COMMUNISM IN INDIA
1924—1927

SIR DAVID PETRIE

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND EXPLANATORY NOTES

by

MAHADEVAPRASAD SAHA

EDITIONS INDIAN
CALCUTTA : : INDIA
1958

Published by S. Ghatack from Editions Indian, 12, Krishnaram Bose Street, Calcutta-4 and printed by M. K. Mukerji at Temple Press, 2, Nayaratna Lane, Calcutta-4.

INTRODUCTION

David Petrie was made Director of the Intelligence Bureau, Government of India, in 1924 after the retirement of Sir Cecil Kaye. Towards the close of 1927, the present work was produced under his direction, which as its name implies, brought up to the end of that year the accounts of the events which the earlier work of Kaye had left at the conclusion of the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy case in 1924.

The original edition was exclusively intended for those officers of British Government, in India and abroad, whose duty was to carry on espionage against communist and revolutionary nationalists in India, countries on her borders and other parts of the world so that planned and systematic measures could be taken to suppress the anti-British movements in India and thwart the activities of its sympathisers abroad. Like Kaye's book this work also served as a guide to officers engaged in the above activities.

In India these books were issued only to those officers attached to the headquarters, central or provincial. They were not issued to those parts of the country where there was no communist activity. That is why very limited number of copies (165 copies in all) were printed. Thus they were a rarity and a very few outside the Intelligence Department knew about their existence.

The imperialist rulers of India were never tired of carrying on propaganda, in season and out of season, that communism posed a great danger to India and to the world. They knew next to nothing about the lofty and human ideology of Marxism-Leninism. They did not know that in spite of all these attempts "the germ of Bolshevism will still penetrate the wall and infect the workers of the world" as Lenin said. The firm foundation of communism over one-third of the world is an ample proof of this fact.

Being a strictly confidential and secret publication Petrie's book has been a rarity. It is not available even in the India Office Library, London. Even after independence it took some two decades for the government to release its copy to the readers in the National Archives of India in New Delhi. It is the only place where the book is available in the original print.

What has been said in my introduction to the new edition of Kaye's book last year may be repeated here. In spite of all its shortcomings, tendentiousness, perversion of many facts, this book, though compiled with the express purpose of suppressing and controverting communist activities, is an important work.

In order to make the present edition more useful and intelligible to the readers additional bio-bibliographical and other notes have been added.

I am grateful to many friends who helped me by supplying information for writing the notes, above all to M. D. Mundhra. But none must be held responsible for the opinions expressed therein nor for its defects.

It was a rather painstaking job to collect materials for the notes which are widely scattered, and often very incomplete. Bad health and months of hospitalisation interrupted the work.

I have tried to be factual and precise in my notes. I shall be thankful to readers if they kindly point out my errors and inaccuracies therein.

Strictly speaking David Petrie was not the author of this book. It was compiled by various hands in the Intelligence Bureau, Home Department, Government of India. And according to the practice of governmental departments David Petrie, the head of the Intelligence Bureau became its author.

To facilitate reference to the original edition of this book, the page numbers of that edition have been given in square brackets.

MAHADEVAPRASAD SAHA

A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON THE AUTHOR

Sir David Petrie was a son of Thomas Petrie, of Inveraven (Scotland). He was born in 1879. After taking his M.A. degree in 1900 at Aberdeen University he entered the Indian Police Service the same year and was posted to the Punjab Police, 1900-03 From 1904 to 1908 he was seconded for service with the Samana Rifles, a regiment which in conformity with Lord Curzon's aggressive frontier policy, had been raised in the Orakzai country and was supported by the Kohat Border Military Police. Petrie was successively Quartermaster and Adjutant in Samana Rifles. From that work he went to be the Assistant to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D., Punjab, 1909-10; and then to Assistant Director of Criminal Intelligence, Government of India, 1911-12. He was awarded the United Service Institution of India Gold Medal Essay, in 1911; King's Police Medal in 1914. After the transfer of the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi he was made Additional Superintendent of Police, Delhi, 1912-14. Here he found his true *métier* as was shown later when he was Director of Intelligence Bureau, under the Home Department, Government of India. Petrie was deputed on special duty in West Asia with the Home Department, Government of India, 1915-19. He was on the staff of the Duke of Connaught's visit to India, 1921, and on the staff of Prince of Wales's visit to this country, 1921-22. He was Senior Superintendent of Police, Lahore, 1923; member of the Royal (Lee) Commission on the Public Services in India, 1923-24.

Petrie's years in office as Director of Intelligence Bureau, from 1924 to 1931, was a period of ruthless suppression of the revolutionary and nationalist movements in India. Through the widespread network of his agents, he acquired some knowledge of this movement and of its links with other countries that made his services invaluable to his masters. The imperturbable manner of this rugged and ruthless man, with his immense physical strength, gave comfort to many an official in Delhi and other parts of the country. He acted as a model to his intimate friend Sir Charles Tegart, the notorious Commissioner of Police, Calcutta.

After his retirement from the Intelligence Bureau, Petrie was appointed a member of the Public Services Commission in

India. He was Chairman of that body from 1932 to 1936. At the same time he was chairman of the Indian Red Cross Society and St. John Ambulance Association, and Chief Commissioner for the Empire of India of St. John Ambulance Brigade Overseas, 1932-36. He was appointed a Knight of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem for his last job.

On retirement from India in 1936, he served under the Colonial Office in Palestine, December 1937 to January 1938. From there he was summoned to Britain to take over an important intelligence appointment for which his Indian experience had particularly suited him and his employer. He was created a K.C.M.G. in 1945. Imperial honours had already come to him in a steady flow. He was made successively a C.I.E., an O.B.E., a C.B.E., and a C.V.D and was knighted in 1929. In 1948 the Netherlands Government made him an officer of the Order of Orange-Nassau.

Petrie married in 1920 Edris Naide, youngest daughter of W. H. Elliston Warrall. She died in 1945. Petrie died at Sidmouth on August 7, 1945 at the age of eighty-one.

MAHADEVAPRASAD SAHA

PREFACE

The preparation of this book has had to go forward in the face of the day-to-day work of a busy office. It is likely, therefore, that its contents will exhibit many defects as well of form as of substance. Mere faults of style, or even of arrangement, will matter less, so long as the book fulfils its main purpose of presenting a moderately clear and intelligible picture of the workings of Communism in India during recent years. Defects of substance are more serious and call for a special word. In spite of free resort to selection and compression, the length of the book has exceeded the limits originally conceived for it; to which extent it is bound to suffer, as regards its readability, in comparison with the briefer and more spicy narrative that might so easily be written around the subject. The book, however, is not for popular consumption, but rather for those whose interest in Communism is a business one; if it is not a full summary, it is meant to serve at least as a useful work of reference, and as a guide to the formidable masses of information that have accumulated on the subject it treats of.

There is something else that must not be omitted and that is the method of treatment. The view-point throughout is that of one who sees Communism chiefly in its bearings on the internal peace and security of India. Conformably to this conception, I have made no attempt to discuss or to evaluate the Russian penetration of Afghanistan, the rise of Soviet-supported States in Central Asia, or the wider aspects of the existing position in China. All these matters bring in their train special political complications and special military problems, and while I attempt to draw no sharp line of demarcation between these and my own particular sphere of duty, I am clear that such questions can be properly dealt with only by those departments of the Government to which they rightly belong. On the same grounds I have decided to omit the information collated by me regarding Egypt and Persia.

There is also a certain amount of overlapping, as the Chapter on "The Movement in the Provinces" necessarily repeats a good deal of material which has been utilised in the main narrative as well. This Chapter, however, with the exception of the section on the Punjab, may well be omitted by those whose

interests in the question are not limited by Provincial boundaries. Similarly those who are not novices to the subject will lose little by skipping the lengthy historical summary which is comprised in Chapter II.

It will be recognised that no one can treat of a worldwide subject like Communism, even if only from his own particular stand-point, without being obliged to indent freely on the information collected by the servants of the Crown in many different quarters of the world. To all so concerned I wish to express my special obligations and thanks; I can only hope that any of them who may be confronted with a task similar to mine will be able to derive from India some measure of the assistance and support that has been so extensively afforded her from other quarters.

It remains for me to express my deep personal gratitude for the great and ready assistance rendered by the officers and staff of the Intelligence Bureau; in particular I am under no ordinary obligation to Messrs. Bamford and Cleary and to Khan Bahadur Abdul Majid, without whose willing and able collaboration the publication of this book, within a reasonable space of time, would scarcely have been possible.

Simla,
1st September, 1927.

D. PETRIE
Director, Intelligence Bureau

GLOSSARY

Aika	...	Unity.
Akali	...	Lit : Immortal, Term used for an extremist Sikh.
Anushilan	...	Lit : Improvement; culture. The name of a section of the Bengal revolutionary party
Ashram	...	Hermitage. A monastic retreat (Hindu).
Babbar Akali	...	Lit : Lion-like Akali. Term used for a member of an extremist group of Sikhs who resorted to assassination and plunder.
Charka	...	Spinning-wheel.
Chowkidar	...	Indian watchman.
Daffadar	...	N. C. O. in an Indian cavalry regiment.
Diwan	...	Meeting (Sikh).
Ghadr	...	Mutiny.
Granthi	...	Reader of the scriptures (Sikh).
Gurdwara	...	Sikh temple.
Haj	...	The pilgrimage to Mecca; lit. 'setting out', 'tending towards'.
Haji	...	Title given to a pilgrim who has been to Mecca.
Hartal	...	Closing of shops and temporary suspension of all business.
Hijrat	...	Flight; especially flight from religious persecution.
Hindu Mahasabha		An All-India Hindu organisation.
I. K. K. I	...	Executive Committee of the Communist International.
Jathedar	...	Leader of a Jatha or group.
Jirga	...	A term used in Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province for a council of elders.
Jugantar	...	Lit : New Age. The name of a section of the Bengal revolutionary party.
Khansama	..	An Indian cook or head servant.
Kirpan	..	A short sword worn by Sikhs.
Kishan	...	Farmer.
Krestintern	.	Peasants' International.
Mali Buro	...	A sub-committee or commission appointed by the Communist International.
Malik	...	Village headman in the North-West Frontier Province
Mahatma	..	Lit : Great-souled. Commonly, a saint.
Moulvi	...	A Mahomedan divine; a title of respect.
Mazdur	...	A labourer.
M. O. P. R.	...	International Organisation for Aid to Revolutionaries—more generally known as International Red Aid.
Motamar	..	Conference.
Muhajir	...	One who takes part in Hijrat.

Mujahid	...	One who takes part in a Jehad or Holy War (Mahomedan).
Mullah	...	A Mahomedan preacher.
Mutawwif	..	A Mahomedan guide in Mecca.
Narkomantz	...	Peoples' Commissariat of Nationalities.
Panchayat	...	A council of elders.
Pandal	...	A temporary structure for the accommodation of a mass meeting.
Pir	...	A spiritual guide (Mahomedan).
Politbureau	..	Political Bureau of Central Committee of Russian Communist Party.
Profintern	...	See R. I. L. U.
R. I. L. U.	...	Red International of Labour Unions (Profintern).
Sabha	...	Association; Society (Hindu).
Samiti	...	Association; Society (Hindu).
Sangathan	...	Organisation.
Sanjhiwal	...	Partnership.
Satyagraha	...	Passive resistance.
Serang	...	The head of a crew of Indian seamen
Shahid	...	Martyr.
Swami	...	A religious preceptor (Hindu).
Taluk	...	Sub-division.
Wahabi	...	One of a well-known sect of Mahomedan puritans.
W. I. R.	...	Workers' International Relief.
Yogi	...	Ascetic (Hindu).

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY: REALITY OF THE BOLSHEVIK MENACE

SIR CECIL KAYE'S BOOK

Early in 1925, Sir Cecil Kaye, shortly after vacating the Directorship of the Intelligence Bureau, compiled an account of "Communism in India", which, under the same title, was subsequently published in book form by the Government of India. This book covered the whole period from the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920 down to the end of 1924; and the author examined and described with some minuteness the activities of M. N. Roy in Moscow and of his "contacts" or agents in India, the Chief of whom were eventually put out of action by their conviction at Cawnpore in May 1924 on charges of conspiring to deprive the King-Emperor of the sovereignty of British India. The sentence of four years' rigorous imprisonment passed on all the four accused put on trial was upheld on appeal by the High Court of Allahabad, whose judgment delivered in November 1924, has, as Mrs. Besant observed, "conclusively proved the existence of a Bolshevik plot in India".

THE PRESENT WORK

The present work is designed to carry one stage further the task essayed by Sir Cecil Kaye, and to deal with events from 1924 onwards till the time of writing. I have selected the present moment as suitable for his survey, not merely because such a survey is from time to time clearly necessary, but also because the recent break between the British Government and Russia, marks a stage in the history of Soviet intrigues against the Empire at which it would seem appropriate to look round and to take stock of what has been going [2] on. To the narrative that is to follow I propose to prefix a working summary of Sir Cecil Kaye's book, which, to say nothing of making my story self-contained, will save me from continually harking back to explain allusions to events previous to the commencement of the period I am dealing with. Moreover, Sir Cecil Kaye's book is mani-

festly no more than the opening chapter of a history of which doubtless much more will fall to be written; while the author was still too close in point of time to the events he was describing to be in a position to attempt any evaluation of what had been accomplished. Appreciation would appear to be indispensable, if one is to arrive at some sort of just estimate of what Communism has done, or may be expected to do, in this country. It would be almost useless, in my opinion, merely to exhibit in one pen all the persons concerned labelled "Communists", without any attempt to delineate individual characters, to distinguish the true workers from the time-servers, and to see what the movement initiated by them counts for as a political force in the India of to-day.

REALITY OF THE BOLSHEVIK MENACE

Sir Cecil Kaye rightly saw the germ of a definite Communist plot against India in the "Thesis," passed at the second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, which stated that "the nationalist movement in the Colonial and Semi-Colonial countries was objectively fundamentally a revolutionary struggle, and as such it formed a part of the struggle for world revolution". There can be no doubt whatever (and recent events in China have proved this still more conclusively) that Great Britain has drawn upon herself the main force of the Bolshevik attack, partly as being the antithesis of all the Soviet system stands for, and partly as one of the Chief bulwarks against the world wide revolution which the Bolsheviks regard as the essential condition of their ultimate success. The Bolsheviks are convinced that in the British Empire the most vulnerable point is India (a discovery which, even if it be correct, is hardly original), and they cherish it as an article of faith that "till India is liberated, Russia will not be rid of the menace of England". All this can be established by evidence of a complete and irrefragable [3] character, but the Bolshevik designs against India have been so often, and so unequivocally, proclaimed by their own leaders, that some of the latters public pronouncements may well be left to speak for themselves.

PRONOUNCEMENTS BY LEADERS

At the end of February 1924, at the Communist anniversary celebrations, Zinoviev publicly stated : "The revolution will turn

from a European revolution into a world revolution only in the measure that the hundred million human masses of the East will rise. The East is the main reserve of a world revolution..... The proletarian revolution is aiming, first of all at English Imperialism."

At a session of the "Advisory Commission on Eastern Questions" at Moscow on the 8th October 1924, Zinoviev is reported to have said: "The Indian proletarian-mass" must be utilised by us as a reserve and bulwark for the Comintern in Asia. Unless the Third International throws off its lassitude and alters its methods, the danger will exist of the initiative passing from its hands, and of an independent revolutionary movement growing up in the East devoid of the Communist spirit. This would deprive us of the possibility of seizing hold of the leading strings of the revolutionary movement in Asia". He made proposals, which were accepted, to the effect that a scheme should be worked out for establishing direct contact with the Indian masses "excluding the local Communist Party", and that an enlarged Indian section should be formed, attached to the Central-Eastern Section of the I.K.K.I. (Executive Committee of the Communist International).

G. Voitinsky, writing in the *International Press Correspondence*, the official organ of the Comintern, of the 6th November 1924, said: "The innumerable millions of toilers of India have since the October revolution ceased to feel that they are alone in their fight against the British oppressors. They know that in the North a powerful force has sprung up and is ripening; a force capable of inspiring fear, even in the heart of "invincible" British Imperialism. The toilers of India know that the country of the Soviets is their one true and unselfish ally". [4]

In an article entitled "The Epoch of Countries and Revolution" in the International Press Correspondence of the 9th July 1925, Zinoviev said: "The events in China with doubtless have a tremendous revolutionising significance over the other countries in the East, and especially over the other Colonies and the countries dependent on Imperialist England. Just as in its day the Russian Revolution of 1917 had the greatest revolutionising influence on Turkey, Persia and China, the present great movement in China will, without doubt, have a tremendous influence in Indo-China, India, etc. The enormous contingents of oppressed humanity who live in the East, numbering hundreds of millions, will greedily seize at every item of news from revolutionary China

and will concentrate their thoughts on how they themselves can organise and revolut against the oppressors, the Imperialists .....China has revolted to-day; to-morrow Indo-China and India will rise. Shanghai, Hong-Kong, Peking and Canton have revolted to-day; to-morrow Calcutta and Madras will rise".

In the *International Press Correspondence* of the 20th of September 1925, A. Voznecienski wrote: "When British Conservative Ministers speak of 'Bolshevik agitation' in China, they never forget to add 'and in India'. Although at present there are no open symptoms of a national revolutionary movement in India, the fears of Lord Birkenhead are not altogether without foundation..... He and his colleagues have good cause to tremble with fear in face of the events in China, and to turn their glances to India even without mentioning these events. The events in China constitute only the beginning of a slowly but uninterruptedly rising revolutionary wave which in the next few years will sweep over the whole of Asia".

In the *International Press Correspondence*, No. 81 of November 1925, Karl Radek wrote: "The Victory of the National Revolution in the East in general, and in the first place in the vast country of China, is a direct challenge to Great Britain.....The victory of the revolution in China means the victory of the revolution in the whole of India, if not in five, then in ten, if not in ten, [5] then in twenty years. It is for this reason that England can make no compromise with the uprising East; it is for this reason that she is opposing the rising East and is destined to be beaten by it. The British Imperialists..... are seeking to cast the blame on some factor outside of themselves; they find this in the establishment of the Soviet Union. It would be Childish to deny the enormous rôle of the Soviet Union in the development of the revolution in Asia.....No matter in what way events may develop, there is not the least doubt that the fight against the Soviet Union and against insurgent Asia constitutes the central question of English foreign policy..... Every step, therefore, which she may take in any part of the world can mean nothing less than a partial mobilising against the chief enemy, against the revolution which is beginning to blow up with dynamite the already shaken pillars of British world domination".

In a letter (1926) from Roy to an Indian correspondent the following passage occurred:—"Every bit of information that comes from India is regularly brought to the notice of the Com-

munist International, which is extremely interested in the Indian movement and is anxious to have the closest possible contact with it. All action of the Indian Communist group abroad and its relations with organisations in India are determined by the decisions of the Communist International and are supervised by the same authority".

M. N. ROY AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The above utterances, out of the leaders' own mouths, will probably be deemed enough, but they will anyhow be supplemented in the next Chapter by a great wealth of evidence bearing on the activities of M. N. Roy. This evidence will show that these declarations are no chance expressions of a vague intention, but are the deliberate avowal of an abiding purpose—the calculated statement of a policy which is steadily and remorselessly being put into execution. M. N. Roy's membership of the Executive Committee of the Third International has extended over several years, and there has never appeared the slightest suggestions—any more than there is the slightest reason to believe—that in all [6] he does he is acting otherwise than in their interests and on their behalf.

SOVIET DESIGNS AGAINST INDIA

There is abundant evidence to show that as far back as 1918, i.e., from the very early days of the Soviet regime in Russia, the possibility of attacking England through her Eastern possessions, particularly India, was recognised by the Moscow leaders. In December 1918 the wireless stations of the Bolshevik Government broadcasted a report of a memorandum handed to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet by an "Indian delegation", in the name of the "Peoples of India". The memorandum called upon the Soviet for assistance, and ended with an expression of confidence that the days of England were numbered and that free Russia would stretch out a fraternal hand to the oppressed Indians. In the same month the Russian wireless announced officially the forthcoming inauguration of an Academy for the practical study of Oriental languages, and stated that, besides the teaching of such languages, the Academy would prepare propagandists to operate in Oriental countries, including India.

Wireless messages intercepted in November 1919 showed that the Russian Communist Party decided "to take concrete

measures to spread revolution in the East" and that the Third International would establish sections in Oriental countries; and the nationalist movements in those countries would be supported "as they tend to upset the existing authority while not opposing revolutionary aspirations".

Referring to a pan-Russian Congress of Oriental Communists held in Moscow in 1919, an extract from the Pravda, officially circulated by the Russian Government, observed: "The East is becoming Red..... The East is already stretching its arms towards Soviet Russia towards Moscow—and is turning its face away from London. [7]

CHAPTER II

SUMMARY OF EVENTS TO 1924 : THE CAWNPORE (BOLSHEVIK) CONSPIRACY CASE

SOVIET DEALINGS WITH CHATTOPADHYAYA

I will now attempt to summarise Sir Cecil Kaye's book, which, as I have explained, should help to make my narrative more self-contained and more readily intelligible. Definite and continuing relations between Moscow and Indian revolutionaries can be traced from October 1920, although, as has been shown, connection existed even earlier. About the time mentioned, V. N. Chattopadhyaya, the doyen of Indian revolutionaries abroad, drew up a scheme for the organisation of all Indian revolutionaries in Europe, two specific proposals being that the head of the political section was always to remain in close touch with the Soviet authorities in Russia, and that the latter should finance the scheme. The Soviet Government having agreed to a discussion, Chattopadhyaya went to Moscow, where (according to himself) he was promised help by Lenin if he could produce a mandate signed by leading Indian revolutionaries and Communists. About this time the Soviet authorities were dallying with the idea of exploiting pan-Islamic feeling against Great Britain in India and Egypt, but Chattopadhyaya insisted that this must be dropped, as Hindu-Mahomedan antagonism would be fatal to India; only Nationalism was to be preached, and when once India was independent, Communism could be introduced later. Early in 1921, almost all the Indian revolutionary leaders had been collected in Berlin, whither a Soviet representative was despatched to examine Chattopadhyaya's claims. As a result of a favourable report, the Soviet fell in with Chattopadhyaya's ideas, agreeing to support unconditionally any revolutionary movement in India. Lenin is said to have remarked that "a good Nationalist was better than a bad Communist". Money sent from Russia brought a delegation of Chattopadhyaya's followers to Moscow, [8] where, however, it encountered opposition from M. N. Roy. This man has played so prominent a part in the Communist campaign against India that a brief history of him will not be out of place.

CAREER OF M. N. ROY

The real name of Manabendra Nath Roy, as he now calls himself, is Narendra Nath Bhattacharji. He is by caste a Bengali Brahman and was born about 1888 in the 24 Pargannas District, near Calcutta. As an early member of the Bengal revolutionary conspiracy, he was prosecuted—but acquitted—in the Howrah gang case. The outbreak of the War found him intriguing with certain Germans in Batavia for the importation into India of arms and ammunition. Considerable sums of money were received and Roy twice visited Batavia to perfect plans, which, however, never came to maturity. The second of these visits he paid in August 1915 under the name of C. A. Martin, but by that time disclosure in India compelled him to abandon any idea of return. Arriving in San Francisco in June 1916, he assumed his new name of Roy, and would have been indicted in the San Francisco India-German Conspiracy Case, had he not fled over the border into Mexico. From Mexico he arrived in Moscow in June 1920. According to his own account, be persuaded the Soviet Government to provide a large quantity of arms and ammunition to be sent across the Afghan border into India. Ultimately negotiations with the Afghan Government broke down, and the scheme came to nothing. Thereafter Roy betook himself to Tashkent, where he decided to use some of the Indian Muhajirin as the nucleus of a revolutionary party, to organise a Committee, and to start a training school for Indian propagandists. He was subsequently summoned to Moscow by the Soviet Foreign Office to take part in the General conference of all Indian revolutionaries which Chattopadhyaya's delegation was also to attend. Roy left for Moscow in January 1921, leaving in charge one Abani Mukherji, a fellow Bengali revolutionary, who was concerned in the Far Eastern plots during the War, and who, after escaping from custody in Singapore, eventually found his way to Russia. [9]

INDIAN RIVALRIES IN MOSCOW

Reaching Moscow before the arrival of Chattopadhyaya's party, Roy managed to secure the ear of the Soviet authorities and to poison them against Chattopadhyaya's following as being Nationalist more than Communist. When the latter arrived in Moscow, they discovered that Roy had already signed a contract with the Soviet Government on behalf of the "Indian Nation-

alists", under which he had agreed to accept Bolshevism as the only workable organisation in New India and had pledged himself to support Bolshevism in India and throughout the world. There ensued some wrangling between Roy and Chattopadhyaya, but the Soviet intervened on the side of the former, their decision being in favour of recognising and helping only Communist groups, who could themselves, should they so desire, give help to nationalist movements. Roy's group was unconditionally recognised as the one with which the Communist International would work, and it was agreed to start "intensified propaganda in India," for which the Soviet Government undertook to provide ample funds. From that time onwards Roy has managed to retain the ascendency he then acquired, and though his position has at times appeared to be shaky, he has managed somehow or other to cling to it.

PLANS OF THE NEW INDIAN COMMUNIST GROUP

Soon after a decision has been given against Chattopadhyay, Evelyn Roy (Roy's American wife, *née* Trent) wrote to a correspondent in Paris as follows : "All work is to be carried on by the Communist Party which already exists here (Moscow); here will be established the Bureau for our work and the training school for such of our people as wish to avail themselves of it. Classes have already been opened in the University and we have 17 students enrolled .... All Nationalists are to seek help elsewhere; the International cannot aid Nationalist causes except through a Communist party as intermediary. Every effort will be bent upon building up a strong Communist party within the country (India), using those elements which we have outside .... as preliminary workers. Headquarters will be here and a journal issued." The "Communist Party" (of India) [10] was that which Roy had started at Tashkent and had taken with him to Moscow; besides, himself it comprised those students who accompanied him in order to receive their final training at the University in Moscow—namely the "Communist University of the Workers of the East", established in 1921 by the "Narkomantz" (Peoples' Commissariate of Nationalisties). After training, these workers were to be utilised in Eastern countries, including India. To study the Indian question the Comintern appointed a commission having a Sub-Committee called "Mali Buro", whose detailed decision was as follows :—

A Communist group to be formed in Moscow which would :

(1) prepare propaganda in all Indian languages;
(2) collect and train Indian revolutionaries and send them to India;
(3) select from Indians in Moscow an emissary for India—
  (a) to form a Communist Party in India;
  (b) to establish liaison between the Third International, Gandhi and the Khilafat Party;
  (c) to arrange for the despatch to Russia of representatives of Gandhi and the Khilafat Party;
  (d) to send representatives of the Indian working-classes to Russia for instruction.
(4) send a man to America to form a Communist Party among Indians in California.

The group was to work at first very secretly in Moscow and then to transfer to Berlin, when conditions were favourable. One Nalini Gupta was selected as emissary to India, in accordance with (3) above, and was given £200 for travelling expenses. Writing during this period to a friend Roy said: "My work in future will be to clarify the ideology of the Indian movement and to assist it in emerging from the narrow limits of bourgeois nationalism and to launch it into the arena of the class struggle." [11]

NALINI GUPTA'S FIRST VISIT TO INDIA

Nalini Gupta arrived in Calcutta (*via* Colombo) in 1921. There he got in touch with one Muzaffar Ahmad and with Roy's old friends among the Bengal revolutionaries. In March 1922 he left Calcutta as a lascar on a liner, but deserted at Colombo, whence he wrote and telegraphed to friends in India for funds and also cabled to an Indian at Leipzig. Muzaffar Ahmad sent him Rs. 500 by the hand of one Jotindra Mitra, enabling Nalini to travel *via* Marseilles to Berlin, where he submitted a report which was discussed at a meeting of Indians held at the beginning of May. Nalini claimed to have got in touch with various political, labour and revolutionary organisations in India and to have got them to agree to co-operate with the Communist International, if given substantial help for propaganda. He claimed further to have founded a Communist group, which had already started propaganda among Indian sailors. The meeting decided to confine its work, for the time being, to the circulation in India of Roy's propaganda literature, and to financing only Nalini

Gupta's group in Bengal—more extensive plans to be made after consultation with the Communist International.

THE TASHKENT CENTRAL COMMITTEE

About the time Nalini Gupta left for India, one Joffe, a well-known member of the Communist International, was sent from Moscow to Tashkent, with orders to establish there a Central Committee to deal with propaganda in India, Afghanistan and Central Asia, and, in particular, to serve as a channel of communication between Russia and India. This Central Committee was to comprise Indian representatives, whose special duty would be to maintain communication with Communist organisations in India. It was intended to despatch, at the end of 1921, a considerable number of trained agitators from Tashkent to India for the purpose of organising Communist groups. Roy, who arrived in Berlin in April 1922, declared that by then 17 of the 22 students whom he had had under training had been despatched to India.

OTHER FOREIGN CONTACTS

The decision of the "Mali Buro" to get in touch with Indians in California [12] may have accounted for a letter, written in December 1921, by one Sailendra Nath Ghose, of the "Friends of Freedom for India" in America, to the notorious absconder Rash Behari Bose in Japan, urging him to obtain arms and ammunition for despatch to India. The well known "Raja" Mahendra Partap, then in Kabul, was also instructed to come to Moscow *via* Tashkent, and thence to proceed across Siberia to Peking, one of his objects being "to establish close touch with certain Indian revolutionaries in Japan and to co-ordinate their efforts with those of the revolutionary party in India."

TASHKENT STUDENTS

As regards the despatch of the Moscow and Tashkent students to India, the majority appear to have been merely returned Muhajirin who had accepted Roy's terms as a means of subsistence. One of these men, who reached Peshawar in February 1922, stated that, on promise of undertaking propaganda in consideration of permission to return to India, he and his party were given £ 1,400 and six rifles, with letters addressed to tribal Maliks and Mullahs, urging frontier risings. Some of the Muhajirin, however, took their promises more seriously, and the Mos-

cow students included some dangerous men, to whom allusion will be made later.

ROY'S LITERATURE : PUNJAB AND KABUL CONTACTS

In April 1922 Roy arrived in Berlin, where he threw himself with vigour into his new duties. In that month he addressed a Communist conference, arguing that Indian revolutionaries had failed so far because they had no proper political organisation; such a body was the Indian National Congress, into which a revolutionary spirit should be introduced by means of propaganda; he was trying to get Communist literature in Urdu and Bengali ready for distribution in India, and had already despatched a certain amount, mainly to a Benares newspaper, the *Aj*. The despatch of propaganda in English began at once in the shape of the *International Press Correspondence*, the first numbers of which were noticed in India in May. One issue published an article by Roy in which he pointed to the Punjab as a [13] "promising recruiting ground for the proletariat army," as it contained the majority of the regular soldiers, who, "owing to their recent contact with the outer world, have become politically instructed and have imbibed revolutionary sentiments". It was possibly this belief of Roy's that had led him to get in touch (through Khusi Mahomed *alias* Mahomed Ali, one of the students who ran away from Lahore across the Frontier in 1915) with one Ghulam Hussain, who in 1922 was a professor at the Edwardes Mission College, Peshawar. At the invitation of Mahomed Ali and Zafar Hassan (another fugitive student), the latter of whom sent him Rs. 3,000, Ghulam Hussain went to Kabul in March 1922, on the pretext of taking up teaching in Afghanistan. Returning to India in June, he brought back Rs. 6,000 and subsequently received from Kabul some Rs. 16,000 more. With part of this money he published in Lahore an Urdu newspaper named *Inqilab* (revolution) and assumed for purpose of correspondence with Roy the name Mahomed Siddiqi. It may be mentioned that, while Ghulam Hussain was in Kabul, the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, which met at Bombay in May 1922, considered an application from Indians in Kabul to form a Congress Committee there and to raise within two months a crore of rupees "from foreign countries." The Committee decided to recommend affiliation, but rejected without discussion the money proposal; they

evidently knew that the money was Bolshevik money and were not prepared to accept such a subsidy with its implied obligations.

"THE VANGUARD"

During April and May, Roy continued to busy himself with the bringing out of a Communist paper in Berlin, which he chose as a base in preference to Moscow. His reasons for this choice are of interest. He considered that he had developed satisfactory communications with Northern India through Mahomed Ali, his 'centre' in Kabul, but had met with less success in regard to the Bengal organisation started by Nalini Gupta and Muzaffar Ahmad. He believed he could more easily establish connection from Central Europe and use it to get members of his party into the [14] Indian National Congress. The policy of his paper would be to condemn existing movement—non-co-operation, Khilafat, and the Charka—and to concentrate on arousing discontent among the masses. The first number of Roy's newspaper, *The Vanguard of Indian Independence*, was dated 15th May 1922, and the first copies were intercepted in India in June. Its effect was soon apparent in Calcutta, where the well-known extremist daily, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, published a series of articles obviously inspired by it, culminating in a thinly disguised paraphase of a leading article.

ROY AND CHATTOPADHYAYA

Meanwhile Roy's adversaries in Europe had continued to work against him, and in December 1921 Chattopadhyaya started an 'Indian News and Information Bureau' in Berlin to carry on open propaganda and secret revolutionary activity. The Bureau was both to direct revolutionary work and to secure the formation of a real Communist Party of India, as opposed to the 'sham' one claimed by Roy. Chattopadhyaya also reorganised his Indian Revolutionary Committee and called it the Indian Revolutionary Council; he likewise sent letters to Tarak Nath Das and S. N. Ghose in America, to Rash Behari Bose in Japan, and to Barkatullah, M. P. T. Acharya, Dr. Hafiz and Obeidullah in Afghanistan, urging them to join. His main object was to form a central Indian revolutionary organisation in Berlin in opposition to the rival party of Roy. The latter meanwhile received an accession of strength by the news of the arrival in Indian of one of his Moscow students, Shaukat Usmani, who wrote to him in April from Bombay. Thereafter Roy impudently claimed that his

agents in India had been responsible for the Moplah rebellion, the Aika (Peasants' Union) movement in the United Provinces, and the Akali (Sikh) movement in the Punjab. Quarrels between Chattopadhyaya and his leading supporter, Bhupendra Nath Dutt, as also between Roy and Abani Mukherji, somewhat discredited Indians with the Communist International, who looked round to find means of getting in touch with some recognised organisation in India—even if not Communist—the Congress, the Khilafat or, failing them, the Akalis. [15]

GRANT OF MONEY

In July it was reported that the Soviet had granted to Zinoviev five million gold roubles for propaganda in India and the East, and that, of the four millions actually handed over to him, 1,200,000 (£ 120,000) had been sent to Afghanistan, apparently destined for India. In support of this information it may be cited that in June 1921 the Bank of England paid out to the Russian Trade Delegation in London 400 Bank of England notes of £ 100 each. Of these, 66 were found to have been cashed in India in and after June 1922, all of them having reached India *via* Afghanistan. Of the 66, 53 were ascertained to have been received in ordinary course of trade; but of the remainder 6 were paid to one Mota Singh, a noted Babbar Akali leader, 5 to Ghulam Hussain (already mentioned) and 2 to relatives in India of Indian revolutionaries in Kabul. Mota Singh applied the money received by him purely to his private uses; Ghulam Hussain paid one note to the Labour agitator, Chaman Lal, for shares in the latter's paper *The Nation* (Lahore); while he expended the rest, as well as the money he received after his return from Kabul, in starting the *Inqilab*, in entertaining his friends, and in buying land in Lahore to the value of Rs. 10,000 "in order to start a press for Communist literature." After his arrest Ghulam Hussain confessed that he had received, through Zafar Hassan in Kabul, two sums in English notes of about Rs. 9,000 and Rs. 6,000. He admitted having appropriated this money, which he knew was Bolshevik money, to his own personal use, and claimed that Government ought to count it to him for righteousness that he had thus prevented its expenditure on Bolshevik propaganda! The despatch of some of this money to Afghanistan for India—if, as seems probable, it took place—would appear to belong to the period before Roy assumed direction of Indian intrigues.

THE TOSCHE INCIDENT

One specific attempt—possibly unconnected with Roy—to influence Labour politics in India may be recorded. In July 1921 a stowaway, named Tosche, arrived in Calcutta by a German steamer. He was released after serving a sentence of [16] imprisonment and was ordered to be deported, but delay occurred and it was only in November that he was actually shipped off to Shanghai. An All-India Trade Union Conference was held at Jharia in December 1921 (the moving spirit being Chaman Lal) and this conference, which had sent a letter to Zinoviev, was found later to have written also to Tosche. Two letters, bearing dates in November and December 1921, were written to him to an address in Berlin, to be forwarded to Riga, whence he had first come to India. The letters explained that while Labour in India had adopted Gandhi's creed of Non-co-operation as a temporary expedient, it would shortly "throw off the cloak of Gandhism and appear in the armour of Bolshevism". These letters led to further inquiries about Tosche, who was identified as a Bolshevik agent who had come to India carrying letters of introduction—four to persons in Bombay, three in Calcutta, and some others elsewhere. It was evident that, in spite of his arrest, he had contrived to deliver some at least of his letters.

SHAUKAT USMANI AND OTHER EMISSARIES

It has already been related that Shaukat Usmani, a Moscow "graduate", reached India in April 1922. From a statement made by him subsequent to his arrest it appeared that, on leaving India, he had first gone as a Muhajir to Kabul and thence to Russia; he accompanied Roy from Tashkent to Moscow, from where he made his way to India *via* Baku and Teheran, arriving at the end of January 1922 on a Persian passport; he first went to Lahore to look for a travelling companion, whom failing to find he returned *via* Bombay to Persia, which he again left for India by sea in September. Other Moscow trained students came by the same route, notably one Shafiq, who, after visiting Lahore, went on to Kabul. There were also two men bearing the *aliases* of Afzal and Akram, who were never traced, and who in any case disappeared before long from the ken of even their own friends. Among returning Muhajirin there were unquestionably some of Roy's agents, while a report of his intention to try a third route, *via* the Pamirs, was subsequently substantiated by the arrest in

Chitral (in [17] December) of seven Muhajirin, who admitted they had been sent to India as Roy's agents. According to their own statement, they left Moscow in January 1922 with instructions to get into touch with another Muhajir who had previously returned *via* Bushire to his home in Peshawar—possibly Shafiq already mentioned. They said that ten of them reached the Pamirs, and that three (subsequently imprisoned by the Afghans) had remained behind. These seven men, with an eighth who had returned to India *via* the Khybar, were afterwards tried and convicted in Peshawar for conspiring to wage war against the King (Sec. 121A, Indian Penal Code). Roy's statement that he had despatched 17 agents from Moscow was thus substantiated Information of the probable use of a fourth route—across Baluchistan to Sind—was never corroborated.

EFFECT OF PROPAGANDA ON THE INDIAN PRESS

The appearance in India of *The Vanguard* gave a considerable impetus to Roy's propaganda, as it exercised a distinct influence over a certain class of Indian newspaper. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, as already mentioned, made free use of its sentiments and phraseology, as also did the revolutionary *Atma Sakti* (Calcutta). Others were the *Independent* of Allahabad and the *Nava Yuga* of Guntur, Madras, besides which a crop of new papers with a Communist policy, and drawing their inspiration from the *Vanguard*, appeared in other parts of India. Of these the most interesting for the purposes of this narratives was *The Socialist* of Bombay, of which more will be heard hereafter.

DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE

In August Roy wrote to a French Communist, Vaillant Couturier, asking if arrangements could be made to despatch propaganda literature by the hand of Indian sailors from Marseilles, and suggesting that, if such arrangements succeeded, arms might be sent later by the same route. Couturier replied in the affirmative, and proposed that the arrangements should be made by an Indian who should be put in touch with Communists in Marseilles, and who would receive assistance from the French Communist Party. At the same time Roy also wrote to the [18] Communist Party of Great Britain, asking whether they could supply him with two suitable men, one for Bombay and one for Calcutta; their work would be to arrange for the reception and distribution of Communist literature. In the same month an appeal

from Roy to the "Friends of Freedom for India" in the United States, asking them to assist in the distribution of *The Vanguard*, brought to Berlin one Surendra Nath Kar to collaborate with Roy. Simultaneously Roy was trying to start a centre at Colombo, and it was possibly as a consequence of this that the Bengal Communist Party sent a man there with orders to meet "an important Bolshevik", from which meeting he was reported to have returned with a quantity of Communist literature. There is reason to suppose that "the important Bolshevik" was one of a party of four stowaways who were deported from Colombo in December. One of these, by name Robin Cantor, eluded the Ceylon Police, and got as far as Madras before he was detected and sent back, although it is not certain that Cantor was "the important one".

CHARLES ASHLEIGH

Roy's appeal to the Communist Party of Great Britain resulted almost immediately in the despatch to Bombay of Charles Ashleigh, a fairly well known Communist, who, under the name of Ashford, had undergone 10 years' imprisonment in America for fomenting Labour riots. On release in February 1922, he was deported to England. It was arranged that Ashleigh should go to India with letters of introduction from Roy, and, after landing at Bombay, should proceed under the name of Nanda Lal to Calcutta. Ashleigh had almost reached Bombay before his departure was discovered and his passport cancelled. As it was not found possible to prevent him from landing, while he was awaiting deportation, he contrived to pay several visits and to deliver verbal messages, even although he had to destroy his letters of introduction.

DANGE AND SINGARAVELU

Shortly before Ashleigh's arrival, Roy had obtained two new recruits, Dange of Bombay and Singaravelu of Madras. S. A. Dange had come to notice in 1922 by publishing a review [19] of a book called *Gandhi v. Lenin*, and later he commenced to publish a weekly paper, *The Socialist*, which reproduced articles from the International Press Correspondence. Dange's review of *Gandhi v. Lenin* apparently attracted the attention of Roy, who referred to it in issue No. 8 of *The Vanguard*. Dange evidently commenced to send Roy copies of *The Socialist* as soon as it appeared, for Roy wrote to him from Moscow saying that his paper and book (a pamphlet by Dange entitled *The Coming*

of Socialism) had been favourably received, and adding that Lenin had been interested. Also the first number of *The Advance-Guard* (a new name adopted by Roy in the hope of circumventing the order of prohibition against *The Vanguard*) contained a highly favourable review of Dange's paper of October 1st.

ASHLEIGH'S MISSION

Charles Ashleigh, on arrival at Bombay on September 19th, 1922, went to see one K. B. Roy, a friend of Nalini Gupta's, who refused to have anything to do with him. Roy, who had been a fellow student of Nalini Gupta's at Glasgow University, was holding a substantial position in Tata's Insurance Company, which he apparently was nervous of losing. Ashleigh, after visiting *The Bombay Chronicle* office, where he learned Dange's address, had an interview with the latter, communicating to him verbal instructions and making over charge of his mission, the chief object of which was to organise propaganda on lines laid down by the Communist International. Among other arrangements made was one by which Dange was to act as Roy's Bombay correspondent for *The Advance-Guard*, in return for which Roy promised financial support to *The Socialist*. It may be added that Muzaffar Ahmad in Calcutta, who had also been apprised of Ashleigh's impending arrival, sent Jotin Mitra to Bombay to escort him to Calcutta. Jotin Mitra saw Ashleigh, who expressed regret for his inability to remain in India, and told Jotin that he would send Nalini Gupta in his place.

MADRAS CONNECTION

The first definite proof of Roy's connection with Madras agitators was obtained by the interception of a letter from Singaravelu (a legal practitioner of Madras), dated November 28th. This [20] letter, which showed that previous correspondence had passed, told Roy that the writer had been reading *The Vanguard* and fully approved of Roy's ideas, which were bound to fructify in time.

