

ENGLISH

- - -

- TRANSLATIONS

OF

URDU EXHIBITS

P. 308.

109 copies of Urdu Translation of the "Political Resolution."

NOTE:—(The English Text has already been printed, Vide Exb. P. 56).

P. 322 (I).

This meeting of the Workers and Peasants' conference looks upon the splendid sacrifices made by the Kakori martyrs: Shriyut Ram Prashad Bismal, Thakur Roshan Singh, Shri Rajindar Nath Lahiri, Bhai Ashfaq Ullah and Bhai Vishnu Saran (?) Dublas, prisoners of the English and other prisoners of the English in connection with the Kakori Conspiracy Case and heartily appreciates their patriotism.

* This exhibit contains a number of other resolutions passed at the Workers and Peasants' Conference which are but a translation into Urdu of the Hindi resolutions already translated into English by the Hindi translator—Tr.

Morid Husain,

Urdu Translator.

P. 344 (I).

BANDE MATARAM

Workers and Peasants of the world; unite!

Aims and objects

and
Rules and regulations
of the
KIRTI KISAN PARTY PUNJAB.

August 1928.

Sohan Singh Josh,
General Secretary,
Kirti Kisan Party,
c/o
office, the *Kirti* (Amritsar),
(India).

KIRTI KISAN PARTY.

Aims and Objects:

1. To secure complete independence from the British imperialism by every possible means, to liberate workers and peasants from every sort of political, economic and social slavery and to establish their united Socialists Republic.

2. To organise workers and peasants.

Rules and Regulations:

1. The name of the party will be the "Kirti Kisan Party."

(NOTE) so long as a party is not established in the Frontier Province, the said party can, when required, extend its activities to the Frontier province as well.

2. The head quarters of the Party will for the present be at Amritsar (and) can be changed when required. Branches of the Party will be established at different places.

3. The Kirti Kisan Party will consist of two committees:

(a) General Committee (and)

(b) Executive Committee.

Members of the Party:

4. Every man and woman, who is at least of 18 years of age and believes in the creed and regulations of the Party, can with the permission of the Executive Committee become a member of the Party on the payment of subscription.

5. Subscription of the Party will be annas two a month.

Rights of the members.

6. (a) Every member will have the right to send in writing to the General Secretary his proposal connected with the aims and objects of the Party. The Secretary will place that proposal before the Executive committee.

(b) He can ascertain the work done by the Party through the medium of the General Secretary.

(c) After giving in writing a week's notice he can examine from the General Secretary the account books, etc., of the Party.

(d) He can be elected as a member of the Executive Committee provided that he has been paying the subscription regularly and taking interest in the (work of the) Party.

General Committee.

7. (a) General committee will hold meeting after six months. A meeting, if required, can however be called earlier. Quorum will consist of 25 per cent (of the members).

(b) An extraordinary meeting shall be held at the request of 25 per cent of the number of members. One week's notice shall atleast be given for this purpose. If after (the receipt of) that notice the President and the Secretary hesitate to convene a meeting, the members will be authorised to call a meeting at their own responsibility.

Executive Committee.

8. (a) The (work of the) management of the party and the supervision of the rules and regulations will be entrusted to a body which will be called the Executive Committee.

(b) All the moveable and immoveable property of the party will be under the control of the Executive Committee which alone will be responsible for its management.

Constitution of the Executive Committee.

9. The number of the members of the Executive Committee will be at the most 25 and its quorum will consist of one-third (its number).

10. The Executive Committee will be authorised to remove from the Committee the names of gentlemen who do not attend the meetings for two months consecutively, but it will be necessary to ascertain the causes of his absence.

11. The Executive Committee shall fill up by votes the vacancies during a year.

12. Annual election of the members of the Executive Committee will be conducted by the General Committee by taking votes (lit. by a majority of votes). and votes will be given by raising hands.

13. (a) The Secretary can, in consultation with the president, hold a meeting when required.

(b) An extraordinary meeting shall be held at the request of 25 per cent of the members. At least two days notice shall be given for this purpose.

(c) If the President dissolves a meeting for certain reason, two-third of the members present can continue the meeting by electing a new President and this meeting and its proceedings shall be lawful.

14. Questions under discussion will be decided by a majority of votes.

15. The Party will have the following office bearers :—

A President, two Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, two secretaries (and) a Treasurer.

16. The office bearers shall in general be honorary office-bearers

17. The names of old office bearers will be eligible for second election.

Powers and duties of Office-bearers.

18. President: a. To keep order at the meeting and to see that rules are observed in every matter.

b. To allow or disallow a member or non member to attend a meeting and hear its proceedings.

Vice-President :—To perform the duties of the President during his absence. He will have the same powers as are enjoyed by the President according to rules.

General Secretary :—(a) To be incharge of the office of the party.

(b) To enter in a register the names and addresses of the members of the party.

(c) To arrange for the calling of a meeting and give information (accordingly).

(d) To hold (lit the holding of) an extraordinary meeting in cases of emergency.

- (e) To carry on correspondence and keep it in safe custody.
- (f) To prepare the minutes of every meeting.
- (g) To enter the belongings (of the party) in a register.
- (h) To present at the annual meeting a detailed report of the work done by the Party.
- (i) To sign bills of all kinds and send them to the treasurer for payment.
- (j) The Secretary can not spend any thing without the permission of the Committee, but in cases of emergency he will be authorised to spend money to the extent of Rs. 20/- a month and obtain its sanction afterwards.
- (k) To perform all such duties as the party may assign to him for the completion of its objects.

*Secretary :—*The duty of the Secretary will be to help the General Secretary in the performance of his duties and work in place of the latter whenever he wants to make over the charge of his duties to him temporarily.

- Treasurer :—*(a) To receive subscriptions from the members and donations from the members and non-members & to issue receipts (for them) over his own signatures and to keep an account (lit. a record) of them.
- (b) To present last month's balance-sheet to the Executive Committee in the beginning of each month.
 - (c) To help the General Secretary in preparing the annual report by supplying him particulars of balance-sheet.
 - (d) To keep in safe custody counterfoils of receipts and all account papers, registers, etc.
 - (e) To pay all bills and keep an account (lit. a record) of them.
 - (f) To enter all the account in the register.
 - (g) The treasurer will keep Rs. 30/- with him for emergency purposes and the remaining amount will be desposited in the bank proposed by the Committee.
 - (h) Accounts will be audited after every six months. The committee will appoint an auditor for this purpose.

AMENDMENT IN RULES.

It will be necessary to convene a special general meeting for passing the amendments and alterations proposed by the Committee in the rules and regulations, and the amendments will, on their being passed by two-third of the number of (members) present, be considered fit to be enforced.

After this the pamphlet contains the following advertisement:

The *Kirti* magazine Amritsar is issued in Urdu and Punjabi on the 1st of every month with great pomp and show. It is the only socialist organ of the workers and peasants throughout India. It wants to bring about revolution in the existing social, economic and political system. Read it yourself and persuade your (lit. other) friend to read (it).

Annual subscription: Rs. 4/- only.

Send four annas' stamps and ask for its specimen number from the following address.

Manager,
The *Kirti* Magazine.
Amritsar, (India).

Printed at the Onkar Press, Amritsar, under the management of Gyani Gurdit Singh printer.

Translated by
Morid Husain,
Translator.

P. 375 (I).

A poster which contains the picture of a factory behind which is shown a naked man with a hammer in his hand and below a few well-dressed men going out of the factory with bags in their

hands. The naked man has been depicted as a labourer and the men with bags as capitalists.

It contain the following in bold letters:—

“Drive away your blood-thirsty party by joining the Republican party.

“The first conference of the workers and Peasants’ party (will be held) at Albert Hall, College Square, on the 21st, 22nd and the 23rd of December.

“Reception Committee, No 2/1 European Asylum Lane, Phone No: 3270, Calcutta”.

Morid Husain.

Translator.

P 399 (T).

What do the labourers of Jute Mill want?

- (1) 50 percent increase in wages.
- (2) The wages of a worker in a week should not be less than Rs. 7/8/-.
- (3) The working-hours should not be more than eight hours in a day and 44 hours in a week.
- (4) Arrangements should be made for giving pension in old age and during illness.
- (5) The existing compensation law should be changed and arrangements made for giving compensation far greater than this.
- (6) The introduction of such latest implements in Mills and factories as might save workers from accidents.
- (7) Female workers and children should not be employed in work involving accidents.
- (8) Children below the age of fourteen years should in us case be employed.
- (9) Arrangements should be made to build near factory or mill hospital for workers and maternity hospitals for pregnant female

workers and for breeding children

PAGE 2.

What will have to be done so as to get all these demands conceded?

(1) All the workers of Jute Mill and Jute Press shall have to be invited so as to establish a strong union called "The chatkal and Jute Press Mazdur Sangh" having its central office at Calcutta Branch offices shall have to be opened at places where there are Jute Mills and Jute Presses.

(2) The workers shall have to perform all the work of the Union. The proprietors will not be able to dismiss the workers of Jute Mills and Jute Press on their joining the union.

(3) Persons belonging to the "Babu class" other than the workers should be thoroughly examined when they get ready to help the work of establishing the union and should be taken in the work of the union only when it is fully ascertained that they do not think themselves above the labour class and are ever ready to undergo all sorts of rigours and oppressions in carrying out the struggle for workers, but when it is found that the "Babu log" (be they Hindu or Mussalmans) want to lead, show kindness or do work with some other object, it is necessary to turn them out atonce.

(4) The Union of workers will do nothing but to solve the problems of their livelihood and maintenance. Every worker therefore will after joining the Union have the right to carry on a struggle for the sake of getting full wages for their labour. Religious and communal discussions will be prohibited in the labour union.

(5) With regard to its proceedings the union shall have to maintain its connection with a political body and that political body will be the "Workers and Peasants Party." Poverty-stricken workers own body i.e. the Communist party also will lead them to attain their true power and the workers and Peasants Party will always work in co-operation with Communist Party.

From

The Workers and Peasants Party.

Translated by

Morid Husain

Urdu Translator.

P. 416 (13) T.

A leaflet issued by the All India workers' & Peasants' Party,
2/1 European Asylum Lane Calcutta, in connection with the anniversary of Lenin.

(VIDE EXB. P. 1991 T BENGAL TRANSLATIONS).

P. 428 (12) (T)

COME !

COME !

RARE OPPORTUNITY.

22nd. U. P. Political Conference,

JHANSI.

Exhibition of Indian industry will last for a week from the
25th October 1925.

If you have in your heart love for your country, India, and
if you want that your hard-earned money should remain in your
country, come to this exhibition and see the old and new models
of Indian handicraft and make efforts for the welfare of your
country.

Gangadhar Vilkanth Oushdhey,

Deshi Exhibition,

JHANSI.

Printed at the Dar-ul Hikmat Press, Jhansi.

COME !

COME !!

DO COME !!!

GRAND MEETING

The 22nd Political Conference of the United Provinces will
be held on the 27th, 28th & 29th October 1928 at Jhansi city under
the presidentship of the patriot, Pandit Jwahar Lal Nehru.

If you want that India may become independent and that
the troubles of 32 crores of Indians may come to an end very soon
and that (you) may have the opportunity to pass your life with ease

and comfort, attend the conference and consider the proposals to be moved for the attainment of liberty.

A conference of the Budhelkhand Workers and Peasants a conference of the Indian Sewa Dal as also a national poetical symposium will be held on this occasion.

Your servant,
Krishan Gopal Sharma,
Secretary,
The Reception Committee,
Jhansi.

Printed at the Ahmadi Press, Jhansi.

P. 438 (T).

Translated at Exb. P. 375 T.

P. 477 [T].

An issue of Urdu "Kirti" for March 1929.

(Vide Exb. P. 747 T)

P. 495 (T).

The same as Exb. P. 344 T.

P. 497 [T].

(A P O S T E R)

REVOLUTION!

O REVOLUTION !!

O REVOLUTION

"In servitude life shrivels (itself)

into a little stream of water (while)

"In liberty it becomes (lit. is) a

boundless ocean."

Bradlangh Hall, Lahore

Youngmen! Get ready for practical life.

The political and economic life of India depends upon the strength of arm of the youths of the nation and country. O youngmen of the Punjab! come; attend the 2nd Punjab Naujawan Bharat Sabha Conference which is to be held on the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th of February and organise yourselves and by taking part in the political struggle of the country, show to the youngmen of the world that the youngmen of the Punjab in particular and the youngmen of India in general do not lag behind any one in making the most precious sacrifice for the sake of their country. Remember! Mother India and the youngmen all over the world are awaiting (the display of) your strength of arm. Show them that we are alive like living men in the world. Slavery and death are both synonymous terms.

Fee for the membership of the Reception Committee: 1/-

Delegate annas: -/8/-

Visitor A (class): -/4/-

Visitor B (class): -/2/-

(and for) inter-communal dinner: ... Rs. 1/-

General Secretary,

Reception Committee,

Naujawan Bharat Sabha Conference,

Lahore.

Printed at the Karmi Press

LAHORE.

Translated by

Morid Husain,

Urdu Translator.

P. 548 (10) (T).

A general meeting of the dock-workers. Come to establish your union.

A meeting of the dock-workers in Bombay will be held on Sunday the 12th February at 4-0 p. m. at the office of the Seamen Union in Keshnoji Building, near Karnab Bridge to start a union keeping in view the following rules:—

- (1) Increase in salary.
- (2) Reduction in the working hours.
- (3) To seek justice against dismissal from service, fine and compensation for injuries.
- (4) To expose methods of corruption.

A union alone is a friend of the workers and their condition can not be improved so long as they do not live together. So, kindly attend the meeting and protect your rights. You have full right to pass your life comfortably, because you earn a lot by dealing in export and import, but it is regrettable that you pass a life like a dog. It therefore, behoves us to establish a union of our own and to be able to pass a better life and make struggle. Do attend the meeting on Sunday.

Your brother,

Shanta Ram S. Mirajkar.

Morid Husain,

Urdu Translator.

(A HANDBILL BOTH IN HINDI AND URDU).

A grand meeting of labourers.

Place: Halliday Park, Surti Bazar, near Damkal office.

On Saturday the 10th November at 3 0 p. m.

It has been decided to hold a grand mass meeting of the Hindu and Muslim workers of the flats of I. G. N. Company and R. S. N. Company the Andrew Oil Company as also of other worker brethren (working) in boats etc, at the place and date specified above. Speeches will be made specially regarding the reduction of working hours of the workers, increase in their salaries and other complaints. Besides, a union will be established at this meeting to redress their grievances.

It is hoped that all the labourer brethren will help the labour power by attending the meeting.

Issued by:

Syed Mohammad Shams-ul-Huda,

on behalf of the

Bengal Workers and Peasants Party,

No. 2nd European Asylum Lane,

Calcutta.

S. P. Works, 3, Ismail Madan Lane,

Calcutta.

Translated by

Morid Husain, Urdu Translator.

Another handbill printed at the Satara-i-Hind Press, Calcutta, and issued by Phillip Spratt, Muzaffar Ahmad, Dharnikanta Goswami, Shams-ul-Huda and Abdur Razaq of the Bangal Workers and Peasants Party. The handbill is published in Hindi as well as in Urdu. A translation of the handbill has already been made by the Hindi Translator.

Morid Husain,

Urdu Translator.

P. 549 (3) [T]

Presidential address of Sohan Singh Josh in Urdu as submitted to the First All India Workers & Peasants Party Conference, Calcutta, December 1928.

Note. Not Translated as the English address has already been printed as Exh. P. 596.

P. 549 [4] [T].

An Urdu copy of the "Political Resolution",
(English Text already printed vide Exb. P. 56).

P. 549 [10] T.

Rules & Regulations of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Punjab.
(Vide Exb. P. 205 T.)

P. 549 [11] (T).

An Urdu Poster, the same as Ext. P. 375 T.

P. 599 [11].

4 copies of Urdu Kirti for the months of April, May, June & August 1928.

(Vide Exh. P. 747 T).

List of articles recovered in the course of a search made in the house of Mr. Abdul Majid, *alias* A. Majid, son of Mir Faiz Bakhsh, caste Mir, resident of Mohalla Dhal, inside Mochi Gate, Lahore City, through Sub-Inspector Munshi Rahmat Ali in the presence of Shaikh Mohammad Husain, Foreman, Government Printing Press, resident of Mochi Gate, Syed Fateb Ali Shah son of Syed Hakim Haidar Shah, caste Syed of Chowk Nawab Sahib, Mochi Gate, Clerk Dead letter Office, General Post Office, and Shahzada Baqar Sultan son of Shahzada Mohammad Sultan of Kucha Moghal Haveli Mochi Gate, Stenographer in Works Manager's Office, Carriage shop, Lahore. The following documents, etc., were taken in possession; the search was commenced at 6-30 A.M. and finished at 9-0 A.M.—

(1) A letter in English dated 28.9.27 from A.N. Chowdhry, Managing Editor, the Rajasthan Sewa Sangh with a cover addressed to the editor, the *Mehnat Kash*.

(2) A letter in Urdu dated 28.9(?)29. from Amir Alam Awan (Jamia), editor of the *Tarjuman-i-Sarhad* Rawalpindi.

(3) A letter in Gurmukhi together with a translation in Urdu on a separate paper (i.e. printed) form of the Tilak School of Politics.

(4) A letter in Urdu dated Delhi Sadar, 28.9.27 addressed to one "Dear Gauhar" together with two papers (containing drafts of) articles sent to the editor, the *Mehnat Kash* by one Nasim from Delhi Sadar on 28.10.29.

(5) A manuscript in Urdu—an article on "Capitalism" covering 13 leaves.

(6) A manuscript in Urdu headed "enemies of India" covering 4 leaves.

(7) A poster in Urdu headed "appeal" issued over the signatures of Bhag Singh Canadian and Sohan Singh Josh, managers, the *Kirti* (Amritsar), servants of mankind; one leaf. On the reverse it contains an appeal in Gurmukhi as well as in English.

(8) A typed article headed "Modern Russia"; 4 leaves, the last leaf being half and containing on its back manuscript in pencil, bearing the signatures of B.R. Diwan together with a typed article headed "Worthy of being published in the *Tribune*", covering 4 leaves, bearing the signatures of B.R. Diwan.

(9) A typed article headed "A Labour Party for India; Do we need it by J.P. Begerhotta". It covers 8 leaves and is signed by Mr. J.P. Begerhotta.

(10) A typed article bearing the headline "Mohammedan Manifesto of the Workers and Peasants' Party of Bombay to the Hindu and Muslim Masses" and the signatures of Mirajkar at the end. It covers 3 leaves.

(11) A cutting of some English newspaper, headed "India and Britain" bearing in Urdu the words translate and get that published". The cutting is from the *National Herald*.

(12) A file board containing 68 pages of a manuscript in Urdu partly in ink and partly in pencil, headed "Safarnama i-Hijrat, Part I". Besides this, there are a few leaves which are a copy of the manuscript.

