliamentary commission-these things go to show that people are being prevented in every way from taking part in the administration and are being brought under still greater bondage. At this time India, especially the Punjab, should make a very large JATHABANDI which should in co-operation with the Kristentern and other organisations of revolutionary workers and peasants make the Indian peasant successful (prepared) for a successful struggle and liberate itself from the British yoke to make the future good.

"We offer you blessings for this hard struggle (lit-war) of yours.

"Moscow 10th August

Note: Ordinarily our dak is censored thoroughly well, and many letters and articles of ours are also devoured by the postal Department. But it is not known how the above letter has come to us escaping (their notice). We feel astonished to receive this letter—

Editor"

Sher Singh B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

P. 748-T.

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Page 2. 10-1-29-746-Travelling expenses of four persons-China Josh, Mansur and Bhag Singh-Calcutta Kirti Conference-206-Rs. 170/-/9.

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Page 2. 30. 1. 29-751-To the Bengal Party, Calcutta for "A call to action".241-Rs. 13/8/.

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Page 3. "16. 2.29-769. Motor hire and railway fare(for)Lahore S. Sohan Singh Rs. 1/10/-

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25. 2. 29-773-S. Sohan Singh's travelling expenses Jullunder—19.2.29—Rs 2/4/-

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Translated by

Shersingh B.A.

Translator, (Punjab Govt.)

P. 749.-T

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Page 1.	" "	3. 4. 28-10-Shaukat Usmani-Contribution for	
		April 1928-132-Rs 7/2/-.	

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Page 4.	" "	11. 7. 28-30-Rail and tonga for L. H. R.-Josh	
		158- Rs 2/14/.	

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Page 5.	" "	8-8-28-46-Travelling expenses-Sohan Singh	
		L. H. R. 158-Rs 1/5/-.	

Page 5.	" "	24. 8. 28-54-F. D. Mansur Delhi-contribution	
		132-Rs 10/2/-.	

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Page 6.	" "	11. 9. 28-64-Travelling expenses Bhai Sohan	
		Singh Calcutta-158-50/1/-.	

Page 6.	" "	11. 9. 28-65-Railway fare, tonga hire, etc. (for)	
		Lahore-Sohan Singh-Rs 1/12/-."	

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Page 7.	" "	16. 10. 28-82-S. Sohan Singh-travelling expen-	
		ses (for) Meerut-158-Rs 12/-.	

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Page 7.	" "	30. 10. 28-86-travelling expenses-S. Sohan Singh	
		Lahore-158-Rs-2/2/-.	

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Page 8. " ' 6. 11. 28-95-House rent S. Sohan Singh and Bhag Singh 172-Rs 15/8/-.

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Page 8. " ' 13. 11. 28-96-Travelling expenses (of) Sohan Singh (for) Lahore.158-Rs 1/2/6..

Page 8. " ' 16. 11. 28-97-Ditto-Ditto-

* * * *

Page 9. " ' 5. 12. 28-109-Subscription-young liberator 176 Rs 2/4/-.

" ' 6. 12. 28-110-House rent-Bh. S. and Josh-172 Rs 15/8/-.

Page 10. " ' 25. 1. 29-131-House rent-Bh. Sohan Singh—Rs 19/6/-

Translated by

Sher Singh B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt)

P. 750-T.

Page 15. " 12.2.27-302-Pay (of) Master Sohan Singh Josh (for) eleven days (of) January 1927-101-Rs 28/6/-.

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Page 16. " 1.3.27-315-Pay (of) Master Sohan Singh Josh (for) the month (of) February 1927-101-Rs 80/-

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Page 17. " 1.4.27-336-Pay (of) Bh. Sohan Singh Josh (for) the month (of) March 1927-101-Rs 80/-.

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Page 18. " 2.5.27-357-Pay (of) Master Sohan Singh Ji (for) the month (of) April 1927-101-Rs 80/-.

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Page 19. " 1.6.27-383-Pay (of) Master Sohan Singh Josh (for) the month (of) May 1927-102-Rs 80/-.