SHAUKAT USMANI

Shaukat Usmani returned to Bombay from Persia in September. While in Persia he had apparently joined forces with the two unidentified agents "Afzal" and "Akram", for a letter to Roy, written from Bombay on September 26th, announced

the arrival of "us" and mentioned "the other two" one of whom had gone to Lahore and one to Benares. Usmani himself shortly after went to Benares, whence he wrote to Roy on October 12th, claiming that he had managed to recruit several "nice young" members of the intelligentia of advanced ideas, Hindus as well as Mahomedans. Thus, by the end of 1922, Roy could claim to have in India at least a skeleton organisation composed as follows :—

> Bengal (Muzaffar Ahmad); Bombay (Dange) Madras (Singaravelu); the United Provinces (Usmani); and the Punjab (Ghulam Hussain).

PROPOSED INDIAN DEPUTATION TO MOSCOW

Roy was invited to the IV Congress of the Communist International to be held at Moscow during the first week in November, and he devoted special energy in the meantime to working up his connection with India in order to be able to make a good show at the Congress. The *International Press Correspondence* of July 17th had published an invitation to representatives of the Indian Communist Party to attend the Congress, and Roy, in his correspondence with his adherents in India, laid stress on this invitation. Apparently he was trying to induce the Indian Labour leaders to send a deputation, and for this purpose enlisted the assistance of the Red International of Labour Unions, whose propaganda began to appear in India in August, and who in September sent a letter inviting Indian Labour delegates to attend the II Congress of the R.I.L.U., which was to be held in Moscow immediately after the termination of the IV Congress of the Communist International. The Communist International laid great stress on this invitation, [21] offering to bear the cost of passages and the expenses of the delegates. Roy also strove, through *The Vanguard* and in his private correspondence, to persuade prominent Indian Labour agitators to attend, or, failing them, suitable substitutes, whom he undertook to take care of during their visit. Roy proposed, if these appeals failed, to send Nalini Gupta a second time to India to bring back a Communist and Labour Delegation. Instructions were issued by Moscow to the British Bureau of the R.I.L.U. in September, appointing them to centre of communication and ordering them to establish improved connections with India. But of these activities very little definite result seems to have ensued.

BENGAL CONNECTIONS

Roy's correspondence with Muzaffar Ahmad at this period showed that the latter had received and distributed copies of *The Vanguard* and of the *International Press Correspondence*. Roy, writing in July, said that the delegation from India to IV Congress of the Communist International was necessary, and enclosed a letter to Chiraranjan Das (son of C. R. Das) and Subhas Bose (Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation), which Muzaffar Ahmad was desired to hand to the addressees. Roy's letter said that Nalini Gupta had reported that these two men wanted to come to Russia, and that if they did so, they must come with credentials, from the Indian National Congress or "some other legitimate group". It appeared that the addressees were not personally known to Roy though familiar to him by repute. In the course of the covering letter, Roy appointed Muzaffar Ahmad distributing centre for his pamphlets and *The Vanguard* on a monthly salary of Rs. 100. Writing in August to Muzaffar Ahmad to announce the impending arrival of Nanda Lal (Charles Ashleigh), Roy asked him to introduce Ashleigh to some of his (Roy's) old friends among the Bengal revolutionaries. The letter continued: "We will have to work with the Seamen's Union for the despatch of literature by hand and for illegal journeys with the help of seamen; think carefully over the question of introducing our friend to Daud" (president of the Seamen's Union, but a man whom Roy regarded with distrust). In the course of further corre- [22] spondence, Roy asked whether it would be possible to have their paper printed secretly in India; if only they could print a few thousand copies, the problem of sending the paper to India would be solved. In view of subsequent developments in Bengal, it is of interest to note the names of the revolutionaries to whom Roy suggested that Charles Ashleigh should be introduced—Amarendra Chatterji, Upendra Banerji, Jadu Gopal Mukherji, Subhas Bose, Sachindra Sanyal, Suresh Mazumdar and Bepin Ganguli, (all of the above have been most active in the Bengal revolutionary movement, and Sachindra Sanyal, for the second time in his career, was sentenced to transportation for life in the Kakori Conspiracy Case). In September Roy wrote to Muzaffar Ahmad saying that a centre was necessary in Bombay, where the help of lascars would facilitate the smuggling in of literature and "the journey of members".

BENARES AND SAMPURNANAND

It has already been mentioned that Usmani wrote to Roy in October 1922 announcing the establishment of a centre at Benares. In the same letter, he gave in cipher several names of members of his party, including that of Sampurnanand : "As he is an influential man in the Congress circle, he promises to circulate the literature and books among his most trustworthy friends". The same letter gave the name of one Imamuddin Rizvi as a cover address, to which Evelyn Roy afterwards wrote to "Afzal", saying that she could not read Usmani's cipher; this letter, however, was never delivered, as by that time "Afzal" had disappeared from the ken of his friends in India. Sampurnanand published on October 16th a "Memorandum on the Congress Programme" by way of preparation for the exposition of his views at the All India Congress Session at Gaya. This manifesto embodied most of Roy's views, and called for absolute independence, declaring that it was "sheer hypocritical cant" to say that liberty could be won without bloodshed and the use of violence. The Memorandum declared that the leaders of the Non-co-operation movement were prepared to lead a revolution and they started one, but they should have known that every revolution developed ugly side issues; the Chauri Chaura incident [23] was no justification for the Bardoli retreat; if the country were again got ready for civil disobedience and a few policemen were murdered, there was no guarantee that the leaders would not again become unnerved; "The time to start Satyagraha will be when we are most organised, when the Government has made itself most unpopular, and when the political situation outside India has added to its distractions and increased its embarrassments. Such a situation may arise any day".

DANGE AND "THE SOCIALIST"

On October 3rd, 1922, Roy acknowledged a letter which apparently contained Dange's proposal for starting a "Socialist League" in India. Roy wrote that this had better be postponed until after the IV Congress, which he invited Dange to attend in person, or to send a suitable representative. On November 2nd Roy, alluding to Ashleigh's return, said that his failure was unfortunate, although they believed that he did the best under the circumstances in transferring his charge to Dange as the best

person available. Roy added that the news of the formation of the Socialist Labour Party had been received with satisfaction, the programme having been translated into other languages and circulated among the leaders. Dange had announced the formation of the "Indian Socialist Party of the Indian National Congress" in *The Socialist* of September 16th, as a result, presumably, of Roy's views on "The Oriental Question" printed by *The Socialist* on September 2nd. This article contained the following passage :—"The first stages of the change all over the East are bound to be a great upheaval against the foreign imperialism, but it will be headed by the most active social class according to the economic development of the respective countries .... But until and unless the masses of the subject population take active and conscious part in the mass movement, the foreign imperialism cannot and will not be overthrown only by the action of the bourgeoisie". Dange, writing in explanation of his creed, contended that the Indian National Congress must definitely connect itself with the world-wide movement for the true freedom of the masses; the new Indian Socialist Labour Party must believe in democracy organised both [24] in its political and industrial aspects for communal ends; the best way of effecting a change in socialism was by the organisation of the worker, politically to capture the power of the State, and industrially to take over the control and management of the machine. A subsequent issue of *The Socialist* contained an article, purporting to be from the pen of one T. V. Parvate (a creature of Dange's), which drew a parallel between conditions in Ireland and India in the following terms :—"The several parties in Ireland made common cause and fought for Irish Freedom. So let us do in India, remembering, however, that the success in the fight with the foreigner does not end our struggle. We have to struggle with the privileged, the propertied, the landed and the rich".

FURTHER PROGRESS—ROY'S PAMPHLETS

On October 16th Roy, writing to Mahomed Ali in Kabul, claimed that all over the country (India) small groups were being crystallised and their propaganda was being amazingly responded to. An allusion in the letter indicated that the Secretary of the All India Congress Committee had written to Roy by ordinary mail (contents of the letter are unknown), and that Roy proposed to answer overland *via* Moscow. The letter contained further allusions to the articles from *The Vanguard*, which had been

reproduced in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika;* to a request by a Madras leader (presumably Singaravelu) for permission to translate one of Roy's books into the vernacular; and also to the Babbar Akalis, to whom, through Mota Singh, Moscow had given a certain amount of support in the way of a sum of money. Roy at the same time was corresponding with certain Bengal revolutionaries. In September, Pulin Behari Das of Dacca wrote to Roy that he agreed with *The Vanguard* programme and was willing to co-operate. Some other revolutionaries also accepted Roy's programme, but some remained "Nationalist". The latter Roy endeavoured to convert by arguing that they were all working for the same end, namely the political freedom of India. In addition to his voluminous correspondence, Roy's output of propaganda during this period was large. *The Vanguard* was being intercepted in quantities, though a certain number of copies were still getting through.[25] Roy's pamphlet *India in Transition* was noticed in India in August; it was followed by a second entitled *India's Problem and Its Solution,* and by a third *What Do We Want?* both of which appeared during the following November and December. A letter from Roy to Dange showed that he had sent a number of packets, each conatining five copies, to various addresses, mostly newspaper editors and secretaries of Labour bodies throughout India.

NATURE OF ROY'S APPEAL

Roy's published propaganda, as contained in *The Vanguard* and his pamphlets, was put forward with two main objects—the first, to appeal by reasoned argument to responsible politicians, such as the leaders of the Indian National Congress, and the second, to rouse the masses by direct incitement to a sense of their own wants and their own power. It is of interest to watch these two parallel lines of activity, in connection with the second of which Roy did not hesitate to preach open violence, though touching lightly on it in the first. His tactics were an attempt to combine the intelligentsia and the masses in a national struggle to oust the British, telling the former that they, the brains of the struggle, would be unable to achieve success without the force of the masses; but the implication was obvious that when the intelligentsia, after ejection of the British, had established an Indian bureaucracy in their

place, the Communist would then find it easy to come into his own.

MANIFESTO BY ROY AND KAR

With the issue of the *Vanguard* of 15th July 1922, was enclosed a "Manifesto to the All India Congress Committee" signed by Roy and S. N. Kar. The writers argued that the weapon of Non-co-operation had not been wielded with the required courage and determination, and that the suspension of civil disobedience ordered from Bardoli was a veritable betrayal of the revolutionary rank and file; Non-co-operation leaders were wrong in believing that their propaganda had aroused the revolutionary spirit of the masses; in fact, it was only the appearance of that spirit that made possible the initial success of the Non-co-operation movement; the complete national independence of India could be realised only by the efforts [26] of the workers and peasants, so that the development of the revolutionary consciousness of these must play an important part in the programme of action; the Congress should at once launch a programme advocating the fight for higher wages for the workers and an eight hour day, better housing, recognition of unions, right of strike, equal pay for equal work, abolition of landlordism, reduction of rents and taxes, etc..... These demands should be enforced by mass action, strikes, demonstrations and peasants' revolts. The ignorant workers and peasants did not understand political theories; they wanted to satisfy their hunger and to have the intensity and brutality of exploitation modified. The Manifesto concluded: "Hoist the banner of Swaraj, and rally the people under it with the slogan of Living Wages to the Worker and Land to the Toiler".

CONGRESS PROPAGANDA

A few further references will serve to illustrate Roy's "Congress" propaganda. In *The Vanguard* of June 1st, 1922, it was stated that the Congress had two alternatives before it; either to assume the leadership of those forces by showing the capacity to lead them forward in the struggle, or to abdicate the national leadership in order to go over eventually to the side of the enemy. In *The Vanguard* of July 1st, 1922, Roy wrote as follows:— "To organise the industrial workers into class-conscious revolutionary unions which will first fight for higher wages, shorter hours,

better living conditions, etc. and then force these demands by means of mass strikes to be converted into political strikes at every possible opportunity; to capture the leadership of the spontaneous peasant revolts by boldly giving out the revolutionary slogan of Non-payment of Rents and Taxes; to organise mass resistance against the projected increase of indirect taxation; to proclaim the unconditional abolition of landlordism under Swaraj; such are the principal planks of the Fighting Programme which is necessary".

THE USE OF VIOLENCE

Direct incitements to violence were not wanting to Roy's published propaganda. On the other hand, some of his private correspondence with persons who, he thought, might be alarmed thereby, explained that he considered the support of the Soviet as indispensable[27] for India and, therefore, consented to write as they directed, even against his own opinions. On the question of violence the following may be quoted from his writings. He wrote in *India in Transition*: "This victory will be won not through suffering and soul-force, but at the cost of torrents of blood and showers of tears, and it will be maintained by blood and iron". *The Vanguard* of September 15th, 1922, has the following:—"The Government has smelt Bolshevism in *The Vanguard*, and has put it under ban, but let not the cry of Bolshevism terrify the revolutionary nationalists, because India will be liberated from foreign domination only by the revolutionary action of the labouring masses, whose political philosophy and social ideal cannot be anything but Bolshevism. *The Vanguard* is but an expression of the forces are the deadly enemy of British Imperialism. The nation can be freed only by mass revolution".

C. R. DAS

In August 1922 C. R. Das was reported to have received letters from Roy; and whether this was so or not, he made a speech in that month indicating rather vaguely the influence of Roy's phraseology and ideas. In November Das made a more definite speech, declaring that Swaraj must be for the masses, and Swaraj must be won by the masses, and advocating the organisation of Labour on the ground that "he had been definitely converted to the theory that without the support of the masses, it would be impossible to make any headway".

THE "INDIAN LABOUR BUREAU"

S. N. Kar, the joint author with Roy of the Manifesto which has just been quoted, soon after quarrelled with him, and, in company with Abani Mukerji, joined Chattopadhyaya's Opposition Party, which formed an "Indian Labour Bureau" with Abani Mukherji as secretary. Chattopadhyaya was later joined by the well known Barkatullah, who, after some preliminary negotiations with Roy, arrived in Berlin in September, and attached himself to the Opposition Party. Chattopadhyaya, however, soon after suffered a loss in the defection of B. N. Dutt, who left him to support a party of his own, linked with the "Friends of Freedom [28] for India" in America and Rash Behari Bose in Japan.

ALLEGED AGENTS IN INDIA

A report was received early in October of the despatch of agents from Moscow *via* Vladivostok and the Far East to India, their headquarters to be at Delhi. The names given, having been transliterated from Hindustani into Russian and thence into English, proved unrecognisable, and exhaustive enquiries led to no results.

IV CONGRESS OF THE COMINTERN

The IV Congress of the Communist International met in Moscow in the first week of November 1922, and an important part of its discussions centred on India. Its meeting was preceded by that of the Fifth All Russian Trade Union Congress, at which Zinoviev said: "The crisis in the East sharpens daily. No one can speak of a World Revolution which will be victories only in Europe. It will only be a World Revolution when the hundreds of millions of the East rise against their oppressors, and as the revolt grows in the East, so does the importance of our country in the eyes of the Eastern peoples". Again in his opening speech to the Central Committee at the IV Congress of the Communist International, Zinoviev said: "Organised parties have been formed within the last 15 months in such countries as ...India....These parties are still weak in number, but the kernel at least is formed": and in a later speech, he said: "In India we have successes to report". The official report of the proceedings of the IV Congress, which was printed in the *International Press Correspondence*, said that four delegates of the Commu-

nist Party of India were invited, and one came. This was Roy, who was at the time a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, and was later appointed a member of the Presidium.

DECLARATIONS OF POLICY

In a "Program" presented to the IV Congress by Bucharin, one of the Russian members of the Executive of the Communist International, occurs the following passage :— "Between the Capitalist and Communist systems there lies a long period of Proletarian struggle.....of colonial uprisings[29]..... An unavoidable premise for the transition from Capitalism to Communism is the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois State and the seizure of power by the working class..... An essential part of the seizure of power by the working class is formed by the destruction of the bourgeois monopoly of arms, and by the concentration of arms in the hands of the Proletariat. During the course of the struggle the main objective in view must be the disarmament of the bourgeois and the arming of the Proletariat".

The "Theses on the Eastern Question", drawn up by the Eastern Commission, one of whose members was Roy, were carried unanimously. The following are extracts from the Theses :— "The Communist International supports all national revolutionary movements against Imperialism..... The struggle for the emancipation of the land from feudal dues and feudal obstacles assumes the character of a struggle for national emancipation and feudal large land ownership. Examples of this are the Moplah rising against the land-owners and the British in India in the autumn of 1921, and the revolt of the Sikhs in 1922..... The revolutionary movement in the backward countries in the East cannot be successful unless it is based on the action of the masses of the peasantry..... The Communist Parties in the colonies and some colonial countries of the East must take part in every movement that gives them access to the masses..... The agitation there always takes as its starting point the concrete conditions and needs of the worker in order to lead him on the path of organised revolutionary class war."

The speech of Radek, another of the Russian members of the Executive of the Comintern, included the following :— "In India we have already an ideological centre. I must say that Comrade Roy has succeeded in achieving a big piece of work

during the last year..... In no other Eastern Communist Party has this kind of work been done. It certainly deserves to be supported by the Communist International..... Therefore, the watchword of this Congress in the Eastern Question must be : [30] On to the toiling masses of the East in order to educate them, and to create strong *points d'appui* for the Communist International in the East, such as would be of practical use in the struggle before us and assist us in influencing the masses". In winding up the session, the president, Zinoviev, said : "The creation of the strong nucleus of a Communist Party in a distant country has now more historical importance than the Versailles Treaty, than the Lausanne Conference.....the creation of the nucleus of a Communist Party in India, for example, is, from the historical point of view, a much more important matter than all these conference".

RESULTS OF THE IV CONGRESS

Roy expressed the opinion that the Communist International was well satisfied with the progress so far made in India, where promising results had been obtained in a short time with a small outlay of money. A telegram of "fraternal greeting" was sent by the President of the IV Congress (as well as another from the British Communist Party) to the General Secretary of the All India Trade Union Congress, then about to meet in Lahore. It was published in *The Advance-Guard* of December 15th and ran as follows :— "Comrades.....The IV Congress of the Communist International sends you its greetings..... No improvement can be realised within the frame work of imperialist exploitation. Therefore, you will have to play an important role in the struggle for national liberation. Prepare to assume this historic role ....." The *International Press Correspondence* noted that contact had been established with the Bengal organisation; the Communist International was aware that several of Roy's trained propagandists had arrived in India *via* Persia, though anxiety was felt regarding those who had started to go *via* the Pamirs; and in another document dealing with the progress of the revolutionary movement in Northern India, it was asserted that Gandhi's peaceful policy had been thrown overboard, the nationalists were turning to direct action, and the revolutionary leaders were realising that, after obtaining political freedom, their next task would be to free the masses from the tyranny of capitalists and princes.[31]

The Ghadr Party in California, who had written to the "Friends of Freedom for India" inviting co-operation, sent two representatives—Santosh Singh and Rattan Singh—to attend the IV Congress.

SECRET ACTIVITIES OF THE IV CONGRESS

The secret activities of IV Congress had possibly an even more important bearing on the Indian campaign, as is witnessed by a report of a private meeting of the Colonial Commission of the Communist International, which was held at Moscow on November 11th. Roy at this meeting, after declaring that revolution in India was gaining ground, claimed that he had established close contact with the leaders of the Socialist groups. "One of these, the Dange group, is organising the 'Indian Socialist Labour Party of the Indian National Congress', whose programme is very close to our own..... The Central Committee of the Indian Communist Party is at Bombay, and directs all the Party work. There are district committees in Peshawar, Calcutta, Madras and Allahabad We are trying to create a serious labour movement in India keeping the control in our own hands". Alluding next to the difficulty of maintaining connection between the Indian Communist Party and the Executive Committee of the Communist International, Roy stated that they had established a fairly regular post through Kabul and Kandahar, while Comrade Raskolnikoff (the Soviet Minister at Kabul) had given much assistance to party workers and messengers going to Moscow and back. In regard to finance, Roy said that the Central Committee of the Indian Communist Party had decided at a meeting, held on September 5th, to ask the Communist International for £ 120,000--£ 35,000 for party work £ 70,000 for support of those labour organisations which favoured Communism, and £ 15,000 for the support of *The Socialist*, which was for the time being the party organ. Their tactics, Roy said, would be to combine the Independence movement, the Labour organisation, and the Kishan Sabha into one struggle, and also to put Labour organisers into all factories; their paramount duty was to support, by every possible means, all Labour in India in its struggle for freedom from British Capital. The meeting approved of these tactics, and voted the grant[32] of £ 120,000 almost unanimously. Shortly after his return to Berlin, Roy issued the necessary instructions in a series of letters, dated December 19th. These were to link

up the various Communist groups, namely, Bombay, Madras, Lahore, Bengal and the United Provinces; to add the secret revolutionary societies, especially of Bengal, the left wing of the Trade Union Movement, the left wing of the National Congress, the Khilafat movement, the Sikh Movement, and to make them into a "country-wide party" with a revolutionary outlook, which, if possible, be "legally" organised as part of the Indian National Congress, but which would, in fact, remain under the control and direction of the Communist Party, which could not be but "illegal".

PROPOSED CONFERENCE IN BERLIN

Roy, having failed to secure the despatch of a delegation from India to the IV Congress, now proposed a conference in Berlin to be held under the auspices of the Communist International. He urged the personal attendance of Dange, Singaravelu and Ghulam Hussain with other representatives, not exceeding a total of eight persons; each delegate was to bring an exhaustive report on the existing situation in India and the future possibilities of work from the view point of the particular group represented by him; expenses of the journey and of the necessary stay in Berlin would be paid, and delegates should come legally with passports, if possible, otherwise "illegally with the help of sailors".

THE GAYA CONGRESS

Both Dange and Singaravelu attended the Gaya session of the Indian National Congress during Christmas week, 1922. Singaravelu actively canvassed for Roy's programme, and, in a speech to the Congress, introduced himself as a Communist, advocating a national strike to overthrow the domination both of the Government and of the bourgeoisie. Roy published in *The Advance-Guard* of December 1st, "A Program for the Indian National Congress", the effect of which was lessened by the fact that, before the Congress met at Gaya, Reuter had telegraphed out its purport, with the result that the Indian extremist politicians repudiated[33] the Bolshevik ideas contained in it. The Programme was set forth under three headings :—

I. Programme of National Liberation and Reconstruction

(1) Complete National Independence.

(2) Election of a National Assembly by Universal Suffrage.

(3) Establishment of the Federated Republic of India.

II. Social and Economic Programme —

17 items, including confiscation of estates, abolition of indirect taxation, nationalisation, minimum wage, free and compulsory education, etc. The last was: "No standing army will be maintained, but the entire people will be armed to defend the national freedom. A national Militia will be organised, and every citizen will be obliged to undergo a certain period of military training".

III. Action Programme —

13 items, some of which were :—

(1) Organisation of militant Peasants' Unions.

(2) Organisation of country-wide Mass Demonstration for non-payment of rent and taxes.

(3) Organisation of mass strikes to back up these demands.

(4) Organisation of a country-wide national Volunteer Corps.

In spite of large interceptions, considerable numbers of this masifesto were received in India, where many newspapers reproduced camouflaged versions of it; for instance, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of December 28th, 1922, printed a reasoned defence of the theory of Bolshevism, while a number of articles sympathising with Communism appeared in such vernacular papers as the *Zamindar* and *Bande Mataram* (both of Lahore), the *Student* and[34] *Bangler Katha* (of Bengal, the latter C. R. Das's paper) and the *Vikram* (Cawnpore). Less moderate than the "Program" was a message purporting to come from the Communist International, though probably drawn up by Roy. Three typed copies of it, with space for the signature left blank and with manuscript corrections in Roy's handwriting, were intercepted in letters dated December 12th, 1922, and addressed respectively to Muzaffar Ahmad, Dange and Singaravelu. The message was published in *The Advance-Guard* of January 1st, 1923, word for word as corrected and altered by Roy, over the signature of Humbert Droz (Secretary to the Presidium of the Communist International). This important document, which was addressed to the All India Congress at Gaya, declared that British rule in India

was established by force, was maintained by force, and, therefore, could and would be overthrown only by a violent revolution. The Communist International must stand shoulder to shoulder with the people of India in their struggle, while the Indian National Congress should bear in mind that the British domination must be utterly destroyed, and that the workers and peasants alone were capable of carrying the revolution to victory. The National Congress should categorically declare that its political programme was the establishment of a Democratic Republic, completely independent of any foreign control..... The necessity of developing the revolutionary consciousness of the masses demanded the adoption of an economical programme, in addition to the political programme of a Republic to be established by a revolution. As the native army was recruited from amongst the poor peasantry, so a programme of agrarian revolution would win the native troops to the cause of national freedom.

ROY'S PROGRAMME

The first copies of Roy's pamphlet *What Do We Want?* (published in Geneva in 1922, month not stated) were intercepted in India in December. This pamphlet pointed out that the goal could be attained in three stages. The first of these was political independence; when foreign rule had been replaced by Indian bourgeois rule, the second stage would be centred upon, namely, that of Economic Emancipation. [35] Demands would be made which would not be readily acceptable to the Indian bourgeoisis, which would then be deposed by means of agrarian strikes and mass riots. Thereafter would come the third and final stage, namely, Social Emancipation in the form of the "Dictatorship of the proletariat". Writing to Dange in November 1922, regarding the execution of the above Programme, Roy said that all Communists and Socialists should attempt to form a mass party containing all the truly revolutionary elements, so that some might not be frightened away. The party should have a "non-offensive" name, such as the "People's Party". The "People's Party" would be the legal side of the movement, as it was to be anticipated that no powerful political party with a Communist name would be tolerated by the Government; hence the necessity of a dual organisation, one legal and another illegal. The Communist nucleus should take a very active part in the formation of a mass party for a revolutionary-nationalist struggle.

NEW "PARTIES" IN INDIA

As was to be expected, each of the Indian "centres" produced a separate scheme, and it was some time before they agree to combine. Dange's "Socialist Labour Party of India" did not seem to have made any progress, and in February 1923 he was considering the formation of a "Socialist-Swaraj Party", and the production of a manifesto outlining his proposals. A prominent Labour agitator of Bengal, M. L. Sarkar, wrote to Dange regarding the proposed new party as follows :—"We should form a 'Democratic Labour Party' throughout India with the object of spreading Socialism, of course suiting the requirements of our country. The real Socialism, as advocated by the Red International Party, will not, I am afraid, suit us at the present moment, although we must have it as our ideal and goal before us". Singaravelu continued to talk about the "Congress Communist Party", which, he thought he had started at Gaya, and in March, Mani Lal, a Bihar extremist, produced a "Labour Swaraj" manifesto with proposals that included the abolition of the army and the police, and their replacement by arming and organising [36] the masses. Finally, at the beginning of May, Singaravelu produced a manifesto of his own, that of the "Labour and Kishan Party of Hindustan", the preamble of which condemned the Congress and Swaraj Parties as capitalist institutions, the All India Trade Union authorities as bourgeois leaders, and refused to accept guidance from foreign agents, who were denounced either as misguided persons or as Government spies.

ROY'S ACTIVITIES AFTER GAYA

The decision of the Indian National Congress at Gaya to continue Non-co-operation and Non-violence proved highly distasteful to the Moscow Communist leaders. They were reporttd to have declared that 'it had been proposed to organise large scale action against the British in India during 1923', but that the Gaya decisions had shown that the time was not yet ripe; and that further preparation and re-organisation of the Soviet's "Eastern propaganda apparatus" was necessary. According to the *International Press Correspondence,* their first move in this direction was their decision in January to form a special Eastern Department of the Communist International, the head of which must be a member of the Presidium taking an active part in the

entire work of the International. Roy was also preparing a scheme for a "Labour Information Bureau" in Berlin, to work in co-operation with the Indian Trade Unions. This the Soviet authorities approved, and pressed Roy to get speedily in working order. At a meeting of Russian, German and British Communists held at Berlin, Roy explained that the proposed Bureau would establish legal connection between Indian and European Labour organisations. He passed for the co-operation of Saklatvala, the Communist M.P., on the ground that the latter was in touch with Chaman Lal, secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, and the British Communists present promised to try to arrange this. This Bureau of Roy's began to function in February, at the end of which month letters from it were intercepted in India addressed to Indian newspapers, and containing a manifesto from the "president of the Congress of Factory Councils of Germany" to the All-India Trade Union Congress. This manifesto was published [37] by Chaman Lal in his paper, *The Nation* of Lahore, in February, and in it "the revolutionary vanguard of the German Proletariat" offered "friendship and close collaboration to the workers and peasants of India" in their "historic struggle for national freedom". The British Communists would seem to have kept their promise, since a Labour organisation in England, dominated by Saklatvala and one Dr. Bhat, and calling itself the Workers' Welfare League of India, attempted early in 1923 to form a Lascars' Welfare League with the apparent intention of assisting in Roy's scheme for introducing literature, messengers, and agents into India. Help in various ways was also promised to Roy by Chaman Lal, Arthur Field, an Anglo Mahomedan Communist, and Marmaduke Pickthall, the well known writer and convert to Islam, who was then acting as editor of *The Bombay Chronicle.*

THE "ILLEGAL" PARTY

Roy, while busying himself with his scheme for a "legal" party, did not neglect the parallel "illegal" organisation, and, among other things, was steadily trying to improve the arrangements for the safe despatch of his propaganda literature to India. Roy was corresponding at the same time with some of the Bengal revolutionaries of both the Jugantar and Anushilan Parties, and was trying to persuade them to undertake the distribution of his propaganda, and to translate and publish in vernacular his pro-

gramme and pamphlets, offering to pay expenses on receiving an estimate. The revolutionaries wanted paymest in advance, but Roy declined to make any payment except for actual work done. Roy apparently intended to send back Jotin Mitra to India, with the object of getting in touch with the Calcutta Communists and revolutionaries, as well as with Roy's own centres in India; but his despatch was countermanded under the belief that Muzaffar Ahmad had left for Berlin. The force behind the *Dhumketu*, the revolutionary Bengal paper which Roy wished to influence, was one Bhupati Mazumdar; and Roy sent to Muzaffar Ahmad £50 for Bhupati Mazumdar, as well as £100 for himself, and £ 50 as the expenses of a Trade Union representative. Muzaffar [38] Ahmad, writing to Roy in March 1923, said while there was no fear of their work being hampered by the Bengal revolutionaries, the latter might render much help, and, if help were forthcoming, one of them also might go to the Berlin Conference.

THE PRESS CAMPAIGN IN INDIA

On December 25th, 1922, Roy wrote to Dange regarding the returned *Muhajirin*, four of whom were already in India, while seven more were on the way. The letter further said that Shaukat Usmani had been instructed to work under Dange, and to get all the "boys" in touch with him. In February following, Dange wrote to Roy telling him that he had converted the weekly Socialist into a monthly; this step was taken to avoid constant differences with the printer, as the latter was unwilling to accept the risk of conducting the paper in the "fiery way" which Dange wished. Roy replied in March approving the decision, and saying that while the last few issues of *The Socialist* were unsatisfactory, there was nothing else to be done. Meantime Ghulam Hussain in the *Inqilab* had not been idle, and had published, under different titles and over the name of a fictious author, much of the matter appearing in Roy's pamphlets. Chaman Lal's newspaper, *The Nation*, also published a series of articles by Ghulam Hussain entitled "The Work Before Us", in which all Roy's arguments were used almost verbatim. One of the last issues of Dange's weekly *Socialist* (January 13th) published an article also entitled "The Work Before Us", which was a detailed exposition of the Bolshevik "Cell system". The first issue of the monthly *Socialist* (February) printed a programme of Marxism, written by the Russian Communist, Bucharin, and

re-printed from the *International Press Correspondence*. Roy, besides supplying the literary material to *The Socialist*, asked Dange to send copies of his paper to the Russian Legation at Kabul, and tried to devise means of sending money to Dange. Roy had received £ 2,000 from the Communist International in February 1923 for the expenses of the Indian delegates to the proposed Berlin Conference; and of this he proposed to send £ 300 to Dange. The Soviet had been obliged to cut down their[39] Eastern expenditure owing to pressing needs in the West. An allotment of two million gold roubles for Eastern propaganda in 1923, the greater part of which was to have been expended in India and Arghanistan, was reduced by half, a cash payment of 10,000 gold roubles being assigned by the Executive Committee of the Communist International "for immediate necessities in the East". Whether any of this money actually reached India or not is unknown, but a number of Indian newspapers continued to preach Communism, including the *Servant* and the *Student* (both of Calcutta), the *Khilafat Daily* (Bombay), the *Nation* (Lahore), the *Mahratta* (Poona) and a number of others. One Satya Bhakta, editor of the *Pranvir* of Nagpur, published at Cawnpore a Communist pamphlet in Hindi.

C. R. DAS

The chorus of disapproval which greeted the publication of Roy's 'Program' apparently alarmed C. R. Das, who later publicly receded from his pro-Communist attitude, inasmuch as his subsequent scheme for Swaraj recognised the principle of private and individual property. Roy was quick to recognise the particular importance of Das, and, early in January 1923, addressed a long letter to him through an intermediary, Dr. T. N. Roy of Calcutta, a Glasgow University friend of Nalini Gupta, who was asked to deliver this "very important and most confidential document yourself to the important personage addressed". Roy protested against Das switching from his original idea of "Swaraj for the Masses", and begged him to return to the right path. The letter closed with an invitation to consider a trip to Europe. Roy subsequently re-published this letter in the form of a printed pamphlet entitled "Open letter to Chittaranjan Das," which was intercepted in India in considerable numbers. The letter appears to have produced some effect on the mind of Das, since at the All India Trade Union Congress held at Lahore in March,

he told the labouring classes that the country belonged to them, and warned them that, should the middle classes succeed in winning Swaraj, it would still be necessary for the workers to wrest power from them and take it into their own hands.[40]

THE INDIAN SEAMEN'S ASSOCIATION

Roy's allies among the British Communists in London formed in February 1923 an "Indian Seamen's Association", which had Saklatvala as president, and was affiliated to the Red International of Labour Unions. At a meeting of the Executive Committee held on March 11th, it was decided that the R.I.L.U. literature should be translated into the most important vernaculars, and be given to members of the Association for distribution all over the world. They addressed the Bengal Seamen's Union, urging the latter to support them, and recommending affiliation to the R.I.L.U., "the only organisation to which Indian Labour can look for help". One of its members, Ajoy Bancrji, approached the British Communist Party for help to go to Moscow for a thorough training in Communism, after which he proposed to go to India to work for the Communist International.

CONNECTIONS IN KABUL AND U.S.A.

Among the Indian revolutionaries in Afghanistan who were expelled by the Amir in 1922 were the well known Moulvi Obeidullah and Mahomed Ali *alias* Khushi Mahomed. They reached Moscow in December, when Obeidullah claimed to have obtained full support from the Soviet Government. Mahomed Ali went on to Berlin, travelling on a Russian passport in the name of Ibrahim, and arriving there in March 1923. Roy was trying to obtain recognition from the Indian National Congress through Obeidullah, whose Kabul Congress Committee had, as already noted, been accepted for affiliation to the Congress by the Executive Committee of the latter. The leaders of the Ghadr Party in America were also in communication with Roy, and were considering work in co-operation with him, but were waiting a report from Santokh Singh, their emissary to the IV Congress of the Communist International. Santokh Singh, it may be said, had also attended the Second World Congress of the R. I. L. U., held in Moscow in November 1922, as "a delegate from India". Co-operation between the Ghadr Party and the "Friends of Free-

dom for India" was attained by the transfer of B. K. Roy from the latter to the former. At a formal meeting of the Ghadr Party[41] to welcome him, he said that Russia, America and Turkey had secured freedom through revolution, and that India would have to do the same.

REVERSE IN INDIA

In India itself, however, Roy met with several reverse. His trained students who had come by the Pamirs route were arrested and placed on their trial in Peshawar; Shaukat Usmani was identified masquerading as "Habib Ahmad", a master in the Muslim national school at Cawnpore, and though he evaded arrest for the moment, the chase after him grew hot; while Chaman Lal fell into disrepute with his friends of the British Communist Party on the grounds that he had obtained paper from *The Daily Herald* to print his journal, *The Nation*, but had refused either to pay or to answer correspondence on the subject. A new venture of Dange's, the Indian Publicity Service, the object of which was to obtain Bolshevik propaganda from abroad for circulation to Indian newspapers, also failed to establish itself, and was abandoned after three issues only had been sent out.

ACTIVITIES OF CHATTOPADHYAYA'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Nor was Roy having things in Europe all his own way. Barkatullah, who, as already narrated, had joined Chattopadhyaya's party on arrival in Berlin, had written in October 1922 to Chicherin in Moscow proposing that Rashkolnikoff, the Soviet Minister in Kabul, should send an agent (one Iqbal Shaidai) to Chamarkand, the headquarters of the more extreme Hindustani fanatics, with instructions to form an active organisation among them. He was also to endeavour to establish centres among the Independent tribes, and to link them together by means of an Urdu newspaper, the policy of which would be to promote an alliance between Soviet Russia, Afghanistan and Nationalist India on the one hand, and the tribes of the Indian Frontier on the other. Barkatullah also wrote to Iqbal Shaidai at Kabul—who, however, had been expelled from Afghanistan before the letter arrived—adding to the above programme the establishment of primary schools at the headquarters of every Indian Frontier tribe, the financial support to come from Soviet Russia. This organisation was actually started, [42] and a considerable sum of

money was found to finance it, for a number of schools were set up in Independent territory, and a newspaper entitled *At Mujahid* was issued with fair regularity from Chamarkand. Barkatullah at the beginning of December was in Lausanne, where he prepared an anti-British circular for distribution to delegates to the Lausanne Conference. This circular was reproduced in full in the *Independent* (Allahabad) on January 5th, 1923, and purported to be issued by "the Executive Board of the Indian Indedence Party". The formation of this body was directly due to Chicherin, who had stayed in Berlin after the Geneva Conference. Chattopadhyaya himself was excluded at Chicherin's request, but all the other members of his party were included, Barkatullah being president and B. N. Dutt general secretary. The programme was the attainment of Indian indepenence and the establishment of a Federation Democratic Republic, in which the sovereignty was to rest with the people. In respect of its constitution and general aims, this new party included Chattopadhyaya's old organisation, and Chicherin informed Barkatullah that he accepted the programme and had asked Moscow to provide funds. Thus the Communist International added a second string to their bow by supporting the revolutionary and nationalist India Independence Party, as well as the Indian Communist Party of Roy. With characteristic duplicity, they agreed to the despatch of Abani Mukherji to India on behalf of the India Independence Party. Abani's own account of this step was that he had quarrelled with Roy, because Roy was purely mercenary; he himself thoroughly believed in Communism and the necessity for an Indian revolution, but objected to Roy; Lenin, who was called upon to settle their differences, could not decide until trustworthy investigation was made in India. Thereupon Abani Mukerji was sent to India under the instructions of the Communist International, with a letter of recommendation signed jointly by Barkatullah and B. N. Dutt, to the effect that Abani was a member and Joint Secretary of the Indian Committee for Russian Relief. On practically the same date, however (October 22nd, 1922), they (the Communist International) issued an official warning against him, saying that Roy was their [43] only authorised representative, and that Mukherji, having no connection whatever with the Communist International, was not to be trusted or dealt with. The Indian Independence Party also started a periodical of their own, *Indian Independence*, for which B. N. Dutt and

S. N. Kar were responsible. The first interception of this paper in India occurred in January 1923.

ABANI MUKERJI AND MANI LAL'S MANIFESTO

Abani Mukerji arrived in Calcutta on December 30th, 1922. Among other things, he had received instructions that he was to try to obtain from the Indian National Congress recognition for the India Independence Party (in opposition to Roy). Immediately, therefore, on reaching India, he attended the Congress session at Gaya, where he met Singaravelu, Dange, Mani Lal and others. He passed under various *aliases*, the most common of which was "Charlu". Abani collaborated with Mani Lal in the issue of the latter's manifesto, which has been previously alluded to. In a letter written to Ghulam Hussain in May 1923, Singaravelu said that what was called Mani Lal's manifesto was a joint production which had been put in circulation among a few of them through Mani Lal. This appears to have been correct, for when Mani Lal sent a copy of his manifesto to Roy at the beginning of March, the latter wrote to say that it was borrowed from Singaravelu, and that Mani Lal had himself originally described the manifesto as the joint effort of a number of people. The manifesto was, however, printed by the *Nava Yuga* (Guntur, Madras) purporting to be written by Mani Lal and signed by 'the Textile workers of India and the Kishans of Northern India'. The manifesto proposed a 'labour and Peasant Party of India', upheld non-violence, but advocated the abolition of the standing army and the police, who were to be replaced by the conscription of suitable and willing elements of the people, and by the arming of the masses and the organisation of militia. It objected to domination by "Bolsheviks, intellectuals and spies" and disowned connection with the Bolshevik movement. Roy seemingly detected the hand of Abani Mukherji in the manifesto, though he exonerated Mani Lal himself. Roy, who [44] knew of Abani's presence in India, sent his supporters copies of the Communist International warning against him. Muzaffar Ahmad, writing to Roy on February 1st, enclosed a draft letter from Abani Mukerji to Zinoviev, which he had managed to get hold of in original, and which accused Roy and his chief supporters—including Muzaffar Ahmad himself of being swindlers. Abani received in March from an unidentified individual a letter which acknowledged a copy of Mani Lal's manifesto, and said that it had been shown

to Upendra Nath Banerji, who showed it to C. R. Das and others, "who approved it with certain modification". That Mani Lal's manifesto was favourably received by C. R. Das and others of the Bengal revolutionary party who saw it, receives further confirmation from a letter written at the same time by Upendra Nath Banerji to "Charlu". In April, "Charlu" asked for a certificate (either from Mani Lal or Singaravelu) that the addressee "has every confidence in him, and that he is touring in connection with organising a Labour and Kishan Party for India." He expressing anxiety about his credentials—the letter, already mentioned, signed by Barkatullah and B. N. Dutt, and a certificate from the Communist International, dated June 1921, that Abani Mukerji was a bonafide delegate to the Third Congress of the Communist International.

MANI LAL'S "MANIFESTO PARTY"

Mani Lal also sent copies of his manifesto to Dange, Singaravelu (who complained that it was a piece of plagiarism), Ghulam Hussain and others. Dange, who had schemes of his own in preparation, temporised, but Ghulam Hussain took up the idea with enthusiasm, and on April 27th sent out a circular addressed to various "comrades" (signed by himself and his assistant, Shamsuddin Hassan, the titular editor of the *Inqilab*) calling a meeting at Lucknow for June 30th "to organise Dr. Mani Lal's Manifesto Party". He also sent a copy to Roy, who quoted from it in a long memorandum for the guidance of the proposed conference—which, in fact, never took place. In this memorandum, Roy, after covering a certain amount of familiar ground, urged "the necessity of an illegal apparatus, which should be built up a parallel organisation [45]..... The Communist Party of India should continue as the illegal apparatus of the legal Mass Party." In regard to the question of method, the memorandum stated that the term "non-violence" negated all the essential principles upon which the party was based.

MESSAGE FROM THE COMINTERN

Roy's memorandum was followed by a letter of congratulations "to the First Conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India," dated June 14th, from the Executive Committee of the Third Communist International. The letter concluded: "The Communist International will render all assistance to the revolutionary party of the workers and peasants

of India, and warmly wishes you success in your efforts to form such a party, which will lead the toilers of India to the final emancipation. Long live the National and Social Emancipation of India! Down with British Imperialism! Long live the International Solidarity of the Proletariat!