(13) A file board containing 83 pages of a manuscript in Urdu partly in ink and partly in pencil headed "Safarnama-i-Hijrat, Part II." Besides, it contains a few more (? blank) leaves.

(14) A typed draft headed "Manifesto of the Workers & Peasants' Party to the National Congress" covering six leaves and bearing in ink on the back of the last leaf in manuscript the words "Do you approve this publishing in the name of the Workers and Peasants' Party of all India? (Sd.) Muzaffar, dated 19.12.27".

(15) A printed copy of the All-India Trade Union Bulletin Nos: 1 and 2 for July and August 1927.

(16) A letter in English dated 7.12.27 written by Mr. D A. Dutta to the editor, the *Mehnat Kash* (Lahore).

(17) A typed draft in English bearing on the first leaf the following printed words: "with compliments of Sh. Saklatvala M. P." The manuscript covers 8 leaves in all.

(18) A typed draft headed "International Congress of Friends of the Soviet Union" by A. Lozovsky, covering 4 leaves.

(19) A typed draft headed "Disarmament, The Proposal of the Soviet Republic at Geneva" by A. G. E. in ink, covering 4 leaves.

(20) A typed draft headed "Dramatic Scene at Albert Hall meeting (London) Dec. 5, 1927, Workers Guards at a wonderful meeting", bearing in ink "by A. G. E.", covering 3 leaves.

(21) A typed draft headed "Mr. Fenner Brockway and the United Front" covering 2 leaves.

(22) An envelope bearing the address "Mr. G. R. Durwaisi or Mr. Abdul Majid, editors". It contains a manuscript in Urdu headed "The existing Soviet Government in Russia" covering 5 leaves.

(23) An envelope bearing in English the following address:-

The "*Mehnat Kash*",

It contains a letter dated 7-10-27 covering 4 leaves, written by, Arjan Lal Sethi on the printed form of the "Provincial Congress Committee, Rajputana, Central India and Ajmere, Mewar."

(24) A cover addressed to "M. A. Majid, Dhal Mohalla, Mochi Gate, Lahore" and bearing an "Unpaid" postal stamp. It contains a letter in Urdu covering 3 leaves from one Jan to Lala Ram Chandra (Sic) and freedom of the country.

(25) A cover bearing the address : "Mr. M. A. Majid, Import Agent, Dhal Mohalla, Mochi Gate.". It contains an Urdu draft in manuscript headed "Qazi of the fourteenth Century". It bears no one's signatures and covers 3 leaves.

(26) One envelope bearing the address of "the Editor, the *Mehnat Kash*, C/o Mr. Ram Chandra, B. A." and the postal stamp of (?) Leicester, August 25. It contain on a typed form of the Workers' Welfare League of India letter from Mr. J. E. Potter Wilson and a pamphlet containing 9th Annual Report of the Workers' Welfare League of India.

(27) A cover bearing the address in English of "Mrs. C. E. Pratt, No. 414, New Castle S. V., Perth W. A." and post stamp "Paid at" Dec. 11, 1925

(28) A cover bearing in English the address of "M. Fatta Bux, Esq., 21 Herwood Plc., Perth W. A." and the post stamp "Paid at" Dec. 4. 1925.

(29) A cover bearing in Urdu and English the address of Mr. Gurdit Singh, Rattagoda, P. O. Patti, District Lahore. It contains written on its back something in Gurmukhi and the post stamp of Post Office Patti, dated 22-5-24;

(30) A cover bearing in English and Gurmukhi the address of Mr. Gurdit Singh. It bears the post stamps of Dhanashkodi dated 21-6-25 and contains a letter in Gurmukhi covering 4 pages.

(31) Six printed copies of the presidential address of the Reception Committee read at the 2nd Naujawan Bharat Sabha Conference.

(32) Twelve printed copies of the presidential address delivered at the 2nd Naujawan Bharat Sabha Conference.

(33) A printed copy of the "*Kirti*" (Amritsar) No. 1, for January 1929.

(34) A printed copy of the *Kirti* (Amritsar) No. 2, for February 1929.

(35) A printed copy of *Kirti*, No. 4, Punjabi number for July 1928.

(36) A printed copy of the "Kirti", No. 3, for June, 1928.

(37) Ten printed copies of an English pamphlet containing "Workers" and Peasants' Party, Principles and Policy".

(38) Five printed copies of the Presidential address of the First All-India Workers and Peasants' Party Conference.

(39) Four printed copies of the welcome address presented by P. Danda, Bar-at-Law, Chairman, Reception Committee.

(40) A printed copy of a pamphlet entitled "Communism" by R. Palme Dutt, Socialist series No. 4, bearing a rubber stamp of "M. A. Majid".

(41) A printed copy of the pamphlet containing "First Annual Report of the Bombay Textile Labour Union".

(42) A printed copy of the pamphlet containing (proceedings of the) All-India Press Employees Conference, Amritsar.

(43) A copy of the Urdu newspaper *Mazdoor*, Vol : 1, No. 8, dated the 20th August. 1927, 8 pages.

(44) A red poster covering two leaves headed "Manifesto of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Lahore".

(45) A typed draft covering four leaves headed "Resolution on the need for Workers' and peasants party".

(46) A printed pamphlet entitled "Political resolution" covering 14 pages.

(47) A printed paper headed "Wilson, America and the Great War", one leaf.

(48) Thirty copies of a notice headed "A Call to Action"—each notice covering one leaf.

(49) A copy of a printed (pamphlet) headed "A Call to Action", covering in all 58 pages.

(50) Five printed forms in English of membership of the Peasants' & Workers' Party, Calcutta.

(51) Four copies of the Urdu newspaper *Piyani-i-Mazdur* of the 10th March 1927.

(52) A handbill in Urdu regarding the publication of the
* The brackets *Kirti* magazine, published at the Onkar Press
appear in the (Old Telegraph Office).*

original—Tr.

(53) A copy of the Urdu *Kirti*, No. 7, for October, 1928.

(54) A typed draft headed "A page from the Russian Revolution—Social Revolution", covering in all 16 leaves.

(55) Two printed copies of (lit : headed) "The Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party Constitution".

(56) A copy of the Workers and Peasants' Party of Bengal Constitution (for the year) 1928.

(57) A copy of the Urdu *Kirti*, No. 2, for May, 1928.

(58) A copy of the Urdu *Kirii*, No. 8, for September, 1928.

(59) A copy of the Urdu Magazine *Co-operation*.

(60) A manuscript in English from page 1 to 45 on the subject of *Hijrat*, written on one side of the paper only.

(61) A post card bearing the post stamp of "Golden Temple, Amritsar", addressed to Mr. Abdul Majid Dhal Mohalla, Mochi Gate, Lahore, containing the following words :—

"To Mir Abdul Majid.

Sir,

Please let me know about the passport. You are greatly exhorted (to do so)".

It has with it a reply card bearing the address of Gurdit Singh, son of Kishan Singh of Ratta Goda.

(62) A cover bearing the post mark "Paris, 22-12-27", addressed to M. A. Majid, containing a letter dated nil written on the (printed) form of the "Chicago Tribune" by Abdul Qadir and the other dated 23 2-27 by the same person on the (printed) form of Brg : General H. H. Ahmad Jan and Sons.

(63) A copy of the vernacular newspaper *Desh Bhagat*, No. 30, of the 15-8-27.

(64) A Bill No. 1088 dated 10-1-24 from the Mercantile Press, Railway Road, Lahore, for Re. 1-4 for (the preparation of) a rubber stamp. It bears the signatures of Amar Singh for the receipt of money;

(65) Receipt No: 912 dated 6-1-27 for Rs. 4/5/- from Narain Das, Manager, The Indian Printing Works, Lahore, in favour of the Secretary, Communal Conference, Lahore.

(66) A telegraphic receipt dated 21-12-28 for Rs. 7/8/- in favour of the All-India Communal Committee Conference.

(67) Two telegraphic receipts dated 21-(?) 6-26 and 11-1-27, bearing the Nos: 00293 and 11.

(68) An Urdu pamphlet containing the aims and objects and rules and regulations of the *Kirti Kisan Party*, Punjab, August, 1928.

(69) A pass book of Mr. Abdul Majid, bearing the account No: 179/178 of the Allahabad Bank Ltd., Lahore Branch; the last entry showing the deposit of Rs. 3/2/-.

(70) A bound note book containing accounts.

(71) A note book, bound red containing some addresses on some pages.

(72) A pocket book with a loose outer cover having on it black marble-paper, covering 174 pages.

(73) An Engineers diary for the year 1925 with a broken card board but bound within. It contains addresses of various persons.

(74) A typed draft in English covering two leaves of the proceedings of the annual meeting of the Punjab Press Workers Union held on 19-9-23.

(75) A bound register having darkish marble-paper (on the outer cover), containing the proceedings of the Press Association, Lahore, and a (slip of) paper containing a few names in red.

(76) A bound register having marble-paper of soap colour (on the outer cover), containing names of the members of the Press Association.

(77) A bound register having red marble-paper (on its outer cover) containing reports of proceedings of the Press Workers Union

(78) A file containing correspondence re: Press Association, 1 to 11 leaves.

(79) A vernacular manuscript in pencil headed "Sacco and Venzetti". It bears no signatures and covers 4 leaves.

(80) A manuscript in ink covering two leaves headed "Scattered Thoughts," bearing the signatures of Chhabil Das, ex-Principal, National College, dated Lahore, 2-10-27" at the end.

(81) Eighteen leaves lithographed containing "Story of Hijrat".

(82) Left blank through oversight and hence no article bears No: 82.

(83) Negative slide of a photo plate of Ashfaquallah bearing below it the verse: "May the country always remain happy and free; it does not matter whether we live (in it) or not".

(84) A copy on P. O. P. paper of a photo of Ram Chandra, B. A.

(85) One negative plate (of a) photo of Ram Chandra, B.A.

(86) A coloured photo of Gauhar Rehman in a black-wood frame.

(87) Bust of two men in a black-wood frame. Below the pictures are written the names of Erich Virisholy and Eugen Vooshloy.

(88) A group photo of Abdul Majid, Muzaffar Ahmad and Gauhar Rehman in a black-wood frame.

(89) A group photo of H. M. the late Amir Habibullah, standing on the pulpit in a mosque, making a speech before his officers. It is not mounted.

(90) A group of the members of the British Labour Party taken on their arrival in Lahore. It is in a black-wood frame.

(91) One Corona No: 4, typewriter No: H309768 with a cover.

(92) A correspondence file containing various letters, covering 856 pages.

The search list was prepared at the spot till 1-0. P. M. after examining the documents. These documents (and) articles were recovered from the portion of the house occupied by Abdul Majid. The upper portion, occupied by Mir Mohammad Husain son of Mir Fateh Bukhsh, was also searched, but nothing was taken in possession from that portion.

Sd. M. A. Majid
20-3-29.

Sd. Jawahar Lal
20-3-29.

Sd. Fateh Ali Shah
20-3.

Sd. Rahmat Ali
S. I. Tibbi.

Sd. Md. Husain
20-3.

Sd. Mohd. Ataulla
Inspector-20-3.

Sd. Baqar Sultan
20-3-29.

Sd. Barkhurdar Khan.
S. I.

Sd. Mir Mohd. Husain.

Translated by

Morid Husain, Urdu Translator.

98 percent of the inhabitants of India are poor and penniless, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ percent are middle classes and $\frac{1}{2}$ percent are rich people. Among the persons that put obstacles in the way of the progress of India are included almost all the title holders, higher Government officers and a few other persons who are neither title holders nor Government officers but who consider themselves as leaders or count themselves in the row of leaders. These people join hands with the Government owing to their being afraid of imprisonment, exile or Regulation III.

Whenever the people's cup of impatience and becomes hardships becomes full and excitement is created in them, and whenever in order to remove their legitimate grievances and troubles they get ready to use some strong and effective weapon, the $\frac{1}{2}$ percent traitors in India enter the field, hold public meetings, damp their enthusiasm by their eloquence and make them swerve from their determination. But the people now appear to be becoming acquainted with these treacherous moves on their part as is evident from the meeting of Mussalmans at the Badshahi mosque. The people refused to hear their speeches there and noise was made in the meeting.

These Indian traitors had so far produced magical effect on the people (in the same way) as the British authorities and capitalists had hypnotised the Indians. If a man has a strong will power, hypnotism can have no effect on him. Hypnotism succeeds only in the case of weak-minded persons. Several Indian leaders have so far been hypnotising the people by their writings and speeches, but the weak-mindedness of the people is now vanishing away and they have now begun to understand full well the moves of these cunning leaders.

Keeping in view their interests and selfish motives leaders, higher Government officers and Indians holding titles side with the Government. The people should remain on their guard against them. It is reported about a Government Tahsildar in the Punjab that whenever a Deputy Commissioner, Commissioner or the Governor go on tour in his ilaqa, and since their boots generally become covered with dust while riding horses and since they do not always keep with them their servants, brush or polish, this Tahsildar takes off his turban and cleans their boots with it. One day a relative of the Tahsildar saw him doing so. (On being questioned) the Tahsildar replied to his relative: "There was nothing bad in it, since I please only one man, there are thousands

of men to please me. The Sahib gets pleased with me. I get promotion and hope to get a square of land as well. After my retirement I shall also get some post in some (native) state. I have to work only for a minute or two in cleaning the Sahib's boots and I get the spoiled turban washed at my house by servant. To whatever extent the people may make complaints against me, my officers will throw their complaints in the waste-paper Basket."

Almost all the big leaders have proved traitors to the people. The people should now chalk out [lit adopt] a line of action for themselves. Popular leaders should belong to the poor classes and should be free from selfishness.

It is necessary that the Congress should be under the control of labours and peasants. Treacherous leaders have so far kept the labourers and peasants out of the Congress and have themselves been using it for their personal objects. The time has now come that the Congress should come under the control of labourers and peasants. Treacherous leaders should themselves leave the Congress, otherwise the time is approaching when they will be turned out of the congress by the ears. These treacherous leaders collected crores of rupees from the people by cunning and fraud [under the pretext of securing Swaraj].*

*The brackets appear in the original—Tr.

With that money they travelled in motor cars and first class compartments, enjoyed luxuries in the Tajmahal and [other] fashionable [lit: big] hotels, but the

condition of the people became worse than before.

The labourers and peasants in India should unite as the workers and peasants in Russia have done and are now leading a comfortable life.

Sd/- Jawahar Lal 20-3.

Sd/- M. Husain.

Sd/- Fateh Ali Shah

20-3-29.

Sd/- Baqar Sultan

20-3.

Translated by

Moid Husain,

Urdu Translator.

P. 701-[T].

A poster headed "Appeal." It is a translation in Urdu of the one published in English on the reverse, and has been issued by Bhag Singh Canadian and Sohan Singh Josh, Managing Directors, the Kirti [Amritsar].

Morid Husain,

Urdu Translator.

P. 710 (T).

The present Soviet Government of Russia (is the best Government in the world,*)

*The brackets
appear in the
manuscript-Tr.

In order that the readers of these series of articles may understand full well (sic) it is necessary to translate a few terms (lit. words).

Bolshevik:—(a)majority (of) the members of Socialist Democratic Party i. e. (the) communist who believes in the establishment of Government through a minority and revolution. There is no difference between (a)communist and (a) Bolshevik. Both have one and the same meaning.

Communist:—Bolshevik.

Soviet is the name of (those) revolutionary communists who send their representatives to councils.
Commintern or third international:—That is the central office of communism at Moscow.

In November 1924 a committee consisting of ten members of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress in England left England for Russia to enquire into the system of administration of the Soviet Government. This committee published an official report in the beginning of 1925. In April 1925 another committee comprising six English ladies left England for the same purpose and they also have published a report. Both these reports

should be read by every leader and educated person in India and the members of the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly and the (Provincial) councils. What I am writing in these articles I am writing on the basis of these reports. Besides these reports, innumerable books have been written on Communism, a study of which is extremely interesting. But, since both the above reports have been published officially on behalf of the trade Union Congress of England, the existing Tory Government of England as also the capitalists of different countries (who are getting fat by sucking the blood of labourers and are becoming the cause of spreading poverty, ignorance, famine, and contagious diseases in the world)* appear in the manuscript-Tr. are helpless (in taking any action) against these reports and cannot say anything (against them).

The existing Government of Russia is at present the best Government in the World. The accounts of this Government will, therefore, be a source of interest to the inhabitants of India.

The capitalists and capitalistic Governments in the world are making vigorous efforts to spread in every country hatred against this popular Soviet Government. Why? It is so because (they are afraid) lest a Government of this type should prevail in the whole of the world, and lest the people who are passing a life of pleasure and luxury and are getting thousands of rupees as monthly salaries or who are getting fat by pocketing a major portion of profit and paying low wages to workers, peasants and clerks, and frown at workers, clerks and peasants or those so called leaders who after making eloquent speeches at (public) platforms receive bundles of currency notes from the public, go about in motor-cars, travel in 1st class carriages and stay in 1st class Hotels. should come to an end.

But as the sun which when it rises cannot be concealed, and spreads light throughout the whole world, so a popular system of Government like the Soviet (one) in Russia will, through Bolshevism i. e. communism bring about the welfare and good of mankind in every country.

Several men and women are (working as) paid servants of capitalistic Governments to propagate against communism, but the time is not far off when all the Governments in the world will be obliged to follow the Russian system of Government, for communist ideas are very rapidly spreading in every country owing to their being popular. The influence of the existing best Soviet Government of Russia is manifesting itself in Germany, America, France, Turkey, Persia, China, Japan, Italy, Bulgaria and England. According to the cable dated London, the 4th April 1926, Mr. Jovit (?) while presiding over the annual conference of the Independent Party said that the policy of the labour Party when it next

comes into power in England should completely be like that of the communists. The first step that should be taken should be a distribution of wealth afresh so that the standard of living of the labour classes might be raised.

Revolution took place in Russia in 1917. Since then surprising progress has been made there. Before the Revolution, Russia was in a worse condition. The people were subjected to extreme oppressions during the time of the Czar. Various sorts of unlawful taxes were imposed, corruption was rife (and) officers used to harass the people. All these things have now been removed and it will be no exaggeration to say :

“If there is a paradise on earth,

It is this, it is this, it is this.”

In other words if there is any paradise in this world at present, it is the soil of Russia. The rights of all persons are alike in Russia. The army of that country is called the “Red Army.” The national flag of that place is called “The flag of all brotherhoods of the world,” and their motto is “Workers of the world; unite” and their object is to have independent Government established in every country.

(To be continued)

Address on the envelope:

Mr. G. R. Durwaishi,

or

Mr. Abdul Majid,

Editors,

The Mehnat Kash

Lahore.

Translated by

Morid Husain,

Urdu Translator.