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Page 20. " 7.7.27-414-Pay of Master Sohan Singh Josh (for) the month (of) June 1927-101-Rs 80/-.

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Page 21. " 5.8.27-430-Pay of Master Sohan Singh Josh (for) the month (of July)-101-Rs. 100/-

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Page 21. " 16.8.27-434 Cable to America for the release of Sacco and Vanzetti-132-Rs 20/4/-.

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Page 22. " 1.9.27-446-Pay of Master Sohan Singh Ji Josh (for) the month of August 1927-102-Rs 100/-.

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Page 24. " '3.10.27-494-Bh. Sohan Singh-pay for Sept(ember) 1927-102- Rs 100/-'

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Page 25. " '1 11.27-510-Pay for the month of October 1927 Sr. Sohan Singh -103-Rs 100/-'.

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Page 26. " '5.12-27-528-Pay for Nov. 1927-Sr. Sohan Singh -103-Rs 100/'.

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Page 32. " '20.6.28-637-In connection with Kirti Conference at Hoshiarpur- Josh -137-Rs 14/12/-'

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Page 32. " '20.6.28-640- In connection with the Cawnpore Conference Josh and B. Singh -137-Rs 68/2/6'.

Page 32. " '20.6.28-641 -In connection with Delhi-Josh and Bh. Singh -137 Rs 30/12/6'.

Page 32. " '20.6.28-642/2- In connection with the Kirti Conference at Hoshiarpur through Sr. Bhag Singh-137-Rs 11/-'

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Page 33. " '11.7.28-650-Shaukat Usmani, Delhi, contribution -156-Rs 8/2/-.

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Translated by

Sher Singh B.A.,

Translator, (Punjab Govt.)

P.889-T.

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" ' Biographies

" ' (1) L. Garrison.

" ' (2) Luther.

- " (3) Tolstoy.
- " (4) Wosley.
- " (5) Lenin.
- " (6) Maizzini.
- " (7) Paine.
- " (8) Voltaire.
- " (9) Carl (? Karl) Marx
- " (10) Macswine.
- " (11) Russio.
- " (12) Plato.
- " (13) Aristotle.
- " (14) Socratese.
- " (15) Abraham Lincoln.
- " (16) Herbert Spencer.
- " (17) Mill.
- " (18) C.F. Andrews.

* * * * *

- " (1) Bhai Gurmukh Singh.
- " (2) Doctor Jai Singh.
- " (3) Gyani Ditt Singh.
- " (4) Sardar Dyal Singh.
- " (5) Gyani Gyan Singh.
- " (6) Ajit Singh.
- " (7) Hardial.
- " (8) Keshab Chandar Sen.
- " (9) Vidya Sagar.
- " (10) Raja Mohan Rai.
- " (11) Vevekanand.
- " (12) Swami Ram Tirath.
- " (13) Bhai Balwant Singh.

- " (14) Bhai Randhir Singh.
- " (15) Sévaji.
- " (16) Swami Dya Nand.
- " (17) Budh ji Maharaj.
- " (18) Shankarcharya.
- " (19) Professor Ram Singh, Jam Jarhia.
- " Guru Nank Dev, Guru Govind Singh and other Gurus.
- " Bhai Gurdas, Kabir and other *bhagats* (saints).
- " ' Some Statistics
- " ' In England 93% are educated.
- " ' In America 95% Do.
- " ' In Japan 97% Do.
- " ' In India 5% only Do.

" ' In the population of 33 crores only 1000 girls go to the college.

- " ' In Russia 6% were literate in Czar's time.
- " ' Do 96% under Bolshevism.
- " ' In India 7% at the most after 150 years."

Translated by

Sher Singh B. A.

Translator (Punjab Govt.)