THE LABOUR AND KISHAN PARTY

As already indicated, Ghulam Hussain's conference never took place, as before the date fixed for it, a new "Party" had successfully superseded Mani Lal's Manifesto Party. The new party was formed by Singaravelu with the assistance of one M.P.T. Velayudham, the former being described as president, and the latter, as Secretary of the "Central Committee of the Labour and Kishan Party of Hindustan". Singaravelu's assumption of the leadership was unacceptable to Dange, who had first intended to assume the leadership of Mani Lal's Manifesto Party himself. In *The Socialist* of April 23rd, Dange had published an announcement that "The First Workers' and Peasants' Party Congress" would be held in July, at a place and date to be specified later, but the issue four days later of the circular invitation from Ghulam Hussain and S. D. Hassan somewhat took the wind out of his sails. Roy had also conveyed to Muzaffar Ahmad on May 15th his ideas for a new party, but as his letter did not arrive until Singaravelu had assumed the leadership, no separate move was made by the Bengal centre. The letter gave Roy's ideas for Communist organisation in India: "In the first place we shall have to organise small [46] parties secretly among labour and peasants in different places" (the Bolshevik 'cell' system) .... "For the present, work ought to be done secretly, but along with it an open party is also to be organised .... This party will be styled 'the People's Party' or 'Workers' and Peasants' Party' .... As a matter of fact, you will have to organise two parties side by side—firstly, our Communist Party, but for the present to be a secret organisation.... secondly, the open 'Mass Party' in which will have to be collected all the revolutionists and nationalists". The letter explained that open work was to concentrate on Nationalism, *i.e.*, the ejection of the British; and that "the dictatorship of the Proletariat was to be kept in the background, to be openly preached only after the first objective had been attained." It was in furtherance of these tactics that Roy's adherents in India combined to start the "legal" party that finally crystallised into

the "Labour and Kishan Party"—a fact that was relied upon in the subsequent Bolshevik trial at Cawnpore.

Singaravelu's manifesto, the preamble of which was practically identical with that of Mani Lal, put forward economic demands of a reasonably moderate character. Its political programme included an administration of a Soviet character with panchayats for villages, towns, cities, taluks and provinces in ascending scale of importance, culminating in the "Hindustan Panchayat", which was to constitute the Central Government, as President of which Singaravelu signed the manifesto. It was also signed by Velayudham (both of them describing themselves as "Indian Communist"). The manifesto was accompanied by a membership card and a set of rules of the party. The card, which was to be signed by every member of the party, bore the following: "I agree to surrender my right to private property as a matter of principle." Ghulam Hussain surrendered to Singaravelu's "leadership" without serious protest, and withdrew his invitation to his "conference." He also agreed to translate Singaravelu's manifesto, membership card, and rules into Urdu. Dange put up a better fight, mainly by the device of refusing to answer letters; but [47] Singaravelu insisted that his "Labour and Kishan Party" was the centre and the others merely provincial branches; which attitude was endorsed by Roy, who wrote on May 7th to Dange deposing him and enthroning Singaravelu. Roy also instructed Muzaffar Ahmad and Shaukat Usmani to get in touch with Singaravelu, praising him to the former as a man who was working with the object of organising a "legal" party in India. The Communist International finally recognised Singaravelu's "Labour and Kishan Party", writing: "It is the duty of the Labour and Kishan Party of Hindustan to assume the supreme lead of the struggle for national liberation, and, subsequently, for social revolution."

Velayudham, as secretary, issued circulars on behalf of the party, one of which called for periodical reports from "Provincial Committees", and another announced that Mani Lal, Ghulam Hussain and R. C. Chaudhury (Bengal) has been "co-opted to the Central Committee". Singaravelu himself also issued invitations to a conference, but no one took any notice of this, and he wrote to Roy complaining of this fact. Singaravelu apparently despatched a copy of his manifesto to Roy, but as the latter was then having difficulties with the German authorities about his accommodation addresses, he evidently did not receive

it; for it was not till long after (January 1924) that Roy wrote to Velayudham on the subject, saying that he had cracked up the manifesto in advance, on the faith of what had been told him about it, but that its actual receipt showed him that he had been wrong; that Mani Lal's manifesto was sent for publication to some German comrades, who brought it to him, when he at once recognised it as "a forgery of Muk's" (Abani Mukerji), and denounced it; but when Singaravelu's manifesto reached him much later, he found it was the same thing, especially the "pernicious" denuncition of "Bolshevik and Foreign agents." Roy threatened that if the party disowned the Communist ,International, the latter would retaliate by declining to supply him with funds to send to the party. He recognised that this clause was meant to give protection against imaginary Government prosecution, but declared that it was inserted by an [48] "intriguing hand", and that the remedy was to send a delegation to discuss and draft a new manifesto, and arrange about a programme, party, press, communications, etc. The delegation would then return and call a large conference, which would be the first Congress of the "legal" party. The conference would be held in France, and a Pondicherry Comrade (R. C. L. Sharma) would arrange passages, and get in touch with S. D. Hassan, Dange (if so desired) and Sampurnanand of Benares. In July Singaravelu and Velayudham held a meeting of the Central Committee of the Labour and Kishan Party, at which it was decided to approach philanthropic gentlemen and institutions in India and abroad for donations. Singaravelu gave an assurance that "funds would be coming one day or another from foreign sources." The only sum that he is known to have received was £ 100 from Roy's agent at Amsterdam, which reached him shortly after, though he was insistent in his demands for more.

ARREST OF ROY'S AGENTS

Shaukat Usmani, Muzaffar Ahmad and Ghulam Hussain were arrested in 1923, and were interned under Regulation III of 1818. In January 1924 Ghulam Hussain made a formal statement before a magistrate and admitted his guilt. He acknowledged the receipt of Bolshevik money, and gave details of his stay in Kabul and his relations with Mahomed Ali (Khushi Mahomed), Zafar Hassan, Obeidullah, and Roy's agent Shafiq. In consideration of this confession and his consent to give evi-

dence against Shafiq, who had been arrested in Baluchistan in November 1923 and sent to Peshawar for trial, Ghulam Hussain was pardoned and released. Referring to Usmani's arrest, the *Naved* (Bulandshahr, U.P.) wrote: "Nations grovelling in slavery under the Imperialist power of the British would naturally welcome the Bolshevik who promised liberty"; and the *Roznama-i-Khilafat* (Bombay) said: "The Bolsheviks obviously wish to see all Eastern nations free from the clutches of European oppression." Many similar articles appeared in other Indian newspapers.

NALINI GUPTA AND R. C. L. SHARMA

There were two other agents of Roy whose arrest was also desired [49] —Nalini Gupta and R. C. L. Sharma. Information was received that the former had reached Bushire and was expected to leave for India by sea about the middle of May 1923. He arrived undetected at Karachi and left by train for Bombay, where he met Dange and his old Glasgow friend, K. B. Roy. A letter from Roy intercepted at this time contained a request that Nalini should send at least two first class men for the coming Moscow Congress. Nalini Gupta was arrested in Bengal in January 1924. He admitted, in a statement made to the police, his connection with Roy, but said he had used Roy's friends for his own purposes and had done nothing to forward Roy's propaganda. When he was originally despatched to India, one of his duties was said to be to give instruction in the preparation of bombs and explosives; and, though disbelieved at the time, this subsequently proved to be true.

CONTINUED PROPAGANDA

In July 1923 Roy wrote to say 450 copies of *The Vanguard* would be sent fortnightly to Sharma, for him to distribute, and he instructed Sharma to "endeavour by all means to get followers among the student body who will undertake the circulation of the paper among the rising generation". In this letter Roy referred to Singaravelu as "meaning well" but "rather stupid and a humbug." During the period between the arrest of Usmani, Ghulam Hussain and other Bolshevik agents, and the Cawnpore trial, Roy's propaganda continued unabated. In an article in *The Vanguard* of August 15th he contrasted the alternatives of constitutional agitation and violent revolution as a means of securing freedom. He said: "Either the leadership of

the popular movement capitulates and glorifies the defeat as a 'constitutional victory', or the movement passes over to the period of violent revolution, which measures its strength against that of the established order .... There is no such thing as 'constitutional revolution', and the Indian struggle for freedom is a revolutionary struggle. It will never be successful without the final stage of violence." Discussing the same topic in *The Vanguard* of September 15th, Roy said: "If the lower middle class want to avoid degeneration, [50] into which they are sinking fast, revolution should be boldly faced; and it should be understood that revolution is not conspiracy. It is a great socio-political event which is never accomplished by means of some isolated assassination nor by dynamite. It requires focussing of the energy of an entire class into a political party which fights under a programme which admits the inevitability of the eventual armed conflict with the established order."

Again, in *The Vanguard* of November 15th he said: "There are many who proclaim themselves as 'non-violent revolutionaries'. One could just as well speak of a vegetarian tiger .... Premature violence is worse than non-violence .... In the present stage of our struggle it would be stupid to talk of violent action; but the tactical necessity of refraining from premature resort to violence does not impose on the movement the cult of passivism .... An armed conflict with those who profit by the political slavery of the Indian people is inevitable .... one need not preach the futile cult of terrorism, but it is equally useless to entertain illusions. The people of India are engaged in a revolutionary struggle .... If India will not have freedom conquered by violent means, she will have to go without it."

BENGAL REVOLUTIONARY CONNECTIONS

Though Roy, in the above extracts, deprecated individual terrorism and premature violence, he was nevertheless in correspondence with the Bengal revolutionaries. In August 1923 it was reported that the 'Revolutionary Section of the Swaraj Party', headed by Upendra Nath Banarji and Subhas Chandra Bose, had decided to send twelve "unsuspected Bengali students" to Germany for training in Bolshevik and revolutionary propaganda, to be financed by "the Bolshevik Party in Berlin." It was later discovered that some of these students had actually been despatched.

INTERCEPTION OF LITERATURE

In July 1923 improved and stricter methods of interception of Roy's propaganda were brought into force at Bombay with immediate results; no less than 1,485 copies of *The Vanguard* [51] of June 1st being intercepted there, and 1,124 copies of the issue of June 15th.

PRESS SUPPORT FOR ROY

Certain Indian newspapers continued to assist Roy's propaganda by publishing Communist and pro-Bolshevik articles. The *Nava Yuga* reproduced in February 1924 an article from the *International Press Correspondence*, under the heading "Pariahs of the Colonies, Unite!" The Lahore papers *Bande Mataram* and *The Nation* also preached Communism—the latter reprinting, verbatim and including Roy's editorial remarks, an article from the *The Vanguard*. *The Nation* also received at this time a letter from *The Vanguard* office, which said: "We have persisted and will persist, despite all obstacles, in our attempt to carry our message straight to the Indian people".

F. SCHMIDT

In November 1923, through the interception of a letter to Dange, the Bombay Police got in touch with a sailor from a German vessel, the *"Trautenfels"*, who gave his name as F. Schmidt. A police officer successfully personated Dange, and Schmidt gave him three packets of Communist literature, which he said had been given him by Roy. Schmidt inquired about political conditions in India, in particular about the possibility of disaffecting Indian troops, and said: "We can manage to send arms through provided you can get in touch with men on the Frontier". He said also that he had brought some arms with him and asked whether it was feasible to store a large quantity of arms in Bombay. He seemed to be a man of education, superior to a common sailor. Before he left he gave an address in Hamburg. In January 1924 three German sailors visited Dange, saying that they had been asked to do so by "a man in Hamburg"; but they said they had never heard of Roy.

PROPOSED PRINTING PRESS FOR MADRAS

In August 1923, Roy sent 1,000 francs to Switzerland for the purchase of a printing press to be sent to an address in

Madras, the invoice being sent to Singaravelu. Singaravelu's lieutenant and "Secretary", Velayudham, wrote to Dange and Mani Lal in September, telling the former : "We have now got a press. We shall soon [52] issue two journals, one in vernacular and one in English". In the same month, Singaravelu was accused of embezzling a sum of Rs. 16,000—his share of a subsidy of Rs. 30,000 granted by the Indian National Congress to Labour Unions in Madras, and defended himself by asserting that the money "was spent in consultation with responsible Labour leaders", but he did not vouchsafe any details. On September 19th Singaravelu cabled to Roy : "Wire 250 sterling, Send Press"; and at the same time wrote to Roy, saying that he had purchased a small press out of the funds supplied "from (Roy's agent at) Amsterdam"—this was £100, which reached Singaravelu by cheque. He repeated his telegraphic request for money and a larger press. Correspondence from Roy had shown dissatisfaction with Singaravelu and his "Labour and Kishan Party", and in *The Vanguard* Roy suggested that a fresh start should be made by the organisation of a People's Party "comprising the exploited elements of our society".

THE SWARAJ PARTY AND THE MASSES

In *The Vanguard* of January 1st, 1924, Roy said : "The Swaraj Party is not in a position to lead the masses in the struggle. The failure of Non-co-operation proves that a great mass movement requires a revolutionary leadership—a party that can offer such a leadership will therefore not prejudice the unity of the movement by its appearance; on the contrary, it will strengthen the movement and make for a solid united anti-Imperialist front. Supported by popular agitation and mass demonstrations outside, the opposition or demands of the Swarajists inside the Councils will assume a powerful appearance. The demands themselves can be dictated by the popular movement. Only resolutions will not do. Strikes, demonstrations and eventually insurrections will have to be organised. If the Government is sure that the rejection of even the most moderate demand of the Swarajists will not provoke any indignation outside, it will pay scant attention to their constitutional demands. On the other hand, if the Swarajists are sure that their demands will be backed up by the people, not by resolutions of the educated few, but by militant action of the masses, they [53] will be vigorous in their demands. Thus, a working

alliance will be established between the two Parties, with their own programme and methods of fight. Between the two, the National struggle as a whole will be pushed forward and eventually the point will be reached where the front ranks will be occupied by revolutionaries".

THE "LABOUR AND KISHAN GAZETTE"

Singaravelu's paper, the *Labour and Kishan Gazette*, appeared in January 1924, in which month Velayudham wrote to Roy saying funds were urgently needed to continue it. In February Singaravelu, finding himself pressed by his creditors for money due on account of his Gazette, again appealed to Roy for funds : "You don't understand how we could have done in the Coconada Congress, if we had only a little money to take some delegates with us.... Our journals are unique of their kind and are catching the people wonderfully, but for some time we cannot expect paying members..... We are now giving you an ultimatum. You must wire at least £250 or wire that nothing can be sent....."

"SEPASSI'S" VISIT TO PONDICHERRY

In November 1923, R. C. L. Sharma received a letter from Marseilles announcing the despatch of "goods"—probably the promised printing press—to his accommodation address in Pondicherry. Sharma had offered to go and visit Roy if the latter could arrange for a *locum tenens* in Pondicherry. Roy selected for this purpose Khushi Mahomed *alias* Mahomed Ali *alias* Ibrahim, and despatched him on a Persian passport, under a fresh *alias*, 'Sepassi'. He arrived in Pondicherry early in January, bringing money from Roy, which he gave to Sharma. The Pondicherry authorities, however, served a notice on him to quit French India, and he left (for Djibouti) on February 25th, 1924.

ROY AND THE VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT

Immediately after hearing of Sepassi's threatened deportation, Roy wrote to him expressing the hope that he would be able to avoid it. This letter also referred to the Volunteer Movement headed by Dr. Hardikar and Jawahir Lal Nehru. Roy regarded this movement as "a hope- [54] ful sing", and in the course of an article on the same topic, *The Vanguard* of November 15th, 1923, said : "Many a river of blood will have

to be traversed and many a tenet of reactionary nationalism will have to be forgotton before the goal is realised". In a letter on the same subject, Jawahir Lal Nehru said: "We want a more revolutionary programme. But what is it to be? Let us remember that most people like to talk of revolution and direct action but they have no desire to participate in it".

PROPAGANDA WORK

Roy's letter to Sepassi include a list of 538 addresses in India to which *The Vanguard* should be despatched, and asked him to ascertain how far the persons mentioned in the list sympathised with the Communist movement, and to deal only with those really interested. Writing in March to a correspondent in Southern India, Roy said: "We have helped the Labour and Kishan Party to start a press which has not been of any use to us. We are not in a position to repeat that". In the same month, Sharma, writing to Roy, acknowledged the receipt of a £100 note, out of which he had sent Rs. 500 to the editor of the *Utsah* at Jhansi, and had spent Rs. 368 "for flattery". He also acknowledged the receipt of a printing press.

LABOUR CONNECTIONS

Roy wrote to Mukunda Lal Sarkar in February 1924, asking that the contents of his letter should be communicated to the Reception Committee of the All-India Trades Union Congress. The letter urged Indian Labour leaders to send delegates to "International Congresses convened and conducted by workers in their own interests. The Trades Union Congress should be a true working-class organisation which will reach its goal only through the thorny path of revolution". In August 1923 the Red International of Labour Unions sent to the Bengal Trades Union Federation a copy (in Russian) of the message "to the striking mill workers of Almadobeda" (Ahmedabad), greeting "the heroic struggle of our brothers and colleagues, the textile workers of Almadobeda". In March 1924 the British Bureau of the R.I.L.U. wrote to the All-India Trades Union Congress urging affiliation—the letter was [55] signed by George Hardy, the well-known Communist and friend of Roy—and Dr. Bhat wrote to Arthur Field saying that he had written to the Secretary of the All-India Trades Union Congress expressing the hope that the Congress will "save itself from being Amsterdamned,

(Affiliated to the Amsterdam International—a less advanced organisation).

EFFORTS AMONG INDIAN SEAMEN

In England Saklatvala's "Indian Seamen's Association" had changed its name to the "International Oriental Seafarers' Union", of which, in May 1923, the Red International of Labour Unions instructed Saklatvala to "make full use as a Communist propaganda organisation". Writing to Ajoy Banarji, one of the officials of the "International Oriental Seaferers' Union", Roy offered to have the papers and pamphlets of the Union printed free in Hamburg. He suggested also that an Urdu lascars' paper should be published in Hamburg and he undertook to bear the entire cost. Probably as a result of this, leaflets printed in Urdu and English, "An appeal to the Indian Lascars", were distributed at Hamburg to the crew of a British ship from Rangoon, and the crew were harangued by "an Indian named Ibrahim" (Khushi Mahomed *alias* Mahomed Ali *alias* Sepassi).

It appeared that lascars had been approached by Indians, including some Bengalis, at Rotterdam as well as at Hamburg, and were treated to lectures on British oppression in India and the advantages that would accrue from a rebellion such as that which overthrew the Tsar in Russia. In September 1923 Roy made a tour which embraced Zurich, Marseilles, Paris, Genoa and Amsterdam. He came to the conclusion that, as regards the sending of propaganda literature to India by the hand of sailors, Marseilles, whence ships sailed direct for India, would be a better base than German or Dutch ports, from which ships went to India *via* British ports; in Marseilles therefore lascars, specially those on French boats, could be more effectively utilised. He decided to send an agent to Marseilles, and in October claimed that the Messageries Maritimes, and the P & O., were carrying literature to India "safely and regularly" *via* Colombo [56] and thence direct to Pondicherry, the shipments being arranged by a French Communist at Marseilles. He complained, however, that there were as yet "no reliable comrades at Colombo or Rangoon".

ROY'S VISITORS FROM INDIA

During his visit to Berlin, Roy met some visitors from India —in particular Dip Narayan Singh and his wife and Swami Satya Deva. Both had been refused passports for Germany, but

neither found the least difficulty in getting there, Dip Narayan Singh was introduced to Radek by Roy, and it was proposed that he should accompany Roy to Moscow as a "representative from the Indian National Congress going to Russia to study Communism", and, incidentally, as evidence of the success in India of Roy's propaganda. Dip Narayan Singh did not go to Russia, but returned, with his wife, to India. Swami Satya Deva also had an interview in Berlin with Roy, to whom he is said to have brought messages from Singaravelu. A report received from London, in May 1924, said that "some months ago" two Indians purchased a number of automatic pistols in Paris and left instructions that they were to be sent to Marseilles. One of these Indians gave the name of "S. Deves"; Swami Satya Deva arrived in Bombay on March 5th from Paris *via* Marseilles, travelling under the name of "S. Deves".

MAHENDRA PRATAP

"Raja" Mahendra Pratap arrived in Kabul on September 2nd, 1923. On his way back from China he had visited Moscow, where he interviewed Chicherin and undertook to "use his personal influence with the Amir to secure his sympathies with the revolutionary cause". He notified Rash Behari Bose, by cable, of his arrival in Kabul. The latter, in March 1924, wrote to a friend at Chandernagore, saying that he had been naturalised as a Japanese.

WORK IN KABUL

In August 1923 Iqbal Sahidai, who had been expelled from Kabul with the other Indian revolutionaries in October 1922, made a statement, in the course of which he said that he had been originally deputed to Kabul to get in touch with Russians and Afghans, and that in 1921-22, the Soviet Government had sent £30,000 to Kabul for Indian revolutionary propa- [57] ganda; that a good deal of this money was misappropriated by Mahomed Ali (Khushi Mahomed), who forged receipts, including some of Mota Singh, and some of Iqbal Sahidai himself; that Mota Singh, however, actually recovered £ 12,000, while £ 1,000 was sent to the Babbar Akalis and £ 2,000 to certain *Pirs* in Sind; and that the latter, who were under the influence of the well-known Khilafat extremist, Abul Kalam Azad, were in direct communication with the Mujahidin at Chamarkand.

GHADR PARTY EMISSARIES

The Ghadr Party emissaries to the IV Congress of the Communist International, Santokh Singh and Rattan Singh, left for India in May 1923, under instructions to go *via* Persia, and "financed to a moderate extent" by the Communist International. Santokh Singh, however, attempted to return through Afghanistan, and was arrested in Independent Territory, under an assumed name, while trying to do so. The Ghadr Party had also deputed one Mit Singh, with a considerable sum of money, to the Akali Sikhs direct; he was appointed a "Jathedar" at Muktesar, and was arrested and put on his trial in the Akali Conspiracy case at Lahore.

THE "NEW ORIENT"

In America, B. K. Roy (who had joined the Ghadr Party from the "Friends of Freedom for India") started a newspaper in New York, the *New Orient*, with money supplied to him by M. N. Roy. In November 1923 he contributed, to the New York *Nation*, an article on the Nabha troubles, which was reproduced in the Indian Press. In a Press interview in New York B. K. Roy was represented as saying that "the country, especially the Punjab, is arming. They do not know where we are getting the arms, but we are getting them."

THE "INDIAN STUDENTS' BUREAU"

Chattopadhyaya, in Berlin, received "a handsome donation" from Dip Narayan Singh for his "Indian Students' Bureau"; in spite of which he was obliged to close it, early in 1924, for lack of funds. A few months later, however, he secured financial backing from a German friend, and [58] re-opened his Bureau. In March 1924 it was reported that Chattopadhyaya had been approached, on behalf of some of the revolutionary leaders in Bengal, through his sister Sarojini Naidu, as to whether he could make regular arrangements to smuggle arms into India: and that he had replied that he was consulting his friends and would want fifteen lakhs of rupees. In June 1923, Obeidullah wrote from Petrograd to B. N. Dutt accepting membership of the "India Independence Party" and agreeing to work in its interests in Russia; but by that time B. N. Dutt, who had already handed over to Chattopadhyaya the charge of the Student Department of the Indian Information Bureau in order to leave himself free to devote all his attention to the production of the newspaper

Indian Independence (for which he had received from Dip Narayan Singh a promise of assistance out of Indian Congress funds) had definitely broken with Chattopadhyaya and started a party of his own.

THE "INDIAN INDEPENDENCE"

In November 1923 the German Government suppressed *Indian Independence*. It seems practically certain that the "India Independence Party" was also recognised by the Soviet and may have been somehow connected with the organisation said to have been started in India in a number of puzzling, but uncorroborated, reports, which furnished details of the existence, all over India, of Bolshevik agents with unidentifiable names. The most persistent of these reports referred to a "Comrade Gamper" in Delhi, as the "centre" of this organisation; and the latest of these referred to an individual whose name was certainly a Russian variant of Mukerji. • Abani Mukherji, who arrived in Paris from India early in March 1924, said that, though "his actions had been hampered by defamatory letters written by Roy", he had had a successful tour, in the course of which he had "organised a centre in Delhi". It may be accepted that Abani Mukerji went to India in opposition to Roy, but none the less with the secret approval of the Communist International; and that, when he presented his report in Paris, he reported favourably as to his own organisation and unfavourably as to Roy's. [59]

R. A. ZAKARIA

R. A. Zakaria joined Roy's Party in Berlin in June 1923, and seems to have gone from there direct to Bushire.

"COMRADE GAMPER"

At the beginning of 1924, it was reported that the Communist International had sanctioned propaganda expenditure of £3,750,000 for 1924, £,500,000 of this being for India. Reports were received of large sums of money being destined for "Comrade Gamper" in Delhi; but, though all precautions were taken to obtain information of any such despatch, nothing was traced, either to this organisation (if, in truth, it existed) or to any of Roy's partisans, beyond a few hundred pounds sent to Sharma.

SAKLATVALA

Saklatvala was invited by the Executive of the Communist International to attend a private conference of the secretaries of

the International Committee of Propaganda, to be held at Moscow in August 1923; and in March 1924 made a speech at a meeting of the "New Irish Freedom League" in London, in the course of which he said that British Imperialism had long been the curse of the world and he was confident that India would set up a system of Soviet Government.

REVOLUTIONARY AND LABOUR CONNECTIONS

Roy had an extensive correspondence with the Bengal revolutionaries—letters passing between him and no less than 24 members of the Revolutionary Party being intercepted in India; but in no case did much result, as each party wanted to use the other for its own purposes. He made special attempts to get in touch with Labour organisations and with the Indian National Congress, particularly because he wished to be able to produce before the Communist International some delegates who could be represented as carrying a "mandate" from some recognised Indian political body. Indian "Labour Leaders" coquetted with him fairly extensively, but the Congress, on the whole, fought shy of him.

THE CAWNPORE CASE

Apart from the thirteen leading names, the "brief" of the Cawnpore case contained the names of 155 other persons, and it is noteworthy, [60] that in this large number, which included Abani Mukerji and his associates in India, no mention whatever was made of the supposed parallel organisation reported as centring round "Comrade Gamper" of Delhi. A formal plaint against the eight persons against whom it had been decided to proceed was put in at Cawnpore in February 1924. Roy, in Berlin, and Sharma, in Pondicherry, could not be brought before the Court; and Ghulam Hussain having, as already stated, made a confession and given evidence against Roy's agent Shafiq (who was convicted and sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment), the case against him was withdrawn. The case against Singaravelu was also withdrawn—owing to his illness—without prejudice to his subsequent trial elsewhere, should this seem desirable. In fact he escaped without prosecution, but the result of the trial gave him "the fright of his life" and he decided, after hearing of it, to abandon politics and to confine himself to ordinary journalism. (This resolution he has since seen fit to disregard). Muzaffar Ahmad, Usmani, Dange and Nalini Gupta

were all convicted and sentenced each to four years' rigorous imprisonment; and all four convictions and sentences were upheld on appeal to the Allahabad High Court.

EFFORTS FOR THE DEFENCE

When it became known that the accused had been committed for trial, the Communist International expressed special anxiety that they should be adequately defended in the Sessions Court, and Ram Bhattacharji was sent to London with money to pay for an action to that end that might be taken by the British Communist Party. The Party's newspaper, the *Workers' Weekly*, started an "Indian Defence Fund" for Cawnpore and printed a list of subscriptions, two of which (Lansbury, M.P., £ 1, and Maxton, 10 shillings) were genuine and the rest fictious, being represented, in fact, by money supplied Roy. A cable was sent (signed by Lansbury, Maxton, McManus and Saklatvala) to Marmaduke Pickthall in September, asking him to engage a good lawyer for Cawnpore. Roy telegraphed to the Prime Minister, and sent a letter of protest of the Press, in the course of which he said: "the [61] Anglo-Indian ruling class does not want another Russian revolution, repeated on a vaster scale in India, hence the present trial". The total of the *Workers' Weekly* Defence Fund had, in June, reached only about £ 60, most of which was "paper". Roy wrote to India saying he had wired I. B. Sen, a Calcutta High Court Vakil, to act as "my lawyer for the defence. If he accepts he will pay costs." "Dr." Mani Lal appeared for the defence in the lower court, but did not appear in the Allahabad appeal, probably because he had been unable to extract any money from Roy. In August a cable from India was received by the "Indian Defence Committee," asking that the money collected for the defence should be sent to India. The Committee authorised the despatch of £ 22, but kept the remainder (£ 39) "for propaganda work". Shortly after this Mani Lal wrote to Sharma, saying that he had received no money for defending the accused at the Cawnpore Sessions trial, and that Malaviya (the other defence lawyer) had received the whole of the £ 22.

ROY ON THE CAWNPORE TRIAL

In June Roy issued an "Open-letter" to the Prime Minister on the Cawnpore trial. The most remarkable feature in this letter is the admission that force and violent

revolution were advocated by himself and his fellow-conspirators —a fact that previously be had always denied. In the course of this letter he said: "The Government Counsel's statement that 'the organisation of a Communist Party, in itself, is not a criminal offence', falls to the ground for the prisoners were convicted for having advocated the use of force in ridding the Indian people of the ravages of Capitalist Imperialism. The Indian people will be justified in using force, employed as an instrument of freedom, to overcome force maintained as a tool of exploitation and oppression". The British Communist Party endorsed this argument in unmistakable terms at a party meeting at Islington, where Tom Bell said that the accused in the Cawnpore case were convicted "of attempting to deprive His Majesty King George of his lands in India. Well, the Communist Party of Great Britain make no bones about it. It is their full intention to deprive King George of his lands in England". [62]

FUTURE PLANS

Roy attended a discussion held by the "Indian Revolutionary Association" in Moscow after the conclusion of the Cawnpore case, at which "Sepassi", lately arrived from Pondicherry *via* Djibouti and France, was also present. Roy recommended sending for more Indians, but this was objected to, on the grounds that they would either be British spies or persons without convictions, merely out for money. The majority took the latter view and the question was adjourned for further consideration. R. A. Zakaria, just returned from Bushire, also attended the meeting.

GOPENDRA CHAKRAVARTY

A youth from India, passing as "B. Ghose" (Gopendra Chakravarty) arrived at Hamburg in March 1924 as a member of the crew of a Dutch ship from India, and went to Moscow, probably in company with Roy. It seems likely that "B. Ghose" was sent by Nalini Gupta, who gave him a letter of introduction to Roy. In the statement made by Nalini Gupta to the police in August 1924, he said that one of his missions in India was to act as a intermediary between the Communist International and the Bengal revolutionaries. The latter had asked him whether they could send a delegate to the V Congress at Moscow, to ask for money for their organisation. Nalini replied that they could expect no help from the Bolsheviks unless they

were prepared to accept the Communist doctrine; and the revolutionaries replied that theirs was really a Bolshevik society, though they did not call it so, as the name was unpopular in India.

A RED FLAG FOR INDIA

According to *The Vanguard* of September 15th, at the V Congress of the Communist International held at Moscow in June, "the proletarian organisations of Moscow presented a gold-embroidered Red Flag to the Indian working-classes, as a token of revolutionary unity. The Indian Communist Party will hold it in safe custody till the All-India Trade Union Congress, or other working-class organisation, intimates its desire to take it over". In August, the General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress appointed the Workers' Welfare League of India (Dr. Bhat's organisation) to be its representative in [63] England, this action being formally approved by the Committee of the Congress. In October Abani Mukerji was in Moscow, whence he wrote to friends in Paris asking them to approach Indian firms to publish books on Communism written by him.

NEW LINES OF ACTION

In July the Communist International decided to adopt Roy's suggestion that a new Indian Communist Party should be formed as a branch of the Communist International; so that a reply to any British protest could then be that activities were being carried on in India by the Indian Communist Party, which is a branch of the Communist International and acting independently of the guidance of that organisation, thus being on the same footing as the British Communist Party. In the same month it was reported that information had been received in London that Communist funds, sent through Berlin, had reached their destination in India and had been acknowledged. Writing to Arthur Field in October, Roy said that the Communist International "is determined to stimulate activity in England and to carry on a more vigorous propaganda on behalf of India". In October it was reported that the Communist International had decided to revert to Berlin as the most suitable centre for the organisation of Communist work in India. Roy was to have his headquarters in Berlin and was to visit Moscow occasionally for discussion with the Communist International, who would remit funds to Berlin, thus avoiding possible protests by the

British Government that Moscow was the centre of revolutionary work in India. Pending negotiations for his return to Berlin, Roy remained in France. *The Vanguard* was being printed at Marseilles by Paul Senf, one of Roy's Agents, and arrangements were in train to transfer its production to Paris. Roy was himself in Paris in August, when, writing to the Communist Party of Great Britain, he said that "the Presidium of the Communist International has resolved to set up a Colonial Bureau in Paris": that its organisation had already been begun and that the first formal meeting was to take place in the first week of September: that Palme Dutt (Editor of the *Workers' Weekly*) was to be the representative of the Communist [64] Party of Great Britain and that his travelling expenses would be met by the Bureau. This "Colonial Bureau" began to function in Paris in September, but its proceedings were hampered by the absence of the British representative, Palme Dutt, who did not put in an appearance. In anticipation of permission to return to Berlin, Roy proposed to start a Students' Club there, to convert Indian students to Communism, and ultimately to call an Oriental Students' Conference and form an Oriental Students' Federation. Roy promised financial help if such a Club could be formed and progress made. In October, however, the French Government prohibited the sale and circulation in France of *The Vanguard* and informed the British authorities that Roy, Evelyn Roy and Paul Senf had been ordered to quit French territory. Considerable difficulty was experienced in locating Roy—who covered his tracks cleverly in Paris—in order to serve on him the order of expulsion; but this was eventually done, and he took refuge in Luxemburg.

MAHENDRA PRATAP

Mahendra Pratap left Kabul for Moscow in September. At the end of 1923 Roy had written to a correspondent that, although "our personal relations with him are excellent", Mahendra Pratap was a reactionary who "will not be useful for our purposes apart from friendly co-operation on general principles".

ESPINOZA

In October 1924 one Hugo Espinoza, who was reported to be concerned in a plot, engineered by Rash Behari Bose in Japan, for smuggling a large consignment of arms to India, arrived in Calcutta on a Chinese passport and assumed the

name of Abdur Rashid. He remained in Calcutta for nearly a month before being detected, but was finally arrested under the newly promulgated Bengal Ordinance.

SMUGGLING OF LITERATURE

Roy's "contact" with India was almost entirely confined to his correspondence with Sharma. He wrote to the latter in May 1924, asking for new arrangements to be made for getting *The Vanguard* into Pondicherry and for having it printed there. He instructed him also "to organise a point" and "place one or two good men" at Bombay: We will be able to send everything through the lascars. Colombo [65] must also be used". In June Sharma wrote to Roy saying that he had arranged with K. G. Sharma, the Editor of the Jhansi newspaper, *Utsah*, to print "whatever I write"; and making detailed suggestions for the smuggling of literature into Pondicherry as merchandise. He wrote again in July promising to send his brother (S. C. L. Sharma) to Europe to get in touch with Roy. He mentioned that he had sent K. G. Sharma to Bengal "to make port arrangements" for receiving literature from lascars; and acknowledged Rs. 1,000 received through an intermediary. Later in the same month, K. G. Sharma wrote to Sharma in Pondicherry saying that he had found a man to do "point" at Bombay—a photographer: "Photographic articles which come to India from abroad are not opened. If your goods come to his address in Bombay wrapped in brown paper and containing some negative plates, they will escape the notice of the authorities". Just about the same time, the French authorities in Pondicherry seized a large consignment of Roy's literature—1,400 copies of *The Vanguard* and 300 of Roy's pamphlets.

SUPPLY OF ARMS

Though Roy had previously refused to supply arms to Sharma, he seems to have relented later, for he wrote: "We have not done anything about the automatic, purposely, but I will see to it if you are so insistent. My request only is that nothing can be gained by this method of work. Look at our Bengal people. What have they gained by their recent stupidity? You cannot hake a revolution so easily. First of all the mentality of the people—or at least a sufficiently large portion of it —is to be revolutionised. This cannot be done by stray pistol shots".

DEFALCATIONS

The printing press which Roy had sent to Sharma had been made over to one of the latter's adherents, who, following the custom of all Roy's allies in India, converted it to his own private use, and eventually sold it and retained the proceeds. Nor does Roy seem to have been much more fortunate in his Indian allies in Europe; for one of his letters to Sharma enclosed a type written document, with a space wherein a name was to be entered in manuscript (a form which argues a [66] fairly frequent necessity for its use), consisting of an official warning from the Communist International "to the Communist and Revolutionary organisations in India that "————————, formet member of the Indian Communist Party.....no longer has any relations with the Communist International. Therefore, we ask you to be on your guard with regard to this person and not to enter into any relation with him".

RESULT OF THE CAWNPORE TRIAL

The convictions at Cawnpore had a sobering effect on Indian newspapers, only a few of which continued to preach Roy's tenets. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) wrote, in August 1924, that Roy's programme "appears to be sweeter than honey and more pleasant than Paradise to the poor Indians and there is every likelihood of their welcoming it heartily"; and, in October, *The Socialist* (Editor K. N. Joglekar, who had succeeded Dange after the latter's arrest) wrote : "The radical element" (of the All-India National Congress at Belgaum) "should organise themselves into a party entitled the Indian Socialist Labour Party, having for its ultimate object the establishment of the People's State in which land and capital are owned communally", and recalled that, in September 1922, *The Socialist* had put forward a Scheme for a Socialist party in the Congress : "If we do not move with the cry of 'Land and Bread' neither the peasant nor the worker is going to fight for a Swaraj where he is likely to find himself as much in want of both as he is to-day". Other adherents of Roy in Bombay were T. V. Parvate, Editor of the *Lokmanya*—the man who had been titularly responsible for Dange's "People's Publicity Service"—with whom Roy was in direct touch, and one Basudev Hari Joshi, who, describing himself as Secretary of the All-India Communist Party, visited Benares and advised the local workers to start a branch of the

Indian Communist Party there and to establish a reading room for the study of Communism. Satya Bhakta in Cawnpore formed a Communist Party there in September, explaining, in a letter to a Calcutta newspaper, that, "in the Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case it has been settled that to have faith in Communism in itself is no offence. Thus, the [67] fear of the law against Communism has been removed". The *Bande Mataram* (Calcutta) announced that an Indian Communist Party had been openly formed "with branches at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Cawnpore", and that "an All-India Communist Conference will be held in three months' time". In November, Satya Bhakta wrote to the Editor of *The Socialist*, saying that 'some fifty people' had become members of his (Cawnpore) Communist Party 'including several prominent personages'. This Party showed some activity, producing a *'Red Revolutionary'* newspaper, which it was eventually found necessary to suppress.

It may be said that, on the whole, the Cawnpore case was justified, not only legally but politically, and that the view taken by reasonable Indians was generally that expressed by Mrs. Besant, who, in defending the introduction of the Bengal Ordinance, said that agents of the Communist International were to some extent responsible for the recurrence of anarchy in Bengal, and the result of the Allahabad appeal had established the existence of a Bolshevik plot in India. [68]

CHAPTER III

RESULTS ACHIEVED BY THE CAWNPORE CONSPIRATORS— CONTINUATION OF THE CAMPAIGN

THE FINDING OF THE HIGH COURT

In rejecting the appeal of the accused in the Cawnpore case, the High Court of Allahabad gave judgment as follows :— "What has been proved against the appellants is that there is in existence a person passing under the name of M. N. Roy, generally residing in Berlin, but believed by the appellants to have visited Moscow in the year 1922 and to be an agent of the Third Communist International in that place. The case for the prosecution is that an individual passing under this name of M. N. Roy and carrying on a correspondence from an address in Berlin has been engaged in organising and fomenting in India a conspiracy punishable under Section 121-A of the Indian Penal Code. We think it is also established by evidence that this individual professed himself to be an agent of the Third Communist International and to be acting on behalf of that body in organising and fomenting this conspiracy. The case against each of the appellants is that they entered into this conspiracy and agreed to act under the directions of this individual known to them as M. N. Roy for the purpose of depriving His Majesty the King of the sovereignty of British India".

NATURE OF THE CONSPIRACY

A further passage on the judgment reads : "Although there is no plea against the severity of the sentence in the memorandum of appeal, something was said in argument before us as to the general futility of their proceedings, the apparent absence of anything like tangible results endangering the public security, and the suggestion was at least thrown out that their proceedings were deserving of contempt than of prosecution and punishment. This plea does not impress us..... Absurd and unbelievable as their aspiration were, the fact remains that each of [69] these men entered into and carried on this conspiracy with each other and with Roy in the most serious spirit. Whilst the cons-

piracy had for its principal object the overthrow of British rule in this country, the conspirators looked even beyond this. A number of exhibits and many other documents set out clearly what they aimed at achieving and how they hoped to achieve it. British rule, government by upper and middle-class Indians alike, were to be swept away, the confiscation of property was to be wholesale, a 'People's Party' was to be the initial step, having a public programme designed for their betterment which is no way offended against the law. Within that apparently harmless body 'illegal' activities were to be prosecuted by an inner party consisting of 'all the revolutionary nationalists'. Violence and destruction of property were to be encouraged and conflicts to be precipitated. At the propitious moment resources and armed help were to come from the 'Universal revolutionary party', *i.e.*, the Communist International. Throughout the whole of this fantastic scheme no calculation is made of, no though apparently given to, the forces which British and Indians alike would array against an enemy bent on their common destruction. In the event of the overthrow by force of arms of the British Government, the revolutionaries proposed to sweep away all Indian political groups and Labour organisations which did not come into line. The power of upper and middle-class Indians was to be destroyed by taking from them all that they possessed".

RESULTS ACHIEVED

The above findings, while they prove conclusively the existence of a Bolshevik conspiracy organised for the purposes stated, suggest also a question that must neither be parried nor denied an answer. That question is : To what extent did Roy and his fellow-conspirators succeed in implanting Bolshevism in India as a political force to be reckoned with ? The answer is : To all appearances, very little. And the events we are studying are already so far a thing of the past as to justify the belief that for once appearances have not been deceitful. The judgment itself talks of the 'general futility' of the conspirators' proceedings and bring out 'the appa- [70] rent absence of anything like tangible results endangering the public safety'. Again, the reference to their aspirations as 'absurd and unbelievable' robs of none of its force the plea that the 'conspiracy' was deserving as much of contempt as of prosecution and punishment. It may be accepted, therefore, that Roy's 'illegal party' was never capable

of much mischief and had, in point of fact, accomplished but little when the Cawnpore prosecution cut short its activities. Sometimes, however, great events follow upon small beginnings, just as a rat may, by introducing the plague bacillus, decimate a whole province. Thus, the residuary question arises whether Roy and his agents have, by indoctrinating India with Bolshevik ideas, brought about results incomparably greater than they could consciously have produced. To this question also I would return a negative answer, although I feel that I must support my position by something more substantial than a mere expression of personal opinion.

CAUSES OF FAILURE

The first, and possibly the chief, cause of Roy's lack of success in founding a live Communist Party in India arose out of the special circumstances of the years during which he was most active. Roy, as a John the Baptist of Communism, endeavoured to introduce into India the idea and practice of mass action for the enforcement of Political demands; but he could scarcely have got to work before he must have realised that 'a greater than John the Baptist' had already forestalled him. This was no other than 'Mahatma' Gandhi, whose Non-co-operation campaign produced a mass movement which, while owing nothing in spirit and conception to Communism, was far more widespread and formidable than anything that Roy could possibly have created, even if he had had a completely clear field. It would be out of place for me here to seek to trace the causes of the Non-co-operation upheaval. The movement may have represented partly the backwash of the War and partly the gradual passing of the "passivity of the masses", but it undoubtedly owed far more to the peculiar talents and character of its founder than to anything else. Its appeal was universal, because it was based[71] mainly on religion, and its direction was anti-British, because the 'Mahatma's' first objective was the overthrow of the 'Satanic Government' of Britain. The spirit and tendency of the movement are not inaptly portrayed in the following passage from Roy's own pamphlet *One Year of Non-co-operation*, which appeared in 1923 :— "Mahatma Gandhi was a great saint, a great sage, an incarnation of God Himself, whom the white rulers could not harm, did not dare to touch; therefore, simple ignorant men must trust, believe and blindly obey. The mass movement of riotous peasants, of striking city workers, fell into line with the

nationalist movement, danced to the tune of its leaders, obeyed in so far as lay, within its power the general behests of the 'Mahatma', and waited three years for a Swaraj that, like a will-o'-the wisp, fled further and further away. Tremendous nation-wide *Hartals* paralysed for a day, two days, the national life and displayed the majestic strength of the Indian masses; burning of foreign cloth, boycott of cloth and liquor, non-payment of taxes drained the national exchequer. The British Government felt for the first time of its rule in India a challenge to its authority. Occasionally, bloody conflicts between the armed legionaries of the State and the rebellious Indian masses testified to the grimness of the struggle. 25,000 people were led off to jail unresisting. The Indian masses were fighting under discipline for Swaraj".