P. 712 (T).

12 Urdu copies of the Presidential address of the Second Punjab Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha Conference held at Lahore on 22nd February 1929.

(Vide Exb. P. 207 T.)

P. 713 (I).

An issue of Urdu "Kirti" for the month of January 1929.

(Vide Exb. P. 747 T.)

P. 714 [T].

An issue of Urdu "Kirti" for the month of February 1929.

(Vide Exb. P. 726 T.)

P. 715 [I].

An issue of Urdu "Kirti" for the month of July 1928.

(Vide Exb. P. 747 T.)

P. 716 T.

An issue of Urdu " Kirti " for the month of June 1928.

(Vide Exb. P. 747 T.)

P. 724 T.

An issue of Payam-i-Mazdoor dated 10-3-29.

(Vide Exb. P. 303 T.)

P. 725 T.

" The *Kirti*, Amritsar, (is) the only monthly magazine throughout India (which is) the supporter of workers (and) the well-wisher of peasants.

Annual subscription :—

Rs. 4/- for India.

Rs. 5/- for foreign countries.

(Price) per issue : annas six.

(Here in the poster is given a cartoon in which one person with red uniform is depicted holding a red flag bearing the sign of a sickle and hammer, and the other with a uniform of the same colour is depicted breaking to pieces "The old system" with a hammer—Tr.)

" The old system.

" Workers of the world ! Unite and

" Break to pieces the old system.

" If you want to solve the question of bread, if you

want to attain complete independence, if you want to know the accounts of Bolshevik Russia, if you want to get rid of religious bigotry and absurd customs, if you want to put an end to capitalism and imperialism (and) if you want to see the real thoughts of nationalists, you should without fail study the *Kirti* periodical, Urdu or Gurmukhi.

“(Printed at) the Onkar Press,

Old Telegraph office)

Amritsar”.

Translated by

Merid Husain

Urdu Translator.

P. 726 T.

The ‘Kirti’ (Urdu) Edition.

For February 1949.

The Fair of the Congressmen.

Procession of the President Secret meetings- Reactionary spirit of Gandhi- Treachery of Iyengar- Fibers of the Independence League of India ... Controversy suppressed- Danger to the leadership of Subash- The presidents’ disappointing address- Workers beat by cudgels- Lowering down of the standard of the Madras Congress- Constructive Programme- Advantages to Britain by Nehru Report- Slaves of old customs and rites- Lesson from Congress.

The Extremist youths had great hopes in the Calcutta Congress. They hoped that this year the Congress Leaders would bring the Country to the right path and save her from Imperialism. But alas; Their hopes could not be achieved. Their passion and anger was not realized and their feelings were badly crushed. As the poet ‘Fani’ says:—

“They had to repress their grief.”

For years our leaders and National papers have achieved a

very interesting attainment. This attainment is of indulgence in praises. As soon as the Sessions is over, praises pour down from all the four sides that "a great success has been achieved." People are satisfied that "all controversy has been removed, and that if the country acts upon the resolutions, which have been passed, the Swaraj shall be attained in one year only."

If the secret of the success of the Calcutta Congress lies in the facts that Pandit Moti Lal Nehru was taken round the city in a procession, in a carriage drawn by 34 horses, that Mr. Subash Chander Bose ran here and there in the Procession, while clad in the glittering uniform of a General Officer Commanding, that there was a 'March' of twenty thousand volunteers, that there was a very grand exhibition, and that loud speakers had collected in a spacious pandal, then the sessions was undoubtedly a success, and we also, jointly with other National newspapers, admire the Reception Committee and say that actually the sessions of the Calcutta Congress was very successful; but if the success of the Congress is based on the 'true guidance' of the Country, then we regretfully say that this sessions has proved a failure.

The procession of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru was taken out on 21st December, with great pomp and show. The procession displayed Royal pomp and show, especially the graceful clothes of Subash Babu were worth seeing. His uniform showed that he was very fond of regal pomp and splendour. Mahatma Gandhi reached Calcutta one or two days after Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and it was then that secret meetings began. It is said that Pandit Moti Lal Nehru said to Mahatma Gandhi that it was he who had recommended his presidency, that if the resolution of 'Dominion Status' would not be passed by the Congress, then all the trouble suffered in the preparation of the Nehru Report would be wasted, that the Congress should acknowledge the decision of the 'All Parties' & that Mahatma Gandhi assured him of his help to the best of his powers.

Secret meetings began to take place on the arrival of the leaders, and those who desired 'Complete Independence' were tempted to change their ideas and views. The League of Independence of India which had come into existence during the Lucknow All Parties' Conference was guided by Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Mr. Subash Chandra Bose, and Mr. Sri Nevas Iyengar.

No settlement could be arrived at between the Conservatives and the Extremists, up to the 25th of December, and the sessions of the subjects, Committee could not be held. On the 26th Dec. Mahatma Gandhi moved the following resolution in the Subjects Committee, while regretting that no Compromise could be made:—

"Perusing the Constitution recommended in the report of the All Parties Committee, the Congress welcomes it, for having solved

the Political and Communal problems very nicely. The Congress congratulates the Committee that it has made all the recommendations unanimously. Believing in the resolution, passed by the Madras Congress, relating to Complete Independence, the Congress passes the Constitution, prepared by the Committee, because it is a step towards Political Progress, especially when all the Political parties of the Country accept this Constitution. If this Constitution is recognised by the 31st of December 1930, the Congress shall stick to it, but if the British Parliament does not recognise by that date then the Congress shall move Non-Violent Non Co-operation, asking the country to decline payment of taxes to the Govt. and helping it. The President is authorised to send a copy of this Resolution, along with a copy of the report, to the Viceroy for whatever action may be deemed proper. So long as the propaganda of Complete Independence does not interfere with the recognition of the Report, people shall not be forbidden from it."

The speech of Mahatma Gandhi, in support of this resolution was unlogical and unsatisfactory. He tried to prove that the Dominion Status was better than Complete Independence. We need not comment on each para of this resolution but we can not help saying that this resolution was most disgracing for the Indians. Gandhi and his friends intend to sell the Country to the Conservatives, in the name of unity.

One argument of Mahatma Gandhi was:—

"As the Congress has created the All Parties' Conference, it must accept its recommendations." We had never heard such a curious argument. The Congress had full liberty to 'accept' or 'not to accept' these recommendations, because it had never made any promise that it would acknowledge the compromise, made with the Conservative Capitalists. As a matter of fact a very great majority of the Country does not acknowledge the 'Dominion Status.' The duty of the Nehru Committee was not to arrive at a settlement with some Conservative Capitalists, but to draw towards it the majority of the Country, and it did fail in this object.

After that Mr. Gandhi pleads for the 'Chosen (sacred?) Author. The Congress had to pay regard to the principles and not to bow down before the select personalities. Principles can't be sold to please some persons. After that Gandhi ji pointed out the distinction between the 'Object' and the 'manifesto' and warned the Congressmen not to allow them to be entrapped. We agree with him and say that had the Congress passed this resolution it would have surely been ensnared.

The most notable portion of this resolution is that where the president of the Congress has been authorized to send a copy of the

Nehru Report to the Viceroy. Mahatma Gandhi, the founder of Non Co-operation, now asks the president of the Congress to submit the Nehru Report to the Viceroy. Does it not amount to Co-operation? Is it not deviation from the principles of Non-Co-operation? If the preparation of the Nehru Report meant that it should be sent to the Viceroy, what was the meaning of boycotting the Simon Commission. Why Co-operation was not done with it, what was meant by (inducing) the people to shut up their shops and carry on a 'Demonstration' on the arrival of the Simon Commission? Thousands of youngmen were beaten by the police during the demonstration and a number of men suffered great troubles. What for? was it an (adequate) return for all these sufferings to secretly give evidence before the Simon Commission?

On the next day amendments were moved in the subject Committee. Pandit Jawaher Lal Nehru moved a lengthy amendment relating to the acceptance of 'Complete Independence, and the 'Nehru Report' at one and the same time.

We pity the leaders of the League for the Independence of India. The poor men are either such simpletons, or such hypocrites, that they accept the 'complete Independence' and the 'Nehru Report' at one and the same time. They ought to have moved an amendment, disallowing the 'Nehru Report' because it was quite contrary to the principles and objects of the 'Complete Independence.' But they, either dare not (do so); or they wanted nothing but 'Dominion status', and had been simply deceiving people. The best and the most suitable amendment was moved by Mr. Nimbkar, the General Secretary of the workers & peasants party.

It ran as follows:—

'On perusing the constitution prepared by the All Parties' Committee Report the Congress holds it as unsatisfactory. It cannot be accepted for the following reasons:—

(1) By recommending 'Dominion Status' it has allowed the 'Capitalists' to make a settlement with the British; Imperialists; it has safeguarded the interests of the 'Capitalists and Jagirdars' and sacrificed those of the masses.

(2) By maintaining the existing powers of the Maharajas, the Nehru Report wishes to maintain the Non-Republic Govt. which is full of oppressions and repressions and does not check the plunderings and ravagings going on in the native states, against the labour of the general public.

(3) The foreign capital, which is Pillaging the material resources of India, has been protected.

(4) This report protects personal properties and titles, which have been acquired by evil means, and in this way the pillage of the public labour has been left to continue.

(5) It has assured to pay debts, contracted by a 'Foreign Govt.'

(6) It proposes that the entire military power of the Country should be governed by a 'Committee, consisting of British officers and Indian ministers. In this way this report has deprived the Indians of their right of 'Self Defence'.

(7) Under this report all decisive powers have been given to the Governors General and the Governors, nominated by the King and thus it has deprived the Indians of their inherent rights. Therefore the Congress declares that its object is to acquire complete independence based on political, economic and social equality, apart from British Imperialism.

This is the resolution which should, as a matter of fact, have been passed. It is said that the object of "The League for Independence of India" is to formulate political, economic and social equality. If the Leaders and members of this Association actually wanted this, they ought to have supported this amendment instead of moving one, under which the 'Nehru Report' and 'Complete Independence' should be accepted at one and the same time.

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and Mr. Jamna Das Mehta said in their speeches that the Delhi resolution was a compromise. So far as the object is concerned, no compromise can be made. The Nehru Report enslaves India in quite another way.

When the Congress leaders saw that the members of all the Subjects Committee were against this resolution of Mahatma Gandhi, they were much annoyed, the Session was adjourned, another conference was held of the leaders and a last effort was made to arrive at a settlement. Pandit Moti Lal Nahru had been threatening to resign his presidentship. He renewed it and was joined by Mr. Gandhi who said that he would go away to Sambarmani Ashram and sit there. At last Mahatma Gandhi prepared the draft of the following resolution:— "On perusing the Constitution recommended by the All Parties Committee Report, the Congress welcomes it as having very nicely solved the political and Communal problems. The Congress congratulates the Committee for presenting recommendations by majority of opinions. Believing in the 'Madras Congress Resolution' relating to Complete Independence it approves of the Constitution prepared by the Committee as being

one step towards political progress, especially because, having regard to the political condition, different parties have made a compromise. If the Parliament approves of (lit: accepts) this Constitution, on or before the 31st. of Dec. 1919, the Congress shall accept it: otherwise the Congress shall begin the movement of Non violent Non Co-operation and shall advise the Country to decline payment of taxes and giving (any) help to the Government. If the propaganda of Complete Independence is carried on in the name of the Congress, there will be no contravention of this resolution.

This draft was shown first of all to Mr. Sri Nawas Iyengar, who satisfied Mahatma Gandhi that he would help him. Mr. Subash Chandra Bose said that he would not oppose the Mahatma, and would not vote for either party. Now, the only person left, was Pandit Jawaher Lal Nehru. When he saw that Mr. Sri Newas Iyengar, the President of the League of Independence of India was with Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Subash Chandra Bose, the joint secretary, neutral, then he (Pandit Jawaher Lal) said that he would not come to the Subjects Committee, at all.

Thus the League of Independence of India was torn to pieces by Mahatma Gandhi. Jawaher Lal Nehru dare not oppose him. He does not possess the spirit of determination and obstinacy which every leader should have. The shattering of the strength of the League of Independence of India could not help the defeat of Jawaher Lal Nehru and the passing of the resolution of Mahatma Gandhi. When it is sure that a particular resolution would be passed, a leader is not essential. None can be a leader but he, who possesses firmness of determination and power of opposition. Young men were looking at Pandit Jawaher Lal Nehru as the would-be leader of Indian Youths, but this weakness of the Pandit disappointed them.

Some were of idea that Mr. Sri Newas Iyengar had joined the League of Independence of India simply to vent out the grudge, which he had in his mind against Pandit Moti Lal Nehru. Those who did not admit it should admit, in the existence of this truth, that he had not joined the Independence League with honest motives. What is the meaning of his voluntary promise to support Mahatma Gandhi's resolution, quite in contravention of the decision of the Independence League. All the consultation between Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Moti Lal Nehru on one side, & Mr. Sri Newas Iyengar, Pandit Jawaher Lal Nehru and Mr. Subash Chandra Bose on the other, was in their capacity of the leaders of the League of Independence of India. When the unanimous decision of the Independence League was that they should oppose the resolution, it was their duty that instead of giving their individual decisions, they should have referred the matter to the League of Independence and guide their conduct by the decision of the

majority. But such defects do necessarily appear where the opposition is based on personalities and not upon principles. Mr. Sri Newas Iyengar joined the League of Independence of India not because he opposed Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, on principles, but because he had had personal grudge against him. When a compromise was effected between Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and (Mr) Sri Newas Iyengar, all the oppositions, which were alleged to be based on principles, ceased to exist at all. The next day Mahatma Gandhi put up this new resolution before the Subjects Committee and withdrew his former resolution. Amendments were again proposed. Mr. Nimbkar let his amendment remain as it was. Pandit Jawaher Lal did not come to the Subjects Committee at all.

Now another sad step taken by the Congress, needs a mention here. It is this, that the opposition was suppressed by unconstitutional and absurd methods. The supporters of the resolution, or those who were in favour of Dominion Status (Pandit Malaviya and Dr. Beasant) were given longer time to speak than the opponents. When votes were taken the Bengal Group remained neutral under the leadership of Mr. Subash, U. P. Group joined Mahatma Gandhi, because of the non-presence of Pandit Jawaher Lal Nehru and the Madras Group followed Mr. Sri Newas, Iyengar. The result was that Mahatma's resolution was passed by majority of votes.

Another ridiculous incident happens here. All the former revolutionaries of Bengal, and the former prisoners, under the Bengal Ordinance have divided into three sections. One section has joined the Bengal Peasants & Workers' Party. The other is a bit silent, and the third is with Subash Babu. Subash Babu's party has the majority of the former prisoners, under the Bengal Ordinance. All of them are in favour of Complete Independence and have made Subash Babu their leader.

Mr. Subash did come to fulfil his promise, given to Mahatma Gandhi, that he would be neutral, but it was a bit difficult to satisfy his friends, who compelled him that he should oppose, or that he would lose his leadership. When Subash Babu found his leadership in danger, he bowed down before his comrades and notified the following amendment in the subjects committee.

- (1) This Congress believes in the resolution of the Madras Congress, in which Complete Independence has been held to be the goal of Indians, and is of opinion that real freedom cannot be achieved unless all connections have been cut off with Britannia.
- (2) The Congress acknowledges the recommendations of the Nehru Committee, for solution of Communal ten-

sions, which have been accepted by the All Parties' Conference, Lucknow.

- (3) This Congress commends the good work (lit: efforts) done by the Nehru Committee. Although it (the Congress does not acknowledge the Constitution, based on the principles of Dominion Status, still it is of opinion that the other recommendations made by the Nehru Committee take (us) towards political progress. Without taking into consideration, each and every para, the Congress approves of it in general terms.

The ruling of the president of the subjects Committee was that since one decision had been arrived at, the resolution could not be discussed a-fresh, and that Mr. Subash could move the amendment in the open sessions of the Congress.

This was one way of suppressing the opposition. We know several incidents, proving that matters have always been discussed a-fresh. The resolution of sympathising with the Maharaja of Nabha was passed in the open sessions of the Congress. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru did not like that the Congress should take any share in the affairs of the States. Mahatma Gandhi was induced to re-open the discussion in the Subjects Committee. The result was that the Sikhs walked out, and the resolution was disallowed, as was the wish of Pandit Nehru.

This shows that there is no law for the Congress and that they can freely do whatever they like. The Congress Constitution is simply to suppress oppositions.

Before disclosing the fate of Mahatma Gandhi's resolution and the amendments, we wish to say something about the Presidential address of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru.

Pandit Moti Lal's presidential address was disappointing. He said that as a matter of course, he wanted Complete Independence and to cut off all connections with Britannia but the exigencies of time obliged him, like Mahatma Gandhi, to demand Dominion Status. It is very unfortunate that the political leaders of India cheat the public in open-daylight and do not disclose their true object honestly. In the beginning they (lit you) talk very courageously of Complete Independence but slowly they (lit. you) soften your demands and stop at the goal of Dominion Status. They (lit. you) inform the Congress that the new danger of 'Socialism' is coming and that it is a thing which will sweep away both the Complete Independence and the Dominion Status. What a broken off idea. It would have been better if Pandit Moti Lal Nehru had resigned the presidentship before taking the opinion of the Country. Indians

have not yet learnt to sever connections with old leaders, therefore they did not like the idea of dethroning Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, after he had once been elected. But it was Pandit Ji's duty to resign quietly if his views were not in conformity with the views of the nation. He laid much stress in the Presidential Address, on the fact, that if the Congress decided against his wishes, he would not be able to do his duty in the Convention. He does not care for the Indian labourers and peasants, he does not care for the Madras Congress Resolution, relating to Complete Independence, he does not care for the Congress friends who elected him their president: he only cares for some capitalists, and he cares for the Convention. The Pandit says:—

“The Nation is knocking at your doors. You should open your doors, and open them so wide that everyone may enter.”

Alas: Pandit Sahab forgot that the doors of the Congress have always been open for the Conservatives, but they did not come. Pandit Ji says that the doors of the Congress should be opened but on the other hand he is shutting (them) up by raising the delegates' fee from Rs. 1/- to Rs. 5/-. We do not know how does he interpret the word 'Nation'. It seems that from the word 'nation', he means 2 per cent 'Capitalists,' because he recommends them. Does it not amount to treachery towards the Nation and the Country to support (the idea) that the doors should be opened to the capitalists, and shut up to the public.

Pandit Ji advises:—“You should accept the decision, arrived at by the All Parties' Conference, proceed to the goal (in which step) all political parties go with you, then wait a bit, collect all your strength, and begin your exertions to achieve your real aim.—We think that this is an argument, advanced by the President, for the lengthy resolution moved by Mahatma Gandhi, in the subjects Committee. We are at a loss to understand as to what is to happen after a year, that so much stress is being laid. The report of the Simon Commission has been published in the papers, but the Parliament must not have arrived at any settlement. Criticism in the country will be made as vigorously as it was made against the Montague-Chelmsford report. The result will be that more than enough tension will appear among the Capitalist political parties of the country. The conservatives will again say that the second instalment of the Reforms is unsatisfactory (but) they should be made successful, that boycott is prejudicial to the Country.....that the Congress party will not like to be separate and will enter the legislative Councils on one pretence or the other. In this way ten more years shall pass, after which another examination will be held. In this the programme advised by the President to be acted upon.