P. 911-T.

Several issues of Kirti in Gurmukhi of the following months
 August 1926 January 1928

March 1927 (2 copies)

February 1928

March 1928

April 1927 (3 copies)

April 1928

July 1927 (2 copies)

May 1928 (2 copies)

August 1927

August 1928 (3 copies)

December 1927

January 1929

(Translated in Exb. 746 q. V.)

P. 918-T.

Issues of Gurmukhi Kirti for the following months:—

February 1927

September 1927

March 1927

January 1928

June 1927

April 1928

(Translated in Exb. 746 q. v.)

P. 1393-T.

“The second annual gathering of the Workers and Peasants of the Punjab will be held at Lyallpur on the 28th, 29th, and 30th September 1928 the days of the Punjab Provincial Congress Session)

“ Mr. S. A. Dange, Bombay, will be the president.

“Leading (&) well-known leaders of workers will put in their appearance.

“ The poor workers and peasants of the Punjab will be pleased to learn that the second annual gathering of Workers and Peasants will be held at Lyallpur with great eclat on the 28th, 29th and 30th September— the days of the Punjab Provincial Congress

(session). And the president of this gathering will be Mr. S. A. Dange, Bombay, who is a staunch patriot (lit.-devoted of the country) and a well-known communist. And (who) was convicted in the Cownpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case. Besides him, Mr. P. Spratt, author of the proscribed book-“India and China” Mr. Bradley, member, Communist Party, England, Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad, General Secretary Worker's (&) Peasants' Party, Bengal, and several other sympathizers of workers belonging to the Bombay Presidency, the Bengal Presidency and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh will attend (the meeting) and add to its glory.

“ Remedies for the grievances (lit. sufferings) of poor and oppressed workers will be considered at the gathering and big and able leaders having sympathy for the poor will express their views.

“ Mr. Ram Chandar Ji, B.A.—national has accepted the presidentship of the Reception Committee. It is the essential duty of every poor worker and peasant brother to come (to the meeting) personally; bring his sympathizers with him and (thus) add to (its) glory.

“ Lala Kidar Nath Ji Sehgal, president of the Naujawan Bharat Subha, M. A. Majid, Lahore, and Lal Chhabil Das Ji B. A., ex-principal, National College, Lahore, will also put in their appearance. You too should flock (to this place) in large numbers and listen to the complaints (lit. sufferings) of the poor.

“ Your well-wishers:—

“ Sohan Singh “Josh”, General Secretary, Kirti Kisan (Workers and Peasants') Party, Punjab.

“Bhag Singh Canadian Managing-Director, the *Kirti* magazine, Amritsar”.

Translated by

Sher Singh B.A..

Translator (Punjab Govt).

"Comrade Karl Marx.

*Brackets are
given in the

original— Tr * (From the pen of a very famous Journalist).

"The work done by Karl Marx for the propagation of socialism and communism is shining like the Sun. At this time when (?) scientific and revolutionary communism is being preached to some extent in almost all countries in the world. And two great and holy personalities were the preachers of Communism which is considered very difficult (lit: considered a very difficult idea). One of these was Karl Marx and the other Frederick Engels—his true companion and friend.

"The accounts of Comrade Karl Marx's life and his views are today placed before (lit: in the service of) readers. Marx was born in 1818 to (lit: in the house of) a Jewish Lawyer. But when he was six years old, parents embraced Christianity. Marx was naturally very intellectual. To cut short, he very soon acquired all that education which an intellectual and hard-working student could have acquired in Germany in those days. Although he received legal education in accordance with the wishes of his father still he devoted greater attention to philosophical subjects and history. He was a disciple of Hegel, a well-known philosopher and understood his principles full well. In 1841 he received the degree of doctor (doctorate) for writing a thesis on philosophy. As he held revolutionary views, he did not appreciate the method of the work of German scholars. The political position of Prussia was at that time such that the common people had grown sick of the severities of the administrative part (of Government). Marx too joined the party against administrative part and enlisted in the editorial staff of such a newspaper of the Cologne City as strongly advocated the democratic system of Government. In those days he strongly opposed the system of the Prussian Government of that time. But not tolerating his criticism, the Prussian Government became ready to suppress the aforesaid newspaper. Marx, however, relinquished the editorship of this newspaper and went to France. "In 1843 he married a good-natured girl of a high family and took up his abode in Paris. It was in France that he demanded the principles and doctrines of socialism. He acquired a closer intimacy with the great socialists of Paris. He used to pass the whole night holding discussions with Proudhon over the economic theory. And he had also established close friendship with the persons banished from Germany in cases of sedition. It was in Paris that he met Frederick Engels, a well-known socialist, in 1844. After exchanging their thoughts for some time, both of them came to hold the same views about socialism. After that, both these leaders