INFLUENCE OF NON-CO-OPERATION

But Swaraj never came, although the mass movement and mass action continued. Throughout India widespread disturbances arose out of the attempts to enforce the various measures of the Non-co-operation programme, such as the boycott of foreign cloth and of liquor shops, resulting in mob outbreaks, encounters between police and people, murders and wholesale arrests. This welter of violence and bloodshed had more than once given pause to Mr. Gandhi in the conduct of a campaign, the keynote of which, as he had so often insisted, was to be complete Non-violence. Finally, in February 1922 there occurred the serious Chauri Chaura riot, in the coarse of which an infuriated and murderous mob captured a police station and burnt[72] the building with most of its occupants. The horrors of this crowning outrage finally unnerved Mr. Gandhi, who called off the movement in the now well-known Bardoli resolutions. Thus, during all the time that Roy was busiest sowing the seeds of the mass idea, there was gradually ripening in India such a harvest as even Moscow could scarcely have dreamt of. With a demi-god like Mr. Gandhi, leading the Non-co-operation movement, there was no one to harken to the purely secular preachings of a puny earthling like Roy. The Non-co-operation movement finally collapsed, and it left an exceedingly bitter taste in the mouth of the people. The mass of the population was grown sick with hope deferred in spite of the not altogether inconsiderable price they had paid in men and money during the course of the struggle. They were still more bewildered when, hope be-

ing palpably dead, they were told to spin and pray for Swaraj and their confusion was finally completed by the removal of Mr. Gandhi to jail. Thus owing to the special circumstances of the years 1920-1922, even more whole-hearted and more upright workers than Roy and his fellow-schemers might well have failed to produce any more lasting impression than they did. It is only fair to Roy, however, to say that if he had little to do with the creation of the mass movement of Non-co-operation days, he had at least a clear enough conception of its possibilities. Discussing in *The Vanguard* the collapse of Non-co-operation, Roy said : "We maintain that there was a splendid opportunity for a national rising, but this opportunity was missed because there did not exist in the country a revolutionary party which could lead the masses to an offensive with courage and determination. One opportunity is lost; another will come again."

CHARACTER OF ROY AND HIS CONFEDERATES

Another important cause that contributed to Roy's failure was the indifferent quality of himself and his agents. Practically all of them, and Roy also is included, have proved to be greedy opportunists, lacking in scruples and principles and even in common honesty. In the section headed 'Grant of Money' in Chapter II, it has been recounted that Mota Singh, the well known Akali, applied[73] purely to his private uses the money he received from Moscow. Similarly, Ghulam Hussain, Roy's Lahore 'centre', not only appropriated a great deal of what he received, but considered that he ought to have acquired merit in the eyes of Government for so preventing this money from being devoted to the purposes for which it was sent. There is also clear evidence, obtained from intercepted correspondence, to show that some of the money sent to India for the defence of the Cawnpore conspirators stuck to the fingers of those who had the handling of it, with the natural result that not a little heart burning ensued among some of the intended and legitimate beneficiaries. In the same way, Singaravelu, with his jackal Velayudham, contrived to dispose of the press provided for the work of the 'Labour and Kishan Party', and so far has never disgorged the proceeds, an act of peculation which has brought about his complete estrangement from Roy. But, in point of fact, Roy's own reputation for clean-handed dealing in money matters stands scarcely higher among his followers, as I shall presently have occasion to show. Apart from their bankruptcy in ordinary

honesty, another radical defect in Roy's team was that, while every one was prepared to lead, few or none were prepared to follow. The section headed 'New Parties in India', as well as subsequent sections in the last Chapter, have shown how each centre produced a separate scheme, and how Singaravelu, Dange, Ghulam Hussain, etc., seemed each to consider that he himself above all others was cut out for the leadership. There were thus almost as many 'leaders' as 'parties', a state of affairs which is not entirely without a parallel in the annals of Indian revolutionary conspiracy; for it may be recalled that Obeidullah's 'Army of God', which comprised no fewer than twelve Field-marshals and forty eight Generals of various grades, could muster no more than two Captains and one Lieutenant. Nor was any one of Roy's recruits, so far as would appear, possessed either of the necessary influence, ability or 'drive' to make himself felt, or to lay any sort of enduring foundation for a Bolshevik movement. All these agents were of ordinary calibre, and, while they were quite prepared to strut in the borrowed plumes of Bolshevism, gulping down whatever of its[74] money came their way, and mouthing glibly its claptrap phraseology, they seemed scarcely to know which way to turn in the matter of making a beginning on anything constructive or practical. The general position is well expressed in a phrase borrowed from a letter addressed by a correspondent to Sampurnanand : "Let us remember that most people like to talk of revolution and direct action, but they have no desire to participate in it". An exception to these remarks in Nalini Gupta, who, as is now definitely known, taught the making and use of explosives to a number of Bengali youths in Dacca; but in this matter Nalini was acting more as a member of the Bengal revolutionary party than as an agent of Roy.

AGENTS INDEPENDENT OF ROY

Before I take up again the thread of my narrative, it will be convenient at this stage to examine somewhat more closely the information already alluded to in the section headed 'Comrade Gamper' in Chapter II. Even before the institution of the Cawnpore Conspiracy Case and while Roy's agents were still at large, certain information was received in the shape of lists of names, which seemed to indicate that other Bolshevik agents were working in India independently of Roy. The results of enquiries undertaken to verify this information was largely negative,

but it was necessarily inconclusive also, partly because the persons who appeared on the lists were said to be passing under assumed names, and partly because enquiries could be made only by a limited number of selected and strictly reliable officers. At the same time, the fact that certain individuals bearing names identical with (or closely resembling) some of those given in the lists were discovered at one or two of the places specified, did give colour to the belief that there was at least something genuine in the lists, although the most tangible and seemingly most authentic piece of information of all was found to be incapable of verification. This particular piece of information indicated that there was working in Delhi on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Comintern one Comrade Gamper (or Hamper), to whom had been sent the large sum of 150,000 English pounds "for the renewal of agitation work in India in accordance[75] with former instructions". It appeared that Gamper, who was being controlled from the Far East, was to work out a scheme of obstruction which was alleged to have received the approval of 'Comrade Gandhi', and he was to apply for help to the Executive Committee of the 'Hindu Communist Party'. Enquiries failed completely to disclose either the presence of Gamper or the transfer of the very large sum of money which has been mentioned; nor has anything ensued since that time (February 1924) that could possibly be regarded as the fruits of Gamper's labours.

DOUBTS AS TO INDEPENDENT AGENTS

The lists in question were lengthy, and, if they were accurate, they showed the existence of a wide net-work of Bolshevik agents in India. Apart from enquiries in the Gamper case, there was no evidence at all of the existence in India of a well financed organisation—rather the contrary, for the Cawnpore 'Bolsheviks' never got more than small sums out of Roy and were constantly asking for more. Thus, the conclusion to be drawn was that if the lists were genuine, there must be two quite separate Bolshevik organisations working in India, and apparently unknown to each other—one managed by Roy from Europe and the other worked from Vladivostok, Chita or elsewhere in the Far East. In regard to the supposed existence of two distinct organisations, it was possible to say definitely, almost from the outset, that Roy at least had not been able to create any agency of the dimensions suggested by the lists. His own

letters, after the conclusion of the Cawnpore case, contained plenty of evidence to show that he was having the utmost trouble in maintaining touch even with his few surviving agents, and that he was feeling himself grievously hampered in the matter of achieving further progress in India. That this attitude of Roy's was not an assumed one would seem to be established by the fact that at the end of 1924 he was still unaware of the identity of one Satya Bhakta, a professed Communist of Cawnpore, who, if of no great importance, was at least tolerably well-known in India. Again, when Zinoviev in October 1924 secured the adoption at Moscow of a scheme "of direct contact between [76] the Comintern and the Proletarian organisations of parties of British India, ignoring the local Communist party" (and presumably the existing leader M. N. Roy) Roy protested strongly in a letter which urged that "the (Indian) Proletarian organisations, distintegrated by British agents, are absolutely incapable of executive revolutionary work on the platform of the Comintern, and all connection with these organisations for revolutionary propaganda purposes is foredoomed to failure." In addition to this, an English Communist agent who was operating in India early in 1925 was credibly reported to have said that Roy had told an Indian who met him on the Continent, that "for the past three years many persons in India were trusted and sent money, but none showed any concrete work."

It being thus possible to discard definitely the idea that Roy was "running" an agency of the dimensions indicated by the lists, one was driven back on the other alternative, namely, that the lists related to an organisation established in India independently of and unknown to Roy and managed through Vladivostok, Chita or some other Far Eastern centre. This explanation, though obvious and natural, was not one that could be readily accepted. In the first place, local enquiry in regard to the lists had resulted in no actual identifications, and had revealed only two or three persons who were probably (or perhaps only possibly) identical with some of the people on the lists. In the second place, these agents, if in India had shown no sign of activity. The two lines of activity most likely to be followed were open propaganda among Labour, or secret plottings with revolutionaries, and in neither direction had anything come to notice. In the third place, Roy, until Zinoviev put forward his 'direct contact' proposals in October 1924, had been the recognised leader for India; so that it seemed unlikely, bearing in

mind the nature and the date of Zinoviev's proposals that the Comintern up till then had been operating in India independently of Roy. If, therefore, as on the whole appeared likely, the persons figuring on the lists had no real existence, then the conclusion was inevitable that the whole 'organisation' was something which had [77] been represented to the Comintern as existing, but which was, as a matter of fact, a mere figment of some one's imagination. As Roy had been the Comintern's chief Indian agent, it was a fair presumption that the bulk of their information as to Indian organisations was derived from him. In short, the whole consideration of these lists served to raise a doubt how far Roy was playing straight with Moscow, that is whether he was dealing with them honestly, or whether he was making his living (and probably large expenses) out of them by representing that he had established in India a vastly larger organisation than in reality existed. This is a subject to which I shall again have to return in connection with the examination of further information which will presently be discussed.

FURTHER SCHEMES

To resume the history of events subsequent to the Cawnpore case, the arrest of most of Roy's agents in 1923 cut short, at least for the time being, all hope of immediately effecting anything in India through the instrumentality of his 'illegal party'. Nevertheless work went on unceasingly from Moscow, although it must be premised that many of the costly and ambitious schemes that are alleged to have originated there seem to have borne little, if any, fruit in India itself. Some reasons have already been given for believing that Moscow has not achieved in India a degree of success commensurate with the money and energy expended and others will presently be advanced. Meantime it will be better to proceed to a description of the different kinds of activity reported, criticism being deferred until the appropriate later stage.

After the failure of the Communists in the big attempt to bring about a revolution in Germany at the end of 1923, the Soviet leaders turned their attention more closely than ever to the East and began preparation for an intensive campaign, with a view, primarily, to overthrow "British Imperialism" in India and Afghanistan. On the 3rd of December 1923, the Third International proposed to the Politbureau that the "Near-Central Eastern Section" should be allotted a sum of 10,000,000 gold

roubles for propaganda in 1924, which sum was to include [78] 5,000,000 gold roubles for the Indian Communist Party, as against 1,200,000 gold roubles allotted for 1923. Chicherin said, on the 28th of December, that the weapon of Afghanistan and the menace to British India of the Eastern Soviet Republics would have to be used "with caution and at the proper time"; also that, while the Soviet Government would have to refrain from an openly provocative policy, the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs would continue undeviatingly to carry out the mission entrusted to it of uniting the oppressed people of the East.

It was stated in a bulletin of the Moscow Foreign office of January 1924, that as soon as the political horizon in the West had cleared, "a wide campaign" would be carried out in the East. On the 14th of January 1924 the Politbureau decided that the Soviet representative in Kabul should be instructed to work for the "establishment of a united Empire of Muslim-India and Afghanistan", and that the Soviet Union should support this "new extensive Muslim State, which should liberate millions of Indians from under the foreign yoke."

On the 9th of February 1924 Chicherin stated that circumstances compelled the Soviet Union "to be attentive to the East". "Future India", he said, "must stand at the head of the free Eastern Republics".

FINANCIAL AID FROM THE COMINTERN

Towards the end of March 1924 M. N. Roy wrote from Moscow to his wife, saying that the Third International had decided to put a larger portion of their funds into their Near Eastern Section, devoting special attention to India, adding that, in consequence, "almost unlimited funds have become available." About the middle of April, Krestinski, the Soviet representative in Berlin, assured a leading Indian revolutionary of the wish of the Russians to assist the Indian revolutionary movement in every possible way. About the same time, Eugene Verga, the intermediary in Berlin between the Third International and the Indian Communists, told the same Indian revolutionary that the Third International had definitely decided to finance the Indian revolutionary movement to any extent required, and that the International regarded India as of more importance than any other Oriental country. [79]

MOSCOW'S POLICY

Early in 1924 documents were obtained which showed that a Special Commission for Eastern Affairs, which sat at Moscow during November and December 1923, had decided to initiate a policy of utilising nationalist and religious Eastern organisations as unconscious agents for advancing Communist aims. The policy of concentrating main efforts on the East was introduced with caution, and it was decided not to launch the campaign until Anglo-Russian negotiations had been brought to a successful conclusion from the Soviet point of view. However, on the 8th of August 1924, the day after the signing of the Anglo-Russian Treaty, the Third International decided that the coast was clear, threw off all restraint and embarked upon a full programme. On that date the Executive Committee decided that it was "indispensable to renew and increase the work of the Comintern in the East", and instructed the President of the I.K.K.I. to take measures to carry out this decision.

Full effect was given to the change of tactics introduced at the end of 1923. The Communist note in propaganda, where it was likely to offend the native populations, was suppressed, and nationalism was exploited as an unconscious means to furthering Communist aims. It has been seen from the extracts from the letters given in Chapter II that this phase of Bolshevik penetration was fully appreciated by Roy, though the success of his efforts in this new direction was almost negligible.

PROPOSED CENTRAL COMMITTEE AT MADRAS

During the discussion of the Indian question by the Colonial Commission of the I. K. K. I. on the 24th of March 1925, the importance was stressed of concentrating on the poorer agrarian elements through the medium of the working-classes. At the same time the Commission drew up a plan for establishing in India a Central Committee at Madras, with eight district committees, which latter were to organise and control agriculture, factory, military and harbour "germ cells". This plan did not materialise.

AFGHANISTAN

In August 1925 it was ascertained that the Comintern had organised at Kabul the principal[80] propaganda cell for Afghanistan. Its personnel comprised nine special agents, and its aims

were to organise branch cells in Afghanistan and to arrange communications with India.

BAKU COUNCIL'S PLANS

At a conference at Baku on July 1st 1925, the following resolutions were passed, and approved by Zinoviev, who was present :— (a) An endeavour was to be made to repeat the Chinese disturbances in India, but in accordance with conditions more suitable for India; (b) permanent departments responsible for the revolutionary movements in India, Afghanistan, Persia, China and Turkey, were to be organised.

It was ascertained that the Baku Council had started a special Strike Fund, to which the Comintern had contributed 1,250,000 gold roubles, including an allotment of 5,00,000 for the Kabul centre to be used for strike fomentation in India.

UTILISATION OF MUSLIM TRIBES

In January 1925 the I. K. K. I. sent secret instructions to Kabul stating that the Liberation Movement in British India was being closely watched by both the I. K. K. I. and the Soviet Foreign Office and that "every effort should be applied to obtain a close cohesion of the Muslim tribes of the Near and Middle East, as also to rouse in them sympathy towards the Indian Revolutionary Movement".

INDIAN COMMUNISTS AND THE SWARAJ PARTY

In a secret circular to Eastern Communist Parties, signed by a Pavlovitch, it was laid down that the Indian Communists were to take steps to deepen the split between the extremists in the Swaraj Party and those willing to temporise with the authorities.

CO-ORDINATION WITH THE BRITISH COMMUNISTS

In September 1925 the I. K. K. I. sent to Samarkand instructions which contained an outline of the progress of the Trade Union Unity campaign in Great Britain, and pointed out the necessity of the revolutionary activities in India, Egypt, and in the Colonies generally, being co-ordinated with those in Great Britain. "Inform the Indian Communist Party", the instructions stated, "regarding the situation in the[81] Motherland ..... Strengthen contact with the representatives of the British

Communist Party in India, especially a more regular exchange of information".

THE COMINTERN AND LABOUR

An official statement, issued from Moscow after the 6th Session of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern in February-March 1926, dealt with the "immediate problems of the International Communist movement". The following is an extract from this statement :— "The awakening of the national emancipation movement in the East.....represents a new fact of primary importance..... The Comintern is bound to devote the maximum forces to all round support and care of the Labour organisations in the Eastern countries, thus bringing them still nearer to the International struggle of the Proletariat".

During 1926 the attention of Moscow was to a large extent diverted from India to England, where the Miners Strike and the General Strike assumed tremendous importance in the eyes of the Soviet leaders. Nevertheless India continued to be regarded as a potential recruiting ground for a vast revolutionary army, and as one of the ultimate key positions for the overthrow of Imperialism and the attainment of World Revolution.

Every stimulus was given to the development of Indian Communism as an open movement, and the road for its advancement among the masses was widened by assiduous encouragement of Indian Trades Unionism along the lines of Trade Union unity. This later feature of Communist activities in India is more fully dealt with in Chapter VIII on Labour and Communism in India.

THE PEASANTS' INTERNATIONAL

Indian agrarian problems received expert attention from Moscow with a view to making capital out of latent grievances. Krestintern policy as regards India was heralded by a letter from that body, dated 25th September 1925, to McManus and Saklatvala, in which the addresses were asked for information as to the personalities and literature of the Indian agrarian movements, and the following avowal of intentions was made :— "Our first task will be to get in touch with all the existing peasant organisations of India, even[82] if the latter by their programmes be at variance with our views".

SUPPORT TO NATIONAL MOVEMENTS

In March 1925, at a meeting of the Colonial Commission attached to the Presidium of the Comintern, Zinoviev said : "The basic task of the moment is to support with all our might and existing means the colonial national-revolutionary unrest".

The Russians continued to be actuated by opportunist motives. Communism where found to be out of place was not propagated; all efforts were concentrated on fostering and supporting nationalist and anti-European, especially anti-British, tendencies and movements; and the object of the Russians was to appear as disinterested liberators.

INFLUENCE OF CHINA

At the enlarged plenary session of the I. K. K. I. in 1926 Bucharin said : "It is no Utopia to assert that a victorious Chinese revolution will find an immediate echo in the neighbouring colonial countries—India, Indonesia and Dutch India" ; and in a letter from the Presidium of the I. K. K. I. to the Executive of the Koumintang, Bucharin said :—"These successes of the Chinese troops refresh with new hopes the hearts of millions of the oppressed of other Eastern countries—India, Indo-China, Indonesia, Afghanistan and others".

OBJECTS IN INDIA

At a meeting of the Eastern Control Commission attached to the Presidium of the I. K. K. I., which was held on 14th September 1926, statements were made which showed that the objects to be achieved in India included : The formation of a Mass Party : the establishment of "cells" in Trades Unions or Guilds; the establishment of "cells" among Indian troops; propaganda among British troops; and the "removal of religious and caste prejudices" by means of a "Union based on national brotherhood".

THE MEANS EMPLOYED

The foregoing paragraphs, it need not be doubted, represent with fair accuracy the Soviet appreciation of the question of Bolshevising India. As to the means adopted by them to gain their ends, there is less actual evidence. I use the word 'evidence' advisedly, for there is, on the other hand, a[83] vast amount of available information regarding the inception of nu-

merous movements and plans of attack. But little, if any, of this information has been found susceptible of corroboration, while some of its has been definitely proved to be false. Most of the reported tireless activity of Moscow has been quite unattended by any observable sympathetic reactions in India, which may be due to a variety of causes, including the difficulties that agents have to encounter in entering this country. Obviously then it would be no less tedious than unprofitable for me to recount a long series of plots hatched in Moscow, which have had no counterpart in action in India; but it will not be without interest if I endeavour to indicate the lines upon which Moscow, so far as available information goes, has endeavoured to shape its plans.

A VARIETY OF SCHEMES

From their present organisation in Central Asia, with their advanced base at Tashkent, the Bolsheviks have discerned three main lines of penetration :— (1) the Central line through Afghanistan; (2) the Eastern line through Chinese Turkestan; (3) the Western line through Persia. The main line of attack used has been that from Afghanistan and the North-West Frontier. The extent of which the Russians in recent years have successfully established themselves in Afghanistan is a question that must be left for treatment elsewhere; but they doubtless regard the penetration of that country as something that is likely to help forward their general policy in India and on her borders. The central idea of Moscow seems to have been the sending out of trained agents, who would penetrate into India, organise cells among Labour, soldiers, or the indigenous elements of disorder, and would thereafter proceed to work on approved Bolshevik lines. Some of these plans have appeared to be practical enough, but others have read as in the highest degree fantastic and visionary. Details of some typical schemes are as follows :—

(a) To start from Mazar-i-Sharif (directed from Tashkent) a movement in Kashmir.

(b) To locate a well-equipped Bolshevik association in Kabul, comprising Indians, Germans, Russians[84] and Afghanistan; this was described as a "point of contact" between India and Communism.

(c) Three agents of the Moscow Politbureau were said to

have been sent *via* Kabul to India to get in touch with the Indian revolutionary party.

(d) The Russians were to organise an Indian Muslim movement to transport into India rifles, revolvers and a few machine-guns.

(e) The Communist International has arranged for the despatch to India *via* Afghanistan of some 800 British rifles, etc.

(f) The Communist International had decided to transfer its Middle Asian branch from Tashkent to Samarkand, *i.e.*, closer to the Afghan and Indian borders.

(g) A group of trained and qualified Red agents had been sent to Afghanistan.

(h) The Comintern had approved of a plan to maintain depots of arms in Afghanistan and to supply them to the "nomad elements bordering on India and by their aid to create armed cadres in India itself".

(i) The Comintern had organised in Kabul its principal "cell" for Indian propaganda.

(j) Nine Communist agents had arrived in Kabul and ten more were to follow; the despatch of arms and ammunition to Indian revolutionaries was to be organised.

(k) Some twenty-seven Communist agents, plus six military agents, were to be sent into India *via* Tashkent. It was proposed eventually to train and despatch some 240 agents to British India, French Indo-China, Tibet, etc.

(l) The Soviet had fixed six main bases for the sending of arms and ammunition into Afghanistan.

(m) The Soviet had managed to install five or six secret wireless sets (Telefunken type) at points[85] in Afghanistan along the North-West Frontier of India.

Many other items might be quoted, ranging from the importation of arms by ships sailing from Vladivostok to the inauguration of a campaign of terrorism in India itself by means of secret cells, which were alleged to have been brought up to the requisite strength; these cells were to operate secretly and independently of the open Communist organisations, so that the latter might not be wrecked as a consequence of outrages committed by the former. None of the above schemes has yet shown any signs of coming to fruition. What is certain, however, is

that the Bolsheviks, probably by means of heavy subsidies, were successful in winning over to their side the Chamarkand colony of Hindustani fanatics, and were endeavouring through them to capture the larger parent colony at Asmas. But even this success has not so far been reflected in any action in British India, while there is reason to believe that the attempt to capture the fanatics as a body has been successfully checkmated.

RELIABILITY OF INFORMATION

In spite of what has been said above, I am by so means prepared to commit myself to a positive statement that all these reported activities in Moscow have been purely fictitious as to their origin, or have been totally barren as regards their results. All that I am prepared to say is that many of these accounts of specific plots against India have been scrutinised and tested with the utmost care and patience, and that several of them have been found either to be false, or at least to bear no kind of resemblance to the realities of the situation as known to us in India. For the sake of illustration I will quote the following instances.

ANALYSIS OF SPECIFIC CASES

A moderately recent list of Soviet chiefs and agents in the Middle and Near East, compiled largely from Soviet papers and sources, gave the "Responsible Chief" of the Southern India group as "Bakandji-Rustam-Kama", and one of the members as "Evel Roy". Palpably Madame Cama and Evelyn Roy were referred to, but as both these ladies[86] were known to be then on the Continent and had certainly not been within thousands miles of India, it was difficult to see how they could effectively participate in the control of a group whose "point of contact and meeting place" was the Madura Factory, Madras. Again, seemingly reliable evidence was obtained to show that Roy had led Zinoviev to believe that he was organising terrorist groups in India through Singaravelu Chettiar, one of the Cawnpore conspirators, against whom Government did not press the case on the ground of his ill-health. This man is a non-co-operating Madrasi lawyer, aged about 50 and infirm in health, and he must have been known to Roy as an extremely unsuitable person to lead even a less desperate enterprise than that which Roy pretended he was organising. If Roy represented to Zinoviev, as he apparently did,

that he had any hopes of achieving anything in the shape of terrorism through Singaravelu, he must have been well aware that he was telling a story which was devoid of the slightest atom of truth. The break between Roy and Singaravelu has been mentioned earlier in this Chapter, and even before the date at which Roy represented to Zinoviev that Singaravelu was organising terrorist groups in India he himself had written to another Indian 'comrade' describing Singaravelu as utterly incompetent and utterly dishonest. It further appears that Roy, talking on the same subject, represented to Zinoviev that he had been instructing (through Singaravelu) the Indian nationalist revolutionary organisations as to the conditions indispensable for a successful struggle against the British yoke. Of these conditions, one was the collection of money for a Liberation Fund, to which the Communist Party of India would undertake to subscribe one million pounds sterling on condition that it received on the 'revolutionary-military council' equal representation with other Communist organisations. It may be remembered that Mr. Gandhi, at the height of his popularity and with the country worked up to fever heat, had some difficulty in finally obtaining promises for the crore of rupees (£666,000) which he had set himself to collect, and of which amount a considerable fraction was never realised in hard cash. For Roy, therefore, to represent to his employers that a mere handful of rather ragged[87] and disreputable Indian agitators were likely to be able to collect a million pounds sterling, was to reveal himself as capable of the grossest deception and falsehood. Another instance of how will the Comintern appears to be served in the matter of information was furnished by the despatch early in 1925 of an order to their agent in Kabul, asking him, in regard to certain suggested lines of work among Muslims, to hake enquiries from "Ghulam Hussain or Akhmet Muzafara". The reference was undoubtedly to "Professor" Ghulam Hussain of Lahore and Muzaffar Ahmed of the Cawnpore case, although both of them had been under confinement ever since May 1923. If, therefore, Moscow in 1925 was still counting on these men being able to further their intrigues, they were clearly in a complete fog as to what was actually happening in India, and were being purposely mislead in order to induce them to part with funds. Apart from the above, there is the internal evidence of a letter from Abani Mukerji to a friend, in which the writer, while admitting that he himself has

neither men nor money and "does not know what to do", states bluntly that Roy's talk of the Cawnpore Party (Indian Communist Party) was "nothing more than political humbugism to keep his prestige before the International". Abani Mukerji, it is to be noted, was in India as late as February 1924.

TWO DOCUMENTS

I will allude lastly to two documents, purporting to be written by Russian agents of Moscow, who professed to have penetrated well within our borders and to have established contact with various Indian Communist groups. The first of these documents was in the form of a diary ostensibly written by a Russian officer, who, entering India by way of the Pamirs and Chitral, visited a number of important cities for the purpose of establishing cells, opening up lines of communication, intelligence centres, etc. The writer claimed to have met with a large measure of success in his mission, and to have got clear away without betraying his presence. The document was an exceedingly plausible one, none the less so because it bore the name of an officer who had visited Northern India in Tsarist times, and had applied himself diligently to the study of the vernaculars and to[88] frontier travel. The diary was thus impressively correct in much of its detail, notably in regard to its geography; but where the author attempted to deal with topics he was evidently not familiar with, he introduced a quantity of matter that was so obviously "padding" as to raise doubts as to the genuineness of his whole story. An exhaustive examination was made of the writer's itinerary, and point by point his narrative was sought to be verified; but no verification was obtainable; and this, taken with the fictions and padding which the writer had used to upholster his tale, led one to the conclusion that the author, utilising his own previous knowledge, had produced the diary as a mere flight of fancy, his object being partly the satisfaction of his superiors and partly his own personal profit. The second document was a letter similarly purporting to be written from Lahore by a touring agent of Moscow, who wrote with much shrewdness and penetration of the endless schisms in Indian political life and of the almost insuperable obstacle they presented to the spread of Communist doctrines. The tone of depression in the letter was in sharp contrast with the spirit of elation and hopefulness that pervaded the diary. But the letter

too would not bear critical examination; for allusions in it to public meetings and events which had never taken place, and to committees and parties which were known to be non-existent, aroused similar doubts as to the author's good faith. A fact that finally placed the faked character of the letter almost beyond doubt was that the writer professed to have met and utilised the same two 'comrades' who had stood the diarist in such good stead; but as these comrades were to be regarded as mere creatures of the brain of the writer of the diary, the letter was finally sized up as a similar piece of fiction, written with a like purpose.

VIEWS OF COMMUNISTS THEMSELVES

I make no apology for having spun out my argument to some considerable length, for the correctness or incorrectness of the information I have discussed above is a point of the very highest importance. If the bulk of it is correct, then our position in India has been extensively undermined without our being aware of it; if it is in the main incorrect, we [89] may consider that our security is still largely unimpaired. My own view I have been at no pains to conceal, and it receives powerful support from what various Communist agents who have actually toured in India have had to say as to the progress made by Communism in this country. This is a subject which I will reserve for mention at the proper place and time.

SUBSIDIARY BRANCHES OF THE COMINTERN

Of less account, though clearly directed to a common end, are the activities of some of the subordinate branches of the Comintern, which eschew the raucous slogans of revolution, and borrow the softer tones of cultural affinity and intellectual sympathy. These bodies, however, exist solely as a means of capturing in the interest of Communism, those "progressives" who are either to discreet or too fastidious to ally themselves openly with movements that are frankly and aggressively "red". Some of the more important of these subsidiary bodies are described below.

THE KRESTINTERN

A subsidiary organisation of the Communist International which has attempted to dabble in Indian affairs is the Krestin-

tern, or Red Peasants' International, the chief of which is the well known A. Voznecienski, who describes himself as "Chairman of the Eastern and Colonial Department". In 1922 Voznecienski was reported to have been sent to India to re-organise the previously faulty work of the Soviet's agents, but though he was alleged to be sending his reports regularly from various parts of the Punjab, his presence in this country was never verified. Indeed, as he was known to have been at his post in Moscow in July 1922, the chances of his having visited India and "played himself in" appear to be slight. The efforts of the Krestintern to establish contact with Indian agriculturists began about October 1925, when Voznecienski wrote to the Secretary of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, congratulating the Sikhs on the outcome of their struggle in the Gurdwara reform movement. The writer also brought to the notice of the Committee the existence of the Krestintern, explaining its organisation and aims. It would be useful, [90] he said, for the Krestintern to hear all about the Akali organisation and also to know if there were any other peasant organisations in the Punjab. The above letter was dated Moscow, October 10th, 1925, but was posted in Peking on the 10th December following. Voznecienski asked for any reply to be addressed to him at the Grand Hotel, Peking, but enquiries failed to establish his presence there. Another recipient of a letter from Voznecienski was Hemanta Kumar Sarkar, President of the Nadia Peasants' Union in Bengal. The letter was on similar lines to the previous one—although it disclosed also some considerable knowledge of the Indian system of land tenures—and it concluded with the usual request for information. A further letter was addressed to the editor of the *Akali-te-Pardesi* (Amritsar) congratulating "the Akalis and Babbar Akalis of the Punjab" on their "heroic struggle" against the oppression of the Imperialist Government of India. The Krestintern offered to supply information about peasant movements in other countries and to give full publicity to "your just demands and claims..... Your fight is our fight". In April 1926 a number of extremist Sikh papers in the Punjab received telegrams from the Krestintern, calling on the peasants and workers to hold demonstrations on "May Day"; the same telegram was received by the Swarajist *Forward* and the Communist *Langal* of Calcutta. Towards the end of the year copies of a letter purporting to have been sent to the Krestintern, by

"representatives of the Ghadr Party, temporarily in London", and expressing sympathy with the General Strike, were sent by Voznecienski to the Secretary of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. In June 1927 the "International Agrarian Institute" of Moscow attempted to get into contact with the Akali Dal. The correspondence was signed by Dombal, an influential member of both the Krestintern and the M.O.P.R. (International Organisation for Aid to Revolutionaries). Apart from this attempt, very little has been heard recently of the Krestintern, though the establishment of the Sikh Communist paper, *Kirti*, showed that Moscow's efforts to sow the seeds of Bolshevism among disaffected Sikhs in India had not been altogether unsuccessful. [91]

In 1925 it was reported that the subsidiary organisations to which the I.K.K.I. was paying the greatest attention were the M.O.P.R. and the Krestintern. The Krestintern devotes all its efforts to protecting peasants' unions, and assists them in their struggle against the governments of their various countries, with the object of extending the rights of the peasantry, agitating principally for the formation of unions of labourers and small holders. It also conducts an energetic campaign in favour of the abolition of standing armies, the destruction of navies, the elevation of peasants to high government posts and the transfer of lands into the hands of the working-classes. Incidentally the Krestintern, in accordance with the directions of the I.K.K.I. carries on a fierce struggle against the social democrats as an enemy of the peasantry.

"FARMERS' AND PEASANTS' INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENT"

In March 1927 a new publication, called the *Farmers' and Peasants' International Correspondent*, printed in Berlin, came to notice. Although in an introductory letter the editor observed that the object of this "non-partisan" journal was to provide reliable and exhaustive information concerning the peasant movement in all countries, its tone was blatantly Communist, and its format was closely modelled on the *International Press Correspondence*, the official organ of the Comintern. From the contents of the paper it appeared very probable that the Krestintern was responsible for its production, and later enquiries showed beyond all doubt that it emanated from the Communist International.

SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

In 1926 leaflets and other literature of the Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries were sent to certain well-known extremists in India, as well as to educational institutions in the Punjab and elsewhere. Though outwardly this society poses as a learned body for the promotion of scientific and cultural relations between the U.S.S.R. and foreign countries, its primary object is, without doubt, the dissemination of Bolshevik propaganda. One of the leading officials of the society is Voznecienski, who, as mentioned above, has[92] been the moving spirit of the Krestintern, or Peasants' International. A packet of the society's literature, wrich was intercepted in India in June 1926, contained also 25 Soviet propaganda photographs, including those of M. N. Roy and other leaders. A subordinate branch of this society has existed in London for the last few years. Like the parent body in Moscow, it is designed mainly for the diffusion of Communist propaganda, and among its office-bearers are several undesirable Bolshevik agents. It has been definitely established that the London branch was subsidised by the Third International and that a fixed sum was allotted yearly for propaganda by the Finance Department of the Soviet.

One of the recipients of the society's communications was the Communist *Langal* of Calcutta, and it is worth while noting that a letter addressed to the editor, posted in Paris in June 1926 and signed by Voznecienski and Orloff (Pritam Singh), indicated that all issues of the *Langal* since its first appearance had been addressed to (but not received by) the signatories of the letter.

THE "COMITÉ PRO-HINDOU"

Early in 1925 a number of leaflets headed "An Appeal to Intellectuals and Radicals on behalf of the People of India" were sent to the editors of newspapers and to various addresses all over India. The leaflets announced the formation of a "pro-India" Committee in paris. The object of the Committee was "to further the cultural *rapproachement* between the Indian people and the Occident". A number of French "Intellectuals" were members of the Committee and the General Secretary was Henri Barbusse, the well known *litteratéur*. Special interest attached to the activities of this Committee from the fact that Henri Barbusse had been mentioned by M. N. Roy as a "cover address"

for his correspondence. The discovery that Roy was constantly visiting the office of the Comité pro-Hindou eventually led to the arrest of himself and his wife. About the same time direct connection was established between the Comité and Jawahir Lal Nehru, General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee. A bulletin of the Comité pro-Hindou (printed in French), of which many copies were intercepted in March 1925, was[93] favourably reviewed by extremist newspapers in India. Action was taken under the Sea Customs Act to prohibit the bulletin's entry into India. Mrs. Evelyn Roy, who was permitted to remain in Paris after the expulsion of her husband, was closely connected with the preparation and issue of the publication, and at her instigation, the bulletin took up the cause of Indian "refugees", such as R. C. L. Sharma, Pondicherry, and Moti Lal Roy, Chandernagore.

As the efforts of the Comité pro-Hindou did not prove a success, owing largely to repressive measures adopted by the French authorities, it was finally decided to discontinue the organisation, and thenceforth Mrs. Roy's group in Paris carried on propaganda mainly through the medium of *The Masses of India.*

It will be seen below that Henri Barbusse, who was so closely identified with the Comité, later transferred his activities to the League Against Imperialism, which conducted an intensified campaign on behalf of Indians and other "oppressed nationalities".

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

This League, which was first known as the "League against Cruelties and Oppression in the Colonies", was later renamed "League against Imperialism and Colonisation and for National Liberties", and finally emerged as the "League Against Imperialism". There had been, from time to time, other bodies similar in name and with a similar objective, *i.e.*, the linking up of representatives of the various "oppressed nationalities" into an "anti-Imperialist" organisation, with branches throughout the world. The League against Cruelities and Oppression in the Colonies first came to notice in India through the interception of letters from Gibarti, Secretary of the League, addressed to certain Indian political leaders. These letters stated the objects of the organisation and invited delegates from India to attend a conference to be held in Brussels in November 1926, in order to protest against the oppression of Imperialist rule in the Colonies. Among the

office bearers of the League the following were mentioned :— Henri Barbusse, of the defunct Comité pro-Hindou, [94] Mr. Saklatvala, M.P., and Ledebour, leader of the Independent Socialist Party in Germany. From June 1926 to the end of the year letters and pamphlets were sent, in increasing numbers, to various organisations, newspapers and political leaders in India, and the organisers of the League were specially anxious that influential delegates from India should attend the Brussels Conference. It was suspected, though not at first established, that the League derived its inspiration and a great part of its funds from the Communist International; and the organisers of the League were at special pains to conceal this fact. It is noteworthy that the Executive Committee of the Kuomintang in China betrayed considerable interest in the League, and not only sent delegates to the Conference, which was ultimately held in February 1927, but contributed a considerable portion of the expenses of the meeting. The Hindustan Ghadr Party of America also lent moral and material support. Information received prior to the Brussels Conference showed that the League was the offspring of the Workers' International Relief, its headquarters being situated at the same address as the W.I.R. Gibarti, Munzenberg and Bach, all prominent officials of the W.I.R., were closely connected with the League's activities. Both the W.I.R., and the League are instruments of the Comintern, and exist solely as a means of carrying on revolutionary propaganda under the cloak of philanthropy and internationalism. The Worker's International Relief is a very thinly disguised agency for Communist propaganda. Certain British Communists and 'Left Wing' Labourites, such as A. J. Cook, Saklatvala, George Lansbury, Maxton, Thurtle and others, showed much interest in the League, though it was necessary to convince some of the less extreme among them that it was not directly controlled and financed by the Comintern.

Jawahir Lal Nehru, son of the Swarajist leader, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, was appointed by the Indian National Congress as its sole representative at the Brussels Conference. He was elected a member of the Organising Committee and took a very prominent part in the proceedings. [95]

The speeches delivered at the conference were a monotonous repetition of incitements to revolution, of tirades against Colonial oppression, of hatred of Great Britain and praise of Canton and Moscow. Communist comments on the conference laid stress on

the collaboration between the Chinese and the Indian delegates, and on the fact that the Indian nationalist leaders had departed from their former attitude of aloofness and had sent an official delegate to the conference. The Indian and Chinese delegates agreed on various forms of joint action—the establishment of Chinese bureaux in India and of Indian bureaux in China, and the interchange of propaganda to hinder the despatch of troops from, or against, one or the other country. Jawahir Lal Nehru sent out lengthy reports regarding the conference to the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, but he expressed regret at the apathy of Indian leaders towards the work of the League and especially towards the sufferings of their Chinese brethren.

At a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, in Bombay, in May 1927, a resolution was unanimously passed appreciating the services of Nehru in Europe, and recommending the Indian National Congress to support the League as an "Associate" organisation. Although it was decided at the Brussels Conference that a delegation, consisting of Madame Sun Yat Sen and others, should be sent by the Kuomintang to India, nothing further has been heard of the project, owing presumably to the initial difficulty of obtaining passports to enter India. [96]

CHAPTER IV

VISIBLE RESULTS IN INDIA

THE EVIDENCE AVAILABLE

If the aims and endeavours of Moscow, as disclosed in the latter part of the previous Chapter, can be seen but darkly and their efficacy tested only by indirect and inferential methods, the contemporary Indian activities of the same period can be viewed in a less uncertain light and their success gauged by tests at once more satisfactory and more conclusive. In support of most of what will now be dealt with, first-hand evidence—oral or documentary—could be cited almost throughout. In particular the documentary material available is not only great in its amount, but categorical as to its testimony.

ROY ON CAWNPORE TRIAL

Though Roy's connection with India were temporarily dislocated by the trial at Cawnpore, he determined nevertheless to persevere with the establishment of a Communist Party in India on a firm footing. In a letter written by him in November 1924, he expressed his views thus : "The news about the result of the Cawnpore case reached us yesterday. We had not expected any better, Poor fellows! If they could only have put up a better defence, four years in jail would have been worth while. We must have better Communists than this lot; and the defending Councils (*sic*). By God, what fools! .... With a better lot in the dock and less stupid heads at the Bar, the Cawnpore case could have been made an epoch-making event in our political history .... Let us close the Sing episode (Singaravelu). We live and learn. Now we can discard him with a clear conscience. We gave him a fair trial and he failed miserably....Now that the panic caused by the Cawnpore case and other prosecutions has well nigh subsided, it is necessary to take up the threads of our work....The organisation of the Party must be pushed vigorously. The Cawnpore case has had its good effects too. People have got used to hearing things which simply terrified them [97] before .... We must reap the benefit of this situation .... We must prepare to begin the struggle for the legalisation of our

Party". Roy then emphasised the importance of introducing Communist elements into the All-India Congress Committee and suggested that an English weekly called *The Republican* should be started: "It will be apparently a nationalist paper of the tendency signified by its name, and we will supply at least two articles every week .... My contributions will not be signed.... and I will be careful not to send you to jail prematurely". The letter concluded with a promise that he would arrange for the issue, at the time of the Belgaum Congress, of a manifesto calling for the organisation of a new Nationalist Party "to rescue the Congress from the present degeneration".

THE BELGAUM MANIFESTO

The manifesto was duly prepared and sent to India for publication in English and the vernaculars. It was headed "Appeal to the Nationalists", and since it is of much interest as revealing the new line of attack on India adopted by Roy and his friends, I deal with it at some length below. It began: "This year (1924) the National Congress meets in an atmosphere of depression and decomposition. There remains nothing but the memory of the gigantic movement that swept the country in the years immediately following the Imperialist War". The Appeal went on to argue that, in India, nationalism is a revolutionary force; it must, therefore, pursue a revolutionary course: "Since direct mass action .... was repudiated at Bardoli, the nationalist movement .... has been switched off the revolutionary road .... The mighty Congress organisation was torn by internal conflict .... The more restless elements reverted to futile terrorism, while the masses began to lose enthusiasm over the nationalist movement .... The nation is as far away from Swaraj as it stood five years ago .... The Belgaum Congress....has obviously but one purpose—to bring the nationalist movement back on to the safe and sane road of constitutional agitation ...."