After this the President advises the country to do constructive works. The Congress has been singing the same song for a number of years but (the actual work) has not been done by any Congressman. The machinery of the Congress has passed in the hands of men who do not wish to improve the condition of the country. To expect any improvement at the hands of such men as Pandit Moti Lal, who wants to sell the Congress to conservative capitalists, is foolishness. The President, Mahatma Gandhi and his (or their) friends have yet reached only that stage in which they give an ultimatum to the Vicery and the Prime Minister.

Our Capitalist National leaders always say that the Country is not ready yet. The leaders proclaimed the Boycott of the Simon Commission, the students and the workers made it a success. The Calcutta youth League passed the resolution of Complete independence. The Trade Union Congress raised its voice against the Nehru Report. The peasants and workers Party criticised the re-actionary spirit of the Nehru Report. When the workers of Calcutta found that the Congress was going to hold the Dominion Status as its goal, they assembled in numbers of 30 or 40 thousand men and went to the Congress Nagar to hold a meeting in the Pandal and raise their voice against the re-actionary spirit and Capitalism of the Nehru Report. The Congress leaders became mad with fury, and as the Police Commissioner says, one of the Congress leaders, Mr. S. C. Bose, directed police to stop their procession when the procession reached Congress Nagar. Mr. Subhas Bose, who professes to be a great sympathiser of the workers, came forward to stop the procession with 2000 workers, and used *lattis* on them. But when he saw that they were 40,000 in number, he became nervous and was compelled to give the Pandal to them. But Mr. Subash was the man who went on saying up to the last, that as long as he had a drop of blood in his body, he would not allow the workers to enter the *Pandal*. On this the workers also were infuriated and changed colour. On this Subhas Babu melted like wax. The workers held a meeting in the *Pandal*, they made their demands and proclaimed that the Indian workers wanted Complete Independence and disdained the demand of Dominion Status.

Mahatma Gandhi and his friends may think whatever they like of this demonstration but the truth is evident and shows in which way the country is going. The Public are standing upon their own feet. The starving masses who have been victims of plunder, for years and years have begun to raise their voice and stand up erect. They have begun to realize that unless they get the Executive Councils in their hands, they cannot improve their 'economic condition'. They want Complete Independence and cannot content themselves with Dominion Status. The Congress

must realize that it shall be treachery to the Nation to hold Dominion Status as the national goal, because they cannot be contented with anything short of Complete Independence.

The leaders say that they themselves want Complete Independence but think that colonial Government will be a beneficial goal. This is a strange logic and a strange argument. When Mahatmas' resolution was in the Congress on the 31st. December, its supporters laid much stress on the only argument for its passage that it was Mahatma's resolution. No other argument was advanced. Appeals were made in the name of Mahatma Ghandhi. When Subhas Babu moved his amendment he lamented his former silence and his moving of the present amendment he said that if he did not oppose, other parties should gain power and his leadership should come to an end. He advanced no argument in support of his amendment. In the end Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru came to help Subhas Babu.

The opposition of Subash Babu and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru was of this nature. It is clear that they did not wish to oppose but that they did oppose simply to please their friends. When the leaders opposition was at this stage, when.....on the other side.....votes were being taken in the name of Mahatma Gandhi, and when the time was 1 O'clock in the night, the success of Mahatma Gandhi was essential and he did achieve his object.

Mahatma Gandhi moved another resolution of this nature, in the Congress. He asked the members of the Legislative Councils to move bills forbidding drinking of wine. The Congress volunteers were asked that they should picket the liquor shops, that foreign cloth should be boycotted, that the use of khaddar should be strongly recommended, that particular complaints of individuals should be removed by peaceful methods, that according to the instructions issued by the Congress Committee, the Congress members of the Legislature should turn their attention to Constructive works, and that efforts should be made to remove social inequality. This is a very strange resolution. Nothing can be its equal in ambiguity. Legal stoppage of sale of liquor is a good expectation, as far as hope is concerned, but this hope cannot be achieved in the existence of the British Capitalists who compelled the Chinese at bayonets' end to take opium. In the same way the use of khaddar cannot boycott foreign cloth. We hope that the Congress members of the Legislative councils shall not take the trouble of doing Constructive work outside the Councils. Experience has proved that our hope is not imaginary. The working Committee has still much to do. The country is full aware that it will not do a single work. The congress ought to have passed Mr. Joglekar's resolution which was to organise the workers in order to make the boycott a success. This resolution was not declared 'out of order' in the Subject Committee but at the Congress.

We have already said that oppositions were suppressed, and have quoted instances. The above is one of the examples. How can an amendment, allowed by the Subjects Committee, be 'ruled out' in the open sessions of the Congress. Are we not right in accusing Pandit Moti Lal Nehru that he did not allow his opponents even to speak. Are we to get this sort of Independence in the 'Nehru Raj.' God forbid such 'Independence'.

The Congress has lowered down the flag of the Madras Congress. Naturally it ought to have been raised, but the Mahatma joined the reactionaries and lowered it. The so called one-year ultimatum is much praised, but we don't see what would happen after the one-year. Criticisms should prevail against the recommendations made by the Simon Commission, new elections would produce tension between the different parties, Conservative Capitalists would advocate the success of new reforms, the Congress leaders would join them and the Extremists should be crushed with Govt. help. Mahatma Gandhis' Constructive programme is praised very much, but we have to see if it is a political programme. As a matter of fact it can do no good to social reforms also. Unless we have social powers, no social reforms can be effected. Experience has shown that without political power, we can improve neither socially nor economically.

Our leaders don't try to derive benefit from the past experience. They are fond of working on old lines. The workers and young students have woke up politically in connection with the boycott of the Simon Commission, and those who wish to see the country liberated, have much advanced. They have got zeal in them—Instead of utilizing this zeal towards exertions for independence they wish to utilize it towards social affairs. Political zeal utilized towards social affairs does not perform that, which is its duty.

The Nehru report is being much praised. We don't understand what is there in it to be praised. As a matter of fact the Nehru Report is another kind of slavery. The British Capital has been guaranteed to be safeguarded, payment of debts has been promised, the army shall remain in possession of the British, the British Imperialism shall be free to pillage the public, unemployment shall remain as it is, starvation shall go on, and independence shall be only nominal. We find nothing in the Nehru Report to injure British interests. As far as we think it will be a great mistake on the part of the British Imperialism to disallow the Nehru Report, because it does them no evil in any way. On the contrary it will do them much good. All Capitalist political parties shall go with the Govt., the Congress shall—as far as we think—be broken, because all the Conservative leaders shall join the Liberal Federation, Mahatma Gandhi and his comrades shall withdraw themselves from political field and the only survivors shall be the Congress Extremists, who shall be thoroughly crushed. A new era of slavery shall begin. We find nothing in the Nehru

Report, prejudicial to British interests. Instead of a few concessions the Nehru Report has extended the powers of British Imperialism and has committed treachery to the country and the Nation.

By accepting the Nehru Report the Congress has kicked away the feelings of the public and of young students. It was stated that if the Congress did not allow this, the unity, which has appeared among the political parties, would be destroyed. Unity is a good thing to achieve our object, but to lose the idea of reaching our goal, for attaining unity is not wise and revolutionary. And then, the truth is that even the unity could not be maintained. The Sikhs 'walked out,' demands of the Muslim League were not accepted, and the Khalafat Committee was split up. Neither the unity could be maintained nor the determination to reach the goal.

The Calcutta Congress has given a very important lesson to the country, & people can be much benefited if they so desire. It is this.

(1) The Congress does not wish to sever connections with Britannia.

(2) The Congress leaders don't wish it to make an association, representing the general public, but wish to make it an association for capitalists only, with this view they have raised the delegates' fee from Re 1/ to Rs 5/ so that the poor class may not be able to attend the annual sessions.

(3) The League of independence of India is a struggle to control the youths who are becoming Extremists. The attitude of the association, in the Calcutta Congress, was disappointing. It could not liberate itself from the influence of old leaders and was inclined to compromise; where as uncompromising attitude is essential for each new party which desires to extend and improve. Besides this, the talk of Socialism etc, carried on by the leaders of this Association is simply to deceive men.....because in the strikes of the workers, their efforts have been towards making the strikes a failure.

(4) The Workers & Peasants Party is an Association which has been uncompromising, and which has correctly opposed the Nehru Report. This is a party which correctly represents the interests of the general public.

Translated by

Ali Muhamed.

THE KIRTI FOR OCTOBER 1928.

URDU EDITION

THE TRADE DISPUTES BILL

(BY BHAI FEROZUDDIN, MAUSUR, DELHI)

The existing economic policy of our Government is to utilize, consistently to their interest, all the material sources of India. But according to the proverb that 'there is a Moses for every Pharaoh', each disease has its treatment inherent in it. Therefore naturally when a disease goes for beyond its limits, its progress is automatically stopped. India has reached that limit now. Symptoms of general unrest appear among Indian peasants. The Strikes in the mills and the railways show that the cup of patience of the oppressed masses has become full to its brims. It is the first—most incident in the History of Indian Manufacture, that the oppressed workers have stood, so successfully, against Capitalism and Imperialism. When the gods of Simla saw this unrest, they found the conspiring and interfering hand of the Bolshevicks of Moscow working in it. Therefore they (the gods of Simla) jumped in the field with a law. This law is dangerous not only for the right of independence but also for the movement of Trade Union. In a country, like India, which has been conquered by sins and deceits, which has been governed by might and which has been kept in the fetters of slavery only for the economic benefits of the British, the introduction of such a law is very dangerous. A considerate reading of the Trade Disputes Bill can prove very easily that this bill is in no way less than the Bengal Ordinance, or the world-wide infamous Rowlett Act. Four sections of this bill have been written for solution of mutual disputes, and two for declaring unlawful the dispute between the labour and the capitalism. Under this Bill two Boards shall be formed, (1) the Board Enquiry and (2) the Board of Mutual Settlement. Both of these boards are the beginning of the coming danger, because we shall be compelled, under this Bill, to make a settlement. We have gained enough experience from English Boards of Enquiry that under them the labourers working in collieries had been reduced to a still worse condition than before, and their strength had been crushed. We are well acquainted with Settlement Boards also. As always happens, it shall have the majority of the capitalists. The capitalists are more united and more educated than us and possess the power of wealth. Therefore they shall be able to have all their desires fulfilled in their own terms. Only a few days back, Sir Harcourt Butler said in the course of a lecture that 'the British have succeeded in annihilating human slavery'. A single reading of the bill discloses the full nature of these deceiving words of this Imperialist, because the next para of this venomous bill which relates to the strikes in public works Departments, recommends that men working in post offices, Railways, Telegraphs, Water Works, and Electrical Departments should be changed into slaves. They have been deprived of only one effective weapon of strikes i.e. those who resort to strikes in these departments, shall be liable to one months imprisonment or a fine of Rs. 50/- or both.

Besides this the Bill lays down that the strike shall be unlawful if (1) it is meant to influence the Government or cause inconvenience to the public (2) it shall be against the law to begin such a strike, or continue it, or to give it monetary help. If these proposals become a law that any strike, whether of Government servants or of any other body, resorted to in sympathy with the labourers, working in the Public works Departments, that strike also shall be unlawful.

It is natural that the strikers should have the idea of compelling the capitalists to listen to them. But when all the strikes are held to be unlawful under the pretence of influencing the Government or saving the inconvenience of Capitalists then the biggest master (the Government) shall make it impossible for the general labourers to cure their troubles and sufferings by organisation or by strikes. Thus the bureaucracy shall with one stroke of the pen usurp the inborn right of *Hartal* by the workers. When the workers are deprived of their right of mutual unity and sympathy, the movement of the Trade Union shall be destroyed in its truest sense. In replying to the representative of the Herald, Bhai Jhabwala said rightly that the usurpation of the right of *Hartal* which is the peaceful war of the weak against the powerful means that the Union should cease to exist automatically. This Bill wants to destroy the united actions of the oppressed classes as well as the movement of the Trade Union. If this bill would not mean this, Mr. H. H. Swaraj (?) the Deputy President of the Millowners Association would not support it so boldly and would not praise the reactionary efforts of Mr. McWaters as "Very good law."

If the inborn right of *Hartal* also is snatched from the labourers how would be cured their troubles and sufferings.

To guess how do our Indian capitalists sympathise with half made and half starving workers (we should see) to the last strikes in the Bombay Mills and the Tata Company at Jamshedpur. We need not say how far do the Railway Agents care for the laws. We know very well how far shall these proposed Boards solve the trade disputes. It is a folly to test again what has already been tested. There is not the least doubt that this Bill will convert the existing powerful unions into worthless unions. The capitalist leaders of British workers want to gain possession of Indian Trade Unions movement & then to utilize it to the benefit of their own masters. Indian capitalists are trying that the Trade union should come in their own possession. The words of Sir B. L. Mitter make this point very clear. Perhaps during the whole of his life he has never considered over the question of labour in this unfortunate country, still he comes forward today with a bit of advice. He says that the true solution of this question is this that the master himself should take

the greatest part in the Trade union movement and appoint some of his men to take possession of the office of the trade unions. It is clear that the masters and the Government are helping a community of the Trade Union which has no principles and no policy, which shudder at the name of the masses and which bow their own trumpets before the Government and the masters, after doing some of the work.

To popularize the Trade Disputes Bill and procure a good atmosphere for it, the Government has given publicity to a forged letter in the name of Mr. M. N. Roy, which is alleged to have been written to the Communists and the Kirti Kisan Parties of India. It is clear that this too is a forgery like the forged letter of Zameiff? The Bombay office of the Kirti Kisan office never received any such letter and Mr. M. N. Roy also has proclaimed that this letter has been forged by the Government. After attacking the workers classes of England the British Imperialists have begun to attack the worker classes of India. These Imperialists want to crush the spirit of the Trade Union Movement, which is increasing day by day and causing unrest.

But what is the object of our Indian lawyers and legislators. Are they sure that by passing this tyrannical law which will crush the Trade Union movement they shall be able to settle in disputes between labour and capital. It will be very sad if the legislators of the Assembly pass this enslaving law, while they are fighting for their own independence and wish to destroy the power which has enslaved them.

How should we answer this Bill. This is an Important matter. This Bill shall crush the Trade Union This attack is not only upon the working class, but on the entire Indian Nation. This is a part of that conspiracy which is being made against Bolshevic Russia; because destruction of labour movements in India and England means the laying of the foundation stone of war against Russian.

It is not enough to express only regret against the Bill. Now the labour class should be ready to fight against it with all unity and all strength.

Translated by

Ali Mohammad.

P. 730 (T).

An issue of Urdu Kirti for May 1928

(Vide Exh. - P. 747T).

P. 731 [T]

The Kirti [Urdu edition] for Sept. 1928.

Report of the Nehru Committee.

Oh disappointment. We could not reach the fountain of achievement.

The thirsty have had to cross [the river] by dry *ghats* [crossing places].

The All Parties' Conference was held at Bombay on 19.5.28. It appointed a Committee to decide the principles of future constitution of India. Its president was Pandit Moti Lal ji Nehru. Therefore, as generally happens, this Committee got the name of "Nehru Committee," after its president. Its report has been published and covers about 150 pages, and the entire India is looking to it with interest

This report has been generally welcomed by the presses. The Congress India should have welcomed it because it had taken the responsibility of all the work. Hindus, Muslims and a sufficient number of sikh leaders gave it a hearty welcome. Pandit Moti Lal ji Nehru is being congratulated from all sides for the success of this Committee and this report is said to be a landmark in the history of India.

Those who are against this report at this time, can be divided into 3 classes. One who are extreme Reactionaries and who feel delight in licking British boots. These are men, who have got 'freedom' in English Govt, because they have got big offices in lieu of flattery to Govt, treachery to the country and for selling off their nation. They could not get these offices, had India been free. Therefore they think that British Govt. is an unexpected fortune and they desire that English should govern India for ever & ever.

The second class is that who say:- "very little rights have been given to us, Our religion is in great danger. The Nehru Committee has done great injustice to us, in paying no heed to our separate electorate. In this class are included the prejudiced religious leaders of Hindus, Musalmans and the Sikhs.

The third class of people are those who treat the demands and recommendations of the Nehru Committee as being very reactionary because they don't believe in colonial form of Government. They want complete liberty and think that a compromise, on less than that, is prejudicial to the interest of the Country. This third-class also contains people of different views. From their point this report is not beneficial and that the publication of this report shall prolong the slavery of India.

We...the workers and labourers, who believe in Socialistic principles... think that the Nehru report has cheated the community. We were already apprehending that our semi-capitalists would deceive us. What we feared has come before us. These leaders can not understand the requirements of the general public. They had to safeguard the interests of their brethren, the capitalists. The Nehru report has well-guarded the interests and rights of the capitalists, and has formed a scheme under which a considerable power of English Capitalists will be transferred to the Indian Capitalists and in this way the white and black bureaucracy shall jointly govern India, although the general public shall remain in the same plight, as they have ever been.

The fight, going on between the Congress and the British Govt. may be called the fight between the Indian and the English Capitalists. Indian Capitalists and semi-capitalists fight for official posts or to promote their trade and handicraft. In a few words it can be said that the 'Congress fight' was the fight between the English and Indian Capitalists. The masses have not been included in it (the fight) and their rights and interests have not been looked after and if ever the masses were asked to join it, it was simply to threaten the Govt. so that they may get still more rights and may be able to participate, along with English Capitalists, in the loot which they are making in India.

The gist of this report is that only the English Capitalists should not plunder India, but should give a share to the Indian Capitalists also, that in this way both should jointly fleece the Indian masses to fatten themselves & to enjoy at the cost of Indian masses.

So far as we are concerned, we were against the very formation of the Nehru Committee. A constitution has no sense until there is strength to enforce it. The Simon Commission is coming to India to (decide) whether or not further reforms should be given

to India. The formation of such a Committee at this moment means bowing down before this claim of the Parliament that the destiny of India is in the hands of the Parliament, and that the parliament can, at its will, give as many rights as it likes, or take back as many rights as it might have given. Under the Nehru report, not only the British Parliament has been acknowledged to be the master of the future of India but also Co-operation has indirectly been made with the Simon Commission...the boycott of which has been the subject of so many boastings by the Congressmen. The very first resolution passed by the Assembly about Mr. Simon had not even the mention of boycotting. Three provincial Commissions passed resolutions to co-operate with the Simon Commission. The boycott movement of the Congress is being acted upon half heartedly. Now the publication of the Nehru report means to enable Mr. Simon to guess what the Congress India wants. What a nice boycott:

Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State, had been playing tricks for a long time, sometimes he used to say that India cannot get Swaraj until the 7 crores untouchables are treated like human beings.