continued to work shoulder to shoulder with each other for about forty years.

“ The French Government banished Marx from France in 1845 (as a result of) the movement against (lit: of) the Prussian Government. So he went to Brussels where he lived for 30 years. In 1845 he threw light on the causes of the poverty and straitened circumstances of the labouring-class. But the general public did not pay great heed to this book of Engels (?). In 1847 Marx and Engels published together some such views about socialism as created great stir throughout Europe. The above mentioned joint-views related to the betterment of the condition of the labouring-class. In these very days a society of socialists was established in London. It devoted its attention to Marx's lofty and old (?) guiding doctrines. This society was reorganised in consultation with Marx and Engels, and it was christened as Communist Party.

“ After that a Communist Congress was held, which prepared that well-known manifesto of the Communist Party in 1847 which is called the 1st and the oldest manifesto of revolutionary socialists and for whose preparation the whole knowledge and ability of the 19th Century was spent. This manifesto was published in almost all European languages. The following are the sacred principles of this manifesto:—

(1) No person should have proprietary right in land. To use land for the common good of the whole class after abolishing the custom of making it private property,

(2) To enforce sufficiently heavy (lit: in a sufficient number) progressive income tax based on a graduated (scale).

(3) To totally abolish the right of inheritance.

(4) To confiscate the property of foreigners (? emigrants) and selfish persons (sic).

(5) To keep dealings with Government alone for industry and trade in accordance with capitalistic method; and for its accomplishment a national bank should be opened. The whole capital of this bank should be state (Capital), and no other bank should have any right to receive deposits and issue loans.

(6) All means of communication, post, telegraph etc., and of transport should be under the control of Government.

(7) To open factories under Government; and the whole work of production (sic); and to get the cultivable land, which is lying waste, cultivated.

(8) To enforce equal liability of every person to labour. To open co-operative societies for industry in general and for the development of agriculture in particular.

(9) To group agriculture and industry together and to consider them two parts of one head and not separate heads.

(10) To impart free education to boys and girls in schools and Colleges and to stop taking work from them in factories, with the help of legislation.

The principles, doctrines, etc. given above do not require more elucidation than this. The above-mentioned ten principles are the fountain head of the doctrine and goal (of) the present day movement ... the most important of all other movements ... called Bolshevism by some and Communism by others. All of German socialism, Russian Bolshevism and British Communism are not very glorious and lofty and staunch (sic). For a long time the principles of (?) are (lit: and) based on stable foundation (sic). The principles of the manifesto issued by the Communist League held in London in 1847 are working at the bottom of whatever practicable and stable work is being done in Russia at this time for the welfare and glorification of the labouring-class. This is a natural phenomenon that Russia which continued to be ground in the mill of oppression to the beginning (lit. to the preliminary tasks) of the 19th century is today fasting of (lit. deriving advantage from) the sweet fruit of the present-day movement of Communism the most advantageous of all (other) movements. And the German nation too is successfully treading the way to progress paved (lit: indicated) by Ferdinand Leslie, Karl Marx, and Frederick Engels. But that country itself, namely England, is still caught in the net of Capitalists ... the country when (lit on whose soil) Capitalist Governments, Russia, Germany, France, and others placed their foot—(where) nationalists continued to sing the song of liberty on seeing oppression being practised on them (sic) and where the Communist League issued the most important and weighty manifesto for the good of the labouring class. As a result of this, not only the labouring class of Great Britain is suffering but the labourers of all (lit. others) subject countries are also involved in trouble, well, this was a digression. I now touch upon the real subject.