Roy then says that "even the Swarajist leaders have clearly committed themselves to a beggarly programme [98] of Liberalism." He points out that Hindu-Muslim unity, which was made the corner-stone of the Non-co-operation movement, had proved to be "a superficial makeshift", and that even the "governmental terrorism" in Bengal had not provoked any determined resistance on the part of the Congress.

"Our leaders are no less afraid of and hostile to a revo-

lutionary movement than the British Government, although they stand at the head of a movement essentially revolutionary... Revolution is not an unconstitutional affair. In fact, practically all the modern constitutional States owe their origin to some sort of a revolution.....What is a revolution? .... Revolution is generally associated with bombs, revolvers and secret societies ....Revolution, however, is a much greater affair. An important historical event which marks the close of a given historical period and opens up a new one, is called a revolution .... The struggle for freedom of a subject people can never be separate from revolution".

Roy then asserts that "non-revolutionary" or "constitutional nationalism" is useless, and goes on to say: "No less futile is sporadic terrorism carried on by secret societies .... Violence is not *per se* an essential attribute of revolution. Under the present state of society, political and social revolutions can hardly be expected to be bloodless and non-violent, ... but it is no more possible to win National Independence by killing a number of officials than by a series of Reforms Acts passed by the British Parliament. One method is as impotent as the other..... Both are political blunders....The forces that make for militant nationalism must find their expression through an organised Political party .... What are these forces? They are the rebellious masses .... The Nationalist movement can become really powerful only when it is based upon the direct action of the revolutionary masses .... The political clash and social convulsion which must precede the successful termination of the national struggle are dreaded by the upper classes .... The entire nation must be hurled against the stone wall of Imperialism .... The masses [99] are still discontented with their condition, and will readily rise in revolt to free themselves from intolerable exploitation. This revolt must be organised and led..... Under the present condition of the country, despotic actions of the Government can be retaliated only by direct mass action—general strike and non-payment of taxes. But this direct action presupposes two conditions, *viz.*, a political party having the confidence of the masses, and a revolutionary outlook on the part of the Nationalists.....The choice has to be made between this revolutionary adjustment of social relations and continued Imperialist domination, brutally named, or eventually camouflaged as partnership in the Empire".

Roy then outlines the programme to be adopted by the

"Revolutionary Nationalist Party". National Independence; complete break from the Empire; abolition of feudalism and landlordism; nationalisation of land, mines, and public utilities; and freedom of religion and worship; these are the cardinal points in the programme.

The temporary cooling of mass energy is, he says, the cause of the depression of the nationalist movement. The only remedy is "to rekindle the fire, which is by no means dead". A vigorous agitation on the basis of the above programme (which, Roy points out, is perfectly "constitutional") will "infuse new life into the movement".

In a peroration addressed to the "Brave Patriots" of India, Roy calls upon them to bestir themselves; "The organism of a society subjugated and exploited for centuries is surcharged with inflammable materials which, once ignited by revolutionary leadership, will shatter the chain of slavery.....The struggle of the Indian people for freedom is an integral part of the struggle of the International Proletariat against Capitalist domination .....The subject peoples in their struggle for freedom must have the co-operation of the international organisation of the revolutionary Proletariat. The communists will fight side by side with the revolutionary nationalists and will be found always in the front rank".

NEW ORIENTATION OF POLICY

In this lengthy manifesto, it is significant that the author refers only [100] once to Communists. After the conclusion of the Cawnpore Conspiracy Case Roy felt that the word Communism would unduly frighten the nationalist politicians. Intercepted letters from Roy written about this period show that he was of opinion that the new party which was to replace the Swaraj Party should have no ostensible connection with Communism or the Soviet. His idea of a "People's Party" based on the organisation of the masses was, he felt, more likely to be acceptable to the Indian politician than a frankly Communist organisation.

Writing to Sharma of Pondicherry in November 1924, Roy repeated the dictum that the only hope of success was the building up of an "Open Political Party of the Masses", upon which "all the devotion and energy of every sincere revolutionary" should be concentrated. He went on to say: "*The Vanguard* has practically ceased to enter India.....A number of young men must be found to work as sailors on ships; this is

necessary because all our correspondence must be exchanged illegally". He repeated his request that youths should be sent to Europe for a short course of training, and said that they should travel either as students or "illegally". Roy referred to Satya Bhakta of Cawnpore, who had shortly before issued a manifesto on behalf of the "Communist Party of India", and was very anxious to know all about him. With this letter Roy sent an article entitled "Towards Democracy" for publication in the first number of *The Republican.* (This publication, by the way, never saw the light for various reasons, chief of which was the unreliability of almost all of Roy's agents in India). The article definitely avoided all reference to Communism and stated merely that the object of the new Republican Party would be to expound and propagate republicanism in the ranks of the nationalist movement.

As promised in his letter of November 1924, summarised on page 96, Roy sent £50 to a comrade in India. The money was despatched in Bank of England notes through a British Communist in London.

D. P. SINHA

At this time one Deoki Prasad Sinha, a member of the Legislative Assembly, comes prominently into the picture. In his capacity as president of the [101] Postal Employees' Conference held at Gaya in September 1923, he had attracted the attention of Roy, who was ever on the look-out for likely recruits. Copies of *The Vanguard* were addressed to him, and in a letter from H. Pall, Berlin, a name which Roy used occasionally, it was indicated that Sinha was one of Roy's trusted agents and was receiving and distributing seditious literature. During a visit to Europe in 1924 Sinha came in contact with C. P. Dutt and other Communists, to whom he was introduced by Saklatvala. In December following, Roy wrote to a correspondent in India : "It seems that very little of our stuff sent through the post reaches its destination. The moment is very opportune for intensifying our propaganda. The total collapse of Non-co-operation and the consequent swing of the Congress clearly to old Reformism have created in the mind of the average nationalist a favourable psychological state. We must avail of this situation". It was evident from this letter that Roy expected great things of D. P. Sinha, who had meanwhile returned from Europe. Secret information was received that Sinha had been

given a definite programme of work in India. This consisted of (1) the formation of an Open Labour Party composed of as many leading public men as possible; this party was never to make mention of Bolshevism or Communism, as these words "would scare the people", and would also attract unwelcome attention from the Government; (2) the selection and training of youths to send into the villages to preach to the masses and arouse their discontent; (3) the formation of an inner circle of trusted men in different Provinces who alone would know of Roy's connection and keep in touch with him. Sinha agreed to carry out this programme, but, as will be seen later on, failed signally in his mission.

In the course of the letter just mentioned Roy confessed that he had not much faith in the "political sense" of Sharma of Pondicherry, whom he regarded as "very old-fashioned and simple minded". He again repeated his request that youths should be despatched to Europe for training and promised to pay their expenses for the double journey; and he asked for further information about Satya Bhakta, the writer of some "bom- [102] bastic letters to our British comrades". Roy betrayed annoyance at the contemptuous terms in which Satya Bhakta had referred publicly to his (Roy's) party.

THE BOMBAY COTTON MILL STRIKE

In July 1925 Roy wrote to Sinha from Berlin and referred to his (Roy's) expulsion from Paris by the French authorities early in that year. He said: "This misfortune.....has affected me rather seriously. It has dislocated our business.... but I am gathering up the threads in the teeth of great difficulties". He expressed his conviction that they could not expect anything from the "big merchants" (political leaders) and again asked Sinha to send young men for training.

THE BOMBAY COTTON MILL STRIKE

The dissatisfaction of the Bombay mill-hands at the determination of the owners to reduce wages by 11½ per cent was seized upon by Roy as a possible means of furthering his schemes of introducing Communistic methods into the existing organisations of industrial workers. He was of opinion that, given an organised leadership and perhaps some financial aid at this critical period, the resistance of the owners could be broken down. He proposed the formation of a Strike Committee consisting,

"not of the professional Labour agitators like Jinwalla, Baptista, etc.," but of the workers themselves, and promised to send financial aid. He hoped that if his instructions were carefully carried out, "a firm footing would be gained among the Bombay workers, which will be a solid basis for our Party". The Strike Committee was to remain in telegraphic communication with Edo Fimmen of the International Transport Workers' Federation, Amsterdam, and Harry Pollitt, General Secretary of the National Minority Movement, England. Further correspondence from various sources intercepted about this time showed that Roy, and presumably his employers in Moscow, attached the greatest importance to the formation of a Communist nucleus among the discontented workers in Bombay. The Comintern organ, *International Press Correspondence*, of September 3rd, 1925, published an article by Roy dealing with the industrial conflict in Bombay and suggesting that it should be made [103] an international issue, and that the Indian workers should be given "international aid in their struggle against the combined forces of National and Imperialist Capital".

But Roy's scheme to utilise the Bombay strike in the interests of Moscow met with no success. Various reports, received from time to time, that Soviet funds had been sent in aid of the strikers, were not corroborated. One such report referred to the receipt, by N. M. Joshi, of £1,100 "from Amsterdam", but whether this amount was sent at the instigation of Roy or was purely a "Second International" donation, is not definitely known. At any rate, as the total number of strikers was estimated at about 150,000, such a contribution towards their relief was a mere drop in the ocean.

In August 1925 Mahomed Ali *alias* Sepassi, who was by this time firmly established as Roy's chief lieutenant in Europe, wrote that he and his companions were much dejected that no work at all had been so far done in India.

PERCY E. GLADING

It will be convenient at this stage to refer to the visit to India of Percy E. Glading *alias* R. Cochrane. This man was a member of the National Minority Movement of Great Britain. He arrived in India at the beginning of February 1925, ostensibly as a representative of the Amalgamated Union of Engineers; but secret information showed beyond all doubt that Glading, armed with credentials from Roy, had been sent by the British Com-

munist Party to study Indian Labour conditions at first hand, to encourage Bolshevism, and, if possible, to form a Labour Party with certain well-known Indian agitators as office-bearers. He got in touch with Lajpat Rai, D. P. Sinha and other politicians and returned to London in April of the same year. In July following, Glading attended a meeting at Amsterdam at which Roy, C. P. Dutt, and members of the British Communist Party were present. He read a pessimistic report on his visit to India, and declared that he had not met a single "convinced" Communist during his tour. At this meeting Roy made a somewhat weak defence of his so-called "Indian Communist Party", and declared that Glading had not had an opportunity [104] of meeting the genuine Communist workers in India, and that his visit was too short. In a letter written in August 1925 Roy, referring to Glading, said : "The English comrade brought back a very gloomy report. We must work more energetically".

VIEWS OF "SEPASSI"

In October Mahomed Ali *alias* Sepassi wrote : "We suffer from the scarcity of trusted and sincere men in India"; and again : "We are disgusted with the little work done in India.... Even the affair of sending some men for training was not attended to". He asserted that Roy felt ashamed to ask Moscow for funds for work in India. Shortly afterwards Sepassi again wrote : "We are in urgent need of at least 15 men, and money is ready for them all. They will be given every kind of training. If anyone wishes to have a military training, it is available; if anybody wants training in aeroplane, it is possible to give it". Sepassi also asked for information regarding Satya Bhakta's Communist Party of Cawnpore, and in a letter to Hasrat Mohani, the well-known Muslim agitator, who had been selected as chairman of the Reception Committee of a conference of the Cawnpore Party, he said : "If that Party accepts your leadership, assistance of every kind can be given in your name..... We are very desirous to know what is the status of the Cawnpore Party. Is it, in reality, a revolutionary organisation or is it only so nominally ?"

JOTIN MITRA'S RETURN

In November 1925 Jotin Mitra returned to India from Europe, whither he had gone for work and training under Roy. He was charged by Roy to expedite the matter of the despatch

of other youths from India. He also had instructions to find out every thing about Satya Bhakta's party, which Roy and his followers regarded with suspicion. They had even gone so far as to suggest that it was possibly a ruse of Government to attract people of Communist tendencies in order to worm out their secrets.

REMITTANCE OF MONEY

Towards the end of the year, another letter from Sepassi was received, in which he made mention of the despatch of various sums of money by Roy to Communists in India. These were [105] £ 200, £ 100, $ 100 and $ 300. In this letter Sepassi expressed anxiety to know whether it would be possible to introduce Communism into the ranks of the police and army.

SATYA BHAKTA'S COMMUNIST PARTY

At the beginning of 1925 it was evident that a serious split had occurred among the members of Satya Bhakta's Communist Party. The establishment and subsequent career of this party is dealt with more fully in Chapter V. J. P. Begerhotta, S. V. Ghate, Shamsuddin Hassan, Muzaffar Ahmad and other members were in favour of amalgamation with Roy's party and the Third International. Their anxiety to get in touch with Roy was prompted obviously by their desire to secure a share of the largesse which, in their opinion, Roy was in a position to distribute. At a conference of the party held in January 1925, it was decided to approach Roy, and if after two or three months no financial aid was forth coming, to give up the question of amalgamation and to work independently of him and the Third International.

THE "REPUBLICAN PARTY"

Steps were taken by Begerhotta, Hasrat Mohani, Arjun Lal Sethi and others to form a "Republican Party", as advocated by Roy. The work was to be conducted on Communist lines without the introduction of the word Communism. To achieve this object it was decided that efforts should be made to secure a majority of Communists on the All-India Congress Committee.

ROY'S IDEAS

In February 1926 an important letter from Roy was seen. In it he reiterated his scheme for the formation of a Republican

or "People's" Party and said : "The situation is very favourable and we are sure to go ahead. I am distressed at my inability to come to your aid more actively.....Our line should be a dual organisation; a legal Nationalist Party with a 'radical Republican programme (People's Party), with an illegal Communist Party inside it". Roy then suggested the issue of a manifesto, followed by a conference! "The Communists will take the initiative in calling this Conference, not as Communists but as Nationalists; and the People's Party should publish a 'legal organ'." He [106] then referred to the "so-called Communist Party of Cawnpore" (Satya Bhakta's) and said : "We are somewhat bewildered by it. There is no doubt about it that the hands of the police are behind it. But it appears that some good elements have been drawn into the trap.....Singaravelu of Madras is a humbug, and his behaviour during the Cawnpore trial is open to grave suspicion; Harsrat (Mohani), Arjun Lal Sethi..... etc., cannot be neglected". He alluded hopefully to the newly formed Swaraj Party of Bengal and "other similar ventures"; and in conclusion repeated his request that men should be sent to Europe "to discuss our political and organisational programme, and to make satisfactory arrangements about material questions".

In February 1926 Roy admitted that "even now we have no massive Communist Party", since the vigilance of the police, combined with the timidity of the population, had thwarted the recruitment campaign; and that, owing to the withdrawal of subsidiary grants by the Control Commission, nothing whatever had been done in the way of "nationalisation", or the penetration of the Indian Army.

"THE INDIAN COMMUNIST PARTY"

At this time information was received that Satya Bhakta had definitely seceded from the main organisation, which was thereafter controlled by Begerhotta, Muzaffar Ahmad, Joglekar and others, its name being changed to that of the Indian Communist Party. Roy at once got in touch with Begerhotta and congratulated him on the formation of the new party. He denounced Satya Bhakta and Singaravelu as Government spies. It was significant, he said, that the former had proclaimed the formation of his "Indian Communist Party" immediately after the conviction of the accused in the Cawnpore Conspiracy Case. Also, when a question was asked in the Assembly as to the legality

of the Communist Party, the Government evaded the issue. Roy declared, moreover, that Satya Bhakta had not the least idea of what Communism really meant, and in his programme he had consistently disowned any connection with the Communist International and had shown his hostility to "Bolshevik agents".[107] Roy went on to give the usual advice as to how the party should be conducted, and said, in conclusion : "You can expect nothing but the fullest support from me in your attempt to organise a Community Party".

In March 1926 Sepassi wrote to the effect that the new Communist Party of Begerhotta, Muzaffar Ahmad, etc., would be given "every kind of help available..... Financial help will be given as much as possible", but it was important that the party should refrain from publicly declaring its independence of "the outside world and the Third International in particular". He was prepared "to send all kinds of literature".

DOINGS OF THE C.P.I.

An informal conference of the Communist Party of India was held at Calcutta from the 16th to the 18th April 1926. It was unanimously decided that the party should completely disown Satya Bhakta and his organisation. Those present at the conference expressed pain and indignation at Roy's failure to send them monetary assistance, and it was decided to address a "stiff letter" to him complaining of his indifference towards them. Jotin Mitra accordingly wrote to Sepassi expressing the disappointment of his party at the treatment meted out to them by Roy : "You people do not realise our difficulties here..... The boss (Roy) and family are living as Princes.....and the boys here—real, sincere workers—are starving. You hypocrites mean no business; you are simply exploiters. Your behaviour has created such a bad atmosphere against you that now, except a few of us, *all* in the Punjab, U.P., Bombay and Bengal are losing confidence in you".

In May 1926 the headquarters of the Indian Communist Party were transferred from Bombay to Delhi.

ROY AND THE C.P.I.

Roy again wrote to Begerhotta in March 1926 and referred to his previous letter (*vide* page 106). He said that the contents of that letter should be taken as reflecting also the attitude of the Communist International towards the Communist Party

of India. In the near future some financial aid for carrying on the work would be sent. He went on to say that the statements made by Satya Bhakta, Hasrat Mohani and Singaravelu, at the conference of Satya Bhakta's Communist[108] Party at Cawnpore in December 1925, had made a very bad impression in Moscow. (As noted elsewhere, this conference at Cawnpore marked the breaking point of Satya Bhakta's relations with Begerhotta, Muzaffar Ahmad and the other "progressive" Indian Communists). He advised the Communist Party of India to affiliate itself formally with the Communist International and said that the party should send a delegation to the next World Congress at Moscow : Now I pass on to our political task. You have defined our task very correctly. It is to organise Communist fractions inside the All-India Congress Committee and the Trade Union Congress. The advance meeting in this direction is indeed satisfactory.....The suitable way to penetrate into the Congress will be the organisation of a Republican Wing of the Nationalist Movement.....The growth of Communist influence over the Trade Union Congress will be conditional upon the work that the Communists will do in the Trade Unions—among the rank and file of the working class. Every Communist must be an active Trade Union worker and will endeavour to liberate the Labour movement from the harmful influence of the Nationalist politicians like Lajpat Rai, Moti Lal Nehru, etc.....The advanced section of the workers should be helped to assume the leadership of the Unions and the T. U. C., as against humanitarian intellectuals like Joshi, Jhabwala, etc., and careerists like Chaman Lal". Roy then made detailed suggestions as to what the constitution of the Communist Party should be, and said : "The Communist Party of India will be a section of the Communist International". His suggestions as to the constitution of the Party were hastily made, he added, and were not to be taken too literarily : "I find it necessary to draw your attention to another very important question concerning the life of the Party. It is only in consequence of an accidental combination of events that attempts to organise a legal Communist Party are tolerated by our rulers. We must not have any illusions on this score. We must be prepared for attacks any moment and organise the Party in such a way that an attack on the legality will not destroy the Party. In other words, an illegal organisation should be built up side by side with[109] the legal apparatus". In conclusion Roy said that the Indian youths who had been educated in

Moscow would be very useful for propaganda and agitation work. Many more such workers were, however, needed, and the immediate task of the Communist Party of India should be to send out a new batch of carefully selected students: "Young men with a general revolutionary trend will be the best material. .....We can accommodate 20 or more students".

SATYA BHAKTA'S "PARTY"

Satya Bhakta's organisation continued to function at Cawnpore, though it had suffered a serious loss in the defection of comparatively full-blooded Communists such as Muzaffar Ahmad, Begerhotta, Ghate and others. The "Communist Bookshop", Cawnpore, issued from time to time pamphlets and leaflets over the signature of Satya Bhakta, who not only persisted in his refusal to assist Roy's followers, but actually issued a leaflet denouncing him as a British spy. It will be recalled that Roy had levelled a similar accusation at Satya Bhakta, and the latter's *tu quoque* denounciation of Roy was prompted possibly by spite rather than by belief in its accuracy. Satya Bhakta obtained the material for his leaflet from M. P. T. Acharya, who, having failed to ingratiate himself with the Moscow leaders, had become a bitter enemy of Roy and the Bolsheviks, and had allied himself to the "Anarcho-Syndicalists" in Berlin. Acharya is not a figure of much importance, but his frequent contributions to the Indian Press may have served in some measure to alienate sympathy from Roy.

THE C.P.I.'S MISTRUST OF ROY

The decision to transfer the Communist Party of India's headquarters from Bombay to Delhi soon led to considerable internal dissensions and further difficulties were created by the lack of funds. At the end of April 1926 a number of Indian Communists, then assembled at Calcutta, wrote to Roy, roundly abusing him for his failure to supply them with funds and hinting that he was putting into his own pocket money meant for "the cause". In deference to all this, Roy promised to remit a sum of £ 200 in July. In the course of his letter, copies of which were[110] sent to several comrades in India, Roy betrayed an almost painful anxiety to disabuse the Indian Communists of the idea that they could look to the Indian Communist Party in Russia for financial backing. Roy said that he had received "fragmentary reports" of the Calcutta Conference, and expressed

his regret that such "an atmosphere of disgust and mistrust towards us prevailed". He insisted, however, on the continued co-operation of his organisation and that of the addressees, and said : "We consider our relation is and must be primarily political. It would be a great mistake on your part to look upon us as your financial agents.....It will lead to endless misunderstanding and mistrust, which will only harm the work in which we are all interested". He went on to say that the Indian Communist group abroad should be regarded, not as a reservoir from which funds could be drawn, but as a body "capable of making political and ideological contributions to the Indian proletarian movement". He advised the Indian Communists henceforth to address all correspondence to the Communists International and promised to act as intermediary for this correspondence. This arrangement would, he hoped, abolish the mistrust which had arisen in connection with the financial relations between himself and the Communist Party of India.

Meanwhile the Party's headquarters at Delhi remained almost completely inactive through want of funds. Difficulty was experienced in paying the very modest rent of the squalid quarters in which the office was housed.

PROPOSED EMISSARY TO MOSCOW

In response to the repeated requests of Roy for the despatch of a representative of the Communist Party of India to Moscow, arrangements were set on foot by Begerhotta to despatch an emissary, but for some reason that is not quite clear Sepassi wrote in July to postpone the emissary's departure.

SUSPICIONS REGARDING R. C. L. SHARMA

The definite promise of cash from Roy put new life into the party. It was decided to convene a conference and to carry on work henceforth on the lines advocated by Roy. [111] Meanwhile Sharma of Pondicherry had come to be regarded with distrust by several of the "comrades", who were aware that he was in constant correspondence with Roy and Sepassi, and suspected that he had appropriated for his own benefit the money despatched by Roy for the party. Begerhotta was actually sent to try to find out whether these suspicions were well-founded. As a result of his visit he wrote to a number of the comrades in India accusing Sharma of squandering the money intended for the

party, and of failing to distribute the Communist literature received by him from Roy.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE C.P.I.

The development of the Communist Party of India under Muzaffar Ahmad, Begerhotta, and their friends, and the "correct international outlook" it had adopted, were regarded with satisfaction by Moscow. In October 1926 a letter was received from Roy congratulating the party on its progress. He drew its attention to the Primary importance of making its voice heard in the Indian Trade Unions, and pointed out that the industrial workers were "the backbone of the Communist movement."

The party declared its intention of holding a public conference at the same time as the annual session of the Indian National Congress. Roy and his friends betrayed much interest in the project. They considered, however, that the period between the break-away of the Satya Bhakta group and the time fixed for the Indian National Congress session was too short for adequate preparation to be made for a truly representative meeting. They suggested its postponment, therefore, to a later date. It is more than probable that Roy was then aware of the forthcoming visit to India of Mr. Saklatvala, M.P., and was anxious that the latter should attend the Communist Conference and guide its deliberations.

EMISSARIES FROM ABROAD

At any rate, it is certain that Roy knew that George Allison *alias* Donald Campbell, a well known British Communist, had been sent to India at the end of April 1926 by the British Communist Party with definite instructions as to work in India. Moreover, Roy himself, with the assistance of Sepassi, had arranged for the despatch to India of Fazl [112] Elahi *alias* Kurban, a trained Communist, who, alike Allison, was sent out with a definite plan of work.

In the following pages I give a brief account of the visit of both Allison and Fazl Elahi, and of their activities, which ended for both of them in disaster.

GEORGE ALLISON AND FAZL ELAHI

George Allison arrived in Bombay from Marseilles in April 1926 under the *alias* of Donald Campbell. As apparently he

remained inactive, so he remained undiscovered until August of that year, when information was received that he had got in touch with certain extremist Labour agitators in Bombay and elsewhere, and had published a number of interesting but inoffensive articles on Trade Unionism in Horniman's paper, the *Indian National Herald.* Correspondence from Europe, intercepted at this time, left no doubt as to the real object of "Campbell's" visit. He had been sent by the Communist Party of Great Britain with a definite mission to organise Labour Unions in India on revolutionary lines, and to help Indian Communists to keep in touch with their British "Comrades". M. N. Roy was aware of "Campbell's" mission, and remarked, in a letter to an Indian comrade: "His main task is to develop the Left Wing inside the Trade Union Congress. He has been advised to keep out of party politics, except in an advisory capacity if necessary. Some other comrade, especially charged with this task, will meet you soon, if he has not done so already". The "other comrade" was presumably Philip Spratt, an account of whose activities in India is given later in this Chapter.

"CAMPBELL" IN CALCUTTA

.. At the end of November 1926 "Campbell" visited Calcutta, where he got in touch with Communists, such as Shib Nath Banerji (whom he had formerly known in Moscow), and Muzaffar Ahmad. He made the acquaintance also of a number of Labour leaders, and took such a prominent part in the discussions of the All-India Trade Union Congress, the Eastern Bengal Railway Labour Union, the Indian Seamen's Union, etc., that he was elected an office bearer on each of these organisations. Meanwhile, [113] the Home authorities had come to the conclusion that "Campbell" was really George Allison, who had been connected with the industrial side of the Communist movement for several years. Allison had visited Moscow in 1924 and had remained there until July 1925. He was regarded by the Soviet leaders as an important member of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Long before Allison's arrival in India a secret report had shown that, in November 1925, he had attended a meeting in Moscow of the Executive Bureau of the Profintern (Red International of Labour Unions) at which decisions were recorded regarding the subsiding of Indian strikers. Among the resolutions framed at that meeting was the following:—"It is decided

that measures should be adopted for the formation of a permanent organ of contact between the working-classes of India and those of Great Britain .... The Clonial Trade Union organisation must be bound up closely with those of the Communist Party; representations to this end being made to the I.K.K.I. giving information as to the actual state of affairs on the spot."

ARREST OF "CAMPBELL"

"Campbell" left Calcutta for Bombay in order to meet Saklatvala, who arrived on the 14th January 1927. He returned to Calcutta on the 22nd of that month and was arrested the following day. In the course of examination he admitted that his name was really George Allison, and that he was a Communist, but he refused to acknowledge that he had any official position in the Communist Party of Great Britain, and denied that he had been financed by them. It was ascertained that Allison had applied for and been refused an Empire-Wide visa, which obstacle he surmounted by obtaining the passport of a genuine Donald Campbell, affixing his own photograph thereto, and faking other necessary alterations. He was accordingly charged in Bombay under the Indian Penal Code with using a forged document, and with having counterfeited the seal and stamp of the Foreign Office on his passport. He was also convicted of a breach of the Passport Rules and was sentenced, in all, to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment. An official of the British Passport Office and [114] a police officer from his native city of Edinburgh, gave evidence against him in Bombay.

FAZL ELAHI

Fazal Elahi *alias* Kurban was a native of Lahore, who had become a *Muhajir* during the *Hijrat* movement in 1920. He had fled over the Frontier and subsequently joined up with M. N. Roy, who arranged for his training as a propagandist at the Communist University in Moscow. He had travelled extensively in Europe as one of Roy's trusted lieutenants. Though sent to India on a somewhat similar mission to that of Allison, he held his commission from a different quarter, for, while Allison had been sent directly by the Communist Party of Great Britain (with, as is known, the knowledge and connivance of Moscow), the visit of Fazl Elahi appears to have been arranged primarily by M. N. Roy's group with the cognizance of the Communist Party of

Great Britain. For some months before his arrival, reports had been received of his impending visit, the immediate object of which was said to be the organisation on a Communist basis of the Indian Seamen's Unions in Indian ports, particularly Calcutta and Bombay. He arrived in Colombo from Marseilles on the 22nd December 1926, on S.S. "D'artagnan", travelling (as was ascertained subsequently) on the passport of one Mahabrat Vidyalankar, an Indian student in London, who was already known as a youth of Communist tendencies. The arrest of Allison appears to have "rattled" Fazl Elahi so much that he crept about in fear of discovery, and though he visited various centres in India such as Madras, Calcutta, Delhi and Bombay, and got in touch with Communists in those places, he accomplished little or nothing to further the mission on which he had been despatched to India. He was arrested in Bombay on the 5th of April 1927 and, at the moment of writing, is being prosecuted in Peshawar under section 121-A (conspiracy to wage war) of the Indian Penal Code.*

LACK OF VITALITY IN THE C.P.I.

In the above notes on Allison and Fazl Elahi I have somewhat anticipated events, and must, therefore, revert to the autumn [115] of 1926, when, as mentioned previously, the Communist Party of India found itself without funds and without any definite plan of campaign. Delhi speedily came to be regarded by Communists both in India and abroad as unsuitable for the headquarters of the party. It was not an industrial or a Trade Union centre, whereas the Labour movement in both Bombay and Calcutta had made considerable progress—though the admixture of Communism was as yet inappreciable. In Bombay were Joglekar, Ghate, Nimbkar, Mirajkar and other Labour agitators, who, besides being members of the Communist Party, had some influence among the industrial workers. Similarly, Calcutta was the centre of the activities of Muzaffar Ahmad, Shib Nath Banerji, Kutubuddin and Soumendra Tagore. In one of his many letters to the Indian "comrades" Roy had said : "The main fields of our activities should be Bengal and Bombay....The idea of having our Central Committee in Delhi on any pretext whatso-

* Fazl Elahi was ultimately sentenced to five years' rigorous imprisonment; the Appeal has yet to be heard.

ever is to dismissed. Delhi is the seat of the Parliamentary parties, but the working-class party must be where the working-class is". Owing to the shortage of funds, Begerhotta found it impossible to carry on his functions as secretary of the Communist Party of India, and the abandonment of Delhi as headquarters marks the beginning of a new chapter in the life of the party.

A WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY

Simultaneously with Allison's ultimately successful efforts to form branches of a Workers' and Peasants' Party in Bombay and Calcutta,* a letter addressed to the Indian "comrades" was received from Roy. He again suggested dropping the name of "Communist Party of India" and substituting that of "Workers' and Peasants' Party." He was at pains to point out, however, that efforts to form a "People's Party" should not cease. The proposition to organise a Workers' and Peasants' Party was, he explained, distinct from the projected formation of a "People's Party": "They are two entirely different things. One is a veiled Communist Party, while the other is a revolutionary Nationalist Party". With his letter [116] Roy enclosed a lengthy manifesto, on the usual lines, for printing and publication before the conference which the Communist Party of India intended to hold in November 1926. Of the £200 which Roy had promised, a sum of £50 was actually despatched, but was not allowed to reach its destination. Others besides the actual addressee, Begerhotta, knew of the despatch of this money, and as the latter (quite honestly) continued to deny its receipt, he became an object of considerable suspicion to his hungry fellow-workers.

It may be noted here that although branches of the Workers' and Peasants' Party were duly formed, the Communist Party of India decided at a meeting of the Executive Committee, held in Delhi in March 1927, that the formal dissolution of the Party was not necessary, and that it should be allowed to exist though remaining inactive.

ANOTHER MANIFESTO BY ROY

In December 1926 Roy sent out yet another manifesto, which he wished to have circulated at the time of the annual session of the Indian National Congress. Sharma, of Pondicherry, en-

*In Bengal the usual title is "Peasants' and Workers'."

deavoured to get 4,000 copies of this document reproduced and published, but he could not find a printer willing to undertake the risk.

FAZL ELAHI, SPRATT AND SAKLATVALA

The arrival of Fazl Elahi and Philip Spratt in December 1926, and of Saklatvala in January 1927, gave a distinct impetus to the movement. Here, at least, was tangible evidence of the will and the ability of the foreign organisations to help their Communist brethren in India. News of the impending arrival of both Fazl Elahi and Spratt had been received by Begerhotta and his companions; while Saklatvala, from whom the party expected great things, came openly "to study the political situation and to attend to some private family affairs". It will be seen from the succeeding paragraphs that Saklatvala's treatment of the "comrades" in India left much to be desired; but in Spratt they found an industrious and capable ally who, after Allison's arrest, took up the work the latter had compulsorily abandoned, and not only gave them the benefit of his advice and experience, but, [117] what was just as important, came to their assistance financially, though to a limited extent. As brief histories of Fazl Elahi and Allison have been given above, so it will be expedient to anticipate subsequent events and to describe similarly the activities of both Spratt and Saklatvala.

PHILIP SPRATT

Philip Spratt first came to notice in January 1925 as a Communist at Downing College, Cambridge. In July of the same year there were indications that he was in the employ of the Labour Research Department, and was to be trained in Communist methods in view of a journey he was about to undertake. His name also appeared in a list of Associate Members of the National Minority Movement. He travelled to India ostensibly on behalf of a firm of London booksellers. His secret mission was to open a Labour Publishing House in India through which Soviet money could be received and distributed to different centres. While in Bombay he contributed a number of objectionable articles to the *Indian National Herald*, and openly advocated Communism and revolution. Like Allison, Spratt got in touch with most of the leading Communists in India and, as already noted, he stepped into Allison's place as adviser to the Indian Communists. Spratt was present at a meeting of

Communists at Delhi, which was also attended by Saklatvala. An account of this somewhat important meeting is given later on in this Chapter. Through Spratt's assistance the Bombay Workers' and Peasants' Party was put on a sound footing, and it is known, moreover, that he sent some financial aid to Muzaffar Ahmad of the Bengal Workers' and Peasants' Party. In May 1927 the Bombay branch of the Party decided to publish a Labour Weekly in the vernacular. Philip Spratt was the moving spirit in this venture. Not only did he lay down the lines on which the paper was to be conducted, but he also arranged to finance it. He explained in detail the policy which should guide the editor and his assistants. "Editorials", he said, "should contain an analysis of current events and should be written in consultation with the committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Party..... A 'united front' should be adopted [118] towards the Swaraj Party and the Congress, *i.e.*, the members who are assumed to be in sympathy with us are appealed to, while the wrong actions of the leaders are condemned". Spratt emphasised the necessity of mixing Labour news and nationalist political news.....so as to give the impression that they are parts of the same fight. Similarly, the policy of the paper should be consistently anti-capitalist, "so that Indian and imperialist capitalists are consigned to the same camp". The paper, he said, should give prominence to strike news; while new developments in the Bengal detenus case, the Sikh situation, etc., should be commented upon—in fact "anything which encourages the idea that the fight is going on in a militant manner .....An account of the anti-imperialist movements in foreign countries should also find a place in the paper, and the activities and progress of Trade Unions in India should receive the closest attention". The paper was printed in Marathi and is now being issued under the title of *Kranthi* (Revolution).

MR. SAKLATVALA

Mr. Saklatvala, M.P., arrived in Bombay on the 14th January 1927, and was accorded an enthusiastic reception. He travelled all over India and made many speeches before large audiences in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Delhi and elsewhere. He openly advocated Communism as the panacea of India's multifarious ills and repeatedly lauded the Soviet regime in Russia as a model of good government and an example of the success of the Proletariat's efforts to manage their own affairs. Saklat-

vala did not at first get on well with the Indian Communist Party. In fact, he treated them somewhat cavalierly and remarked that, being unaffiliated, they were an unrepresentative body infested by spies and *agents provocateurs*. His attitude created much indignation among the members of the Communist Party, but before his departure he came to a working understanding with them and had a number of discussions on Communist matters with Muzaffar Ahmad, Ghate, Joglekar, Begerhotta and others. In Saklatvala's own words, his mission was not so much to spread Communistic doctrines in India, as to induce Labour leaders [119] and organisations in this country to adopt the "international" outlook. This was the burden of his lectures, and there is no doubt that he made a considerable, if possibly fleeting, impression. It was reported that he brought some Rs. 20,000 with him to India from the Communist Party of Great Britain to be spent in furthering the Communist movement, but it is not definitely known whether this sum was actually distributed by him. Though Saklatvala's campaign in India stirred the imagination of the intelligentsia, his contemptuous references to "Mahatma" Gandhi, in an "Open Letter" in the Press, proved to be somewhat strong meat for the Indian public and did much to damage his popularity and discount the effects of his teachings. Saklatvala arrived in India with a flourish of trumpets, but his departure some months later passed almost unnoticed. Even the strongly nationalist Corporation of Bombay declined to vote him a farewell address. He sailed for England on the 9th of April 1927, and declared his intention of returning in the following October in order to take an active part in Indian politics and to organise an effective opposition, in the All-India Congress Committee, to the leaders of the Gandhi School of politics. Shortly after his return to London Saklatvala spoke at several public meetings. He claimed to have propagated throughout India the "principles of international solidarity".

ROY ON COMMUNISM IN INDIA

M. N. Roy, in a letter written towards the end of 1926, returned to the old question of changing the party's name. The Workers' and Peasants' Party had, of course, already begun to function, but the Communist Party of India still existed in name. Roy said: "I think it would be betraying a complete lack of understanding of the Indian situation and the nature of Imperialism to think that a Communist Party will ever be allowed to

function legally in India". He repeated his contention that Satya Bhakta's Communist Party was permitted by the Government to exist for nearly 18 months, only because it was "organised under official inspiration and was headed by *provocateurs* .....The object was to use this party as a trap for all Communists, but the strategy failed. The Communist [120] Party of Satya Bhakta failed to attract any real Communist to it. Finally it was allowed to hold a legal Communist Conference; the object was the same, to find who the Communists were".

Since this letter from Roy is of considerable importance as showing the unity of purpose with which Moscow, Roy's group, and the Communist Party of Great Britain have conducted their campaign against India, I give below, at length, the more important portions of the letter :—

"Then there are more fundamental political reasons why the Communist Party should not function openly as such. You know as well as I do that there is a large revolutionary element in the country which would go with us and be gradually drawn under our control, but are not ideologically prepared and courageous enough to join openly a Communist Party. Under the present conditions the Communisty Party is bound to be a small sect without any political influence unless it can find a broader organised apparatus through which it can function. The proposition to change the name of the Communist Party is based on these consideration.....

"Further, the proposition to change the name should not be confounded with the proposition that Communists should take an active part in the organisation of the People's Party. There must be two parties, a party of the working-class, essentially a Communist Party, but owing to the difficulties of the situation, not with the name of the Communist Party. The other is a revolutionary Nationalist Party in which will enter the working-class organised in its own party. Our proposition is to call the working-class party the Workers' and Peasants' Party inside of the Communist Party. In view of the fact that we must draw into the Workers' and Peasants' Party revolutionary elements that are not yet consciously Communist, this Party as a whole cannot be, from the very beginning, a real Communist Party; therefore inside this legal Workers' and Peasants' Party the Communists must organise themselves into an illegal fraction. Our object will be to gradually develop the Workers' and Peasants' Party into a real

Communist [121] Party by means of ideological education and political training connected with action....."

"Now that the Communist Party is practically suppressed, it is quite convenient to broaden the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal into a national organisation. . . . . .The Bengal Party can call a conference to organise a Workers' and Peasants' Party of India. To this conference will be invited all organisations which now belong to the Communist Party, as well as other working-class organisations that sympathise with us. As all matters stand, this conference will be entirely controlled by us, and the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India will remain under our leadership. . . . . ."

ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

For the purposes of the annual session held in Bombay on the 31st of May 1927, the title "Communist Party of India" was resuscitated, contrary to Roy's advice, and representatives of the Bombay and Bengal branches of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, as well as individual Communists from other Provinces, were invited. The conference resolved that the Communist Party of India should form in the Indian National Congress a "Strong Left Wing", which should strive in co-operation with "radical nationalists" to force the Congress to adopt a programme based on democratic principles and suitable to the needs of the toiling masses of India. It was resolved also that the party should send a delegation to Great Britain and the continent to study Labour conditions there.

Unless funds are forthcoming for the purpose from Moscow or the Communist Party of Great Britain, it would seem that this resolution is likely to remain a pious hope, and, in this connection, it is of interest to quote the following extract from a letter by Muzaffar Ahmad, who could not afford to pay even the railway fare for his journey to Bombay: "It is impossible for me to describe here how I have been struggling with things. Do not ask me please to go to Bombay. It is no longer possible for me to go anywhere. To go to Bombay means Rs. 125. I am not in a position to spend[122] such a big sum of money. *Ganavani* (Muzaffar Ahmad's paper) is being run at a huge loss".

"ANNUAL REPORT" OF THE INDIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

All except two of those who attended the meeting were local Bombay Communists. The "Annual Report", which was issued

at the time of the conference, begins with an historical survey of the formation of the party, presenting a sorry tale of dissensions among its leaders. It next deals with its record of work. In Bengal, "the members of the party have helped in the formation and growth of the Workers' and Peasants' Parties that were started in various Provinces". Progress has also been shown in Lahore, where the new Urdu weekly, *Mehnat Kash*, "is doing splendid work in educating the masses"; in Bombay the comrades have been successful in organising a Workers' and Peasants' Party, and the Communist organ *Kranthi* is being published there. The Bombay group, the Report claims, has been active both in the All-India Trade Union Congress and in the All-India Congress Committee, in both of which organisations members of the Communist Party of India have been elected office bearers. Rajputana has a newly formed Workers' and Peasants' Party, and efforts are being made to organise industrial Labour there; beyond the propaganda work done by Comrade Singaravelu in Madras, that Province has shown but little progress. Similarly in the United Provinces and elsewhere, the party has not met with much success "owing to lack of sufficient financial resources".

Under the heading, "General Support", the Report admits that it has not received the co-operation it hoped for, and complains of lack of funds, and of Government interference with its correspondence. The Constitution of the party is given next. The party shall have a "Presidium" of five members and a "Central Executive" of the fifteen members. The Presidium will maintain a Foreign Bureau as "an ideological centre" composed of comrades who are not in a position to work in India. The rule for the formation of "Fractions" is of some interest and reads as follows: "In all working-class, political and national organisations, where there are two[123] or more Communists, a Party Fraction must be organised for the purpose of increasing the influence of the party and applying its policy. These Fractions will not be independent when formed, but will be subordinate to party discipline and programme. In all bodies like the National Congress Executive, *i.e.* the All-India Congress Committee and the Executive of the Trade Union Congress, the Party will form Fractions, which will be placed under the control of the Presidium where the Fraction leader, who will be appointed by the Executive Committee, will have to submit reports of the work done in the respective bodies.

In all such matters where the opinion of the members in the Fraction may differ, it will be guided by the Presidium until the Executive meets. . . . .

"Every question to be decided by the organisation or branch in which the Fraction is working, should be discussed beforehand by the Fraction meeting, a report of their decision should be sent to the General Secretary, who will circulate it to the Presidium. On every question on which a decision is reached, the Fraction members must act unitedly and vote solidly in the meeting of the organisation in question. Failure to do this constitutes a serious breach of party discipline."

In the course of the Report it is stated that "our movement. . . . . is neither one imported from abroad nor a group maintained by Russia for its propaganda in India". Commenting on this statement, the *Pioneer* remarked: "The frank admission that some of the shining lights of the party are graduates of the 'University of Tashkent', and the fact that the Executive calls itself a 'Presidium', throw a comical light on the disclaimer of any relations with Moscow".