Sometimes he said:—'Let Indians make a Constitution and show us what do they want,' He wanted to make the Simon Commission Successful and lay a snare for the Congress leaders. Ultimately he did succeed and the Congress-leaders fell in his snare. They invited an All Parties' Conference and formed the Nehru Committee. This 'Nehru' report is the result of its laborious exertions. On our part we don't find much exaggeration in the suspicions about co-operation with the Simon Commission.

It is evident that in order to maintain her strength, England will make a settlement with the Capitalists and semi-Capitalists of India, because the interests of both are common. It is only these Capitalists who have, up to this day, been the leaders of the Congress. They have been fighting for selfish motives and not for the good of the public. Their conduct is the same even now. They are also withdrawing themselves slowly from the national war and the fight for the liberation of the country, which clearly shows that they cannot become leaders in the coming revolutionary movement, in which no settlement can be made until perfect socialism is established in India. The public should never trust them, because they are always prepared to compromise with the bureaucracy. The revolutionary movement can never succeed until this mentality exists and this mentality has become their second habit. The masses shall have to bid farewell to these time-serving leaders, and to produce their own new leaders. The present symptoms tell us that our present leaders who are always after making a settlement - wish to come to a settlement with the Englishmen, by any means.

What was the meaning of the formation of the Nehru Committee? It meant to make such demands as may get the consent of as many Indians as possible, so that the Englishmen may be influenced by public opinions. How could the consent of the highest number of men be obtained? By including with themselves such men as have been co-operating with Englishmen and making as few demands as possible. Now there are not only the Moderates, who are content with Dominion Status only and wish that India should remain annexed to British Empire. In order that they should join with them, it was necessary that their demands should have been accepted. Complete independence is a bugbear in their eyes. Therefore those congressmen who had passed the resolution of complete independence at Madras, had to bow down before the Moderates or the Liberals, and they willingly accepted the words of Dr. Sapru. This is the reason that this report should not be called the Nehru Report, but the Sapru Report, because had the Liberal Federation been appointed to move a Constitution for India, we believe, that its report would have been this, if not better.

Now we come to the mistakes in this report:—

The first demand in this report is that India should get a Swaraj, like the one, given to the Colonies; i. e. India should get the same rights and the same place in the British Empire as have been given to Canada, New Zealand, Ireland and other Colonies.

The phrase 'Complete Responsible Government' also has been interpreted in this way. By this demand, the Nehru Committee has absolutely lost the sympathy of all those who aspired for complete Independence, and desire to make sacrifices for it. It must be remembered that those who believe in complete Independence, are in no way few in number. The youths and the Public all want complete Independence. They simply want a lead. The passing of the resolution of complete Independence, at the Madras Sessions of the Congress, shows how the wind blows. To please this one section, which is dead, and has no significance in Political India, the Nehru Report has displeased a very zealous and useful section of the people. By submitting this report, the Nehru Committee has proclaimed the Insolvency of its leadership.

Further, this report discloses the full condition of the Congress, as to what resolutions do they pass and what do they (actually) wish. As far as we think, this report in no way improves the status of the Congress. By this report the Nehru Committee has disclosed to the Englishmen and the British Parliament that as a matter of fact the Indians do not want any Swaraj, that, in the most they want only as much as has been laid down in the Nehru Report; and that in the least, they will accept the

recommendations of Simon Sahib. We think that instead of doing any good, it has caused much loss to India and has prolonged her slavery.

The 3rd blunder, committed in this report is, that the dragon of Communalism has been let to live to use his sting, wound Indians, and let the Indians to break each other's head. During the last few years we had gained good experience from communalism and we thought that it would prove beneficial, but alas! no good has been derived from it. Instead of crushing the head of this dragon, it has been allowed to live as a 'Necessary Evil', so that he may be able to play with our lives for a longer time.

Had there been only one defect in the report, we would have enumerated it. It is full of defects. It has not been said how long English Element should continue in the Civil Service and when English Civilians would bid farewell to India. One Public Service Commission will be appointed by the Governor General to report if any changes are needed in the Civil Service. It means that the British Governor General can keep English element in India so long as he wishes and as much as he pleases, and allow it to be looted. In the same way the officers working in military, Naval and Aerial departments shall go on working and in other words work shall be going on as it is now. The British Governor General shall, with the support of British Army and the Civil Service, do as he pleases and this will be the form of Government which shall be given to the Indians. What a nice Government!

This report has maintained the existing Constitution as heretofore. The Jagirdars shall go on plundering their tenants and the Capitalists shall go on dying their hands with the blood of the peasants. All the rights and Concessions conferred by this Government shall be maintained; the army, the police, and the Civil Service shall be under the Control of the Governor General. The report says that the Governor General shall have all the powers, that he shall be appointed by the King and do as he pleases, but the Indians shall enjoy the Swaraj. What a nice Swaraj!

As a matter of fact if this report gives anything to the Indians, it is this that the number of the votes shall be much increased i. e. anyone, of 21 years of age, shall be eligible to become a voter. The Legislatures shall have a considerable number of Indian representatives and shall discuss very freely. But alas! the Governor General can stop these discussions whenever he pleases. In this way he has the right to silence the Indian representatives. Really a very nice independence was given to Egypt, but India shall be freer than her.

The affairs of the native states also have been left as they

were and nothing has been done to save their subjects from the tyrannies of a despotic Government. How can Independence be achieved until these Rajas and Maharajas have been sent away. The infantries and atrocities committed by these Rajas and Maharajas at the expense of their subjects, are at the tip of each tongue. Squandering money in extravagance, luxury and hypocrisy, while the subjects are dying of poverty and famine, is such a shameless conduct that the whole world curses it. Such foppy Maharajas should be turned out of the country as soon as possible and all the rights and privileges which are given to the Rajas and Maharajas, should be taken back from them.

We have said above that the Nehru Report has been treacherous to the Public. We use these harsh words while fully realising our responsibility and we have more than enough reasons to use these words. The first tyranny done on the Indian labourers and workers is that their right of resorting to Strikes has not been recognised. The whole world knows that the helpless and poor labourers have got only one weapon to get justice done to them, and it is general strike. Is this not a treachery to the public when this important right has not been recognised. What to say about this right of resorting to the strikes, not a single right of us, the poor, has been recognised. When could recommendations be made to change our condition, when no change has been made in the existing constitution. Bettering our sad condition means that the existing Constitution should be crushed thoroughly. But who dare take this important and essential step.

Now control your feelings and hear ! The Zamindari system shall remain as it is. The big jagirdars and Zamindars shall enjoy be means of the income earned by the blood and perspiration of peasants and tenants. In other words the principle of 'You should work for our enjoyment' shall be acted upon as heretofore. On one side these foppy, corpulent and infamous misconducts shall enjoy, and on the other,, thousands and thousands of peasants and cultivators shall become prey to sorts of diseases for want of good food, good clothes and good houses, and shall attain martyrdom by protesting against the filthy and worthless Society, in which starve those who work for 24 hours. There will be no one to lament (the death of) these young men of the country who were the foundation of the society. How ungrateful is the present society ;

It is no secret that the peasants are being crushed under the debts, but nothing has been done to save them from this curse. This means that the poor man should go on depending upon the *Sahokars* and the Co-operative Societies, go on undergoing imprisonments in litigation, be unable to obtain education and spend his life in darkness. It is difficult to make the land the property of the Nation. But can no reduction be made in the existing rates of

their rent, which is making them Insolvents ? Is it impossible to remit the rents of even those who possess (only) 2-4 *Marlas* of land. The Indian peasant is running into debts on account of rents but there is no one to take his cause. If this can be Swaraj, and if the poor peasant remains in the same sad condition in it, then farewell to such a swaraj ! Is it worth while to acquire a Swaraj which gives offices and ministries to the Capitalists and starves the public as before ?

No minimum has been fixed for the pay of the labourers. Hours of work have not been determined. It has not been decided as to how many hours should a week consist of. In short, work shall be going on as it used to be. What is the difference then ? Only that some black capitalists shall become ministers and shareholders in the Government.

If this is the condition of the Seminary and the teacher; the work of the boys shall be put to an end.

P. 736 [T].

A printed copy in Urdu of the Rules and regulations of the Kirti Kisan Party, Punjab.

[Vide Exh. P. 344T].

P. 738 [T].

* * * * *

Write to me if you have come to know about Shaukat Usmani's date of release. Write full particulars about your business [lit, trade]. I shall leave Delhi on Thursday. I shall stay there for about a week.

.....

Translated by.

Morid Husain,

Urdu translator.

P. 741 [T].

Proceedings of the Punjab Press workers' Union Lahore.

A meeting of Executive Committee of the Union was held on Sunday the 3rd October 1926 at 4-0 p.m. at the office of the City Congress Committee under the presidentship of Master Ram Kishan. The following gentlemen attended the meeting:—

- 1] Master Ram Kishan,
- 2] Shaikh Khuda Bakhsh,
- 3] Mian Allah Bakhsh,
- 4] Mian Budha,
- 5] Shriman Ram Chandarji,
- 6] Shriman J. Jagdishji.
- 7] Secretary.

Agenda:—

- 1] Aims and objects and rules and regulations.
- 2] Sanction of conference expenses.
- 3] Miscellaneous.

[1] With the permission of the President the Secretary took up the second item (account of conference expenses etc.,) and while producing a report of detailed expenses said that the total amount of subscriptions of the conference was Rs. 66/5/9 and the total expenditure was Rs. 56/10/9. It was unanimously passed and resolved that the balance of Rs. 9/11/- be deposited in the Union's fund and a sanction for the same be obtained from the General Committee.

- [2] After this the item about aims and objects was placed (before the meeting) and after discussion the following aims and objects and rules and regulations were passed:—

Aims and Objects.

- [1] Protection of the rights and interests of all employees connected with the press:—
- [2] To take care of their economic, social, physical welfare, etc.
- [3] To create unity and (spirit of) co-operation among them.
- [4] Organisation of the press employees.

- [5] To render suitable help to the members.

Rules and Regulations.

- [1] The association will be called the Punjab Press Workers' Union.
- [2] The headquarters of the union will be at Lahore and its branches will also be opened at different places, when required.
- [3] The Union will have two committees: The Executive Committee and the General Committee.
- [4] Members of the Union.

(1) All sorts of employees connected with the press but who have no proprietary rights can become members of this union. Besides this, the persons who are proprietors of or partners to any newspaper or press can become members of the Union after obtaining special permission of the Executive Committee.

- [5] Subscription of the Union will be annas two a month. Anything more will be accepted with thanks. Non-employees and honourary members shall be exempted from subscription, etc.,

Rights of Members.

- [6] Every member will be entitled to send to the General Secretary in writing his proposal connected with the interests and objects of the Union. The secretary shall place his proposal before the Executive Committee.

(2) Every member can with the permission of the President attend a meeting of the Executive Committee as a spectator, but he shall not be eligible to vote.

(3) He can enquire about the proceedings of the Union through the General Secretary.

(4) He can examine the account books, etc., of the Union through the General Secretary after giving one week's notice in writing. He should enlighten the Union with his opinion in this respect.

(5) He can be elected a member of the Executive committee provided that he has regularly been paying his subscription and taking interest in the affairs of the Union.

- [7] General Committee.

(1) A meeting of the General Committee shall be held each month and the quorum shall consist of 20 (members).

(2) An extraordinary meeting shall be held on the application of 20 per cent of the members. At least one week's notice is necessary for this purpose. If after the receipt of this notice the President and the Secretary hesitate to convene a meeting, the members shall be authorised to convene a meeting at their own responsibility.

[8] Executive Committee.

(1) The (work of the) management of the Union and the supervision of the rules and regulations will be entrusted to a body called the Executive Committee.

(2) All the moveable and immoveable property of the union shall remain under the custody of the Executive Committee which shall be responsible for its management.

Constitution of the Executive Committee.

[9] The number of the members of the Executive Committee shall be at the most 25 and its quorum shall consist of one-third (its number).

[10] The Executive Committee shall be authorised to remove from the committee the name of a gentleman who does not attend the meetings for two months consecutively, but it will be necessary to ascertain from such member the causes of his absence.

[11] The Executive committee shall fill up by votes the vacancies during a year.

[12] Annual election of the members of the executive committee shall be conducted by the General Committee by taking votes (lit. by a majority of votes) and votes shall be given by raising hands.

[13] (3) The secretary can in consultation with the President hold a meeting when required.

(2) An extraordinary meeting shall be held at the request of 25 per cent of the members. At last two days notice is necessary for this purpose.

(3) If the President dissolves a meeting for some reason, two-third of the members present can continue the meeting by electing a new President and this meeting and its proceedings shall be lawful.

[14] Matters under discussion shall be decided by a majority of votes.

[15] The Union shall have the following office-bearers:—

President One.

Vice-Presidents Two.

General Secretary One.

Secretary as needed.

Financial Secretary One.

[16] The office-bearers shall generally be honorary.

[17] The names of old office-bearers shall be eligible for second election.

Power and Duties of Office-bearers.

[18] President:—

(1) To keep order at the meetings and to see that rules are observed in every matter.

(2) To allow or disallow a member or non-member to attend a meeting and hear its proceedings.

Vice-President:—To perform the duties of the President during his absence. He shall have the same powers as are enjoyed by the President according to rules.

General Secretary:—

(1) To be incharge of the office of the Union.

(2) To enter in a register the names and addresses of the members of the Union.

(3) To arrange for the calling of meetings and give information (accordingly).

(4) To call an extraordinary meeting in cases of emergency.

(5) To carry on correspondence and keep the same in safe custody.

(3) To prepare the proceedings of every meeting.

(7) To present at the annual meeting a detailed report of the work done by the Union.

(8) To enter the belongings (of the Union) in a register.

(9) To sign bills of all kinds and send them to the treasurer for payment.

(10) The Secretary cannot spend any amount without the permission of the Committee but in cases of emergency he shall be authorised to spend money to the extent of Rs. 10/- a month and obtain its sanction afterwards.

(11) To perform all such duties as the Union may assign to him for the completion of its objects.

Secretary:—The duty of the secretary shall be to help the General Secretary in the preformance of his duties and to work in his place whenever the latter wants to make over the charge of his duties to him temporarily.

Financial Secretary or Treasurer:—

(1) To receive subscriptions from members, and donations from members and non-members and issue receipts for them over his own signatures and to keep an account (lit. a record) of them.

(2) To place last months balance-sheet before the Executive committee in the beginning of each month.

(3) To help the General Secretary in the preparation of the annual report by supplying him with particulars of balance-sheet.

(4) To place for the sanction of the Union at its annual meeting a report of the last year's balance-sheet.

(5) To keep in safe custody counterfoils of receipts and all account papers, registers, etc.,

(6) To pay all bills and keep an account (lit. record) of them.

(7) To enter all the accounts in the register.

(8) The Financial Secretary shall keep Rs 15/- with him for emergency purposes and the remaining amount will be deposited in the bank proposed by the committee.

[19] Accounts shall be audited after six months. The committee shall appoint an Auditor for this purpose.

Amendment in Rules.

[20] It shall be necessary to convene a special general meeting for passing the amendments and alterations proposed by the committee in the rules and regulations and the amendments passed by two third of the members present will be considered fit to be enforced.

Unanimously resolved that the above aims & objects and rules and regulations be placed before the General Committee and got passed and that the monthly meeting of the General Committee be held on the last Sunday each month.

As there was nothing more to be discussed, the meetings was adjourned.

Sd/-

Secretary.

Sd/-

President.

The Punjab Press Workers' Union,

Lahore.

It was decided to hold a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Union on Sunday the 27th March 1927 at the house of the General Secretary in Dhal Mohalla, Mochi Gate. Agenda was sent to all the members, but the meeting was postponed to Friday for lack of quorum that day. It was further decided that Shamsud-Din pressman might be sent for and urged to decide the case of Amar Nath.

Sd/- M.A. Majid.

Agenda was sent to all the members for the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Union, but the quorum was not full even on the 1st April. Shamsud-Din, pressman was, however, present and he was asked to decide the case of Amar Nath. He gave the assurance that he would get the matter settled.

Sd/- M. A. Majid.

General Secretary.

Translated by

Morid Husain,

Urdu translator.

P. 742 [T].

Exp. P-742 is substantially a translation of Ext. P-4:8, a pamphlet entitled "Sacco and Vanzetti."

Morid Husain,
Translator.

P. 747 [T].

The *Kirti* (Urdu edition) for the month of May 1928 publishes an article headed "Will complete independence be obtained by noncooperation and civil disobedience" from the pen of Zulfikar Ali Khan an exile. At the end of the article the editor publishes a note which runs as follows:—

Page 29. We are wedded neither to violence nor to non-violence. Complete independence is what we want whether it be obtained by means of violence, non-violence or by any other method. If it can be possible, we should become free by non-violence, and if need be by violence or any other method; but anyhow we must get free. We think that it is the birthright of every slave country to attain freedom no matter in whatever way it does. But we should be excused by the advocates of violence for saying (lit. if we say) that at present when we have neither any war munition at our disposal nor made any preparations to resist the materialistic forces of the Government, violence is not an appropriate weapon. Yes, if preparations are made, the programme of violence can then be laid before the country. For the present the only expedient open to us is to organise peasants and workers and to make them ready for making sacrifices for the war of liberty. We shall act (lit. see) later on according to the circumstances as they arise. The first and foremost thing (needed) is to bring about an awakening among the masses.

The method of work can be changed. Our own experience will guide us. Liberty must be achieved no matter by whatever method. The officials of Govt. will keep us slaves in every way because salaries are paid to them for this very purpose. It is however, the foremost duty of we Indians to become free by every means possible.

Translated by
Morid Husain
Translator.

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

Page 38.

The Next War. . .

(From the pen of brother Shankat Usmani, of Delhi)

All the newspapers in the world (discussing) politics are prophesying (about the outbreak of the) next war. Wise men, leaders and intelligentsia of different countries are pointing out to the world that it is again going to jump into a new war. Astrologers are signalling this grave danger with great certainty. In this civilised world every newspaper-reader is to-day aware of this thing that war will break out and must break out. It is possible that there may be a difference of opinion in the fixing of time, but all agree that war will surely and necessarily take place.

All the people and classes in this world holding different views are expressing their views about this great danger from their own viewpoints and are preparing the classes under the influence. We being Marxists, it is our duty also to acquaint with our views the people holding the same views as we do, (and to tell them) what will be the object of this war from Socialistic point of view, why will this war take place, who will join it and what shall be our duty.

Before we give our opinion about this war, we consider it necessary to explain why war takes place and who gains by it. In order to solve this important problem we should for a while have a cursory glance on the last European War and consider its causes.