“During the revolutionary disputes of 1848 Karl Marx reached Germany along with many of his friends, Engels, Aneff (?) and others, and began to publish articles in the press regarding the system of superior democratic Government. In 1849 Marx reached England where he wrote a book on revolution and economics almost all chapters of which he published in 1867 in the form of “The Kapital”, written previously on Capitalism. He had to do very hard work for the propagation of socialism, as the result of which he generally remained ill in (his) middle age. At last, his (life (lit. age) ended at the age of 65 years in London on the 14th May 1883. Karl Marx published only the 1st part of his well-known economic writing ... “The Kapital”. After his death his friend Frederick Engels, published the second and third parts also with the help of

his manuscript writings and memoranda. But the excellence which is seen in the 1st part is not seen in the 2nd and 3rd parts.

“Engels too breathed his last in 1895 after helping the poor and labouring-class for about half a century.

“It is the maxim of a well-known philosopher that revolutions are not created: on the other hand, when owing to a Government (lit. administrative part) having incessantly carried on oppression for centuries together and refused to concede public demand and owing to their continuous failure in the constitutional agitation the masses become utterly disappointed (lit. lose all confidence), then the dreadful and indestructible plant of revolution grows whose growth cannot be checked by any power of the world.

“The causes of the outbreak of the German revolution were the same. So I want to throw some light on the causes of the progress of German socialism and the German revolution of 1848.

“When King William IV became the master of the Prussian throne and crown in 1840, the German Liberal Party made satisfactory progress. The masses turned their faces from the dry philosophy of Hegel and devoted their attention to their national advancement. The people of Germany were in the look out for the methods of human progress for the method whereby they might reach the summit of progress according to national view-point. The people of Germany then turned their face from the temptation of paradise and began to display their belief in the worldly progress. The public knew this fact full well that the governing class and capitalists were enjoying themselves by making the second (middle) class subjects poor. The French revolution, and the defects and behaviour of Government were also before the eyes of German leaders; and French socialism too was producing its effect on them. The German leaders in exile in Paris especially began to repose confidence in socialism, because they had come to know that this old theory of socialism (lit. ism) had been started to end the pains and sufferings of the highly aggrieved class (lit. part) It was for this reason that in the opinion of Karl Marx and his friends socialism alone could mend religion, morality etc. But Karl Marx was fully aware of the fact that the foundations of socialism were not laid scientifically up to that time. He and his friends therefore, strictly kept two things in view: one was to present socialism in a scientific manner and the other was to preach it in Europe in a very attractive and revolutionary way.

“The sacred goal of Marx and his socialist friends is... “High price of Commodities.” The meaning of this principle is that factory-owners get things produced by labourers, and in return give them such low wages as are hardly adequate for their maintenance

The price fixed for an article is greater than the amount spent for manufacturing it. Cost price is spent on necessary and raw material and the remaining part of the price is kept by the factory-owners who invest their capital, by way of profit. In short 'profit is the other name of the 'surplus value'. Factory-owners take undue advantage of the poverty and wages of labourers.

"By wisely advancing arguments of divers kinds, Marx has pointed out in very unequivocal terms that labour is the root of capital. Roberts and Proudhon too have recognised these very principles. But Marx did not follow Roberts in this matter. On the contrary, his views were quite independent. Marx has written about 'surplus value' in a very detailed manner. If carefully viewed we shall find that the above mentioned principle is the root cause of socialism. Although Marx has mainly expressed 'his' views and resorted to criticism regarding capital still, in reality, all of his arguments apply to socialism alone; because it is the unnatural science of wealth which has drawn people to the golden principles of socialism. In his writings Karl Marx has discussed the graduated progress of Capital from a historic view point. Marx is of opinion that- (Here the sentence is incomplete Tr).

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