Secret information showed, that, in order to meet the expenses of printing the Report, it was necessary for each of the members present to pay Rs. 10, the remainder of the expenses being met by Vijaya Singh Mohta, a Marwari agitator and ex-convict, who has for sometime past been closely associated with Begerhotta and other Communists. It is extremely probable, though it has not[124] yet been definitely established, that the "Constitution" of the party was drafted by Philip Spratt.

IMPORTATION OF LITERATURE

During the period reviewed in the foregoing pages, *i.e.* from the conclusion of the Cawnpore Conspiracy Case upto June 1927, a steady stream of Communist literature continued to flow into India, though, owing to the effectiveness of interception measures, it may be said with some confidence that a very small part indeed of such literature found its way into undesirable hands.

Early in 1925 Roy had decided to discontinue the publication of *The Vanguard*, and to substitute for it a new monthly called *The Masses of India*. The origin of this new venture is somewhat obscure, but it is probable that Roy's close connection with the newly formed "Comité pro-Hindou" in Paris, presented a favourable opportunity of continuing, in a new guise, the output of his Communist propaganda. (A short account of the Comité pro-

Hindou will be found in Chapter III). Roy was moreover, well aware that very few copies of *The Vanguard* were reaching their desitnation, chiefly owing to Government action under the Sea Customs Act; and, although he cannot have been so optimistic as to believe that a similar fate did not await *The Vanguard's* successor, he probably expected a "breathing-space" during which he could continue uninterruptedly the dissemination of his literature in India. *The Masses* proved to be a readable and excellently printed paper, but, as in the case of *The Vanguard*, it was intercepted in large numbers and failed therefore to achieve the results hoped for by its founder. Mrs. Evelyn Roy was closely connected with the publication of the paper, and was the author of a number of articles which appeared in it.

Besides sending out *The Masses of India* through ordinary postal channels, several attempts were made to employ lascars to smuggle bundles of the paper through the Customs at Bombay and other ports. These attempts were for the most part unsuccessful, but despite the preventive measures of the authorities, copies of the paper continued to arrive in ever-increasing numbers. During the second half of 1926 no less than 4,274 copies were[125] intercepted, and during 1927, upto date, about 700 copies have been seized each month. The tone of the paper has been consistently objectionable, and not only the Government, but every political party in India, except the Indian Communists, have come under the lash of Roy and his co-workers. The Congress generally, and the Swarajists especially, from whom Roy at one time had hoped for so much, were held up to execration on account of their increasing tendency towards "responsivism" and co-operation with Government.

Meanwhile the Comintern organ *International Press Correspondence* continued to appear in India, but most of the copies of this paper also were intercepted. During 1925 the interception figures were remarkably high—in May as many as 1,753 copies were seized—but the figures dwindled rapidly during 1926 and the first half of 1927, the total for April of the latter year being only 132.

Owing to the frequent seizures of Communist literature among the lascars' effects on board ships arriving in Bombay, this method of despatching literature was discontinued by Roy's agents in Europe. Marseilles had meanwhile become a centre of Communist effort directed against India. In October 1925 Khusi Mahomed *alias* Sepassi, who had settled down in Marseilles, and

was supervising the despatch to India of agents and literature, wrote : "I am afraid you are still without any delivery of goods. The reason of this is that our own men have been intimidated and now they refuse to do it. Foreign people will be charged with the delivery". The "foreign people" proved to be French sailors of the Messageries Maritimes vessels bound for the Far East and calling at Colombo *en route*. Effective arrangements were made to circumvent this new scheme, with the result that almost all the literature sent through French sailors most of whom were Communist—failed to reach the intended recipients; a side-issue of some interest was the discovery that many of these French sailors were engaged in smuggling revolvers and pistols to Far Eastern ports.

CONCLUSIONS

In regard to the foregoing recital of the course of events in India subsequent to the Cawnpore trial, it may be accepted that by far the major part [126] of it is supported by evidence of an unimpeachable character. It will be seen, therefore, that not only did Roy not succeed in establishing a live, working Communist Party in India, but that even those persons who grouped themselves together under that title were a poor enough semblance of any kind of a "party". Thus Satya Bhakta was distrusted and repudiated by Roy; while Roy, in his turn, was suspected by the party of Begerhotta, Muzaffar Ahmad, etc., of diverting to his own uses funds he should have remitted to India. So the Communist Party of India (Satya Bhakta has practically disappeared from the stage) has remained unaffiliated to the Third International, and the clash between the Indian "Communists" and Saklatvala at Bombay furnishes conclusive testimony as to the futility of Roy's efforts on behalf of Moscow and the general lack of anything like cohesion or stability within the "Communist Party of India" itself. Nor are there any grounds whatever for believing that Roy has succeeded in building up in India some other organisation of which we are unaware Glading's report to the Cononial Conference, held at Amsterdam in July 1925, has already been alluded to. This report was assuredly not prepared for British official consumption, for it came to light only in October 1925 among the mass of documents seized in the course of the raid on the Headquarters of the Communist Party of Great Britain at 16 King Street, Covent Garden. Among other things Glading stated that in the course

of his visit to India "he had not met any Communist and had finally decided that those with whom he had come in contact were useless so far as the Party work was concerned". To this Roy could only reply that "he had documentary evidence that Indian groups existed, but that these had been unable to make up their minds to see Glading before he left India for England". But Glading was unquestionably right, for when Allison *alias* Campbell went to Calcutta he was reliably reported to have said that Joglekar of Bombay was the only one who had done some work for the Communist Party. Similarly, in a letter written from Calcutta at the end of November 1926, Allison said: "I have got in touch since I came here, but that is all. At a later date I will [127] give my impressions, although just now I must say they are not very convincing". The whole of this evidence, in fact, almost completely negatives the possibility of the existence in India of any unknown organisation of Roy's. His 'contacts' with this country during the past few years have been tolerably well known, and his correspondence has been extentively read. It has been an unfailing source of information of proved accuracy as to the movements of men, money and literature, and the knowledge derived from it has been used more than once to the discomfiture of our enemies. There would seem to be little room for doubt, therefore, that the activities described in the foregoing paragraphs are an accurate index to the degree of success (or failure) that has attended the efforts of Roy in his Indian campaign.

[128] CHAPTER V

THE MOVEMENT IN THE PROVINCES

Although, as is natural and inevitable, there is interspersed in the main narrative a good deal of matter that concerns the different Provinces, there is also to be recorded in regard to the latter a certain amount of information that is of local rather than of all-India value. In order that such information may not be lost sight of, and that Provincial authorities may be assisted in disentangling from the mass what is of immediate concern to themselves, I have thought it advisable to present in sectional form a brief account of what has been observed in each Province where Communism has been observed in each Province where Communism has been in any way active.

BENGAL

EMISSARIES TO BENGAL

It has already been shown how Bengal was visited by Abani Mukherji, who came as a Bolshevik emissary from the Chattopadhyaya group in Europe, and by Nalini Gupta, who was sent by M. N. Roy. Both these visitors had past histories as members of the revolutionary party in Bengal and they were sent by Bengal revolutionaries in Europe to renew associations with their own country. The Bengali revolutionaries came, almost to a man, from the respectable middle class, and thus they were not disposed as a whole to accept the Bolshevik creed, though they were ready enough to make common cause with any anti-British organisation, particularly when that organisation promised to be in a position to supply the sinews of war. Consequently both Abani Mukerji and Nalini Gupta were well received in revolutionary circles in Bengal. This was particularly marked in the case of Abani Mukerji, who, while in India, was branded as a spy by M. N. Roy, but nevertheless continued to retain the confidence of an important group of revolutionaries. He, however, returned to Europe early in 1924, and seems to have spent his subsequent time in writing his life of Lenin and in making futile efforts to get it published. Nalini Gupta, on the other hand, remained to be convicted in the Cawnpore [129] Conspiracy Case

with some others, including a Bengali Mahomedan, Muzaffar Ahmad. This case had a damping effect on Bolshevik organising (*sic.*) in Bengal. It is known that after Muzaffar Ahmad's arrest, M. N. Roy appointed Jiban Lal Chatterji, a well-known revolutionary, to take charge, but Jiban was arrested in September 1923, under Regulation III of 1818, on account of his past revolutionary activities. After his arrest Bolshevik organisation in Bengal was practically extinguished, but some revolutionaries had, as mentioned already, realised the value of association with so powerful an anti-British organisation as the Soviet. One of these was a certain Jogesh Chatterji, who disappeared about the end of 1923 and was not traced until October 1924, when he was arrested in Calcutta on his return from Pondicherry.

THE "HINDUSTAN REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION"

Subsequently much information was obtained about Jogesh, which showed that, during most of the time he was absent from Bengal, he was organising in other parts of India and just before his arrest had been visiting R. C. L. Sharma in Pondicherry. Much of his time had been spent in the United Provinces, and the evidence obtained about his activities then and subsequently have resulted in his conviction in the Kakori Conspiracy Case. In fact, an important item of evidence of conspiracy in that case was a document found on Jogesh at the time of his arrest. This document contained the minutes of an obviously revolutionary meeting, and indicated that revolutionary organisations existed in a number of centres in the United Provinces. Two of the resolutions of that meeting are as follows :—

Resolution No. 4 :—That the meeting is of opinion that the following immediate steps be taken as regards its propaganda through newspapers and magazines which could be utilised by members of different sections :—

(a) to set up a campaign against the C. I. D. activities ;
(b) to set up a campaign against repressive laws and measures; [130]
(c) to criticise Congress activities that hinder the work of the Association ;
(d) to preach social revolutionary ideas and Communistic principles ;
(e) to collect stories, episodes and other materials for publications.

Resolution No. 10 :—That every district organisation should

make arrangements to visit neighbouring villages and Labour centres with the object of gaining their sympathy.

The Association referred to was known as the Hindustan Republican Association and Jogesh Chatterji can be shown to have gone to Pondicherry on behalf of the Association to interview R. C. L. Sharma, presumably with the object of combining more closely with the Bolshevik element, with which the Association was certainly in sympathy. The Hindustan Republican Association could not possibly be described as a Bolshevik concern, but it undoubtedly had Bolshevik connections through Jogesh Chatterji, and it is also apparent from the resolutions quoted above that it was tinged with Communistic ideas.

OTHER CONNECTIONS

Apart from Jogesh Chatterji, there was, at the time of his arrest, very little connection between Bengal and the Bolshevik party. M. N. Roy had, however, a brother named Lalit Bhattacharji, who used to correspond regularly with him and his wife, Lalit addressed letters intended for Roy to the latter's accommodation address, M. Hasfeld, Librairie du Travail, 96 Quai de Jemappes, Paris, and he used to receive remittances from Roy through another of the latter's post-boxes, namely Dr. C. A. Hitz Bey, in Switzerland. Lalit Bhattacharjee does not appear, however, to have been inclined to further his brother's Bolshevik propaganda, and he is known, on at least one occasion, to have sent back to Roy literature which the latter had sent to Lalit for dissemination in India. Lalit took his action after consulting "Mr. Lawyer", who, most probably, was Indu Bhusen Sen, Barrister-at-Law, Calcutta, who is known to have assisted Bolshevik workers. [131]

THE POLITICAL SUFFERERS' FUND

Towards the end of 1924 a proposal to open a Political Sufferers' Fund, initiated originally by members of the Jugantar revolutionary party at the instance of M. N. Roy, excited a good deal of comment in Bengal and in Congress circles generally. A resolution to establish this fund was thrown out at the Belgaum Congress, on hearing which Roy wrote an indignant letter to a Bengal revolutionary through Lalit Bhattacharji, urging the organisation of a committee to isssue a national and international appeal, which Roy said he would be pleased to assist with funds

from "an international organisation for the aid of political sufferers".

THE PONDICHERRY CHANNEL

Roy's main channel of communication with Bengal about the end of 1924 seems to have been through R. C. L. Sharma at Pondicherry, and, in letters to him, Roy urged that Indian youths should be sent to him legally or illegally for training in Communist principles. He also recommended the establishment of a weekly paper and suggested that advantage might be taken of an existing newspaper in Calcutta, named the *Atma Sakti*, which was conducted by revolutionaries.

MANIFESTO TO BENGAL REVOLUTIONARIES

In 1925 Roy published in the July number of *The Masses of India* a manifesto to the "Bengal Revolutionary Organisation of Youth" from the Young Communist International. This manifesto pointed out that the liberation of India could only be affected by the revolution of the masses, which again could only come about by the combined efforts of the revolutionary intelligentsia of the Proletariat; for on the former devolved the propaganda among the latter and the actual establishment of the organisation. Individual acts of terrorism were deprecated, for the sole reason that such acts defeated their own ends. It was emphasised that it was the masses that must be trained for the fight.

BENGALI STUDENTS FOR MOSCOW

About May 1925 it was ascertained that five Bengalis, including Jotin Mitra (whose despatch to Europe by Nalini Gupta is [132] mentioned in Chapter II) had applied for entry into what was known as the High Party School in Moscow, which had been formed to train Communist leaders.

ABANI MUKERJI AGAIN

During 1925 Abani Mukerji's connection with Bengal seems to have been confined to a letter written in June to correspondent in India in which he deals with arms smuggling. He himself was not much enamoured of the idea, but was prepared to co-operate because his assistance was desired by Sachindra Nath Sanyal, who was the leader of the Hindustan Republican Association already referred to. Abani suggested that Sachindra should place a man

in Goa to help in the distribution of Bolshevik literature, which would be forwarded there from Lisbon.

RELEASE OF NALINI GUPTA AND MUZAFFAR AHMAD

Both Nalini Gupta and Muzaffar Ahmad were prematurely released, in July and September of 1925 respectively, on account of ill health. The former lived quietly at his home for some time. After he had recovered somewhat, he again came to notice, but his activities were more of a revolutionary than a Bolshevik nature and seem to have been rather half-hearted. He had a considerable knowledge of bomb making and this knowledge was too valuable to be left lying fallow; and numerous calls were made on him by his old associates to impart his knowledge to others. But for this knowledge it is by no means certain that he would have been induced to revert to revolutionary work, for he seemed to have realised that conspiracy generally was not worth the candle. In addition to these revolutoinary activities he continued, however, to consort with and advise Muzaffar Ahmad in his Communist activities, which will be described later.

ANUSHILAN CONNECTIONS WITH BOLSHEVISM

The revolutionary grounds hitherto mentioned may be regarded, generally, as belonging to the Jugantar (or Western Bengal) party. It is, however, difficult to allocate some individuals to either the Eastern or Western Bengal groups. For example, Jogesh Chatterji began his revolutionary career as a member of the Anushilan (or [133] Eastern Bengal) party, but his subsequent connection with the Hindustan Republican Association, with its numerous Jugantar links, seems to indicate his membership of the latter party, at the time when his Bolshevik tendencies became evident. The Anushilan group proper, however, also desired to have the handling of Bolshevik gold, and according in 1925 that party considered the adoption of a form of open organisation for the ostensible purpose of social service. The result was that a scheme, Bolshevik in its origin and inspiration, was prepared, entitled the "Depressed Classes Improvement Society". This scheme was evolved after a meeting of leaders at which it was agreed that a handful of armed revolutionary patriots could never win Swaraj for India, and that a necessary preliminary was the education of the populace to that end. Plans were made to send an emissary to England to arrange for the transmission of funds from the "Russian Labour Party in England" to the Depressed

Classes and Labour Associations in India, through which the Anushilan Party would receive money for revolutionary purposes.

GOPENDRA CHAKRAVARTY

Jogesh Chatterjee had a friend named Gopendra Chakravarty, who was also a member of the Tipperah section of the Anushilan Party in Bengal. Both of these men disappeared from Bengal together towards the end of 1923. For some considerable time there was no information as to Gopendra's whereabouts, but it was subsequently established that a youth who arrived in Hamburg in March 1924 under the name of B. Ghose was identical with Gopendra Chakravarty. It was also ascertained that Gopendra had been sent to Europe by Nalini Gupta, and that on arrival he had immediately associated with Bolsheviks and had visited Moscow, probably in the company of M. N. Roy. He returned to India in June 1925, again under a false name (Arjun Lal Misra) having seemingly bribed the serang of the P. & O. S.S. "Naldera" to permit him to work his passage from Marseilles to India. He was "picked up" immediately on arrival in Bombay, where he proceeded to unbosom himself to several persons with whom he came into contact. He then travelled slowly across India to Calcutta, where he soon got in touch with the Anushilan [134] Revolutionary Party and endeavoured to divert their activities into Bolshevik channels. Like his predecessors, he was well received, and there followed reports of proposals to send emissaries to foreign countries to link up with Bolsheviks there.

YOUTHS FOR FOREIGN TRAINING

That efforts were made to translate these proposals into practice is shown by the fact that subsequently four young Bengali Hindus were arrested in two batches on different dates at the Shipping Office, Calcutta, where they had gone disguised as Mohamedans to procure seamen's certificates. Later information left the clear impression that these four persons were emissaries who were being sent to Europe for "training", and that in addition attempts had been made to send one or two others. In all these attempts apparently, only one man succeeded in getting away and he obtained a passport. His name was Akshay Kumar Shaha, and he left Calcutta in February 1926 and ultimately reached Moscow, where, as we know, he has not been regarded as "bright" boy.

BOLSHEVISATION OF THE ANUSHILAN PARTY

Gopendra Chakravarty, soon after his arrival in Bengal, went to Mymensingh, apparently with the permission of the leaders, to organise the Anushilan Party there on Bolshevik lines. He succeeded in getting the approval of an important Anushilan leader to a scheme which provided for centres for industrial workers, peasants and intelligentsia, and for organisation in the army in India. Connection with the Russian Bolsheviks was to be established through Russian Consuls in Java, Persia and China, by whose agency money was also to be transmitted, and Gopendra wrote to Europe to say that all that was needed to complete the arrangements was the despatch of delegates from India. The absence of success which attended the despatch of these delegates has already been shown.

GOPENDRA CHAKRAVARTY'S PROGRAMME

By the beginning of 1926 Gopendra Chakravarty had re-established himself successfully with the Anushilan Party in Bengal and had become one of its leading members. [135]

He had elaborated the scheme already outlined, which provided for organisation :—

(1) among students, who were to form unions, and agitate to obtain control of the educational system ;

(2) among labourers and peasants, who were to be educated in accordance with the usual Communist programme. This education was to be taken in hand by members of the terrorist party, co-operative banks being opened for the general benefit ;

(3) in the Congress, which was to be joined by members of his party as a cloak for their terrorist activities ;

(4) on military lines, which meant the formation of volunteer corps and athletic clubs to further military training ; agitation for Indianisation of the army was included.

Something was done in furtherance of this programme under each of the above heads ; students' associations were formed in Dacca ; co-operative banks were opened in Tipperah and Faridpur ; the Congress was used as a cloak for revolutionary organisation ; and some volunteer corps actually came into existence. Chakravarty laid special stress on the revolutionary aims of the party, and, to further these ends, he stipulated that each depart-

ment must have a secret section. He did not, however, insist on the collection of arms until the man-power was increased, but he desired that advantage should be taken of any opportunity to secure arms that might occur. His programme did not include incitement to acts of terrorism, but it aimed at the gradual extension of Communism and of the influence of the revolutionaries over the masses, so that, when the time was ripe, a mass offensive of terrorism could be undertaken.

Chakravarty was arrested in Dacca on the 29th of April 1926, but was released, as he could not be dealt with under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. For [136] some time after his arrest and release, Gopendra Chakravarty took care to make himself inconspicuous, and for this reason, during the year 1926, he was not found among the members of the Indian Communist Party and the Labour and Peasants' Party, of which Muzaffar Ahmad had become a prominent member.

JOTIN MITRA

Jotin Mitra returned at the end of 1925 to Bengal, where he undertook to work as Roy's agent. His relations with Roy, however, soon became strained, because the latter, although he sent him no money criticised his work. In March 1926 Roy complained that Mitra, inspite of his promises, had sent no reports. To this Mitra replied that Roy did not understand the difficulties under which his agents laboured in India, and that they were handicapped in sending agents abroad both by police vigilance and by lack of funds. He said that if M. N. Roy would send Rs. 3,000 per mensem, the organisation could be established on a firm footing in Bengal, where the Anushilan Samiti was doing excellent work; but, he added, in spite of many requests Roy had sent no money because his sole desire was to swell his own bank balance with money received from Russia. Jotin Mitra joined the Indian Communist Party in 1926.

SPLIT IN ANUSHILAN PARTY

About the middle of 1926 several reports of the arrival in India of Bolshevik agents were received. One such agent was possibly Santosh Kumar Ghose Hazra, who arrived in India at about that period, and was alleged to have brought Bolshevik money from Germany. Another was suspected to be Miss Prabhabati Das Gupta, who also returned from Europe, and was mentioned shortly afterwards in a letter written by one Dharani

Goswami, evidently to Roy. This Dharani Goswami was an important member of the Anushilan Party, who seemed to have been impressed by Bolshevism and consequently allied himself closely with Gopendra Chakravarty. As a result of this alliance a split ultimately occurred in the Anushilan Party in Bengal, several of the junior members, with Dharani Goswami, breaking away from their old leaders, who while quite prepared to receive Bolshevik assistance, were not prepared to adopt Bolshevik principles. [137]

DHARANI GOSWAMI'S GROUP

By the early part of 1927, Dharani Goswami's group were paying special attention to the organisation of students and labourers, and a member of this group was introduced into the Bengal Jute Workers' Association at Bhatpara. The group maintained close touch with the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party, and, in February 1927, when that Party became the Bengal branch of the Indian Communist Party, seven members of the Dharani Goswami group, were, after consultation with Muzaffar Ahmad and Nalini Gupta, taken on to the executive committee of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party—a committee of which Nalini Gupta and Muzaffar Ahmad were also members.

SOUMENDRA NATH TAGORE

Another member of this committee was Soumendra Nath Tagore, a grand-nephew of Rabindra Nath Tagore and a member of the Indian Communist Party. Soumendra had been introduced to leaders of the Anushilan Party by Jotin Mitra, and he rapidly attained considerable importance both as a revolutionary and a Communist. There is information on record to show that he was concerned in assassination plots on the revolutionary side, while, on the Bolshevik side, he was put in touch with M. N. Roy by Nalini Gupta, with whom he became very friendly. In the early part of 1927, Nalini Gupta was living with Soumendra Tagore, and these two harboured the Bolshevik emissary, Fazl Elahi (who was subsequently arrested at Bombay) when he visited Calcutta in January. At about the same time Calcutta was visited by the Communist emissary, George Allison *alias* Donald Campbell, who met some of the principal mem-members of the Bengal revolutionary-cum-Communist Party and discussed with them Communist organisation and finance. In May 1927 Soumendra Tagore left India, having obtained a

passport for the United Kingdom and several countries in Europe. There is definite proof that one of the main objects of his journey was to improve the connection between the Communist-revolutionary element in this country and anti-British forces abroad.

OPEN COMMUNISM IN BENGAL

Besides the above outline of the connection between Bolshevism and[138] the secret revolutionary organisation in Bengal, it is necessary to describe how the open Communist movement fared after the set-back it received from the Cawnpore Case. It has already been noted that the sentences in that case temporarily stunned Communism in Bengal, but the movement was gradually revived by the efforts of the revolutionaries who worked secretly, and of others who worked in the open. The later and visible manifestations of Communism will now be dealt with.

THE INDIAN COMMUNIST PARTY'S ORGANISATION IN BENGAL

At the Belgaum Congress in 1924 some of the delegates with Communist tendencies decided that steps should be taken at the next session of the Congress (held at Cawnpore in December 1925) to organise a strong Communist Party. Subsequently some of the Jugantar leaders, in pursuance of the above decision, met Communists of other Provinces and agreed to help them to capture the Congress organisation. Prior to the Cownpore meeting of the Congress they canvassed energetically on behalf of the Communist Conference, which was held simultaneously; but when they found that the Communists had antagonised the Congress, they gave up their support of the former, feeling probably that it would be unwise to alienate themselves from an established body like the Congress in order to support the Communists, who had no real standing.

THE LABOUR-SWARAJYA PARTY

In addition to this open endeavour by revolutionaries to further Communism in the Congress, another attempt to gain the support of the Congress was made in Bengal by one Kutubuddin, who is a well-known Communist and secretary of the Khansamas' Union in Calcutta. Incidentally, he was a friend of Sachindra Nath Sanyal of the Hindustan Republican Association and of Muzaffar Ahmad, and he was one of those who corresponded with M. N. Roy. He endeavoured to associate himself with the

revolutionary group in their Communist activities, but was regarded by them with suspicion and was refused their support when he stood for election to the Legislative Council as an Independent Communist. In the election he was[139] badly beaten and he then started a Labour-Swarajya Party with the assistance of some well-known Bengal nationalists who had at that time quarrelled with the Swarajist leader, J. M. Sen Gupta. Among his adherents were Shamsuddin Ahmad and Qazi Nazrul Islam, whose Communistic tendencies were well-known. The party drew up their programme on distinctly Communistic lines and produced a newspaper called the *Langal* (Plough), to which Nazrul Islam was one of the principal contributors. This party seems to have been financed by Communists abroad.

THE CAWNPORE COMMUNIST CONFERENCE

The All-India Communist Conference, which was held at Cawnpore in Christmas Week 1925, was a failure, because, as already indicated, the Communists had fallen out with the Congress. At this conference, however, an Indian Communist Party was formed, and the Bengal representatives on the Executive Committee were Muzaffar Ahmad and Radha Mohan Gokulji, who were selected as secretaries for Bengal. Secret meetings of the Indian Communist Party were held in Calcutta in April 1926, when it was decided to move the headquarters from Bombay to Calcutta, under Muzaffar Ahmad, with the object of securing the support of Bengal nationalists and revolutionaries. This decision, however, was soon reversed and the headquarters were transferred to Delhi under Begerhotta, probably because it was felt that the strength of the Swaraj Party in Bengal, and the bitter communal feeling which existed there between Hindus and Mahomedans, were not conducive to the spread of Communism.

THE LABOUR AND PEASANTS' PARTY

The name of the Labour-Swarajya Party was, in 1926, changed to the Peasants' and Workers' Party—a name which recalls to mind the Krestintern or Red Peasants' International of Moscow. The object of the party was "attainment of Swarajya in the sense of complete independence of India, based on economic and social emancipation and political freedom of men and women". Its demands were the nationalisation of "industries and public utilities such as mines, railways, telegraphs, inland

waterways,[140] tramways, etc., under the control of the Workers' Committees, not for profit but for the use and benefit of the country", and the ultimate ownership of land to be vested in the "autonomous village communities consisting of intellectual as well as physical labourers". Non-violent mass action was to be the principal means for the attainment and realisation of the above objects and demands. Membership of the Indian National Congress, the Swaraj or other parties, was not a bar to membership of the Peasants' and Workers' Party, provided that the programme of those parties was not hostile. Kutubuddin Ahmad, Hemanta Kumar Sarkar, Shamsuddin Ahmad, Muzaffar Ahmad and Qazi Nazrul Islam were the principal members of this party. The *Langal*, which first appeared on 16th December 1925, after the issue of 15 numbers ceased publication on 15th April 1926 owing to lack of funds. But it had succeeded in attracting to the party the attention of Communists in England and Russia, and a considerable amount of Communist literature addressed to it from Russia was intercepted in the post.

ROY'S INTEREST IN THE PARTY

In March 1926 Muzaffar Ahmad received a letter from M. N. Roy congratulating him and Nalini Gupta on their release from jail and directing them to work for the Labour-Swarajya Party. He requested Muzaffar Ahmad to send a member of the party to him. At the secret meeting of the Indian Communist Party in April it was decided to send a representative to discuss matters with M. N. Roy and other Communists, and to get some money for Indian propaganda sanctioned by the Third International. In April Kutubuddin Ahmad wrote to Abul Kalam Azad, of the Swaraj Party, to say that he wished to join that party and, as a member of it, to stand for election to some municipality and to the Legislative Council.

Towards the end of 1926 the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party had become to all intents and purposes the Bengal Branch of the Indian Communist Party. It had never succeeded in becoming a force in the political world because it laboured under an ever-present threat of[141] bankruptcy. The main reason for this seems to have been the inability of its office-bearers to refrain from peculation. At the end of 1926, for example, a sum of £ 66 was received from abroad. Of this

a small portion was distributed among a few members as loans or for their private expenses, while the balance was appropriated by another to finance his poultry business. It was decided to form a secret branch of this party to work in co-operation with the Anushilan Samiti, the connection of which with the Communists has already been dealt with.

Closely allied with the Peasants' and Workers' Party is the Jute Workers' Association at Bhatpara near Calcutta, the secretary of which is Shib Nath Banerji, who returned to India in 1925 from Europe, where he had worked under M. N. Roy. This Association is also connected with the All-India Trade Union Congress and it received monetary help from Messrs. Johnson and Sime, who visited the mill-area towards the end of 1925. During the year 1926 also, Mr. Sime continued to give this association financial assistance.

THE "GANAVANI"

An August the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party had renewed the publication of the *Langal* under the new title of *Ganavani* (voice of the Masses). Financial assistance for this paper was promised by George Allison *alias* Donald Campbell and by Saklatvala, both of whom visited Calcutta in the early part of 1927. Monetary aid in the shape of a monthly donation of Rs. 100 from the Dundee Jute Workers' Association was, at about the same time, being received by the Bengal Jute Workers' Association at Bhatpara. As already indicated, there were strong grounds for believing that money received from abroad by Communists in Bengal was being misappropriated, and in the early part of 1927 Nalini Gupta fell out with Gopen Chakravarty and Muzaffar Ahmad on this account, and wrote a letter to M. N. Roy, accusing these two persons of having used for their personal need money sent to them, and asking Roy to correspond in future with Soumendra Tagore. Muzaffar Ahmad attended the meeting of the All-India Trade Union Congress which was held at Delhi [142] in March, 1927, and there received Rs. 200 from Spratt for the *Ganavani*, the publication of which was suspended towards the end of 1926 by reason of lack of funds, though it reappeared in April 1927.

THE POLITICAL SUFFERERS' CONFERENCE, 1926

A fillip to Communism in Bengal was given by the speech made by Upendra Nath Dutt in his capacity of President of the

Political Sufferers' Conference, which was held at Gauhati in December 1926, at the time of the Congress session there. It will be remembered that Bhupendra Nath Dutt had spent many years in Europe, where he was closely associated with V. N. Chattopadhyaya, at a time when they were both competing with Roy for the Indian agency of the Comintern. Bhupendra Dutt obviously became infested with Bolshevism in Europe, and after his return to India in 1925, he carried on Communist propaganda in a mild way. His speech at the Political Sufferers' Conference was frankly Communistic in idea and sympathy, and he pleaded for constructive work among the masses of India by organising them on an economic basis, so that passive resistance might place Indians in a position to challenge the alien bureaucracy. He went on to condemn the weakness of the revolutionary middle-class leaders, who, having got the masses under their control, were afraid to carry on the national movement to its logical conclusion. He attempted to show that the Indian bourgeoisie had merely exploited the masses for their own benefit. Having referred to the unhappy lot of Indian exiles in Europe and America, he emphasised the importance of extensive propaganda in other countries on behalf of India. He said that the most important and urgent task before them was the organisation of peasants and labourers, and he advocated the institution of a fund in support of this "people's movement" and a widespread propaganda for the uplift of the masses.

A "PEOPLE'S PARTY"

Shortly afterwards Saklatvala and other Communists began to urge the formation of a People's Party which should work on Communist lines within the Congress and have for its goal the ultimate capture of that body. It seems probable that these [143] ideas of a people's movement had a common origin. Although the meeting at which Bhupendra Dutt's speech was made was of little account, yet the speech itself undoubtedly exerted considerable influence on Bengalis with revolutionary tendencies, and seems to have affected the activities of the Karmi Sangha—a revolutionary organisation working within the Swaraj Party in Bengal.

PROGRAMME OF THE BENGAL PEASANTS' AND WORKERS' PARTY

In February 1927 the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party adopted a new programme. It asserted that the Imperial Gov-

ernment in India is not only conducted contrary to the wishes of the people of Great Britain, but is doing nothing to better the condition of the peasants and workers and of the lower middle classes. The latter charge was also made against the Indian National Congress. The programme stated that there were no laws to safeguard the interests of the workers, and the masses were being exploited. It was necessary, therefore, to form a political association of the workers and lower middle classes, who must join the Indian National Congress and urge their claims through that body. They must form Labour and peasants associations and fight the Government determinedly for their rights The exploitation of the masses would never cease until a Federal Republic was set up in India in place of the Imperial Government. Under the heading, 'Immediate Demands', appeared women's suffrage; the abolition of race and caste distinctions; the freedom of the Press and of speech; the re-organisation of Trade Unions; the abolition of indirect taxation; the nationalisation of land; the establishment of co-operative banks; preferential terms for cultivators borrowing from moneylenders; agricultural trade on scientific lines; a worker's week to consist of 5½ days of eight hours; wages of factory and mill-hands to be fixed by law at 33 per cent above the living wage; the education of the masses; and legislation on the subject of workers' compensation and against the employment of women and boys in dangerous work.

The programme closed with the following sentence :— "As it is necessary to have full national independence [144] for India —free from the control of British Imperialism—in order to affect the above resolution, the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Association will unfailingly work in harmony with all other Associations which favour, and are working for, the programme outlined above."

AFFAIRS OF THE PEASANTS' AND WORKERS' PARTY

Soumendra Tagore was General Secretary of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party at the time when he left for Europe, and Muzaffar Ahmad was suggested as his successor. He, however, was considered unsuitable, and Abdur Rezak Khan —a leading light of the Calcutta Seamen's Union—was appointed to fill the vacancy. In April 1927 allegations of peculation, referred to previously, were again causing dissension in the Communist camp, and a member of some importance named Halim

threatened to resign from the executive committee because of questions asked by Tagore and others about money he had received some months previously. To put the finances of the party on a sounder basis was one of the motives of Tagore's visit to Europe.

THE PRESS

All through the period covered by this history M. N. Roy has persistently continued to send his literature to Bengal, and, although most of it is probably intercepted in the post, a certain limited amount undoubtedly reaches its destination. This material, combined with the visit of Mr. Saklatvala to India at the beginning of 1927, has had a decided influence on the tone of the Indian Press in Calcutta. The *Forward* newspaper in particular has shown distinct leanings towards Communism. In October 1926 it published an article eulogising the Bolshevik régime in Russia and drew attention to the existence of the Communist University of Workers for the East in Moscow, where, it said, Indian revolutionary students, expelled from universities and colleges in their own country, could be admitted. The youths trained there were the vanguard of the eastern masses and they had already rendered a good account of themselves by bringing about a revolution in China. In its anniversary number it published a congratulatory message received from the British Communist Party. [145]

During Saklatvala's tour in India, *Forward*, together with numerous other organs of the Indian Press, devoted many columns to him and to his tour, and showed throughout a growing predilection for Bolshevist doctrines and institutions.

BOMBAY

K. N. JOGLEKAR

With the arrest and imprisonment of Dange, there was a lull in Communist activities in Bombay. Dange's paper, *The Socialist*, ceased publication and was not revived until nearly four months later. K. N. Joglekar, the new editor, had been a close associate of Dange, and was "keeper" of the Labour Press, at which *The Socialist* was printed. Though but a young journalist of ordinary ability, Joglekar occupies a prominent place in Bombay Communist circles, and he has been consistently active in maintaining contact with other Indian Communists and

with emissaries from abroad, such as George Allison, Philip Spratt and Saklatvala.

M. N. Roy's manifesto, which is referred to at pages 97-99, was printed in pamphlet form at Joglekar's Labour Press, and was distributed freely at the session of the Indian National Congress at Belgaum in December 1924.

CAWNPORE CASE DEFENCE FUND

In June 1924 Joglekar, on behalf of the "Indian Communist Defence Committee", had issued a printed circular asking for funds to defray the cost of the appeal in the Cownpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case. This Committee, of which Joglekar was the moving spirit, managed to collect, from various sources, Rs. 1,010; but the greater portion of this sum stuck to the fingers of Basudev Hari Joshi, another Bombay Communist and one of the signatories to the circular. Half-hearted attempts were made to enlist the services of prominent lawyers, such as Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, on behalf of the imprisoned Communists, but nothing was eventually done, and the members of the Indian Communist Defence Committee, like so many of their comrades, were not proof against the temptation to misappropriate money originally collected with, possibly [146] the best intentions. Even in June 1927 Muzaffar Ahmad, one of the accused in the Cawnpore Case, was making futile endeavours to salve some of the proceeds of the Committee's appeal for funds.

BOMBAY AS A COMMUNIST CENTRE

Joglekar continued to produce *The Socialist* up to the end of 1924, and after the paper's final extinction Bombay ceased to attract attention as a field of Communist endeavour. It was not until the end of 1925, when, at the request and under the instructions of M. N. Roy, a "Strike Committee" was formed to organise the local mill-workers, that Bombay again sprang into prominence, and Joglekar, Ghate, Mirajkar, Thengdi, Nimbkar, Shah and other local Communists began to show renewed activity. A more detailed account of Roy's attempt (and ultimate failure) to take advantage of the disturbed Labour conditions in Bombay has already been given in Chapter IV. Though Roy's scheme remained still-born, it is not improbable that this temporary focussing of attention on the possibilities of Bombay as a centre of industrial agitation, reacted in a manner favourable to the establishment of a Communist nucleus in that city. It is, at

any rate, significant that after the breach between the "Progressive" party and Satya Bhakta's followers (*vide* page 106) Bombay was selected as the headquarters of the former, S. V. Ghate being elected General Secretary, and Joglekar and Nimbkar, Provincial Secretaries.

THE CONGRESS AND COMMUNISM

Joglekar had meanwhile become a member of the All-India Congress Committee. He had taken to heart the oft-repeated dictum of Roy that the chief hope of successfully introducing Communism into India lay in capturing the Indian National Congress, and so leading that body to realise that, until congress politicians had gained the support of the masses, Swaraj must be indefinitely deferred. The Swarajist-Responsivist quarrel was regarded by Joglekar and his companions as an excellent opportunity to put before the Congress a political programme based on moderate Communist lines. It will be seen later in this Chapter that, although Joglekar and other members of the All-India Congress Committee (with the able [147] assistance of the British Communists, Allison and Spratt) had endeavoured from time to time to introduce such a programme, their efforts were signally unsuccessful. The "elders" of the Congress Committee continued to be proof against the allurements of the Communist doctrines.

FORMATION OF A "LABOUR GROUP"

The arrival of George Allison *alias* Donald Campbell in April 1926 marked the beginning of a period of renewed activity in Bombay, which culminated in the formation of a Peasants' and Workers' Party on the lines so often and so consistently advocated by M. N. Roy. As mentioned in Chapter IV, Allison after his arrival "lay low" in Bombay for a considerable period, during which he studied the situation closely, and contributed to the papers some well-informed but inoffensive articles on Trade Unionism. He gradually got in touch with Joglekar, Thengdi, Ghate, Mirajkar and other Bombay Communists, and the immediate result of this contact was the formation of a "Labour group" composed of certain members of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, together with some outsiders. At a special meeting of the B.P.C.C., on the 15th of December 1926, Joglekar produced a completely revised programme of work for presentation at the forthcoming annual session of the Indian National

Congress at Gauhati. This programme was frankly Bolshevik in tone and substance. It proposed that the aim of the Congress should be "the establishment of a Federated Socialist Soviet Republic of India based on universal franchise". It contained further resolution to the effect that "the congress, while reiterating its faith in 'direct action' as the only effective weapon which would ultimately bring Swaraj to India, realises that a general awakening must occur before that weapon can be employed. For this purpose the Congress should adopt a programme to ameliorate the conditions of the agriculturists by starting peasant organisations in the villages, and organising State Agricultural Co-operative banks to enable the cultivators to have access to all modern appliances". The programme contained similar provisions for the safeguarding of the interests of industrial workers, and "while recognising [148] that the Reforms are unsatisfactory and inadequate", it asked the Congress to hold that whatever advantage can be secured from the existing political machinery must be used in the interests of the masses.

The programme met with strenuous opposition in the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, and final discussion on it was postponed *sine die*.

BOMBAY WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTY

A few days before his arrest towards the end of January 1927 (*vide* page 113), George Allison attended a meeting of Communists in Bombay; when it was decided to form a Workers' and Peasants' Party, from which, it was hoped, a solid and influential Communist Party would ultimately spring. Allison's arrest did not seriously interfere with the progress of the new party. D. Thengdi, a prominent Labour agitator of Communist leanings, was elected president, and S. Mirajkar was appointed secretary; Joglekar, Nimbkar and Ghate were elected members of the Executive Committee. Philip Spratt, who had arrived in India at the end of December 1926, promptly stepped into Allison's place as the mentor of the party and, from that time onwards, he was closely identified with all its activities. The formation of the Workers' and Peasants' Party met with the enthusiastic approval of Mr. Saklatvala, who, it will be remembered, rejected the preliminary advances of the members of the so-called Communist Party of India. "The Workers' and Peasants' Party", he said, "should be carefully built up on a solid foundation. Such a party would grow into a powerful organisation, and

would, in time, succeed in capturing the Indian National Congress and be truly representative of the masses". Saklatvala promised to contribute towards the working expenses of the party.

Writing in *The Masses of India,* M. N. Roy regarded the formation of the Workers' and Peasants' Party as a "Distinct advance" and expressed the hope that it would become an All-India body with a net-work of local organisations.

THE "KRANTHI" NEWSPAPER

At the instigation and under the supervision of Philip Spratt, the [149] Workers' and Peasants' Party issued a Marathi paper called *Kranthi* (Revolution) as the organ of the party. The appearance of this paper has been referred to in some detail in Chapter IV.

It will be seen from the foregoing paragraphs that the importance of Bombay as a Communist centre rapidly increased after the arrival of Allison and Spratt. One, may note, however, that the activities of these emissaries and of the local Communists concerned only the city of Bombay and hardly touched any other part of the Presidency. It must also be explained that, although a small group of local agitators professed themselves to the Communists in word and deed, the number of their followers was negligible, and the influence of Communist teaching among the real workers, such as the employees of the cotton mills, was nowhere apparent.

PUNJAB

THE COMINTERN AND THE SIKHS

It has already been shown that the Second Congress of the Third International, held in 1920, professed to descry in the nationalist movement in the Colonial and semi-Colonial countries a fundamentally revolutionary struggle which formed part of the general campaign for world revolution. To the efforts made by the Communists, in pursuance of this idea, to utilise for their own ends the various revolutionary organisations in India, notably the Bengal revolutionary movement, plentiful references will be found in the earlier Chapters of this book. In this section an attempt will be made to trace the connections the Comintern have sought to build up between themselves and the Ghadr movement in America, India and elsewhere. This movement, which

is in the nature of a continuing revolutionary conspiracy recruited largely from Sikhs, was founded by Har Dayal in the U.S.A. in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the War. In 1914-15 many thousands of these rabidly disloyal emigrants returned to India, where their violent activities cost many of them their lives and still more their liberty. The movement was suppressed during the War but has never been stamped out, and there are still in the Punjab many [150] returned Sikhs whose bitter hatred of our rule predisposes them to join with eagerness in any conspiracy aimed at the subversion of our authority. A subsidiary movement, confined to the Punjab, was the Babbar Akali campaign of 1922-23, when a band of Sikhs, of the professional gunman and ruffin type, ran amuk throughout two large districts in the Central Punjab, ruthlessly murdering loyalists and Government supporters and establishing a widespread reign of terror. This smaller conspiracy was also suppressed by law, and although full retribution was exacted from those found guilty of participation, there was naturally a considerable remnant that justice could not lay its hand on. Sikhs of the Ghadr persuasion, whether in America, India or elsewhere, have ever been ready to league themselves with any of our enemies, almost without waiting to be asked.