The war commenced in August 1914. Its basis indicated to us is that the people of Servia assassinated the Prince of Austria and owing to the former's refusing to hand over the assassins, war was declared by the two Governments and the allies of both the parties joined their respective ally. We do not understand that when the Prince of Austria is assassinated, war breaks out between Austria and Servia, but what necessitated France, England (lit. the English) and Germany to plunge into the burning fire and sacrifice for (lit. offer to) it lacks of peaceful citizens.

Page 39. If we read Western newspapers (belonging to a period) six years prior to this war, it will become clear that unemployment was increasing during that period. The labour class, being hard-pressed, was observing HARTALS. This state of affairs prevailed in every country of Europe prior to or after (this period). Mill-owners had to suffer serious loss on account of these HARTALS (strikes) and were at a loss to understand what to do. There was no work that could be given to the labourers and according to the principle of capitalism it was considered to be a serious sin to give anything to the labourers without work. Unemployment was

a question which was apprehended to spread unrest in the country. To what extent should necessities of life be invented? No special increase had taken place in the population of the world which might have necessitated the sale of a large number of articles. The Capitalists now became anxious to find (lit. thought of finding out new markets for goods and work for labourers. These very ideas were haunting the imagination of the capitalistic class in every country. Every Capitalistic country was trembling at the industrial progress of Germany. These people were of opinion that the day was not far off when German-made goods alone would sell in the world. These people were looking upon Germany's progress with great envy. Germany also was aware of (lit. understood) these things. It was essential for industrial progress that Germany should strengthen both its military and naval forces. In short, great competition ensued between all the capitalistic countries. Propaganda through newspapers was vigorously started against one another. Both the parties won complete public sympathy for preparing for war. Innumerable arms began to be manufactured. Military preparations were made with full strength. Only the chance was awaited; that too was procured by the dispute between Serbia and Austria. All the nations entered the field and the Great War commenced.

During the last Great War the capitalists all the world over earned money to their hearts content. In 1918 when the war ended every country got ruined and destroyed. The population of every country decreased. Sources of income stopped. Commerce was ruined and an innumerable army of unemployed (persons) in every country again began to raise a hue and cry. Just after this war strikes began to take place in succession and (breach of) peace was apprehended both by the conqueror and the conquered alike.

The outcome of the war was that the capitalists were even then the gainers and the poor labourers the losers.

Page 40. The coming war which is being awaited by the world with dread and fear will not only be the outcome of commercial rivalry of the capitalistic class, but it will crush the labour movement and Soviet Russia, the true supporter of labourers.

In the present times such is the condition of capitalistic countries that commercial rivalry between America, Japan, England etc., has reached to the limit of enmity. Each country is very rapidly increasing its military and naval forces against the other and the world is once again being drawn towards a terrible war.

At the end of the last war along with many other new things that happened a novel Government also called the Soviet Russia or Democratic Russia, has come into existence (lit. has been established). This is the only Government in the world which is

the companion of the oppressed and the workers. Its object is to liberate oppressed nations from the slavery of Capitalistic Governments. While a race of capitalistics is going on in the world, Soviet Russia is establishing friendly relations with its neighbouring oppressed nations. A very big party is in its favour in China as has been shown by the recent civil war in China. Persia and Afghanistan have now fully realised that they cannot get rid of the grip of Western capitalists without supporting Soviet (Russia). In short, every Asiatic nation has realised that if it wants to keep up its existence (lit. live) it should save itself from the flood of capitalism, and establish relations with a country that has girt up its loins against capitalism.

Eastern nations have (already) realised (this). India also should now realise (lit. see) its position. The last war has given us a sufficient lesson. It is the duty of the leaders not to push in any way the labourers and peasants in the next war but to start vigorous propaganda against the war.

We think that the time has now come when labourers and peasants should get their legitimate rights. After reaching completion capitalism is now passing through the last stage. The time of its downfall has come. According to Karl Marx "Capitalism possesses in itself the germs of its destruction."

Labour class is about to awaken (lit: become well-informed and the time of its (? capitalism) end is near.

" Neither the capitalists' wealth nor the authorities' unlawful oppression will remain in existence.

" Friends ! The time is about to come soon when none will have any claim over the other. "

Translated by

Morid Husain,

Translator.

The *Kirti* (Urdu edition) for the month of May 1928 has the following:—

Page 53.

The Canton incident.

Up to this day we have wondered how the bloodshed took place in Canton last December and why it took place. Reuter's cables are not (generally) clear and they convey so brief reports that we can not estimate the true condition of a country.

After the elapse of so much time veil has now begun to be raised from the bloodshed in Canton. The reports received clearly

indicate that capitalistic nations throughout the world are wholeheartedly busy in crushing the workers and peasants' movement for liberty. The selfish Chinese Generals who gained victory against the northern armies with the support of these very workers and peasants are very mercilessly sweeping out of existence the self same lovers of liberty to-day. Just the same happened in Italy in 1922. The power wielded by Signior Mussolini today is due only to (the support of) the peasants and workers unions but no sooner did he take in his hands the reins of Government, than he began to chastise his helpers. Worst rigours were practised on these poor (fellows) and (he) subjected them to an oppression to which the bloody history of Italy bears testimony.

The same happened in China. These ungrateful Generals perpetrated great atrocities on the Chinese workers with whose help they had won Shanghai. These selfish and treacherous Generals turned hostile to the nation simply with a view to satisfy their own personal desires, and sold for nothing to the alien capitalists the Kwomintang established by the patriots of China. (They) destroyed the principles of Sun Yet San sold (lit. presented) independence to the alien capitalistic Government and themselves began to indulge in pleasures and luxuries.

Workers also had got tired of this oppression and treachery. They began to establish a separate organisation of their own and on losing Hankow started direct for Canton with their full force. Canton as is known is the first city where Sun Yet San the darling (lit: youth) of China had established independent (?) Government.

Jathas of the *Kirtis* (workers) began to advance towards Canton with great fervour and zeal and captured the city in no time. Page. 54. This happened on the 10th December 1927. These selfish people started like an unbridled camel, went to the Honam island and took shelter (lit. stopped) under the guns of America and capitalistic Governments.

There is a settlement of European nations in Shamin just close to the Honam island. Americans form bulk of the population there. Hongkong also is near from this place. Fearing this new revolution of Canton America set up big guns at its legation and turned their mouths just towards Canton. Warships also began to sail (to and fro) the river at full speed. Seeing this, these defeated Generals took courage; but in spite of this they lacked the courage to meet the *Kirti Dal* in open fight. It was due partly because a major portion of their own army had joined the *Kirti Jatha* and (partly because) they were now overtaken by the fear lest they should lose what little of army they had. Taking this in consideration they got confused.

The foreign capitalistic Governments saw that the prey was getting out of their hands. Consequently, they began to offer a support to (lit. pat on the back of) these Generals very strongly and when they assured the latter fully that warships and the legation guns would remain on their back, these treacherous Generals advanced.

The condition of the "Kirti Dal" at that time was endangered. They could not fire for it was quite possible that their bullets might have hit those ships and boats and these capitalistic nations might have openly advanced against them (those workers) for maintaining order. The Generals got an opportunity and entered the city thirsting (lit. belching) for bloody vengeance, began to slaughter the unarmed citizens most mercilessly and slew into piles 5000 persons in two days only.

Their excesses went to such a length that (they) killed seven citizens of Soviet Russia as well, nay, the Deputy Consul of Soviet Russia and women also were slain mercilessly.

In short, such is the condition of China in these days at the hands of these treacherous Generals. The workers are still making their Jathas in villages and are making preparations for teaching a lesson to these Generals.

Shaukat Usmani,

Delhi.

Translated by

Morid Husain,

Translator.

The *Kiri* (Urdu edition) for the month of May 1928 publishes the following :—

Page 62. Conspiracy of Imperialism in the All-India Trade Union Congress.

(From the pen of Mr. S. A. Dange, Asstt. Secretary, All-India Trade Union Congress).*

The declaration (about the personnel) of the Simon Commission and the mean part played by the imperialistic labourers of the British Labour Party, has exposed the real significance of the labour movement in England and the Right Wingists. (Mr.)* MacDonald is the helper and companion of Birkenhead and Baldwin, not in the capacity of a man but (in that of a person whose duty is) to give expression to the special inclination generally found in the Right Wing movement of Europe. The second

* The brackets appear in the original—Tr. International of the Labour and Socialist parties of Europe (which has its head-quarters at Amsterdam)* and the International Federation of the Trade Union, Amsterdam, alone mostly represent this movement. Now, what is to be seen is the line of action of the aforesaid unions, and the way in which their influence reaches us.

In achievements of the aforesaid two Unions reveal their (real) nature. The second International supported the barbarous action taken by the tyrannical Governments of Poland, Austria and Lithuania to suppress democracy and other popular institutions, shoot down labourers and to keep under sway the imperialists of the pre-war time. International Federation of the Trade Unions is a sort of labourers' veil put on by imperialism to mislead the ignorant people. British and German Trade Unions, which are under the influence of leaders like MacDonald, practically predominate in the International Trade Union. Naturally the result of this is that the said union works in co-operation with Geneva, for it is the head-quarters of the so called demonstration of the League of Nations, despite the fact that this League is utterly opposed to the revolutionary movements of national freedom which are being carried on in the colonies. Imminent danger has appeared for us owing to the snare which is being spread by the aforesaid unions.

The object of the economic policy of universal imperialism is to drain all the wealth of the colonies under its control through industry and commerce. The great (lit. boundless) attraction of the capital of colonies and especially of the western countries has infused a life (lit. created a zeal) in the national struggle, as it has done in India, China, Persia as also in the small central states of America.

In order to drain a country's wealth through commerce it is necessary that the atmosphere should be calm there. This is why wherever nationalists in the world gain strength and power, they are suppressed by the iron hand. This also means that imperialism is anxious lest labour movements and activities of the public should turn against it. Imperialism has, therefore arranged to achieve its object partly (through) oppression and coercion and partly (through) the Second International, the International Federation of Trade Union and similar other conservative (?) elements spreading throughout the world under MacDonald, Lansbury, Benn, Sassoon Beech (?) and (other) leaders of the same type.

In order to complete this mental conspiracy and to bring the East under the influence of imperialism a resolution was passed on behalf of the Labour Party of Europe at the meeting of the International Federation of Trade Union held at Paris last year,

to the effect that vigorous efforts should be made to bring under its control the Trade Union movements in all the colonies. The General Council of the British Congress had the honour (lit : pride) of moving this resolution.

They started with the work of ensnaring China, India, Africa, Java, etc., in its trap of hypocrisy. China refused to fall a prey to this conspiracy. The enthusiastic revolutionary element in Africa which wanted directly to face (it) with full vigour was excluded from this movement. Java showed indifference. The Dutch imperialists shot down thousands of Hindus and Muslims living in Java while the International Federation of Trade Union & the Second International were amusing themselves at Amsterdam under the patronage of Dutch imperialism. India alone is now left behind. A deep conspiracy is being hatched to ensnare India in the trap of the Second International, International Federation of Trade Union and of MacDonald.

Followers of the (Indian) National Congress are concentrating their attention entirely to the Simon Commission and the boycott agitation. Despite the fact that the Trade Union Congress consists of members more than one lakh, cold treatment has been meted out to a major portion of the nationalist leaders and the All-India Trade Union Congress. On such a God-sent opportunity Mac Donald's Party has, after recommending to the International Federation of Trade Union, sent Messrs. Percill, Holsworth, Fenner Brockway, Thurtle, Mardy Jones, in short a waggonful of Labour leaders to examine the situation in India. A real drama of deception has commenced. While one supports the Commission, the other is opposing imperialism. The third is angry with the C. I. D. in India, and the fourth is complaining about the poverty-stricken houses of the poor Indians etc. and this is with all the followers of the All-India Trade Union of the world and are trying to connect (lit. affiliate) the Indians with the International Trade Union at Amsterdam.

Percill whose real self was exposed by the *Harold* (Bombay) at his arrival (in India) was the President of the conference of the International Federation Trade Union held at Paris. He has probably been sent here to serve two purposes. He made a strong effort at the Cawnpore meeting of the Trade Union Congress that Mac Donald's followers should not be condemned in connection with the Simon Commission, and that, if possible, the boycott resolution also should not be passed. But the workers of the Trade Union Congress despite their agreeing with Percill to a great extent did not get ready to go to such a limit through fear of the public. Percill is now busy playing another game, and that is that imperialism and the future labour, imperialistic Government of England, may be freed

from the anxiety about the Indian labour movement by affiliating it with the British Labour Party. Very few Indians realise the harm that will be done to us by our affiliation with the Amsterdam (Trade union) people. Very little attention has been paid towards the manoeuvres that are being employed by imperialism in different forms. The International Federation Trade Union has badly failed to guide the British miners. (It) did not succeed in suggesting the right policy to the German people against American imperialism and proved an utter failure in giving help to the Chinese and the people of Java. So, what can we expect from such unions, no matter whether they be under the influence Percill and Co's League of nations which is carrying on (its) work through the Geneva Labour office. Once upon a time a cloud (lit. large army) of locusts started to examine the condition of the green trees in India. They (locusts) brought brotherly message from the green trees of their country. The leaves of the trees in India shook hands with them generously. Locusts opened their mouths and studied them with great interest. The cloud of locusts fully understood the green leaves ; they united. No leaves were, however, left to understand these insects and to shake hands with them in a brotherly way.

A brother who sometimes used to sit on the green leaves of these trees understood the whole of this affair (lit. matter). Our Indian brethren should be on their guard against the British Labour leaders who are no better than (lit. of the type of) a cloud of locusts.

NOTE.—Mr. Percill, President, Trade Union Congress, Mr. Halsworth, Mr. Mardy Jones, M. P. and Mr. Fenner Brockway, Independent Labour Party, etc., had come into India to see the condition of the labourers here. They have now gone back after staying here for two or three months. This article is being published a bit late.

“(Editor, the *Kirti*)”

Translated by

Morid Husain,

Translator.

In its editorial notes the *Kirti* (Urdu edition) for the month of May 1928 publishes the following note:—

Page 66. Establishment of the Kirti Kishan Party (Workers and Peasants' Party).

In order to organise labourers and peasants a meeting was held at the Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar, on the 12th April at 6-0 p. m. at the invitation of Bhai Sohan Singh Josh and Bhai Bhag

Singhji Canadian. (The meeting) was attended by Dr. Satypal, Bhai Gopal Singhji, B. A. (National), M. A. Majid, Raizada Hans Raj, M. L. C., Lala Kidar Nath Sehgal, Feroze Din Mansur, Master Kabul Singh, Lala Ram Chandra, B. A., and several others numbering over 60 persons from the North West Frontier Province, and the different districts of the Punjab. In order to conduct formal proceedings Raizada Hans Raj was elected to preside over the meeting.

Afterwards it was unanimously passed that a party should be established the object (lit. work) of which should be to organise the peasants and workers, that it should be called the "Kirti Kisan Party" and that those present should be regarded as its members. After this Bhai Sohan Singh Josh was elected as the General Secretary and brother M. A. Majid, of Lahore, as the Joint Secretary of the Party. A Sub-Committee consisting of the following members was appointed to (draw up) rules and regulations :—(1) Lala Kidar Nath Sehgal ; (2) Brother M. A. Majid; (3) Gopal Singhji B. A. (National) (4) Gyani Hira Singh Dard and (5) Sohan Singh Josh.

We hope that after framing rules and regulations soon some practical programme will be started to organise the workers and peasants.

Translated by

Morid Husain,

Translator.

The *Kirti* (Urdu edition) for the month of June 1928 publishes the following note from its editor:—

WORKERS AND WOMEN OF RUSSIA.

Page. 2. The deadly foes of Russia may talk whatever nonsense (they like) but those people who have once been to Russia and seen with their own eyes the state of affairs prevailing there, come back as its friends even though they may (have gone there as) its enemies. Mr. W. J. Brown is the General Secretary of the Civil Service Clerical Association of Britain. He too went to Russia to make enquiries about the condition of Bolsheviks and stayed there for full three months. He has published in the form of a book whatever he saw there with his own eyes. Describing the condition of workers he says:—

The brackets "Russia spends a sum amounting to five
appear in the or six crores of rupees annually on rest-houses and
original Tr. sanatoriums for workers. This sum amounts to one-
seventh of the Russian budget and the Russian budget
is the budget of a poor country. If we (in England,*

incur expenditure on the comforts of workers in the same proportion, we shall spend the sum of 12 crores of rupees on rest-houses alone. BUT WE DO NOT SPEND EVEN A PENNY. About seven and a half lakhs of workers in Russia annually spend their two weeks' leave in these rest-houses, about which I shall write hereafter. Free quarters are supplied there. Food and medical aid also are provided free of charge; and Russia is a poor country."

The chapter devoted to Russian women is specially interesting. Its perusal shows that it is the Russian women alone in the world who enjoy equality. He writes:—

"The fact is that the relations of men and women in Russia are more independent than in the west. Sexual desires are comparatively less (intense) but the Russian women are far more modest than those of Germany, France and England.

It will appear to be a strange thing as I have already stated, that the women in that country take bath naked. For this reason I want to make it clear that there is no such paper as the *News of the world* in England. You won't find in Russia any pictures, divorce cases or such headlines in newspapers as might appeal to sexual desires, but you would find all these things in popular English and French newspapers. Again, open connection of men and women are under greater restraint and control in Russia than in England. Nor will you find such immoral acts in parks and cinemas as are seen in England. Russian films outdo the English and American films I have seen not from the view-point of photography but from that of dancing. In these (films) you will not find any such intervals as you get in England for kissing and caressing and embracing."

Our readers have read similar views about Russian films and dramas in the last issue. These (views) show how Russia is making rapid progress (lit: galloping in the field of progress). Those people who daily throw mud at Russia, give only a proof of their own good nature, but their propaganda can do no harm to Bolshevik Russia. (Those who) spit at the sky (receive back the) spittle on face.

Translated by

Morid Husain,

Translator.

In its supplement the *Kirti* (Urdu edition) for the month of August 1928 publishes the following:—

Page 2.

We do not want to indulge in self-glorification. The *Kirti*

magazine is before you as it is. You can yourself judge whether the country and the nation require it or not—and whether it will prove useful for the country and the labour class.

Opinions of Gentlemen who have expressed their valuable opinions of their own accord about the *Kirti* after perusing it are given below. We heartily thank those gentlemen and newspapers that have sincerely welcomed the *Kirti*. After reading these opinions you can yourself infer in what way the *Kirti* has been welcomed both by the press and the public.

While declaring (its) policy we had written that this periodical had not been started with a view to popularise (lit. improve) Urdu literature, nay, the object of starting this periodical is to express our socialist views in broken Urdu language and to place them before the public. We had felt the need of the propagation of socialism in India and we believe that the salvation of the country lies in spreading and propagating these views. Feeling this necessity we have entered the field, for otherwise neither we are Urdu writers nor are we specially well versed in Urdu literature. The circumstances, however, have urged us to express our views in whatever way it is possible (for us to do).

We think that you might have seen our periodical; if not so we wish you to see it once at least and after that, it lies with you whether you become its subscriber or not.

(We are)

Your comrades in liberty,

Editor and Manager,

The *Kirti*,

AMRITSAR.

Translated by

Morid Husain,

Translator.

In its supplement the *Kirti* (Urdu edition) for the month of August 1928 publishes the following:—

Page 7. Readers of the *Kirti* know what sort of periodical the *Kirti* is. Managers of the *Kirti* were anxious since a long time that gentlemen who did not know Gurmukhi might also benefit by its perusal. At last the desire of the Urdu-knowing class has been fulfilled, that is, the Urdu *Kirti* has entered the field. As regards the policy of the *Kirti* there is no need to write anything more than this—(and) it is sufficient to write this much only—that the *Kirti* is the sympathiser of the oppressed and the helper of the poor. It is
Page 8. the only periodical of its type. Those who want

to destroy the capitalists and the Government must send for at least one of the *Kirtis* and read it. April 22, 1928.

The *Desh Sewak*,

Jallundur.

Translated by

Morid Husain,

Translator.

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

Page 25. Complete revolution is the only remedy of all our Troubles.

*The brackets appear (From the pen of
in the original—Tr. Bhai Ram Chandra B.A. (National)*

India has been fighting the war for liberty for years (past) and thousands and lakhs of men have sacrificed their lives and properties for this liberty, but we do not yet know what we shall gain by this liberty. The condition of the Indian masses is that every richman and clever and smart person who knows how to talk glibly ensnares into the trap of avarice men who can serve his purpose and start a movement and they (? the latter) follow him. From the Muslim invasions down to the present time so many fights have been fought for the liberation of India, innumerable lives have been sacrificed (and) many a times the Indian rulers even gained victories which benefitted the ruler, his family or his personal attendants (lit. men), but the masses gained nothing except that they paid taxes, abandoned their houses and properties, sacrificed their near and dear ones, cut their own throats and those of their adversaries and shed blood, but their own lot did not change. The oppressed class among the masses has been awaiting liberty for centuries so as to get comforts. It fought many a battles so as to bring about better days, but its afflictions did not minimise. In every movement that came into being the masses took the most prominent part and made sacrifices greater than before. But sacrifices alone have come to their lot. The fruit of sacrifices is always reaped by the ruling class. Leaders came and went, movements rose and fell, but their condition remained the same. It is the saying of a poet:—

“ I go a short distance with every swift-paced man, “ I do not yet recognise the leader” such has been the condition of our masses. They regarded every movement as the movement for their welfare and took part in it, but when the organisers of that movement achieved their object, the masses were left where they were before.

But time has now come that before plunging into any movement we should thoroughly consider what we want, and again we should not at all join any movement in which we may have to make sacrifices without getting anything in return.

At present India is badly bound up with the chains of slavery. But our slavery is not a slavery of the foreign rulers only. Poor Indians are slaves of the rich Indians also and these rich Indians help the alien rulers in their loot by becoming Rai Sahibs, Rai Bahadurs, Police officers, Judges, Munsifs, doctors and Public Prosecutors. The truth is that at present the troubles which
Page 26. are being experienced by the Indians at the hands of their own Indian brethren are less severe than the oppressions practised by alien rulers, and freedom for the poor class means freedom not only from the slavery of the English but, more than this, from the slavery of these richmen.

Poverty is the root cause of all afflictions. What sin is there which is not committed by a poor man so as to maintain his body and soul? But, is viewed minutely, no act of poor man is a sin. Sins have been invented by those people who are at present well-off and who do not do any work and live upon the toil of others. They want to maintain the existing condition in which they have not got to move even their hands and feet a bit and still they become possessors of lakhs and crores (of rupees).

Take up the question of poverty and richness. What is worth considering is that the people who are poor toil hard from morning to evening in the world. An Urdu poet who perhaps was connected with the royal family of Delhi has well described the rich people.

“ Morning passes in drinking (lit. with cup of wine)

“ Evening passes with the beloved,

“ God knows about the future,

“ But the present time passes in comfort.”

The world is the result of the labour of the workers and peasants. If all the rulers, vakils, judges, factory-owners, *Sahukars* and zamindars disappear from this world, even then the workers and peasants can jointly run this workshop of the world smoothly and pass their lives with pleasure. Carpenters and ironsmiths will manufacture spade and plough, masons will erect houses and peasants will sow seeds and produce grain. If the workers and peasants give up work today all the factory-owners, *sahukars*, authorities and zamindars cannot fill their stomachs by writing on *bahi* (account books), supervising factories, or by writing on papers, nay, they will die of starvation. This shows that the world depends on the

existence of workers and labourers. All the things on which life depends are produced by workers and peasants. Sahukars and richmen are useless in maintaining this world and are a burden to the poor working people. In such circumstances what was required was that these people who are known as workers and peasants should have been in a condition more prosperous than other in the world, how unfortunate it is that this very class which gives life to the whole world passes life in such a bad condition that may God forgive us; How well has Iqbal said:—

“Capitalist won the game by deceitful moves, (while)

“Labourer suffered defeat through extreme simplicity”.

A few clever people have joined together and created a system under which, after forming and producing everything and giving the world its present shape (lit. colour), they have pushed in this bad condition the workers and the peasants, the real “creators”. Workers and peasants lead lives of helplessness and poverty, while those who do not even move their hands and feet pass their lives in pleasures and amusements. Private ownership is at the root of this system and ever since private ownership has come into being, the labouring people have not so far enjoyed and cannot enjoy prosperity. The greatest offender in the world is the person who first of all held possession of a piece of land and said that it belonged to him. This private ownership was the beginning of the economic slavery of workers and peasants.

Not even the smallest plot of land in the world was given to a single individual. The whole of the land is the common property of the persons who live upon it, and when a single person says that a certain (plot of) land belongs to him he does the grossest injustice, since he deprives other man of the right of its possession. In this way the people who were clever, cunning and smart, took possession of the whole of the land & deprived other persons of all rights over it with the result that the latter began to die of starvation. Then the people who had taken possession of the extensive plots of land said to these oppressed people:—“We shall not allow you to build houses to live in (and) to take water from our wells and tanks for drinking purposes. Fly in the air. Eat and drink air, or otherwise if you are to live in this world, cultivate our lands, work hard from morning to evening, carry on cultivation in storms, rains, frost (lit. dew) lightening, winter and in the excessive heat, look after the crops and then when the harvest is reaped (lit. comes) store it in our houses and from that we shall give you a share we shall deem necessary for maintaining your life’. Thus on account of the private ownership coming into being was created the idle class of powerful, clever and cunning people, which did no work but passed the day in pleasure merely because of their so called right to the possession of land.

The other class was that of the slave peasants, which produced everything but had no right over anything. The former are called landlords, zamindars or jagirdars. They are in a large number in Bengal, U. P., Bombay and Madras. There is a sufficient number of zamindars in the Punjab also. Some are called Malaks, while others are known as "Murabedar" and "Jagirdar".

The chains of this slavery became still more tight when some enemy of mankind invented coin, by which property can be changed into money (lit. rupees & pice). The result of this has been that a miser first saves some money himself and then begins to have work done by others by making them slaves of money. As the latter do not possess money the miser who possesses money gives them wages as low as he likes. In this way by retaining a major portion of the wealth produced by these labourers, this man becomes rich (and a) factory owner. If you want to test (lit. see) its truth, see the factory workers. How stout and strong, hale and hearty they are when they first go to the factory, but owing to their daily doing hard labour and not receiving full wages for (lit. fruit of) their labour these people gradually become weak, pale and sickly and their blood disappears, but the blood-sucker factory-owner or *Sahukar* daily goes on holding threats of reducing their wages."

"The threats of the fowler ate away the heart (lit. bird of heart).

It never complained although (?) it fluttered lakhs of times."

From this it will become clear that the greatest of our calamities is the idea (lit. spirit) of private ownership right. It has created inequality among us and this alone is the root -cause of all our troubles. So long as richness exists, poverty will exist and so long as poverty will exist, ignorance, diseases, misery and distress, will all exist and there will be no decrease in the (number of) afflictions of the poor. If misery and distress, affliction, calamity, sorrow, grief and torments are to be removed, this poverty and richness shall have to be put to an end. This can be done by stopping (the system of) private owner-ship. Consequently, what is greatly needed next to political independence is economic independence and economic independence means economic equality or common possession by human beings of land and the things produced by it.

The third thing is social equality. There are different tasks, in the world. Every person is unfit to do (each and) every task. Distribution of work is therefore essential, but we cannot call a work mean, nor can a worker be mean. It is, therefore, necessary that we should put an end to caste system and untouchability.

Religious freedom is also essential along with social freedom or equality. Contrary to other people by religious freedom I mean freedom from religion. Instead of creating peace in the world religion has been the cause of war and strifes and bloodshed. Instead of uniting the people it is (standing) like a wall in the way of man and man. Time has now come that this wall should be demolished and human beings be strung in one chain. Peace can prevail in the world in that case only. How nicely has Akbar said:-

"What is religion. (It is) a political and a social system.

"It is in no way a touchstone for (distinguishing between) an infidel and a religious man."

And no political and social system can be such as to prove good for ever. Time changes. Circumstances change. Along with it this political and social system should also change. After discarding the old Hinduism, Muhammadanism, Buddhism and Jainism the people should accept the new "Ism" called communism. After giving up religions that divide men and cause bloodshed among them (people) should now advance towards this new religion, which is giving the message of liberty, brotherhood and equality.

The past has passed and the stories, traditions and books of the past, no matter whether they may be called religious books are of no use to us. We are going to the Future. We should advance. Old dress is changed when it becomes torn. When an old house gets dilapidated, it is demolished and a new house is constructed afresh. Come ! Let us demolish this old religion and make a new religion in which we may have sympathy with all the inhabitants of the globe irrespective of their caste and creed.

O Hindus and Mussalmadans ! Speak the truth whether you enjoy peace under the present day religious disputes. What has religion given you ?

"Race, nationality, religion (lit church), empire, civilisation religion (and) colour.

"Imperialism (lit master) has made fine selections and made intoxicants."

Religion is a wine which is given to you to make you intoxicated. You fight, die and get ruined and the people who do not believe in religion from the core of their hearts are becoming Rai Bahadurs, Khan Bahadurs, Viziers, Executive Counsellors, Judges and Munsifs. Have you ever seen these people in a mosque ? You will get neither these posts nor these pleasures. Farces of religion and nationality are the inventions of leaders. No existing religion or system will give you peace (of mind).

“The foolish man got himself cut for imaginary gods,

“Thou didest get the cash of (thy) life be looted while enjoying the relish of intoxicating thing”.

For this reason give up all these religious disputes. Give up communal representation and quarrelling over, and dying for, services, memberships and posts. You will not get anything from them. Highly educated rich men who have no sympathy with you are getting posts, titles and are becoming members in recognition of the sacrifices made by you while your condition is the same as it was. Tell me whether *Sangathan* and *Tanzim* have given you anything except jails, fines punishments and destruction.

O labourers and peasants ! The existing political, social, economic and religious movements are meant to ruin you. If anything can save you, it is unity, toleration, tolerance, sympathy and (mutual) love. Know this truth and unite and organise yourselves. Start Sabhas of labourers, peasants and the poor and in order to remove your grievances (lit. troubles) fight unitedly and jointly with the alien rulers, with the dominating class and with the class in power in your country. Fight against false superstitions and false traditions. The whole of the present system has become rotten. Destroy it yourself. Bring into existence a new civilisation, a new religion and new political, social and economic system. You do not require ordinary reforms. What you require is a complete revolution. Come and change this world. Make a new world in which the present inequity, injustice, tyranny and loot may come to an end.

Remove the present communalist leaders from their *gaddis*. The following couplet, as amended, from *Hali* will apply to them :—

“All the sinners will be released there.

“And our leaders will fill the hell.”

A large number of our present leaders are selfish & ambitious while others are coward and timid. These leaders have ruined you. Leave them and create from among yourselves new leaders who should be unselfish, honest, sincere and sacrifice incarnate who should be the advocates of not reforms but of revolution, may, who should lead you immediately to the path of revolution and bring about revolution (and) who should not become leaders and rulers at the cost of your sacrifices but who should improve your condition by their own sacrifices.

Translated by

Morid Hussain, Urdu Translator.

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

“War between Russia and England—but why?”

Page 31.

“Collision of Socialism with Imperialism.”

The brackets } (From the pen of Mr. F. D. Mansur)
appear in the }
original-Tr. }

“An outcry is being raised in the press on all the four sides that ‘war is about to break out, crores of children will again become orphans, Britain is busy making military preparations against Russia, confidential circulars for recruitment have been distributed in India, the military staff has put in a further demand for ninety millions of rupees, people are being prepared for war by means of propaganda, recruitment has also commenced, aerodromes are being erected on the north-west frontier, Lord Birkenhead went to Germany so as to rouse the latter against Russia (and) Lord Reading has now left for this purpose’. All this is true. Military preparations are being made but after all why? Can it not be prevented somehow or other? Cannot humanity be saved from murder and rapine? Is war between Russia and England indispensable? After all what is that deference of principle between Russia and England that war cannot be averted? After all why is the world going towards war? Why England is courting (lit. purchasing) war against Russia? There are many causes.

“In the first place Russian economic theories (lit. ideas) are different from those of England. Secondly, the Russian revolution has brought about an awakening in Europe and Asia. Thirdly, a formidable clash has occurred between Russia and England in Persia, Afghanistan, Turkey and China, with the result that England has had to lay down its arms. The matter that deserves the greatest consideration is the geographical position of Russia & the British empire in Asia. The British empire lies to the south while Russia lies to the north. In 1914 England held possession of the oil tanks in Baku, Batum, Mesopotamia and Persia. After sustaining a defeat from Russian diplomacy in 1922 this (possession) had to be given up, because Soviet made treaties with Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan and recognised the independence of these countries. This diplomacy has been of great help to Afghanistan Persia and Turkey in achieving their independence. The effect of this diplomacy was that several fertile tracts passed from England’s hands.

“Besides, when Russia made a treaty of equality with China in 1922 and renounced its special rights, it opened the

eyes of Chinese. They demanded recognition of China's independence from other countries also with the result that the position of British traders became weak (lit. the boat of British traders began to toss about) in China on account of the strike and boycott movements.

Again, India is the centre of British empire in Asia. If this is lost, the name of the British empire will be wiped off not only in Asia but in the whole world. India and revolutionary China are deeply connected with each other. Economic conditions of both the countries are alike. Both the countries have good experience of capitalistic pillage. Both have for years been the field for loot and pillage by the British and other capitalistic usurpers. The difficulty now is that if after achieving its national independence China can get equal rights like other nations, what are India's failings. If today China has achieved liberty tomorrow Indians will try (to achieve it). Indians also will adopt an attitude like that followed by China. Naturally Russia helps the inhabitants of Asiatic countries to stand on their own legs.

But the question is why England is shy of Russia. Imperialist countries also help each other. If Russia helps certain nations, why should England be feel confused. Why Great Britain is so much opposed to Russia? Why is it afraid of and why does it tremble from Russian propaganda? After all, what is the matter? First of all I want to say that it is not a diplomatic matter. The diplomatic moves that are being practised by Great Britain and Russia have behind them two different administrative and social systems. It is of foremost importance to explain British administrative and social systems and Russian administrative and social system so that (our) readers may become fully acquainted with the real causes of the next war.

When England entered Asia, she began to loot Asiatic nations, she freely made use of cannons, guns and bayonets. British Imperialists seized lands from the real inhabitants, massacred them in public streets and forced them, on the points of bayonets, to give special rights to the Britishers. They compelled (them) to provide facilities to the Imperialists in their loot and pillage. They compelled the real inhabitants to charge a very low duty on imported goods.

Asia is a continent rich in natural resources. Labour is cheap there but unfortunately its inhabitants do not possess machine-guns. Asia yields produce in abundance, but neither it has large armies nor does it possess men of war. In other words at the time when England entered Asia, her political (and) executive departments were advanced, commerce good and she possessed army and navy.

England began to sell her produce, her cloth, her machinery,

etc., in Asia. She began to invest her capital. She obtained special rights from the real inhabitants by threatening them on points of bayonets and whenever the Asiatic people raised any objection experiments of the latest science began to be made, This is the record of England in Asia. Similar record of Japan exists in Korea, of United states of America in Nikaragoa and Haiti and of France and Belgium in their possessions. Germany also had the same record when she ruled over other countries. Imperialists have the same record everywhere, without the least difference.

In order to sell his articles and to invest (lit. spend) his capital a ruling usurper trader has to max his record of achievement (lit. list) with these deeds. It should be remembered that when imperialists hold possession of a country like China or India, their object is to loot and pillage. Imperialists do not know how to spread their civilisation, construct roads or hospitals or to improve the physical condition of the people in that country. Whether roads are constructed or not whether hospitals are built or not (they do not mind) what the capitalists require is the progress of trade and increase of profit.

It is necessary that spirit should spring up against this pillage. (a hemistich.)

'It is not possible that fire may kindle without emitting smoke.'

Two kinds of spirits spring up among the subject nations against this pillage. The idea comes to the mind of tradesmen that foreigners drain out so much money and that it should remain in the country meaning thereby that instead of going in to the pockets of imperialists it should go in to the pockets of capitalists of the subject country. Accordingly in order to achieve this very object a movement comes into existence which purports to achieve the aforesaid object.

After passing through several preliminary stages this movement becomes gradually extensive. The majority (of people) in the country begin to join this movement with a different spirit and that is that there should be no pillage (and that) there should be none to usurp and none to be usurped.

When a spirit springs up against pillage the imperialists have inevitably to suppress this spirit. (In order to maintain *The brackets their pillage*) they have to make people the targets appear in the of their bullets. Today it is not necessary to cite ins-original-Tr. tances at this stages (lit. here). The whole of the history of imperialism abounds with these achievements. A movement is not suppressed by making people the targets of bullets. Dyer fired bullets in the Jallianwala Bagh, but the movement was

not suppressed. Bullets were recently fired on labourers in Calcutta and Bombay, but did the strikers resume work the following day? No. the strike increased tenfold. The Imperialists committed massacre in Shanghai and the Chinese revolution was the upshot of this (massacre). In the Jallianwala Bagh General Dyer spilled the blood of hundreds (of people) and the non-cooperation movement was the upshot of that (bloodshed).