RATTAN SINGH AND SANTOKH SINGH

The IV Congress of the Communist International, which met in Moscow in November 1922, was attended by two representatives deputed by the Ghadr Party in California, one being Santokh Singh as 'a delegate from India', and the other Rattan Singh. Both of these men were thoroughgoing Ghadr supporters. In May 1923 they left for India, 'financed to a moderate extent' by the Communist International. Santokh Singh was arrested on the North-West Frontier under the name of Gurdit Singh and was brought back to the Punjab, where he was eventually released on security. Rattan Singh, who broke back, eventually found his way a second time to America, where he will be heard of later.

GENERAL OUTLINE OF SIKH-COMINTERN INTRIGUE

It is not easy to present in clear outline the various Sikh intrigues with the Comintern, the more so as the conspirators' own correspondence goes to indicate that their plans are still far from having taken definite shape, and that the degree of

progress achieved has been anything but encouraging. The general idea, however, would appear to be that the Comintern have sought to revive the main Ghadr movement in America and its "home" branch in India, contact between the two being maintained by a number of disaffected Sikhs in Moscow, [151] Tashkent, Kabul and Amritsar. To begin the story at the Indian end, the first move was apparently made as far back as May 1923, when Santokh Singh and Rattan Singh were commissioned to visit India. The moment was opportune, for the Akali Sikh movement was then at its greatest intensity and feeling everywhere was at a high pitch. In Kabul there was a nucleus of dangerous Sikhs, comprising three particularly important men, Harnam Singh, Gurmukh Singh and Udham Singh, all of them convicted Ghadrites who had broken jail in India and escaped to Afghanistan. Representatives of the Kabul party are believed to have secretly approached the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee of Amritsar (the Sikh representative body which took charge of the religious reform movement), and to have placed before them a scheme including, *inter alia*, the formation of secret societies for revolutionary work cloaked as communal organisations, the bringing of the Sikh temples in Afghanistan, under the central authority in Amritsar, the fomenting of trouble among the Independent frontier tribes, the assassination of British officers with the help of the Bengal revolutionaries, and the training of young Sikhs in foreign military schools. It appears likely also that in Kabul there were conversations with the Russians and Turkish diplomatic representatives, both of whom were stated to have promised help, while the Akalis in Afghanistan received encouragement and support from the Afghan Government and its officers, some of whom attended meetings and expressed sympathy with the Sikh movement. One Uttam Singh, secretary of the Sikh Missionary Society in the Punjab, later on identified himself with the scheme, and still later the rules and regulations of the *Sanjhiwal* Association were drafted with the help of the notorious Bengali revolutionary, Sachindra Nath Sanyal, who visited Amritsar accompanied by another Bengali named Bhattacharji. 1,000 copies of the rules are stated to have been printed in Amritsar, 100 being circulated in India and the rest sent to Kabul, possibly to impress the foreign agencies from which help was expected. In connection with the scheme of affiliation of Sikh temples in Afghanistan, the Parbandhak Committee deputed a representative who [152] interviewed the Afghan

Consul-General in Delhi in January 1924. Meantime since 1923 there had been a steady growth in the intercourse between the Akalis in India and those in Afghanistan, an important visitor to the latter country being one Ranjit Singh Tajwar, a notorious Akali leader, whose excessive zeal in the reform movement had thrice brought him into collision with the law. All these goings to and fro are too long, and possibly too unimportant, to dwell upon, although it appears that in 1925 a Sikh *diwan* (meeting) at Jalalabad was attended by Mullah Bashir, the leader of the Hindustani fanatic colony at Chamarkand, who urged the formation of an Afghan-Sikh alliance. As regards fomenting trouble among the Independent tribes, Gurmukh Singh and Uttam Singh are reported to have interviewed the Afghan Consul General at Delhi, when the latter is alleged to have approved the proposal and to have said that the Afghan Government would be able to help with money and arms, but not with men.

DOINGS IN AMERICA

Such would appear to be the beginnings of a none too definite plot, the subsequent course of which has to be pieced out chiefly with the help of correspondence passing between several of the parties to it. In August 1925 and subsequently, upto the time of writing, the interception of a large number of letters, written partly in Gurmukhi and partly in a secret code, has shown that a group of Sikhs (including several of those just mentioned) have been actively engaged in India, Afghanistan, Turkey and America in a conspiracy directed against the State. In America the story of the plot is closely bound up with the doings of Rattan Singh. This man, having illegally re-entered the United States through Mexico, was arraigned by the Immigration authorities, but jumped his bail and escaped to Russia, whence, as will be described, he came on to India and was lost sight of. It may be mentioned that on his journey to America, after he parted company with Santokh Singh, Rattan Singh obtained from an Afghan diplomatic representative a certificate that he was a naturalized Afghan subject, which certificate he destroyed when he got into difficulties with the Immigration [153] authorities. Rattan Singh's visit to America apparently coincided with that of an emissary of the Comintern (Evelyn Roy), whose presence in the States appears to have given a remarkable fillip to the Ghadr movement, which till then had appeared to be practically moribund. Early in 1926 it was observed that the shutters

had again been taken down, money was plentiful, enthusiasm was unbounded, fresh members were joining up, and activity was everywhere discernible. It was believed, though there was no positive proof, that it was the Soviet Government that had come to the succour of the Ghadr Party in its extremity.

MAHENDRA PARTAP'S "MISSION"

Rattan Singh, under the name of Ishar Singh, wrote from California (*via* on Teja Singh Sutantar in Constantinople) stating that he had reached San Francisco in April 1925, only two weeks after Mahendra Partap had left for Tibet and Nepal, taking with him a deputation of seven men named Gainda Singh and Dasaundha Singh (both arrested in China in April 1927), Charan Singh, Inder Singh, Budh Singh, Dula and Bishan Singh. What was more, Mahendra Partap managed to obtain from the "brothers here" (California) a gift of 11,000 dollars, which some persons, not without reason, regarded as a sheer waste of good money. I may as well at this point allow Mahendra Partap to play out his part and to quit the stage. The 'Raja', whose ideas have grown unpractical to the verge of the ludicrous, was known to have met in Kabul (before he left for America) Ranjit Singh Tajwar, the Akali leader already mentioned. Arriving in Japan, he hobnobbed first with Rash Behari Bose and later with anti-British elements among the Chinese in North China. Thereafter he led his contingent towards Tibet, where, after struggling through the defiles and fastnesses of Western China, he was turned back at the frontier. His Indian following returned to China, where some of them, notably Dasaundha Singh, proved ready tools in the hands of those directing the anti-British agitation in Hankow and elsewhere, and were afterwards arrested by the British authorities. The 'Raja' eventually found his way to Kabul, whence he procceded [154] to Russia and Western Europe, and afterwards to America. He seems to have fallen from favour in the eyes of both the Russians and Afghans, and to be regarded as a hare-brained visionary, which, in point of fact, his correspondence reveals him to be. But curiously enough stray passages, in the correspondence I have mentioned referred to "agricultural operations" in the neighbourhood of Ramnagar, and inquiries showed that Uttam Singh (page 151) had opened negotiations for the taking up of land in the neighbourhood of Ramnagar near Naini Tal. It appears, therefore, that the idea was entertained (however

much one may deride it as impracticable) that Mahendra Partap and his party, after emerging from Tibet, should join hands with the revolutionaries from India and form some sort of colony where they would work together for their common objects. The dispersal of the 'Raja's' party naturally gave this scheme its death-blow, but the expression 'agricultural operations' appears to have a more general use which suggests that it connotes the organising and carrying on revolutionary work.

RATTAN SINGH'S ACTIVITIES

To return now to the activities of Rattan Singh. On his way to America he stayed in Constantinople with one Teja Singh Sutantar, who has been freely used as a post-box both by Rattan Singh himself and his fellow conspirators in India. One of the principal objects of Rattan Singh's mission to America appears to have been the collection of funds, and he stated before the Immigration authorities (April 1925) that he collected money "from friends to send to the Society for Freedom for India," that he had actually collected forty or fifty thousand dollars, the object being "to set on foot a revolution in India". In October 1925 Rattan Singh wrote that 'Ram Singh's' (Roy's) man had visited America in order to take men to 'Ramnagar' and to teach them the work of 'cultivation', which the Ghadr Party firmly believed would be useful. In this particular connection 'Ramnagar' can be almost definitely said to be Tashkent, at which place Rattan Singh and Teja Singh Sutantar favoured the idea of forming a centre without detriment to the branch at Kabul. Teja Singh in the same month wrote to one Wasdev Singh in [155] Kabul, saying that enough money was being received from America, and enquiring whether he had 'anything for R. Singh.' In December 1925 Rattan Singh intimated to Kabul that the orders of the party were that he should make arrangements for 'agricultural work in Russia'; 50 men were ready and "if 50 or 100 men (are) in Rusan (Russia?) then care (can) be taken of arms and other solid work". In another cipher message Rattan Singh wrote : "It is not enough to have a footing in Kabul alone. Footing should also be planted in Tashkent". There can be little doubt that these references to agricultural operations really meant the sending of Sikhs for training at Tashkent. In January 1926 Rattan Singh was in Germany and wrote that "the orders of the Headquarters of the Company are that I should arrange for land in a 'cold place'.

The people of the cold country have asked for ten men in connection with the land, and all expenses, etc., are to be paid by them. The Company have decided to give men for agricultural work, who might have started after I left". In regard to the above, it is definitely known that five Sikhs, four of whose names are on record, sailed from Mexico and proceeded *via* Europe to Moscow. A letter, probably written by a well-known Indian conspirator in Europe and dated 25th February 1926, showed that the Comintern had asked the Ghadr Party for several men and that five had gone to Europe; the writer said that Rattan Singh had gone to meet them, but had missed them, and that they would go on to Moscow. The details of Rattan Singh's journey across Europe are not fully known, except that he visited Northern Italy, Berlin and Moscow, and associated with disaffected Indian Muslims. (Gurmukh Singh wrote from Kabul in March 1926 that he—Rattan Singh—should come to Kabul direct). On 1st March 1926, however, Rattan Singh was in Berlin and recommended one Mitha Singh, an Indian Army deserter, as a 'patriot' and as an agent of his 'shop' in Germany; he added that he had started for 'Ramnagar' and that the 'Company' had sent 'five more merchants to school to learn business'. The reference to the party of five Sikhs who left Mexico is sufficiently obvious. By June 1926 Rattan Singh was in [156] Kabul and the conspirators there were in correspondence with the students at 'Ramnagar'. The reference is, of course, again to the five Sikhs, whose subsequent activities are referred to in the next Chapter. In January 1927 information was received that they were being carefully instructed in Soviet propaganda, and it appears probable that they spent their time in Moscow instead of going on to Tashkent. Two of them are believed to have since arrived in Hankow. The names of four of the five are :—Pritam Singh of Dhand Kasel near Amritsar; Karam Singh of Dhut near Kapurthala; Harjap Singh of Mahipur, Jullundur; and Santa Singh of Gandiwind, Amritsar.

FURTHER ACTIVITIES OF RATTAN SINGH

It is believed that the Ghadr Party have been anxious not to associate with M. N. Roy, and they, therefore, negotiated independently with the Comintern. Thus it appears that one of the objects of Rattan Singh's visit to India was to obtain a definite mandate from the Akali Dal, which the Comintern had asked for. Of Rattan Singh's stay in Kabul nothing is known ex-

cept that he sent Santokh Singh of the *Kirti* newspaper, Amritsar, a list of 15 addresses in Europe and America to which *Kirti* was to be sent; these included the Eastern University Library, Moscow, and one Hadjali, Paris, whom the French authorities regarded as a dangerous Communist. A fortnight after his arrival in Kabul Rattan Singh was in Calcutta, where on 8th July 1926 he posted a letter to Kabul, complaining that he had been betrayed to the police. In September 1926 he was in Amritsar, but nothing more was heard of him until December following, when Bhupendra Nath Dutt, who had delivered a frankly Communistic speech as president of the Political Sufferers' Conference at Gauhati, sent a message to Bhag Singh 'Canadian' and Santokh Singh (both connected with the *Kirti*) that Rattan Singh and another named Rahmatullah (possibly Rahmat Ali Zakaria, who has been working for the Bolsheviks in Russia or Mir Rahmatullah Humayun of Lahore, who has been in Kabul and is known to be in Bolshevik pay) had "arrived safely". In January 1927, according to an intercepted letter, he appeared to be still in India, and a week later, to have left India [157] for Kabul. It appears certain, however, that he found his way to China.

THE "KIRTI"

The conspirators seem to have attached great importance to propaganda. Pamphlets such as *Rus Men Yugantar* (New Era in Russia) and *Talstoi ki Talim* (Teachings of Tolstoy) are stated to have been given to the workers in the Punjab, and one of these books was made over to a translator by one Giani Partap Singh, who is said to have been entrusted with this work by the Bengal revolutionary party. This Partap Singh was arrested with seditious literature at Jamrud, when trying to cross the Indo-Afghan border towards the end of 1925, and about the same time one Ranjodh Singh of Kasel, Amritsar District, a retired daffadar with an unenviable record, was arrested on his return journey from Jalalabad. Articles of a distinctly Communistic flavour were at this time being published in the *Babar Sher* and *Kirpan Bahadur*, both extremist and anti-Government newspapers published in Amritsar, with which the abovenamed two men are said to have been connected. It may be noted that the conspirators from the very beginning intended to have an organ of their own. Rattan Singh, while still in America, had suggested the starting of the *Kirti* and in his first letter wrote "..... the busi-

ness could only be successful if the *Kirti* was successful..... We are trying to send money soon for this paper". In January 1926 the *Kirti* was advertised as follows :— "This journal will be the voice of Indian workers in America and Canada and will be dedicated to the sacred memory of those heroes and martyrs who awakened sleeping India, ...and whose ideal was regarded by our own people as well as by outsiders as the dream of Alnaschar. The journal will sympathise with all the workers throughout the world.....the subjugated, weak, and oppressed nations and subjugated India. Bhai Hardit Singh will be the editor.....and Bhai Bhag Singh 'Canadian' and Santokh Singh 'American' will be its joint editors". In February following, the first issue appeared, bearing on its title page the picture of a dead labourer lying on his funeral pyre, amidst factories, fields, etc.—the scene of his labours when alive—and surrounded with [158] tools such as the hammer and pickaxe, the whole obviously intended to convey the idea that the deceased had succumbed to the hard tasks he had to perform during his lifetime. The paper has ever since its appearance consistently advocated the cause and ideals of the Ghadr conspirators of 1914 and 1915, it has glorified the Babbar Akalis as martyrs and heroes, and has consistently supported the movement for the relief of the dependents of those Sikhs who have been hanged or imprisoned for 'political' offences. The magazine has been welcomed by the *Hindustan Ghadr*, which issued an appeal for subscriptions for it. Rattan Singh, while in Russia, sent the management a list of Indians abroad, most of whom were well-known seditionists, including an accommodation address for M. N. Roy. The June (1926) number contained an article by Agnes Smedley, the mistress of Chattopadhyaya, exhorting the people to take up the cause of their exiled and persecuted brethren in Europe. As regards its Communist side, it may be stated that one Munsha Singh of California sent to it translations of Upton Sinclair's socialistic novels. Letters posted in Paris in July 1926, addressed to the *Desh Sewak* and *Kirti* and two other newspapers, forwarded for publication a declaration by the Ghadr Party to the Krestintern (Peasants' International), expressing sympathy with the General Strike in Great Britain, and inviting the Proletariat throughout the world to unite to overthrow the Capitalist Governments. A week or two later a second batch of similar communications was intercepted; two of these contained a request for publication

signed by Voznecienski, Chief of the Eastern and Colonies Department, and Orloff (Pritam Singh?), Organising Secretary.

MONEY FROM AMERICA

On his homeward journey, Rattan Singh, who, as shown above, had been in America collecting money, visited Moscow, and it may be fairly inferred that the Comintern assisted him not only with funds but also with advice. In addition to what has been stated regarding the Ghadr revival in America, it may be noted that in July 1926 one Lakha Singh, who had been in America, and who travelled for about two months in Europe with a recommendation from [159] the notorious Barkatullah, returned to India from America, travelling under a false name. According to letters written by one Dalip Singh from California in September and October 1926, Lakha Singh brought various sums aggregating Rs. 24,000 for the families of Akali prisoners and for the *Desh Sewak* newspaper. In July 1926 Munsha Singh of California wrote to Kabul that the treasury was empty, but that an attempt was being made to raise a loan, and that something would be done for the *Kirti* shortly; he suggested also that Santokh Singh should ask a friend in America to make a special collection. In August 1926 Nidhan Singh, treasurer of the Ghadr Party and an associate of Mahendra Partap and Rattan Singh, who is also said to have been in Moscow, alluded to the despatch of Rs. 3,000 to India, presumably for the families of imprisoned Akalis. In December 1926 Dalip Singh, referred to above, wrote to Bhag Singh, Canadian, that three thousand dollars had been collected for the *Kirti* and that a good portion of this sum had been remitted. In the same month the Sikh American Educational Society, Stockton, remitted Rs. 10,000 to India, only to be intercepted by the authorities. In January 1927 a further collection of Rs. 3,000, part of which was said to have been remitted, was reported. At the time of writing, the *Kirti* was said to have to its credit some Rs. 40,000.

DALIP SINGH GILL

Another emissary, who was in America in 1925-1926 was Dalip Singh Gill, a well-known Sikh Communist. He went to Moscow in February or March, 1926, and wrote from Paris in December 1926 to inform Mahendra Partap that he had again been in America, and that his mission to the East and his work in America would be better understood and described by Bar-

katullah. In Paris he applied to the Afghan Minister for a *visa* to proceed to Kabul to establish a trade connection. In January 1927 he was in Tashkent. In the same month he wrote to Mangal Singh (of the *Akali*) that he hoped to reach Kabul in February 1927, and that he desired to meet some of Mangal Singh's friends there. He was still in Kabul in April 1927 and reported to be engaged in negotiating, on behalf of the Afghan Government, [160] for the purchase from America of four million dollars' worth of silver and gold bars to be delivered in about six months. How far he combined business with political intrigues may be easily inferred. From a letter (April 1927) from Kabul to Munsha Singh, California, it appeared that Dalip Singh was in contact with the Sikh conspirators as the writer said "Dalip Singh Gill is here" (Kabul) in these days—Bhai (Rattan Singh) is down" (*i.e.* in India).

HARJAP SINGH'S LETTER TO SANTOKH SINGH

A letter which is still the subject of enquiry, and which purports to have been written by Harjap Singh to Santokh Singh, has been forwarded to India by M. N. Roy from Moscow through one of his agents. The letter concluded as follows :—"Keep in communication with the man who delivers this letter; he is working on behalf of the Communist Party, so you should keep in close communication with him. Please reply to all letters through him".

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The inquiry into these intrigues is still going on. Their course, as I have explained, is difficult to follow, for the reason that the conspirators themselves have no clear-cut ideas and, by their own showing, are making little headway. Nothing has come of the plan to promote Frontier disturbances, or of the proposal to enlist the aid of the Bengal revolutionaries for campaign of assassination, although Sachindra Sanyal paid several visits to the Punjab in 1924 and claimed to have enlisted many students of the Lahore colleges. In the same way, the scheme of sending students abroad for military training has never got beyond the placing at Constantinople of Teja Singh Sutantra, who has been used more as a post-box for correspondence than anything else. As a matter of fact Sutantar, after passing his first year's examination, was expelled from the military college he was attending on the grounds of his not being a Turkish

subject, and all the efforts of Fakhri Pasha, who was formerly Turkish Minister at Kabul and knew something of the doings of Sutantar and his friends, for long failed to secure him re-admission. At no time [161] have the facts, so far as ascertained, disclosed grounds for action in a Court of Law. The chief features are the marked revival of the Ghadr movement, till then a practically moribund organisation, and the despatch in its behalf of five men to Russia; the long and laborious journey of Rattan Singh across Europe to India, and the starting of a strongly revolutionary and Communistic paper, the *Kirti*, with money which, there can be little doubt, has really been found from Russian sources. All these different events are clearly connected, and the intention of them is written large on their surface. To sum up, the whole plan has been in pursuance of the idea which has been indicated at the beginning of this section, *viz.* that of using the revolutionary movements among the Sikhs for Communist purposes. The latest information which is available is that Munsha Singh (California) was asked by a correspondent in Kabul to send a machine for making cartridges, and the writer added that they proposed to establish a centre on the border, because, sitting in Kabul, they could merely maintain their connection with Ram Singh (M. N. Roy) while doing no real work. Munsha Singh replied (March 1927) that the machine in question could not be sent from America : "You should ask Bhai Ram Singh (M. N. Roy) about it. He can do work of this nature..... Moreover, we have sent down money as much as we could spent this year, you should, with his consultation, purchase whatever you can..... Students are badly wanted outside..... There is a great need of work in China. Help is required here. Our whole energy is being applied. There is a great need of a centre in China, hence heavy expenses have been incurred this year". The party at Kabul, according to a letter sent by hand (February 1927) to Bhag Singh, Amritsar, deplored the slackness shown in India : "You should know that we have greatly suffered in one year. Firstly by cessation of connection with Ram (M. N. Roy) and secondly by loss of work". The writer complained that the "military book" which is supplied to 'high military officers and is treated as very confidential' had not been sent by Bhag Singh.

In May 1927 Santokh Singh of the *Kirti* died, and another important member of the Kabul group, Udham [162] Singh, was

shot by robbers on the Frontier some 18 months previously when he was returning from a secret visit to India. Correspondence lately intercepted discloses lack of co-ordination, all-round stagnation, and a tendency to recrimination. The future of the "plot" is, therefore, not easily forecasted, as the attention of the Ghadr Party seems for the moment to have been distracted towards events in China. The revival, however, of a strong revolutionary spirit among the Sikhs in the United States and Canada and the growing cult of the Babbar Akalis afford considerable ground for uneasiness, for there is unquestionably in the Punjab an abundance of inflammable material if only the Soviet's agents could devise the means of effectively setting it alight.

It is point of some interest that the first annual report of the "Communist Party of India" did not include among its list of organs the *Kirti*, despite the pronounced Communistic leanings of the magazine. This confirms the view already expressed that this movement among the Sikhs is working in a great measure independently of M. N. Roy.

NON-SIKH WORKERS

The Sikh conspiracy above described is by far the most potentially dangerous development of Communist activity in the Punjab, where the other workers in the field have been for the most part of minor importance. Some few of them may be Communists by conviction, but many have probably no other purpose in view but to feather their own nests. To this latter class unquestionably belongs Shamsuddin Hassan, who, as is known, wrote in December 1923 to M. N. Roy pressing for financial assistance and asking for an allotment of Rs. 10,000 for each Province. In India he cultivated connections with well-known Communists, and at other times fell out with them. After flirting with Dange for sometime, he declared that he regarded the latter as no "true socialist" and would not correspond with him. In March 1924 he turned to R. C. L. Sharma in Pondicherry and sounded him about a subsidy. About this time also he heard from M. N. Roy, who wrote in apologetic terms, stressing his own difficulties, but suggesting that a conference should be held : [163] "In your case I will suggest the following. If you come as far as, Persia, it is easy to proceed further to Moscow, where the Congress will take place". Roy undertook that if previously informed, he would send instructions to the

Russian embassy in Teheran to send S. D. Hassan forward and also arrange for the return journey. The same route, he added, should be followed by other delegates who, when in Persia, "can take other names". S. D. Hassan, however, preferred to remain in India, doing such work as he could. He contributed to the *Mazdoor* (Labour) of Lahore an article which described at length the iniquities of the capitalist system. He also got in touch with Satya Bhakta, and in December 1925 attended the U.P. Communist Party conference, at which it was decided to open centres in Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Lahore, with S. D. Hassan as the Provincial Secretary in Lahore. Not content with purely provincial activity he sent some articles for publication in Muzaffar Ahmad's paper, the *Langal*, and openly proclaimed himself a Communist by publishing in Lahore an Urdu pamphlet, *Ek Communist Ka Paigham* (A Communist's message), which was so objectionable in tone that it was proscribed by one local Government. He next fell out with Satya Bhakta, complained against his "dictatorship" and asked Singaravelu (March 1926) publicly to condemn the former. Hassan next visited Calcutta, and in June 1926, on his return to Lahore, sent a list of books on Socialism and Bolshevism to be printed at the *Langal* press. He also fell into disfavour with Begerhotta, who in due course grew suspicious of him. Gauhar Rahman, a Communist from the North-West Frontier Province, who has for some time been living in Delhi and Lahore, regarded him as 'full of mystery' and S. D. Hassan virtually became isolated. Towards the end of 1926 he started a separate venture of his own by publishing the *Khawar*, an Urdu paper, which in the very first issue published an article approving of the assassination of the late Tsar of Russia. Throughout his career as a Communist Shamsuddin Hassan has shown himself equally ready to run with the hare and to hunt with the hounds. He is known to be thoroughly venal and to dabble in many questionable matters besides Communism. His venality [164] and lack of settled convictions render it unnecessary to class him as either important or dangerous.

GHULAM HUSSAIN

Ghulam Hussain's career has been given in detail in Chapter II. Since his pardon and release in 1924 he has not come to notice in any way. While a report in April 1925 stated that he

was to organise a new party, he actually obtained, early in 1926, an appointment on the staff of the *Muslim Outlook* of Lahore, a purely communal newspaper, and was reported to have selected for publication in that paper an article "British rule in India as viewed by Karl Marx". Beyond this he has betrayed no interest in Communism.

ABDUL MAJID

A more active worker in Lahore is Abdul Majid, who does not appear to have been cured of his Bolshevik leanings even by his conviction in Peshawar. He was released from jail in April 1924, and returned to Lahore, where he started business as a commission agent and remained quiet for some time. But within a year he came to notice as one of the leading organisers of Labour in the Punjab capital. Early in 1926 he began to show revived interest in Communism and corresponded with Indian Communists in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. He also visited Begerhotta in Delhi in connection with the holding of a Communist conference there. His name occurred in the list of members of the Communist party found in the house of Satya Bhakta, and he subsequently notified himself as a member of the Reception Committee of a proposed Communist conference which was to be held in Lahore while Saklatvala was in India.

THE "MEHNAT KASH"

An important achievement of Abdul Majid is the *Mehnat Kash* (The Toiler), an Urdu weekly, started by him in Lahore in April 1927. It is edited by Ram Chandra, B.A., and Gauhar Rahman Darweshi. The former associated with Ghulam Hussain and was infected by him with Communism. Gauhar Rahman, as has been already mentioned, was trained in Bolshevik propaganda in Moscow, where he had gone after the *Hijrat* movement; on his return he was convicted in 1923 in Peshawar, and released in 1925. The policy of the *Mehnat Kash* is to unite the labourers and peasants, [165] to support their cause, to expose conditions in factories, and to acquaint Indians with labour and peasant movements in other countries. But the very first issue left little doubt that it was a revolutionary organ, for it published an appeal for subscriptions in aid of the accused convicted in the Kakori Conspiracy Case; another article was 'Liberty can only be achieved by Use of Arms', and a third described the 'Revolution in India'. The second issue opened with an article

'Message of May Day', which advocated Communism: "Ah! What dreadful oppression, what a terrifying magical system! But we can no longer put up with this tyranny and shall tear its magic to shreds. We have now resolved to possess what we produce. We shall not work for others.....We shall not allow the wealth of the world to be used as an intrument of oppression in the hands of a few people ..... A new system, broad-based on fraternity, liberty and equality, shall be established ..... We are prepared to usher in the new era. If, in spite of our warnings, some people put obstacles in our way, we shall be compelled to change, nay, overthrow the present system by taking such measures as shall serve as a great indictment against the criminal neglect of those classes of society which are in power. The time is approaching when the capitalistic system shall end. It has created instruments of its own destruction. Therefore, labourers of the world! come and unite to bury this system. You have nothing to lose and you shall conquer the world". A subsequent issue contained articles praising the Soviet Government and describing the happy lot of the Russian peasants; it also published pictures of Sun Yat-Sen and De Valera.

DIWAN CHAMAN LAL

An account of Bolshevism in the Punjab would be incomplete without some reference to Chaman Lal, who is known to be keenly interested in Soviet propaganda. Early in 1924 his newspaper *The Nation*, an Akali organ, suspended publication owing to shortage of funds and heavy debts. About the same time it was reported that M. N. Roy had asked him to supply "safe addresses" for sending propaganda. In India his relations with such organisations as the All-India Trade Union Congress were not entirely happy, as the leaders had become dissatisfied with his conduct of the Congress [166] affairs during the preceding two years. Chaman Lal continued to write anti-British articles whenever an opportunity offered itself. The *Workers' Weekly* in November 1924 published an article contributed by him on the subject of Egypt: "Undoubtedly it is obvious that the old lion of Great Britain is making one last and exhausted leap for its prey in Egypt. . . . France under Poincaré, Italy under Mussolini and now England under the Jingoes ..... The lion leaps but it is for us, the subject nations, to convince this once glorious beast that it leaps in vain".

In April 1925 he visited Europe to attend the International

Labour Conference at Geneva, and a report stated that he was "doing splendid work as a link between the East and the Third International", and was to be charged with important work before returning to India. It is stated that N. M. Joshi and Chaman Lal wished to visit Moscow to establish direct relations independent of M. N. Roy, but Saklatvala opposed Chaman Lal's visit to Moscow as likely to prejudice his work of organising the workers in India. In Geneva he was reported to be in contact "with two (unnamed) Russian agitators from Vienna", and is also believed to have met Percy Glading (*vide* p. 103). In England he signed a manifesto (explaining its aims) on behalf of the British Section of the International Class War Prisoners' Aid, a Communist organisation.

It is fairly certain that Chaman Lal did not carry much weight with M. N. Roy, who considered that he and Joshi had given contradictory and false accounts of the Communist movement in India. But the British Communists appear to have been more favourably impressed by Chaman Lal. A McManus wrote to him (August 1925), desiring him earnestly to keep him (the writer) informed: "I am anxious that our work should be developed in India. . . . . I would also like to remind you to inform of any developments which take place regarding the Shanghai Conference".

On his return from Europe Chaman Lal contributed an article to *The People*, describing the National Minority Movement in laudatory terms; and in a press interview he declared that the time had come to start a [167] socialist wing of the Swaraj Party, and that he intended to devote himself to 'this immediate task'. He took a prominent part in the May Day celebrations in 1926 in Lahore. In the same year he paid another visit to England; this time, he is believed to have been financed by the ex-Maharaja of Nabha. In England he spoke at the Bournemouth Trades Union Congress in September 1926. Information was received that during his second visit he was shy of Communist associations, inasmuch as he avoided the Workers' Welfare League, did not keep an appointment with Dr. Bhat, avoided Saklatvala, explained that he was anxious to be on good terms with the Amsterdam International, and therefore did not wish his name associated with Communists and the Communist bodies; and that Saklatvala was too reckless to be of use to the cause of Indian Labour. At the time of writing he appears to be more

concerned in making a name for himself as a champion of Labour rather than of actual Communism. It must be recorded, however, that during a visit to Lahore in August 1927, Philip Spratt stayed with Chaman Lal, to whom he is known to have carried a letter of introduction.

THE NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY UNIONS

In Lahore there existed for some time, side by side, two rival unions which concerned themselves with the interests of the employees of the North-Western Railway, a line which is of immense strategical importance. One was the "official" union, which was recognised by the Railway administration; and the other, the "unofficial" union, which was staffed by several disgruntled ex-railway servants, of whom the three best known were an Indian, M. A. Khan, and two Europeans, J. B. Miller and H. T. Hall. The official union has never come under suspicion, but the unofficial union has given some cause for disquietude. The three chief persons connected with it were merely professional agitators, who eked out a hand-to-mouth existence, and who had earned some unenviable notoriety in connection with the fomenting of strikes. Hall was further an object of suspicion in that he had married a Russian (a woman of the town) and appeared to be far more flush of money than his ostensible means of livelihood could account for. These suspicions, [168] however, never received any definite confirmation. The two unions have amalgamated and Khan and Miller have been absorbed into the conjoint body. Hall left for England, where he afterwards contracted a bigamous marriage with a comfortably-off widow, and stood in some danger of finding himself being called upon to answer for his conduct. Outwardly, therefore, the condition of the Railway employees in Lahore seems to afford less ground for uneasiness than it has for some time past, and there has been found no evidence of any Bolshevik penetration. As against this, it is to be noted that during his visit to Lahore, Philip Spratt met and conferred with the Union leaders, which is scarcely a healthy sign.

INTEREST OF THE COMINTERN

It is needless to say that the Comintern has not been blind to the exceptional possibilities presented by successful propaganda among the workers in the North-Western Railway. About

October 1926 instructions were issued from Moscow that every effort was to be directed to the formation of "party cells" in the railwaymen's Trade Union in the N. W. R. It was argued that the formation of "strong and reliable party organisations" inside the Union would go halfway to ensure the success of revolutionary work in the Punjab, while, in the event of a Frontier rising, the military authorities would be deprived of the means of striking quickly and decisively at the insurgents. These ideas, however, have not yet been given practical shape so far as existing information goes. Nor need it be assumed that the Comintern's ability to grasp a somewhat self-obvious proposition necessarily connotes the power to carry out what it has devised.

MADRAS

LABOUR AND COMMUNISM

Although it will be seen from Chapter VIII that Labour agitation has increased to an appreciable extent in the Madras Presidency during the last few years, the movement has developed almost totally unaffected by Communist propaganda. In fact, Communism may be said to be almost non-existent in that Province, and except for the occasional emergence of Singaravelu, who is a Communist in word rather than [169] in deed, there is nothing of much interest to relate. This is all the more remarkable in that numerous reports dealing with Soviet intrigue in India showed that Madras was considered by Moscow to be a hotbed of Communism and an important distributing centre for propaganda and funds. This altogether erroneous impression was undoubtedly due to Moscow's childish faith in Roy's reports of the progress his group were making in converting India to Bolshevism.

R. C. L. SHARMA

While the activities of R. C. L. Sharma, the Communist refugee, were perforce confined to Pondicherry, the proximity of that settlement to Madras makes if convenient to incude, at this stage, a brief note on Sharma, and his not very successful efforts to play the part of intermediary between M. N. Roy and Communists in British India. Sharma, who was an associate of well-known Bengal revolutionaries in the 'revolutionary days', was suspected of revolver smuggling and was a 'voluntary printer' in the *Yugantar* Press in 1908. He migrated later to the United

Provinces, was convicted of sedition in 1909 and sentenced to ten years' rigorous imprisonment. He was released in 1918, but in July 1920 a warrant was issued against him for a seditious speech at Rohtak and he fled to Pondicherry. When the accused in the Cawnpore Conspiracy Case were arrested, attempts were made to bring Sharma back into British India, but he was too wary, and remained in the safe asylum of French India, so that it proved impossible to effect his arrest. He began to correspond with Roy in January 1923, and for nearly three years was considered—though not justifiably—to be a valuable link with revolutionaries and Communists in British India. At the end of 1923 Sharma suggested to Roy that he (Sharma) should go to Germany in order to see Roy, if a *locum tenens* could be supplied. Roy selected for this purpose, Khushi Mahomed *alias* Ibrahim, whose arrival in Pondicherry has already been mentioned at page 53, and despatched him on a Persian passport under a fresh *alias* 'Sepassi'. He arrived in Pondicherry early in January bringing money from Roy, which he gave to Sharma The Pondicherry authorities, however, served a notice on Sepassi to quit French India; and he left (for D'Jibouti) [170] on February 25th, 1924. Sharma was also threatened with deportation, but managed to avoid it; he was, however, removed from Pondicherry itself and interned in a small village at some distance from the port, where he remained until 4th September 1925, when he was permitted to return.

Notwithstanding the fact that Sharma continued to receive literature from Roy and Sepassi, together with occasional sums of money, his role of distributing agent was not played in earnest, and he rapidly fell into disfavour with Communists both in India and abroad. Several attempts were made by the comrades in India to confirm the rumour that Sharma was actually receiving large sums of money from Roy, and, chiefly in pursuance of this object, Jogesh Chatterjee, Begarhotta, Ajodhya Prasad and others visited Pondicherry at various times. In order to find out to what extent Sharma had been in receipt of funds from Roy, Begerhotta plied Sharma with liquor, with the result that, after the former's departure, Sharma fiercely assaulted a Madras C. I. D. constable with a heavy stick. He had been contemplating such an assault for some time, with a view to provoke a counter-assault, and thus to engineer a movement among local people for the removal of the British India C. I. D. officers from Pondicherry. He was tried

and convicted by the Pondicherry authorities, and sentenced to a fine of 35 francs. He was also sentenced to 16 days' imprisonment under the French "Loi de Sursis", *i.e.* he was bound down to keep the peace for five years, otherwise he should undergo imprisonment for 16 days. Towards the end of 1926 Sharma sent a memorial to the Governor of Pondicherry recounting the hardships he had endured owing to his forced exile in that place, and beseeching the Governor to move the Government of India to cancel the warrant for his arrest. In view of the detailed information in the possession of the Government of India regarding Sharma's connection with Bolsheviks and revolutionaries, his petition for clemency was rejected.

SAKLATVALA AND SINGARAVELU

The visit of Saklatvala to Madras in February 1927 aroused considerable interest among the local agitators, and as a result, [171] a Political Labour Party was formed with Singaravelu as Chairman. The real object behind the movement was to detach Labour from Congress influence, and to control it on Communistic lines under the auspices of this party. Shortly after the formation of this new organisation, proceedings were instituted against Singaravelu to show cause why he should not be bound over to keep the peace for one year for making speeches inciting labourers to violence. The accused, however, gave an undertaking not to advocate violence at any time, and declared that he had no intention of making any seditious speeches or of doing anything likely to provoke violence. The undertaking was accepted and Singaravelu was discharged. Up to the time of writing the Political Labour Party has done no work, and in the light of the proceedings taken against Singaravelu, there is very little prospect of this party making any headway.

UNITED PROVINCES

SATYA BHAKTA

Shaukat Usmani, who was arrested in May 1923 and convicted in the Bolshevik Conspiracy Case in Cawnpore a year later, had been engaged in promulgating Bolshevism in the United Provinces. After his arrest his mantle seemed to have fallen on Satya Bhakta, around whom Communism in the United Provinces subsequently centred. Satya Bhakta had, early in 1923, moved to Cawnpore from the Central Provinces, where he had come to

notice as the editor of a newspaper called the *Pranvir*, which was decidedly pro-Bolshevik in tone. He had attracted attention too as a correspondent of S. A. Dange, who also was convicted at Cawnpore.

SATYA BHAKTA'S COMMUNIST PARTY

Soon after transferring his residence to the United Provinces, Satya Bhakta began to contribute Communistic articles to the local Press, and about the middle of 1922 he set up a Socialist Book Depot at Cawnpore. In August of that year, he contributed an article to the *Aj*, in which he described socialism as the panacea of all ills and urged that a socialist organisation should be started in India. He added that an organisation named the Indian Communist Party was going to be formed, and asked all persons interested [172] to correspond with the manager of the Socialist Book Depot, Cawnpore. It was afterwards announced that a public meeting would be held when sufficient members had been enrolled. The objects of the Indiann Communist Party were made clear in a pamphlet published by Satya Bhakta. These objects included a general amelioration of the condition of the poor, and the organisation of labourers. The term labourers was to include peasants, clerks, railway and postal officials, police constables and students. Satya Bhakta also proposed to issue a newspaper called the *Samavadi*. In an article published in a Calcutta newspaper Satya Bhakta said : "In the Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case it has been settled that to have faith in Communism in itself is no offence. The conviction of the accused was due to their conspiracy against the Empire. Thus the fear of the law against Communism has been removed".

A COMMUNIST PARTY FORMED

At about the same time Satya Bhakta published a small Hindi leaflet entitled the "Hindustani Samavadi Dal", which was proscribed. In November he contributed an article to the *Vartman*, protesting against the proscription of the leaflet. He sent a copy of this article to *The Socialist*, Bombay, with a forwarding letter in which he mentioned that the Indian Communist Party had been formally established and that more than 50 persons had become members, including several prominent personages; and he asked *The Socialist* to give the formation of the party a prominent place in its columns. In this letter he also mentioned that he had

received from Har Dayal in Sweden a communication intimating that he was ready to join the movement.

THE FIRST QUARTERLY REPORT

The Indian National Congress met at Belgaum at the end of 1924, and Satya Bhakta, taking the opportunity thus afforded of spreading Communist propaganda, distributed a leaflet giving an outline of the objects of the party, its programme of work and its methods and principles. This leaflet is believed to have been written by Suresh Bhattacharji, a Bengali domiciled in the United Provinces, who will be referred to later. At about the same time[173] Satya Bhakta published the first quarterly report of the Indian Communist Party, which stated that the party had been formed on the 1st of September 1924, and that during the first quarter of its existence 78 persons had been enlisted as members. Of these 78 members, 34 were of Cawnpore and 16 from other districts in the United Provinces. The members included 16 editors, and 4 press-owners. The income of the party was shown as Rs. 58-5-0, while the expenditure was Rs. 72-3-3. Among the members appeared the names of Hasrat Mohani, Radha Mohan Gokulji, Rama Shankar Awasthi (editor of the *Vartman*), Suresh Chandra Bhattacharji (sub-editor of the *Vartman*), and Rajagopal Vidyalankar (editor of the *Pranvir*).

REVOLUTIONARY CONNECTIONS WITH COMMUNISM

By the beginning of 1925 information was received that among those who had joined Satya Bhakta's party was Jawahir Lal Nehru, whose subsequent activities in Europe on behalf of "The League Against Imperialism" attracted considerable attention. Early in 1925 the office of the *Vartman* was searched in connection with a case under section 153-A, I.P.C., which had been instituted against its editor. This search, while scaring some of the members of the Communist Party, seems to have drawn the attention of the public to it, and thus to have given it a certain amount of advertisement. Satya Bhakta's connection with Suresh Bhattacharji, the sub-editor of the *Vartman*, has already been mentioned. This Suresh Bhattacharji was intimately connected in his work among the labouring classes with a Bengali named Roy, who subsequently proved to be the revolutionary, Jogesh Chatterji, whose Bolshevik connections have been dealt with in the portion of this Chapter relating to Bengal. Both

Jogesh Chatterji and Suresh Bhattacharji were afterwards convicted in the Kakori Conspiracy Case in 1927, and the judgment in that case clearly indicated the Bolshevik tendencies of the conspirators. Indeed the view has been put forward that this Indian Communist Party set up at Cawnpore was a direct result of the revolutionary conspiracy known as the Hindustan Republican Association, and that Satya[174] Bhakta was merely a figure-head. While Satya Bhakta himself seems to have steered fairly clear of revolutionary activity, yet there is good reason to believe that his knowledge of the secret work of the Hindustan Republican Association was much more extensive than it should have been. The United Provinces members of this revolutionary conspiracy were also connected with Bolsheviks by another line which ran through Delhi to returned *Muhajirin* in the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province.

THE SECOND QUARTERLY REPORT

In March 1925 the *Vartman* published a second quarterly report of the Indian Communist Party, which claimed that by the end of February its members had risen to 215, of whom 139 were residents of the United Provinces. The report went on to say that it was proposed to establish branches of the party in other parts of India and to issue papers in different vernaculars, though, owing to the shortage of funds, this propaganda work could only be carried on very slowly. In the same month information was received to the effect that the Communist M.P., Saklatvala, was communicating with Satya Bhakta.