The necessity of murder and rapine is felt to maintain pillage. I need not say why England loots other countries. The British social and administrative system rests on pillage. Pillage is therefore essential. England is economically obliged to commit pillage in countries which are rich in natural products. England can do nothing except usurping the things that belong to others. Ramsay MacDonald will have to adopt the policy followed by Mr. Baldwin. The world has once already experienced this. If Lloyd George is Prime Minister he also will do what is being done. So long as the existing economic conditions prevail in England, imperialistic strategems will continue to be practised in the same way. Imperialistic strategems are not the result of the evil motives of any particular person. Nor have British brains this characteristic. The origin of imperialistic strategems lies in the necessity of investing capital, earning profit, protecting property and business, etc.

England, Germany, Japan, the United States of America and all other big empires are all alike in this respect. Their condition is similar. Therefore similar results appear in every case. I want to catch hold of the real rootcause of disturbance, for these evils are not result of evil nature of any particular person, nay they are the permanent outcome (lit. fact) of some particular kind of economic organisation.

Side by side with the imperialistic attitude we have now to see how Soviet Russia has established connection with Russia. The first thing is that the Government of Russia has been established on economic foundations and not political ones. Elections take place on the bases of occupation and not that of constituencies. The walls of Government have been erected on the principle of what the people do instead of 'where they live'. The Soviet system of Government is in reality not political but economic. Secondly, under the Soviet system of Government all means of products (Railways, factories, mines, etc.)* are the property of the whole nation and not private property as under Great Britain. The

*The brackets appear in the original-Tr. Soviet system of Government is such a Government as spends the profit on houses, schools, hospitals, etc., and for improving the economic condition of labourers instead of giving it to a few capitalists. The profit is spent for providing comforts to the Russians.

It is for this reason that capital does not accumulate with Russia to spend it in some other country like England. This means that the power which compels England to keep other countries under subjection is not present in Russia.

Owing to lack of this power Russia does not want to establish its possession in China, Afghanistan, Persia or India to exploit the people thereof. Instead of establishing its possession on other countries Russia is compelled by its Soviet system of Government to maintain friendly relations with its neighbouring nations. The eastern railways of China were constructed from the joint capital of Russia, France, Great Britain and America to exploit China. When a treaty was made between Russia and China in 1924 it was declared that China and Russia will henceforth have equal possession on these railways. This means that Russia conceded rights of equality to China. It also means that Russia renounced its special rights and asked (China) to take whatever belonged to it.

This attitude of Russia attracted Asiatic towards itself. This attitude compelled Sunyet San on his deathbed to send his last message to Soviet Russia. Western imperialists were inimical towards Sunyet San because he wanted to liberate the Chinese masses from their autocratic grip. Russians regarded Sunyet San as their brother.

It was Russia which acknowledged the independence of Afghanistan first of all and it was for this reason that the Amir of Afghanistan spurned the counsels of the Imperialists, reached Russia and first of all visited the mausoleum of the person who acknowledged the independence of Asia. This does not mean that the king of Afghanistan became a communist. On the other hand every person likes friendly connections instead of the threats of boyanets. England always tried to subjugate Afghanistan. The powers of Amir Habibullah Khan were not far greater than those of the Nizam of Haiderabad.

As all sources of income in Russia are the common property of the nation there appears no reason why Soviet should take possession of any country to loot it. And as the British Government is based on private capitalists, it cannot but carry on loot. As long as the present administrative and social system exists in Great Britain collision will certainly take place in the country in which these two Powers meet.

The war preparations and diplomatic moves that are being at present carried on have connection with this very collision. This collision will take place between two powers. One is the power of loot, pillage murder and destruction which in civilised terms are called 'trade' (lit. business), 'responsibilities of the whites' 'blessings of white people and 'western civilisation' which in other words means

to make foreign countries slaves. And the other is Soviet policy or mutual understanding, friendship, equality etc.

I again make this clear here that British system of Government and Soviet system of Government are not the outcome of the honest and dishonest motives of the British and Russian brains. If there had been English, Germans, Russians (or) Americans here the same would have happened as is happening now. The question does not concern English and Russian, nay, it concerns imperialism and socialism, which are coming into conflict with each other. As England is imperialist and Russia is socialist, so their names are mentioned.

A struggle is today going on between imperialism and socialism in Asia in the same way as a conflict took place between slavery and free labour in United States of America in 1865. Asia is witnessing both the systems of Government. Both these systems of Government are opposed to each other. Asia will have to choose between imperialism and socialism. It cannot be the case that half the Asia may remain imperialist and the other half socialist.

I have used the word 'choose' in order to make matter clear, as otherwise man is not free in his movements and actions. When there were no Railways in India, all the people used to travel either on foot or on tongas and hackney carriages but owing to the construction of Railways none travels on foot. Railway train runs from Lahore to Amritsar and when a person possesses money, he never dares travel on foot. Just the same is the case with socialist and imperialist ideas. If soviet ideas satisfy and influence the mind and imperialist ideas do not do so, no person will prefer imperialist ideas, for the people will work with the ideas which influence (the mind) and the ideas which do not influence (the mind) shall necessarily have to be spurned. For instance none rides a broken cycle. The same is happening in Asia. A broken and a brand new cycle are lying before it. Asia is witnessing both the systems of Government.

Asia is making experiments with the imperialistic system of Government and social system for the last two years and it has begun to examine the Soviet system of Government since 1920. For this reason it is hesitating a bit at present, but these 80 crores, these 90 crores, of Asiatics will shortly choose one system of Government and that will be the Soviet system of Government, for it is this very (system) which is fulfilling the demands of the inhabitants of Asia. When (the people of) Asia choose the Soviet system of Government, they will make, on the principle of mutual understanding, their continent like a paradise in the world through their labour, wealth (and) natural resources.

This is the real cause why England feels shy of Soviet ideas. British rulers dread the Soviet because they cannot give a reply to the latter with their guns. The Russian preach co-operation, friendship, mutual understanding and social and economic equality. With what propaganda should England reply Russia? England can give a reply but with the same policy and propaganda as is being pursued by Russia. Soviet cannot be defeated in any other way. But no imperialist power can accord such a treatment to the people whom it is pillaging. Therefore only one weapon is left with it, and that is (the weapon of) cannons, guns, machine-guns, tanks and air bombs. Soviet ideas have truth in them.

England has laid out her capital in different parts of Asia. They (? the English) will safeguard it, and will do so in every way. Whoever, whether he be a Siamese, a Chinaman, an Afghan or an Indian, tries to injure the interests of England, a reply will be given to him with gun-fires. But fortunately where as it is not much difficult to shoot down people in Asia, it is also a natural principle that bullets preach ideas more rapidly than preaching (lit. conversation) by writing and by speech.

This is the struggle which is going on between Russia and England. This struggle is getting war preparations made. This struggle is uniting Asia and this very struggle is strengthening treaties between Persia, Afghanistan, Turkey and Soviet. As relations between these countries are based on equality, mutual understanding and sympathy they are stronger. England wants to unite Europe against the Asiatic alliance, but imperialistic powers themselves being rival (to one another), their alliance collapses before it can become strong. In fact, this is the reason why war has not yet commenced, as otherwise it would have commenced long ago.

England has become more apprehensive owing to the Amir's tour and owing to new treaties between Afghanistan and Turkey and Russia and Persia. This is the reason why Lord Birkenhead ran to Germany and on his return Lord Reading went there and why Mr. Baldwin is remarking in (the course of) his speech that Asiatic civilisation is about to make an onslaught on Western civilisation and that it is the duty of every Western county to protect Western civilisation. Whereas Western civilisation means a civilisation of pillage, Eastern civilisation means a liking for socialism. Troops are being brought into the field for a war between the East and the West and the people are being prepared for war and it cannot be said when the bugle of war will be sounded.

Translated by

Morid Husain Urdu Translator.

The *Kirti* (Urdu edition) for the month of September 1928 publishes the following:—

“End of capitalistic system and communist revolution

The brackets appear (From the pen of Bhai Ram Chandra B. A.,
in the original Tr. National Lahore)”

“The ruin brought about by the Great (lit. universal) war proves the truth of Marx’s prophecy to the effect that the end of the capitalistic social system will be destructive. The selfishness and avarice and greed of the capitalistic system pushed it into a war, but this war has neither solved the problem, nor has the peace (brought about by it) given any happiness to the people. The memory of the old war is still fresh, but preparations are being made to wage a new war. Rivalries that spring from the desire of territorial aggrandisement are increasing with rapidity and economic unrest is prevailing (lit. establishing its domination) on all the four sides. The only remedy of this is to put an end to the existing selfish capitalistic social system and to establish in its stead the communist system based on unity and cooperation.

“The war has exposed to the world the capitalistic system. In the form of the bitterest experiment the world has seen (the system) which existed in the imagination of only a few persons some years ago. The war changed the characteristic features of the capitalistic system into the real aspect of bloodshed, savageness, increasing poverty, starvation and diseases. And, seeing the existing social system advancing towards ruin the people have relinquished the hopes of (establishing) peace. Not only Europe had to join this war but the European rulers dragged the subject (nations in) Asia and Africa also in it and these subject nations are now realising that an international war and an international communist revolution, created after taking advantage of that war, can bring about their freedom.

Central Power.

“Amidst this universal commotion is needed a central revolutionary power which, after organising the whole of the nation, might bring about the necessary change and establish its own social system. Reactionary (spirit) will solve no problem and half heartedness is dangerous and Government by the people alone can save the situation from becoming more critical (lit. disastrous) and can organise and consolidate all the powers and material for this purpose.

Revolution.

“The situation created by the present society alone is spreading anarchy? and revolution and the object of communists is that instead of suppressing the elements of revolution they should

be put on the right path and the circumstances which are responsible for revolution and anarchy should be put to an end. This idea is absolutely false that the communists are creating revolution so as to thrust (lit. establish) their system on mankind'. Instead of prolonging the period of war the communist parties want to shorten it. But we believe that the substitute for Government by labourers alone is not peace but war, 'blockade' famine, diseases, revolution, losses and destruction of the existing civilisation.

"Connection with Democracy.

"Communists wish to establish a real democracy, but we think that real democracy cannot be attained under the capitalistic social system, nay, both these things are contradictory to each other. What equal right can a poor man have as compared with a rich man at present. The fact is that the Parliamentary Government is maintaining Government by capitalists alone under the pretext of public opinion, because the poor and the masses can have no control over the Government so long as rich men hold domination and control over society, but still occasions arise when Governments throw off the veil of parliamentary, constitutional or of democratic Government also as was done last time in England by announcing emergency circumstances.

"Other socialists and Communists.

"Communists believe that labourers can attain salvation by their own efforts. Our duty is simply to lead them on the right way to establishing Government by labourers alone.

"Similarly, the Bolsheviks did not resort to revolution in 1916 unless they had gained a majority in the labour councils and Trade Unions.

"The greatest difference that lies between us and other socialists is that we firmly believe that the labourers cannot achieve success without waging a strong war and that we shall have to fight out a war more terrible than the one imagined by the people. In order to maintain its powers and Government the ruling class will use all the political, economic and military resources at its disposal and the final decision will be arrived at in an open war. It is, therefore, extremely necessary that preparations should be made for it and a vigorous revolutionary organisation should be established.

"Our duty.

"All this will show that communist party is the advance-guard of the labour party in every country. It is the duty of its members to 'sink all powers' and join, in the real sense of the word, the labourers and their existing unions and associations and

work through them in accordance with the circumstances of the time. But they should keep in view (lit. remember) their goal and whenever an opportunity arises should lead the labourers to revolution. In this respect it is extremely necessary that strict discipline should be maintained in the party and strict conditions should be laid for becoming its member. But this discipline is international since we believe in an international revolution."

Translated by

Morid Husain,

Urdu Translator.

The *Kirti* (Urdu edition) for the month of September has the following:—

"Communist International.

The brack-	}	"(From the pen of Bhai M. A. Majid of Lahore)"
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"With the inception of the labour movement in 1864 the First international was established. Advocates of the labour movement holding different opinions joined it, but Karl Marx continued taking deep interest in it from the very beginning and his views continued to gain ground. At last, on his following out with Bukoyyn this international broke up in 1872.

"Second International.

"The foundation of the Second International was laid in 1889. While the leaders of the labour movement only had assembled at the First International, the Second International, was attended by representatives of a large number of labour unions, most of whom believed in class struggle and the establishment of a labour Government. The stage had now come when lesson of communism should have been given to labour unions, but owing to the peaceful progress of that time the people had come to believe that in the course of a change by peaceful method socialist system would be established some time in the world and that no violent (lit. resurrection producing) herald would be needed. But war ended all the dreams of peaceful progress and communism once again came to the fore as a strong movement with all its revolutionary longings.

"Beginning of the new Communism."

The new communism, therefore, begins with War. During War it became impossible for the labour unions to remain loyal to their Government and to go on raising the shout of international class struggle. For this reason the labourers in every country which joined the war were divided in two parties. A majority (of people) in most of the countries became the supporters of their respective Governments in (waging) war, but a majority (of the people) in Italy and Russia were opposed to war. This difference (of opinion) which was a difference (of opinion) regarding the problem of war and peace only subsequently continued becoming more marked.

"It was not possible for one party to support war without creating deep connections with the existing Government. It was not possible for the other party to oppose war without rejecting the present idea about the national Government. As this difference (of opinion) went on increasing, so did revolutionary significance go on becoming more apparent and the Second International broke up.

"Third International.

"In 1915 an international union of anti-war socialists was established at Zimmerwald, Switzerland, which from a union advocating international peace and international unity among labourers developed into (a union) supporting international revolution or class struggle of labourers.

"REVOLUTION OF RUSSIA.

"The revolution of Russia changed these differences into discord. The revolution of Russia again rake up disputes of capitalists' Government under the cover of class struggle or class peace and of the labour Government or the so-called existing democracy. The Russian Socialist Republican Party which had a majority in the Brussels London Conference of 1903 (and as a result of which it was called Bolshevik; from this Bolshevik term arose Bolshevism which is today used for this communism also.*

The brackets appear in the original —Tr. made a declaration in favour of class struggle and Labour Government and in 1917 raised a revolution against other Socialists who were in favour of effecting a compromise with capitalists and this revolution succeeded. Immediately after achieving success they established a new Government on the basis of Soviets (Labour Councils) in accordance with Marx's doctrine and made a declaration for a Government of purely masses.....and preserved their existence despite successive internal and external attacks. Since then these people have become the

leaders of the revolutionary movement of labourers in the world. As the influence of revolution went on spreading to other countries so did differences go on increasing among the leaders of the labour movement so much so that on the basis of revolutionary struggle of the labour party the Third or Communist International was established in 1919 and communism became an organised movement of the world.

Translated by

Morid Husain, Urdu Translator

The *Kirti* (Urdu edition) for the month of September 1928 publishes the following note from its editor:—

Page 61.

From the 2nd to the 8th August was the week of the friends of Russia. During this week the friends of Russia all over the world raised a voice of protest against the war preparations that are being made against Russia and extolled the system of Government in Russia. During this week demonstrations were made against war throughout the world and speeches were made at public meetings against the coming bloody war and the labourers of the whole world carried on propaganda against the war in what ever way they could.

During these days a large number of demonstrators were even arrested in England and France and subjected to rigours and oppression. This week was celebrated in the Punjab with great zeal and fervour. Grand meetings were held in Lahore and Amritsar at which secret activities of the British Government in respect of war preparations were fully exposed. Besides this an appeal was made to the public not to help in any way the British Government in the coming war. People attended these meeting in thousands. Principal Chhabil Das, Lala Kidar Nath Sehgal, brother Abduk Majid and Bhai Sohan Singh Josh delivered very strong lectures against war during these days and exposed fully the

Page 62

deceits of the Government. The following portion of the lecture which Bhai Sohan Singh Josh delivered at the Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar is worth consideration:—

From the 2nd to the 8th August is the week for the friends of Russia. During this week the friends of Russia will assemble and raise voice against war, I am a friend of Russia. If war breaks out against Russia, we will make strenuous efforts to make the war impossible by every possible way.

If any country stands in need of Russian principles it is India.

Indian people are dying of starvation. Similar was the case with Russia where Labourers' Government is now in power Russian principles will save (lit. are liberators of) India. I want that there should be a Labourers' Government in India as well like that in Russia. Russian principles are good because Russia does not want that 2 per cent capitalists should keep 98 per cent of human beings in slavery. Russia is opposed to war. We should put an end to wars totally, for the labourers all over the world have the same views. Where is therefore, the good of fighting with one another? We are made to fight against Russia. But what harm has Russia done to us? Why should we fight against them (Russians)? Should (we fight) to promote the cause of (lit extend) capitalism?

Do not help the Government in any way. It is the greatest sin to maintain capitalism. You also should resolve to destroy it. Our friends have decided that if a war does break out, we will carry on an agitation (lit. a struggle) against the war here in India. War is not far off & it will be fought at the Frontier. Preparations are being completed. Therefore take a pledge that you will in no way give help.

The following resolution was passed at Amritsar :—

This meeting of the inhabitants of Amritsar (held) under the the auspices of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha expresses its extreme (lit heartfelt) hatred and contempt at the war like policy which the imperialistic and autocratic nations are following with a view to crush democratic nations and warns the Government that if it will declare war against Russia or against any neighbouring or any other country, Indians will not join it (the war) nor will they accept any responsibility regarding it, nay, they will make strenuous efforts to make that war impossible by every possible method.

Translated by

Morid Hussain,

Translator.

The *Kirti* (Urdu edition) for the month of October 1928 bear the following on its title-page :—

"O *Kirti*" (worker) rise Display zeal and from a drop become a river.

"Break the chains of slavery; yes, from servant become master.

Here the periodical publishes a picture in which a youngman wearing a white shirt and red loin-cloth has been shown smashing up with a hammer a rock bearing the words "Smash up the old

system". Behind this man have been shown three other workers doing the same work with hammer, pickaxe and shovel respectively and for behind all these has been raised a red flag bearing the sign of a "hammer and sickle." The picture also bears the following words:—

Registered L-No: 2273.

Kirti Amritsar India.

(both in Urdu and English characters). For the month of October 1928

M. Gurdit Singh (artist)

13-8-28

Urdu Vol 1, No. 7

Gurmukhi Vol. 3, No. 9

The following has been given at the bottom of the picture.

Subscription Rs. 4 Annually.

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Editor Arjan Singh Gargaj.

Translated by

Morid Hussain

Urdu Translator .

The *Kirti* (Urdu edition) for the month of December 1928 publishes a photo of Lenin, bearing the following words:—

At the top: "Mahatma Lenin"

*The brackets

At the bottom Wladimin M. Lenin (Uljanow)*

appear in the

Morid Husain,

original Tr.

Urdu Translator,

The *Kirti* (Urdu edition) for the month of March 1929 publishes a letter headed "Congratulation to the First Workers and Peasant's Party from the Communist International," which substantially is a translation of the letter dated 2.12. 1928 from the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the All-Indian Conference of Workers' and Peasants' Parties.....Ext. P-334 (2).

Morid Husain,
Urdu Translator.

Saraswati Machine Printing Press, Meerut U. P. India.