SATYA BHAKTA'S PROGRAMME

Towards the middle of 1925 Satya Bhakta issued another leaflet entitled "The Future Programme of the Indian Communist Party", in which he claimed that the membership of the party was 250, and again made financial stringency the excuse for slow progress. In this pamphlet he referred to the question of affiliation with the Communist International and showed that this affiliation was advised in some quarters. He indicated, however, that he himself was opposed to it on the ground that it would bring his party into disfavour with the Government; he hoped ultimately to work up to affiliation with similar movements in other countries, but he insisted on the absolute independence of the Indian Party. The programme included the organisation

of Indian peasants, labourers and other working classes and advocated the total abolition of landlordism, the fixing of a minimum wage and maximum hours of labour for industrial workers, the opening of Communist reading-rooms in every[175] city, and regular propaganda through the medium of newspapers.

He considered that the various Indian political parties and societies, such as the Congress, already in existence would never be of any benefit to the masses, for they were all under the control of capitalists : "If such a party can procure Swaraj for India it will be no better for the poor. The only difference is that Indian officers and men will take the place of Englishmen and it is not at all certain that they will prove better than their predecessors."

During 1925 Satya Bhakta contributed freely to the Indian Press, and also endeavoured to spread Bolshevik propaganda by the production of books and leaflets. He was particularly desirous of possessing a press of his own whereby he could produce a Communist paper, but financial difficulties again stood in his way.

PREPARATION FOR A COMMUNIST CONFERENCE

By September 1925 Satya Bhakta was preparing for a Communist conference which was to take place at Cawnpore during the Congress Week, and a meeting of the Communist Party was reported to have been held with Hasrat Mohani as president, with the object of making arrangements for the conference. At this meeting Mr. Saklatvala, M.P., was elected president. The question of affiliation with the Third International was again discussed and the consensus of opinion was that, although the party were working indirectly under the instructions of the Third International, yet it would be harmful at this stage to publish the fact. Satya Bhakta is reported to have said that as his organisation was working in co-operation with the Bengal revolutionary party, and since this party was under the control of Rash Behari Bose, who, in turn, was working under instructions from the World-Revolution Party of Moscow, there was no need of further affiliation. At this meeting the opinion was expressed that the party was neither a secret nor an open one, but that both functions were being carried on simultaneously.

APPEAL FOR SUPPORT FOR THE CONFERENCE

In October Satya Bhakta published an appeal which was directed "mainly towards the youths of the country.".[176] In this appeal he announced that the first session of the Indian Communist Conference would be held side by side with the session of the Congress at Cawnpore during the ensuing Christmas week. He maintained that the existence of a Communist Party was necessary because, although there existed several institutions devoted to politics, such as the Congress, the Swaraj Party, etc., and other institutions for the uplift of peasants and labourers, such as the Trade Union Congress and the Kishan Sabhas, yet none of these institutions were working with a view to help the labourers and peasants to assert their rights in the country's administration and to enhance their political importance. He maintained that the Kishan and Mazdur Sabhas merely touched the fringe of the question, inasmuch as they only tried to remove temporary grievances. He could say, without vanity, that the Communist Party was the only institution which aimed at gaining the object he had in view. He invited all persons who had sympathy with the aims of the party to attend the conference, as well as all those who were striving for the complete independence of the country. To members of the party and its helpers he appealed for funds to meet the expenses of the conference. He said that at the lowest estimate Rs. 3,000 had to be collected, though Rs. 10,000 or Rs. 12,000 could easily be spent. He added that it would not be possible to meet the travelling expenses of Saklatvala unless the sum collected was considerably in excess of Rs. 3,000, so he trusted that all members and sympathisers would willingly extend their help.

THE AGENDA

He then outlined the agenda which included :—

(1) Change of the party's name. He pointed out that this was necessary as the existing title was a misnomer, unless the party was affiliated with similar organisations in other countries, which, as he had previously shown, was at the time impracticable.

(2) Help from foreign countries. He stated that he had often been urged to approach the Communist Interna tional of Moscow for financial[177] aid, but he pointed

out that such action woud immediately bring the party into the bad books of the Government, and he, therefore, urged the members to depend on self-help only.

(3) Connection with the Congress. He said that the Congress had at the time become the exclusive property of a few particular leaders, and in consequence it did not really represent the masses of India. He appealed to all members of the party to become also members of the Congress, with the intention of changing it into an instrument of help to the people.

(4) Subscription and membership. He mentioned that at the time the annual subscription was four annas, but the idea of a monthly fee was against the principles of Communism; therefore, he hoped to be able to abolish subscriptions and to obtain sufficient funds from voluntary help only.

Soon afterwards the necessity for budgeting for Saklatvala's travelling expenses disappeared, for Saklatvala sent a message saying that he could be present at the conference only in spirit and not in person.

SINGARAVELÚ ELECTED PRESIDENT

After Satya Bhakta had heard of Saklatvala's inability to preside, he selected Singaravelu Chettiar to take the presidential chair. He mentioned this in the course of a letter in which he anticipated that at least one thousand new members would be enlisted during the session, and he hoped to start at the time of the conference a monthly paper dealing with Communism. As a result of Satya Bhakta's efforts, Singaravelu was duly elected president of the conference. The proposals for this conference seem to have drawn the atention of Roy and Sepassi to Satya Bhakta, and they began to make enquiries about him and his organisation.

THE COMMUNIST CONFERENCE

The Communist Conference was held at Cawnpore during the last week[178] of 1925 at the same time and place as the session of the Indian National Congress. At first it looked as if this conference were going to be extraordinarily successful because the Communists had adopted the ruse of getting elected, as Congress delegates, four or five hundred peasants from Ajmer-

Merwara. This block of delegates with supposedly Communist sympathies clearly frightened the Congress authorities and apparently bluffed them into thinking that a genuine Communist Party did exist in India. The Congress, however, managed to evade the danger to their own organisation by declaring the election of these Ajmer-Merwara delegates to be unconstitutional, and the latter were accordingly not permitted to take part in the proceedings. This incident naturally had a damping effect on the Communist camp, for the organisers hoped to use the occasion to obtain the goodwill of the Congress, and instead of this they found themselves involved in a bitter dispute. Other reasons contributed to making the conference a complete fiasco. Firstly, the chairman of the Reception Committee, Hasrat Mohani, and the secretary of the party, Satya Bhakta, were so preoccupied that they were scarcely able to devote any time to the conference. The former was busy in preparing his speech for the Khilafat Conference, and the latter was engaged in bringing out the first edition of his new paper, the *Samavadi*. Secondly, the delegates suspected each other of being police spies, and thirdly, the speech of the president, who seemed to have been nervous for his own safety, was, to say the least of it, uninspiring. The friction between the Communists and the Congress was not disminished by a forcible attempt on the part of the Ajmer-Merwara delegates to enter the Congress *pandal*. When this manoeuvre had been successfully circumvented, they proceeded to offer *Satyagraha* by lying prostrate at the entrance of the Congress *pandal*, but this produced no apparent effect on the properly-elected Congress delegates, who did not hesitate to use them as door-mats. In consequence of this brawl, the Communists were not permitted to use the Congress *pandal* for their conference, which was accordingly held in an old tent of miserable dimensions and dimly lit by a few oil lamps. About 500 persons attended, of whom[179] about 90 per cent were of the labouring and cultivating classes and presumably understood little or nothing of the proceedings. The resolutions passed by the conference were not of much importance, as they merely declared its sympathy with the Indian Nationalist Party and with other Communist organisations, as well as with Saklatvala. An Executive Committee was elected, which included Singaravelu, Satya Bhakta, Hasrat Mohani, K. N. Joglekar, R. S. Nimbkar, S. V. Ghate, Janki Prasad Begerhotta, Arjun Lal Sethi, Muzaffar Ahmad, Radha Mohan Gokulji and

others. Considerable dissatisfaction was expressed with Satya Bhakta's management of the party, and it was decided to transfer its headquarters to Bombay with Ghate and Begerhotta as joint secretaries. Provincial secretaries were also appointed, and Satya Bhakta was appointed secretary for the United Provinces, for which Azad Subhani was made provincial organiser.

THE NEW PROGRAMME

The object of the removal of the headquarters of the Communist Party from Cawnpore to Bombay was said to be the desire to facilitate communication with foreign countries. This connection with Communists abroad was favoured by, among others, Ghate, Joglekar and Muzaffar Ahmad, while Hasrat Mohani, Azad Subhani, Satya Bhakta and Arjun Lal Sethi were among those who opposed it. Provisional general rules for the party were drawn up and in these rules the objects of the party are given as follows:-

(a) To secure the freedom of India by all practicable means.
(b) To end all sorts of exploitation of man by man.
(c) To establish a workers' and farmers' republic through the nationalisation of the means and instruments of production and distribution, such as land, mines, factories, railways, tramways, ships, etc., by, and in the interests of, the whole community of India.

The Party's programme was to educate and organise the working-classes, namely, peasants, labourers and servants engaged in other occupations, for the abolition[180] of capitalism. Any one who accepted the objects and programme of the party was eligibe for membership, and no subscription was fixed, the local organisations being empowered to raise monthly or annual subscriptions to meet their expenses. Local organisations were to contribute 25 per cent of their income to provincial organisations, which, in turn, were to send half their income to the central organisation at Bombay.

THE UNITED PROVINCES GROUP SECEDE

The result of these changes was a split in the Indian Communist Party. Satya Bhakta apparently felt that its formation was the outcome mainly of his own energies, and he not unnaturally resented the attitude taken towards him at the conference

and his virtual supersession as head of the organisation. He accordingly changed the name of the Cawnpore organisation to "The *Samavadi* Dal", and he seems to have had the support of most of the United Provinces members. The ostensible reason for this split in the party was the dispute over the question whether Indian Communists should or should not form international connections. As already indicated, the United Provinces group were opposed to this suggestion. Shortly after the conference, however, it was reported that Satya Bhakta was receiving financial assistance from abroad, to enable him to carry on his publications. This information was unconfirmed, and his paper had a very short life, though he continued to produce pamphlets, some of which were decidedly objectionable. Satya Bhakta, in spite of an offer made by Singaravelu Chettiar to remove the friction, insisted on resigning his membership of the Executive Committee of the Indian Communist Party.

As was natural, Satya Bhakta's refusal to affiliate with foreign Communists and his openly expressed antagonism to M. N. Roy brought the latter's heavy guns to bear on him, and during 1926 many columns of *The Masses of India* were devoted to pouring scorn on the Communist Conference in general and on Satya Bhakta in particular.

DECLINE OF SATYA BHAKTA

By March 1926 Satya Bhakta was depressed, dissatisfied, and in financial difficulties,[181] which makes it seem very doubtful that he ever received monetary support from abroad. His depression was no doubt increased by the fact that he was unable to produce the third issue of the *Samavadi*, because the press-owner refused, at the instigation of Congress leaders in Cawnpore, to print it. He issued a pathetic appeal to subscribers of his paper, explaining why it had not been issued and imploring them to secure more subscribers because, without further financial assistance, the continuance of his paper was impossible. The appeal mentioned that his total receipts had been Rs. 50, while the issues which he had published had cost him Rs. 80.

Letters which he wrote at the beginning of March showed that he hoped to produce a new paper called *The Republic*, which would be an "organ of cultivators and labourers". They further showed that he proposed to hold a May Day procession but was not sanguine of success. Nevertheless he promised to

assist Singaravelu in getting up a memorial praying for the release of Usmani and Dange, the Cawnpore Conspiracy Case convicts. In the middle of March, Satya Bhakta wrote to Singaravelu saying that he was at the end of his resources and was thinking of leaving Cawnpore to work elsewhere for a living. He, however, continued his attempts to produce a book which he had written, entitled *Irish Raj Kranthi* (Irish Rebellion). Some proof copies of this book had been shown to Lala Lajpat Rai, who expunged a large portion of it and said that even so there was every likelihood of its author being prosecuted if it were published.

A secret meeting of the Communist Party was held in Calcutta towards the end of April at which it was decided to cut off all connection with Satya Bhakta, which, in effect, meant the United Provinces Communist Group.

THE UNITED PROVINCES GROUP'S STRUGGLES

By May the activities of Communists in the United Provinces were confined to lectures delivered by Radha Mohan Gokulji, sometimes at the Mazdur Sabha Office and sometimes to the labourers of the Elgin Mills Company, Radha Mohan is alleged to have given Satya Bhakta Rs. 75 to assist him in publishing some of his numerous[182] pamphlets. One of these was manifesto refuting the allegations which M. N. Roy had made against him. In this he launched a counter-attack against Roy, accusing him of being unscrupulous and insincere, and of feathering his own nest with money intended to further the Bolshevik cause. Much of the material used in this manifesto was culled from a letter which Satya Bhakta had previously received from Roy's opponent, M. P. T. Acharya. The Indian Communist Party held a meeting in Calcutta shortly afterwards, at which they considered Satya Bhakta's denunciation of their leader and decided to issue a contradiction. This was afterwards published by Ajodhya Prasad in the *Pratap* of Cawnpore, and in it insinuations were made that Satya Bhakta was hand in glove with the police.

THE UNITED PROVINCES COMMUNISTS' COMMITTEE MEETING

Early in July the Committee of Satya Bhakta's party met at Cawnpore. In addition to Satya Bhakta, Radha Mohan Gokulji, Azad Subhani and Hasrat Mohani were present, and

they passed resolutions expressing confidence in Satya Bhakta, opposing affiliation with International Communist organisations and deciding to hold a Provincial Communist Conference at Gorakhpore in October (1926). It was further declared that there was only one Communist Party in India, of which the Nationalists and Internationalists were the two wings. Of course, Satya Bhakta's party was the National Communist Party, while the Indian Communist Party was the International group. No meeting of the party seems to have been held in October and apparently it was decided to postpone it until the Congress assembled at Gauhati at the end of 1926. Satya Bhakta in the meantime continued to put forward his views in the Nationalist Press.

Satya Bhakta's task in maintaining the United Provinces Communist organisation as a body independent of the Indian Communist Party proved a difficult one, and by 1927 his party was, to all intents and purposes, defunct. He interviewed Saklatvala in Cawnpore early in the year, and the latter expressed his appreciation of the former's literature and propaganda work. By that time,[183] however, the party in the United Provinces seemed to have consisted of little beyond Satya Bhakta himself, who was doing next to nothing in furtherance of his once ambitious programme.

CONNECTED ACTIVITIES IN OTHER COUNTRIES

AFGHANISTAN

EARLY BOLSHEVIK PLANS

Afghanistan seems to have received the early attention of M. N. Roy and his Bolshevik masters, probably as marking an important stage on the way to India. In the early portion of Chapter II, reference will be found to the activities of Roy and Joffee round about Kabul and Tashkent, and to the presence in the former place of Indian agents of Roy such as Khushi Mahomed (*alias* Sepassi) and 'Professor' Ghulam Hussain. Much of what is to follow in this section must be read in the light of criticisms offered in Chapter III on the plans of Moscow, which, in Afghanistan as in India, seem to have yielded little enough return for the time and labour devoted to them. As I have remarked before, these observations are not intended to apply to the general question of the Russian penetration of Afghanistan.

MONEY FOR A NEW MUSLIM STATE

Notwithstanding financial stringency in 1923 due to pressing needs in the West, a sum of 1,000,000 gold roubles was assured by the Executive Committee of the Communist International for the immediate necessities of the East, and in January 1924 the Politbureau decided that the Soviet representative in Kabul should be instructed to work for the establishment of a United Empire of Mussalmans—India and Afghanistan—and that the Soviet Union would support this "new extensive Muslim State", which should eventually liberate India. In February 1924 Chicherin issued circular instructions to Eastern Republics in which he remarked that Afghanistan and Turkey were the special objects of his attention at that time. Thenceforward there were notable signs of activity, at least in the way of the laying down of ambitious schemes, the despatch of men and money, and the carrying on of propaganda.[185]

RASKOLNIKOFF ON ANGLO-AFGHAN RELATIONS

Excessive and exaggerated emphasis was laid on the anti-British feeling in Afghanistan by Raskolnikoff, who had been

Soviet representative in Kabul, in an article published in the *International Press Correspondence* (1924), in which he described conditions in Afghanistan and asserted that the Afghans were extremely hostile to the British, and that they had not forgotten the Anglo-Afghan War. He further declared that the tariffs in Afghanistan were particularly high against the importation of British goods, and that the force of the hate of the Afghan people against the English was in direct proportion to their sincere and profound sympathy for the Soviet Union; and finally that, in the event of the outbreak of an Anglo-Afghan War, the sympathies of the 70 millions of Indian Mussalmans would be on the side of Afghanistan.

SOVIET PROPAGANDA

In August 1924 the I.K.K.I. issued instructions to Tashkent that a new propaganda base for Northern Afghanistan should be established at Mazar-i-Sharif and that 10,000 propaganda proclamations in the name of the League of Defence of the Independence of Afghanistan, and inciting the Afghans to break with the British, should be issued. The Soviet Government about this time also printed various military manuals in Persian. That the Soviet were now much elated will be gathered from the following extract from the *International Press Correspondence*, which furnishes an apt example of their propaganda :—

"The small country of Afghanistan, heroically fighting for its independence, and struggling desperately to rid itself of the remnants of mediaeval feudalism, finds in the Union of Soviet Republics a trusty ally and a comrade who is prepared to defend it from the aggression of British Imperialism. The insurrection inspired and nourished by the 'Labour Government' and headed by Prince Kherim Khan, who is aiming at the throne of Afghanistan, is serving still more to unite the Afghan people with the Union of Soviet Republics, which for many years has proved its sincere desire to help the people of Afghanistan to liberate themselves from the chains of feudalism and foreign intervention. The flight of the[186] red airmen, who, with the audacity of eagles, crossed the Hindu Kush into Afghanistan, serves as a symbol of the assistance which the victorious Proletariat is prepared to lend the oppressed peoples of the East in their struggle against Imperialism.....

"The innumerable millions of toilers of India have since the

October Revolution ceased to feel that they are alone in their fight against the British oppressors. They know that in the North a powerful force has sprung up and is ripening, a force capable of inspiring fear even in the heart of 'invincible' British Imperialism. The toilers of India know that the country of the Soviets is their one true and unselfish ally.

"It is not, therefore, surprising that at the Trade Union Congress in 1921 the Indian Proletariat declared its fraternal solidarity with the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia.

"It is not surprising, therefore, that on the death of Lenin the oppressed masses of India united with the general mourning of the toiling masses of the world.

"It is not surprising, therefore, when the blind hatred of the British bourgeoisie towards the Soviets is urging them to break the agreement with Soviet Russia, the Indian revolutionaries are defending the Soviet Union against the attacks of Imperialists, and even bourgeois Indian newspapers, such as the *Bombay Chronicle*, are obliged to admit this fact".

PENETRATION OF AFGHANISTAN

Between February and October 1925 it was observed that Afghanistan was being insidiously penetrated, under cover of the new Turkestan Republics, which were being used to create movements in favour of the incorporation in the Soviet Union of the racially allied elements across the border, a process which clearly aimed at Soviet territorial expansion in the direction of India, and at the elimination of Afghanistan. Further, there was a steady increase in the number of Russians entering Afghanistan, obstensibly for commercial reasons, those then in Kabul numbering 52.

THE BAKU COUNCIL'S PLOT AGAINST INDIA

In 1925-1926 the main organisation of secret propaganda[187] in India was in the hands of the Baku Council and its branch at Kabul, acting in subordination to the Eastern Committee of Action at Moscow. The Kabul 'Centre' formulated in the autumn of 1925 an intensive programme, approved by the Baku Council of Action and Propaganda, organising a further net-work of 'cells' in Central Afghanistan, Turkestan, Bokhara and Persia, which were to serve as clearing-houses for the passage of arms, propaganda-literature and agents to India, and to forward corres-

pondence from India to Kabul, Baku and Moscow. A number of skilled Communist workers, mainly of Cenrtal Asiatic and Armenian origin, including specialists in the organisation of military cells, propaganda, transport, communications and printing, were despatched to these sub-agencies of the Committee of Action and funds were alloted to facilitate the printing in Kabul of propaganda in the local and Indian vernaculars. A special effort was also made to overcome difficulties experienced in despatching agents to India and in September 1925 a considerable sum of money was supplied to the Kabul centre for the purchase of Afghan passports for this purpose.

The achievement in Afghanistan itself was, notwithstanding these schemes, apparently nil, as no local Communist Party was, or is known to have been formed.

THE MAIN RUSSIAN AIM

But the Russian aim was not so much to "Sovietise" Afghanistan as to secure a predominating position in that country and to oust British influence; and their failure to achieve their purpose may be attributed not only to the natural caution of the Afghans but also to lack of funds, and more particularly to the seizure by Russia of the island of Urta Tagai, which greatly alarmed and irritated the Afghans.

Confession of failure was made at the meeting of the Eastern Control Commission of the I.K.K.I. in August 1926, when Osetrov said that "Revolutionary and Party work in the ordinary sense" were "out of place" in Afghanistan, and that the main task was to bring as much political pressure as possible to bear on the Afghan Government. Work in Afghanistan was, therefore, reduced to two main tasks: (1) anti-British propaganda, and (2)[188] agitation in favour of a rapproachement with the Union. The Commissions approved of this policy, as also of a recommendation by Osetrov that 'resident agents' should be posted at Jalalabad, Ghazni and Kandahar.

A SPECIAL CONTROL COMMISSION

Other doubts seem to have arisen. Stalin, it appears, was dissatisfied with the work of the Baku Council, and in October 1926 the Moscow Politbureau decided to create a special Control Commission to be attached to the Caucasian Communist Bureau, to supervise the work of the Baku Council for Action and Pro-

paganda and of its branches in Afghanistan and in Central Asia generally, and also to exercise a rigid control over the Council's funds. In November 1926 a certain Levianov was sent to Afghanistan, and his duties required him to report, *inter alia*, on the financial standing of the Kabul centre, the efficiency of the Soviet Military Intelligence organisation administered by the Soviet Military Attaché there, and the state of the 'cells' on the Afghan-Persian border; he was also to obtain the views of the Soviet official representative in Kabul on the work of Comintern organisations.

SLANDERS AGAINST BRITAIN

In December 1926 a secret communication from the Eastern Department of the I. K. K. I to a certain Agha Zade in Kabul advocated the formation of an Afghan Communist Party with a view to bringing Afghanistan into line with China, presumably more to promote anti-British policy than to propagate Communism; and the document stressed the necessity of exposing alleged British designs on Afghanistan, and British Imperialism generally: "We instruct you immediately to organise an energetic campaign in all the districts against British Imperialism and their intrigues. It is essential that a convincing story should be widely circulated among the masses that in the State of Afghanistan a revolution is being prepared by British agents. . . "

The net results which followed from these persistent intrigues may now be described.

THE RESULTS OBTAINED

As far back as August 1924 it was reported that Mahendra Partap, who was then in Kabul, was visited daily by members of the Soviet Legation, and a Norwegian gentleman, then present in[189] Kabul, expressed the conviction that the Russians were sending money to the Frontier tribes through him. No corroboration of this has been obtained.

In October 1924 three "red" students arrived in Persia to study the language; they were also to visit Afghanistan, but whether they actually went there is not known. In December 1924 a secret Soviet decument mentioned that 24 men who had concluded their political course at Tashkent had left for the "work" assigned to them, and that some of them had possibly already reached Afghanistan and Persia.

In February 1925 a delegation of four Indians arrived in Moscow, and immediately engaged themselves in drafting a plan for propaganda among the N. W. Frontier tribes in Independent territory. Early in the same year it was reported from Paris, Vienna and Constantinople that a certain Russian named Orloff (Pritam Singh?) had requested Dr. Abdul Hafiz and Abdul Wahid, two Indian revolutionaries, to draw up a joint programme of work using Afghanistan as a centre, and that Abdul Wahid had been definitely invited to go to Kabul, where he was promised ample funds. Orloff made it clear that the Soviet authorities were very much in earnest over the scheme.

In May 1925 secret information was obtained in France that one Jankel Lock *alias* Anton Kanovalov, a Jew born at Dvinsk, an agent of the Propaganda Section of the Politbureau in Moscow, a qualified mining engineer, knowing English and French and possessing a smattering of two Indian dialects, had been sent to Afghanistan on a special mission. He was in Tashkent in March 1925 in company with one Keselev, an agent of the Wigdar Kopp Organisation (Siberian Section), but was not subsequently heard of.

Information was received (October 1925) that Soviet agents, posing as traders, were to be distributed in the large towns of Northern Afganistan to spread Soviet propaganda and to lecture against the British. In the following month the Soviet authorities were said to have given out to the masses of Northern Afghanistan that they were ready to supply them from Soviet granaries[190] with as much wheat as they needed, absolutely free of cost, until next year's crops were available.

Another report received towards the end of 1925 stated that nine Soviet propaganda agents had arrived in Kabul about the middle of September and were arranging to recruit suitable Muslim and Hindu agitators for despatch to India, and to Bombay and Lahore in particular, presumably in connection with the mill-strikes at Bombay, and the North-Western Railway strike at Lahore. This view was supported by another report, which averred that 500,000 roubles had been despatched by the Soviet to the Kabul centre for the purpose of supporting strikes in India. No local corroboration was, however, obtained to show that any funds actually reached the strikers.

FRESH PROGRAMME OF THE BAKU COUNCIL

The Baku Council of Action and Propaganda drew up a programme (October-November 1925) which proposed to establish new Communist cells in Peshawar, Attock, Rawalpindi and Lahore "as the nuclei of working centres for internal activity in Northern India" Whether this was to supersede the previous project to foment strikes is not known, but information was received that towards the end of 1925 thirty agents, under fictitious names, had been despatched to India *via* Tashkent. This tallied with other information received in February 1926, that Bokharan traders in silk goods and carpets were all potential Bolshevik agents, and, further, that several Bokharans, suspected to be Bolsheviks, had already visited India without passports, crossing the frontier of Afghanistan in caravans and in the company of Ghilzais.

EMISSARIES

Mention may here be made of persons whose names have been specifically reported. In March 1926 it was stated that the Bolsheviks were employing a mixed gang of secret service agents in Kabul, including Hakim Mahomed Aslam of Peshawar; Abdul Latif of Kohat; one Ghulam Kader, a follower of Fazl Rabbi; two Punjabi Sikhs, Gurmukh Singh and Wasdev Singh; and Ismail Effendi of Kapurthala. The last-named deserted at Batum during the Great War, and subsequently left Kabul for Bokhara; he was since been reported to be employed as a Russian Intelligence agent.[191]

ABDUL HAMID—BOKHARAN SUSPECTS

In April 1925 one Abdul Hamid of Ludhiana, one of the college students of Lahore who absconded in 1915, found his way to Tashkent and Moscow, where he joined the Communist and Eastern Universities, ultimately returning to Karachi *via* Bushire. He was found in possession of a false passport, which had been obtained for him by M. N. Roy. He had previously attempted to enter India in 1922 *via* the Pamirs, but had actually returned to Moscow. He was prosecuted and convicted at Peshawar (March 1927). Still later a number of suspicious persons arrived in Peshawar. They included one Abdul Rahman, an Uzbeg of Tashkent, who arrived in Kabul in November 1926, served there in the Russian Legation for about a month, and then left for India

on 13th March 1927, travelling with a forged passport in the name of Mullah Tawakal; he was subsequently convicted on that account. The following *soi-disant* Haj pilgrims also aroused suspicion; Khwaja Parsa of Bokhara, who came in without a passport and was convicted (May 1927); Mahmud of Marghilan, travelling with a passport in the name of Abdul Ghafur of Mazar, (convicted); Hassan-ud-Din of Yarkand, travelling without a passport; Taji Bai, Bokharan, who professed to be a resident of Ferghana, while his Russian certificate of identity showed him to be a resident of Tashkent; Abdul Wahab, the so-called Commander-in-Chief of Basmachi irregular forces, who came to India on the pretext of passing through, but feigned illness and stayed on in Peshawar.

HINDUSTANI FANATICS AND BOLSHEVIK INTRIGUES

The vigilance of the authorities in grappling with the underhand methods described above has not been without its effect. But another factor of greater importance which has frequently caused embarrassment, less on account of the extent of the organisation itself than of the fanatical character of its members, has been the colony of Hindustani fanatics, commonly known as the *Mujahidin*, who, though mercenaries and in themselves insignificant, have from time to time been used, or have lent themselves, for anti-British intrigues. It is in this respect that they have engaged the attention of the Bolsheviks, with a view[192] perhaps to their being used as a means of communication with India through their adherents. In 1922 the well-known Indian revolutionary, Moulvi Barkatullah, wrote from Berlin to Chicherin in Moscow, proposing that Raskolnikoff, the Bolshevik minister in Kabul, with the assistance of Iqbal Shaidai (who was then in Kabul and was subsequently expelled from Afghanistan) should form an organisation at Chamarkand, establish centres among all the tribes, link them together by means of an Urdu newspaper, and eventually work for an alliance between Russia, Afghanistan, and Nationalist India on the one hand and the tribes on the other. In consequence, this organisation was actually started, and a considerable sum of money was found to finance it; a number of schools were set up in Independent Territory and a newspaper, *Al Mujahid*, was printed with more or less regularity at Chamarkand for some time by Mullah or Moulvi Bashir. Since 1924 this man has continuously been reported as

being in receipt of funds from the Bolsheviks. In March 1925 the Russian Minister, M. Stark, and the Russian Military Attaché, Colonel Rix, spent a busy week at Jalalabad, and the former visited Mullah Bashir. Another report emanating from Kabul stated that reliable information had been received to the effect that Stark had met and bribed Mullah Bashir in Jalalabad. Stark, it was said, working with Haji Abdul Razak and Mullah Bashir, was induced by them to concentrate most of his efforts on the colony at Chamarkand, and probably both these men gave him an exaggerated idea of their own importance. In May 1925 information was received from an independent and reliable source that the Chamarkand Colony had received from the Bolsheviks a substantial subsidy with which they proposed to increase their influence among the local tribes, while Mullah Bashir intended to start a hospital and a school at Chamarkand, and to publish *Al Mujahid* in Pushtu instead of Persian. These independent activities appear, however, to have alarmed the Afghan authorities, who (June 1925) issued a secret order to the Hindustani fanatics then in Kabul to cease their visits to the Bolshevik Legation. In the following month (July 1925) Bashir and some Indian revolutionaries living in Kabul, namey, Allah Nawaz, Mahomed Mian *alias*[193] Moulvi Mansur Ansari, and Mir Rahmatullah Humayun of Lahore, were reported to be 'important, useful and energetic Bolshevik workers in Afghanistan'. The view held by the Frontier Intelligence officers was that, although there was no positive evidence of Stark's dealings with the Chamarkand Colony, yet circumstantial evidence indicated that the Russians had financed the Colony.

Another Indian, Ghulam Mahomed Aziz of Amritsar, who had fled to Afghanistan during the *Hijrat* movement, was reported to be visiting the Russian Legation in Kabul and was warned by the Afghan authorities to desist from such visits on pain of expulsion. Mullah Bashir was also frequently visiting the Russian Minister in Kabul. That these visits were not wholly disinterested would appear from the fact that a few months later (December 1925) it was reported that Bashir ineffectually attempted to obtain from the King permission for the Secretary of the Bolshevik Legation to visit Chamarkand. He returned from Kabul with a sum of Rs. 12,000, which he disposed of by presenting openly Rs. 2,000 to the general treasury, and giving Rs. 10,000 to Amir Rahmatullah at Asmas as a personal gift. The money in all pro-

bability came from the Bolsheviks, the real object of this expenditure being to foment trouble between the Government of India and the Hindustani fanatics at Asmas. The sub-colony of the Chamarkand *Mujahidin* at Sarwai Narakai, above Makin, though consisting of only eight men, was reported to be financed and relieved occasionally from Chamarkand, in order to satisfy the Russian employers of Mullah Bashir in Kabul. It is satisfactory, however, to note that no evidence has so far been obtained that the Hindustani fanatics have utilised any of their adherents in India for Bolshevik purposes.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CLUB

Lastly, mention must be made of the Indian National Club, an organisation started in Kabul in November 1926, wihch, according to intercepted correspondence, was founded in honour of the late Sayed Ali Abbas Bokhari (a revolutionary from Peshawar, who went to Kabul in 1917). Its aims and objects include the preaching of union and love amongst *Muhajirin* and emigrants in Afghanistan; work[194] on behalf of India, with special regard to the political interests of Afghanistan; and the keeping of Indians in Afghanistan informed about the situation in India. It is believed that the club is Bolshevik in inspiration and that it may be little more than a cloak for a "cell". It appears, moreover, to be a revival of the old Kabul Congress Committee, and is closely connected with the Sikh-Mahomedan-Comintern group of conspirators. That the Bolsheviks will not hesitate to utilise such an organisation for their own ends is beyond doubt, and this may be judged from such activities as have come to notice. The opening ceremony was attended by Mullah Bashir, and in December 1926, at a dinner party given by the members, anti-British speeches were made. The office-bearers are well-known Indian revolutionaries, namely, Ghulam Mahomed Aziz, President; Gurmukh Singh, Vice-President; Mir Rahmatullah Humayun, General Secretary; and Ishar Singh, Financial Secretary. More recently the Club has been sending a good deal of advice to Hindus, Mahomedans and Sikhs in India, of a nature which is calculated to create and foster anti-Government feelings among these communities.

CONCLUSIONS

That the Russians have spared no pains to launch ambitious plans in Afghanistan in furtherance of their schemes, which are

primarily directed against India, may be accepted as beyond doubt; but that the results have been commensurate with the efforts made and the expenditure incurred is far less certain.

The *Aman-i-Afghan* newspaper (October 1926) denied the existence of Bolshevik influence in Afghanistan and remarked that this was a bogey invented by the British to cover their policy of aggression against the Independent tribes. So far as local influence in Afghanistan is concerned, the position was accurately stated by Osetrov in 1926 (*vide* page 187), that "Revolutionary and Party work in the ordinary sense were out of place" in Afghanistan. Looking at the position from the Indian end, the success of the elaborate plans sketched in the earlier paragraphs, appears to have been comparatively small, and one feels disposed to agree with the view expressed in *The Statesman* of Calcutta of the 17th October [195] 1926 : "That the Bolsheviks have spent a great deal of money on propaganda in the East, and incidentally wasted a large part of it on worthless and corrupt agents, is of course true.... That there are a great many Russians in the Legation at Kabul is true. So there are in Teheran, and the reason is the same, *viz.* that life is so much pleasanter even in Kabul than in Moscow that every one who can, gets himself attached to a foreign mission. Let us remember the main point, which is that Russia is on the wrong side of the Hindu Kush, and that Kabul is much nearer to Peshawar than it is to Russia".

AMERICA

THE GHADR REVIVAL

The Section regarding the Punjab in Chapter V contains most that is of importance in relation to America. In that country the chief development has been a marked revival of Ghadr activity, which is something that must be regarded in India with considerable misgiving. The spread of the Babbar Akali spirit among Sikhs in America, which is proved not only by the character of speeches delivered at Sikh meetings, by intercepted correspondence, and by the large sums of money remitted in behalf of the families of the "martyrs", is a highly significant feature. The Babbar Akali cult, which is for the moment so popular, connotes nothing else but endorsement of all that the Babbar Akalis stood for, namely the bitterest hostility to the British Government, backed by violence and bloodshed. That so many resolu-

tions of sympathy have been passed in Sikh meetings in America and Canada and that so much money has been collected in such a cause are facts which bear but one interpretation. Among Sikhs in Canada and America the general spirit appears to have deteriorated to what it was during the time when the Ghadr agitation was at its height, and these countries have once again become a sort of forcing-bed for the production of the hot-headed and violent type of Sikh who provides such a ready tool in the hands of the Bolsheviks or others who wish to utilise him.

INTEREST IN CHINA

That the attention of the Ghadr Party in San Francisco was early attracted by the [196] possibilities of successful "work" presented by the disturbed conditions in China is well shown by the following extract from a letter addressed by Munsha Singh, Secretary to the Ghadr Party in California, to a correspondent in Kabul :— "There is a great need of work in China. Help is required. There our whole energy is being applied. There is a great need of *ada* (centre) in China. Hence heavy expenses have been incurred this year..... "

The open sympathy of the Ghadr Party in San Francisco with the Chinese Nationalists is further proved by an account of the proceedings of a meeting, held in February 1927, which was forwarded to several Sikh newspapers in the Punjab. One of the resolutions passed, after premising that British Imperialism as the common enemy of China and India was to be destroyed at all costs, ran as follows :— "Therefore, be it resolved that we sympathise with, and endorse in its entirety, the national programme adopted by the Kuomintang Party of China in its national struggle for freedom from the domination of the foreign powers. We condemn and repudiate very strongly all and every act of British Imperialism in interfering in Chinese internal affairs. We disclaim and disapprove of any and all acts of brutality committed by the Indians in the British service brought to China under brute force to hinder in any way, shape or form, the movement for the national freedom of China; and be it further resolved that if England declares war against China for whatsoever reasons, or under whatsoever pretext, we will oppose with all means at our disposal such a military campaign, advising our countrymen everywhere not to encourage, associate with or assist such malicious and unjust action on the part of the British Government".

To much the same purpose was a statement published in behalf of the Ghadr Party in a special "Sun Yat-Sen Memorial Edition" of a paper published in English by the *Kuo Min Yat Pao* (the official organ of the Kuomintang in the United States) and the Publicity Committee of the Sun Yat-Sen Memorial Service on March 12th, 1927. A copy of this paper which was procured [197] showed that it was sponsored by Huang Shih, Editor, 810 Shroder Street, San Francisco, and P. Y. Kwok, Manager, 504 Eastern Building, Oakland, California. The "Statement of the Hindustan Ghadr Party" therein published contains the followning passages :—

"The activities of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen in behalf of the Liberation movement of China is looked upon by the nationalist movement of India as a part of the struggle for the liberation of all oppressed peoples and the overthrow of Imperialism. The success of the nationalist movement of China will encourage the Hindu nationalist movement in its struggle against British Imperialism.... The defeat of British Imperialism in China will help to defeat Imperialism in India.... Great Britain is sending Hindu soldiers to China Although at present our ranks are not strong enough to prevent this, nevertheless some of the Hindu police in Hankow have gone over to the cause of the nationalist movement. Mass demonstrations are being held throughout India against the transportation of troops and in behalf of non-intervention in China. The people of India are awakening and will help China in their struggle against Imperialism and foreign domination".

The above statement was signed by Munsha Singh as Secretary of the Hindustan Ghadr Party.

VARIOUS EMISSARIES

In the section regarding the Punjab it was further recounted how a party of five Sikhs, led by one Karam Singh, had proceeded *via* Mexico and Western Europe to Moscow for training. Two men who were originally believed to be members of this party have since found their way to Hankow, an incident which will be further described in the section dealing with China.

Early in 1927 information was received that Bhagwan Singh, an old and notorious member of the original Ghadr Conspiracy, had left San Francisco for China. The date of his departure was not known and this information has never been confirmed. At least five other active members of the party were stated to be on

their way to China from the United States. Still later information from San Francisco indicated that Puran Singh, Chairman [198] of the California branch of the Ghadr Party, and one, Jagat Singh had left for Shanghai in February, probably from some Mexican port. None of these emissaries have yet been located in China, nor, so far as his correspondence showed, had anyone of them got into contact with Dasaundha Singh up to the time of the latter's arrest.

GENERAL

There is a considerable amount of information on record about America and Canada that bears more directly on the Ghadr movement itself than on the subject dealt with in this book. The special interest of recent happenings in those countries is that the spirit of disloyalty among the Sikhs has been powerfully stimulated by Moscow for its own purposes, and that an extensive recruiting-ground has been opened up for the supply of disaffected Sikhs who are ready to serve under the red banner of Bolshevism. Of special interest and relevancy are the letters of Munsha Singh, Secretary of the Ghadr Party in San Francisco, which were found among the correspondence of Dasaundha Singh in Shanghai, and which furnish clear proof of the intimate and vital relation that exists between the main Sikh organisation in America and its members working in Russia and in China. (*vide* Section on China in this Chapter).

ARABIA

A SOVIET AGENT IN JEDDAH

The significance of the facts that Britain is the greatest Mahomedan power, and that the annual number of pilgrims from India to the Holy Places in Arabia is by no means small, has evidently not been lost upon the Bolsheviks. The Eastern Section of the I.K.K.I. granted in 1924 sums equivalent to 120,000 gold roubles for propaganda in Arabia, particularly in the Hedjaz, by way of exploiting the existing hostility towards Great Britain. A Soviet representative arrived in Jeddah in August 1924 in the person of Kerim Khakimoff, a Tartar from Ufa, a Muslim by religion, and as such able to visit Mecca. He had been with Rothstein in Persia, and shortly after his arrival visited Mecca. There had been no Russian pilgrims since the War, and it was stated that

Khakimoff was being used as a forwarding agent for Bolshevik propaganda. [199] That his activities were soon noticed was confirmed by the special correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle* in Jeddah, who wrote early in 1925 that the Moscow Government regarded Jeddah as so important that a special courier was being sent once monthly from the Russian capital, and that Bolshevik propaganda was forwarded from Jeddah to Egypt and the Soudan. The *Comrade* of Delhi also was impressed and wrote that Khakimoff was "the busiest man in Jeddah".

In April 1925 Khakimoff again visited Mecca, and tried, unsuccessfully, to gain the sympathy of Ibn Saud in support of Bolshevik policy in the East. During his visit he openly carried on violent propaganda work, partly directed against the Government of the Dutch East Indies, but mainly against the British Government. He induced a young Persian to declare that Persia had been saved by the Soviet Government from the Imperialistic claws of Great Britain. A few months later, it was reported that Khakimoff and his staff were definitely bent on preaching the doctrine of the "Liberated East" to be created by a great Eastern Union against Imperialistic Powers. His staff included a First Secretary named Tuimetoff, a Tartar, who had also been with Rothstein in Persia; a Second Secretary named Naum Markovitch Belkin, a Russian Jew; an Interpreter, Ibrahim Amir Khanoff, a Tartar by birth, who had lived in Syria and knew English; and a clerk named Moses Axebiod, a young Jew, trained is the Russian School of Oriental Studies, and a keen Communist.

ATTENTION TO PILGRIMS

In November 1925, according to another report, instructions had been issued by Khakimoff to Communists in India to use pilgrims as messengers. In February 1926 it was reported that the Syrian Palestine Committee in Cairo, founded by Emir Habib Latfallah, who had been in Russia and Rome, was connected with Khakimoff. Reports have been received from time to time indicating the efforts made by Khakimoff. It was stated that Bokharan Hajis would be used in furthering propaganda. Some of these, *en route* to the Hedjaz, were subsequently arrested under suspicious circumstances in Peshawar; this was just before the pilgrimage of 1927. [200]

INDONESIAN PILGRIMS

The impression created on the minds of pilgrims form Indonesia is believed to have been greater. Tjokroaminoto, an important leader of the *Sarikat-ul-Islam*, who was in Mecca in April 1926, addressed a meeting of about 150 Sumatrans and Javasese, and urged them to unite and throw off the white man's yoke; a few days later at another meeting it was given out that, after the Haj, many Sumatrans and Javanese were going over to British Malaya to stir up hatred against the British. One Abdul Ghani, a Sumatran, is said to have stated that, on his return, he would propagate Communism, which was not properly understood in Penang. A further proposal was to start a Malay paper on Communist lines in the Straits Settlements, while one Mahomed Noor, who arrived from Egypt, was sent to Malaya in the guise of one of the *Ulema* to join an Arabic school in Johore Bahru. That pilgrims from the Straits Settlements appear to have been specially susceptible to these evil influences is confirmed by a recent report (June 1927) that the authorities in the Hadjaz had arrested nine Javanese who were found carrying on Bolshevik propaganda, together with two native pilgrim guides in whose houses secret meetings were being held; their object was said to be to enlist new members among the pilgrims, for which purpose they proposed to start in Mecca a newspaper to disseminate Communists ideas.

OVERTURES TO IBN SAUD

In June 1926 a Communist Muslim delegation from Russia headed by Dhia-ud-din-bin-Ferid-ud-din, chief of the Central Religious Ministry, visited Mecca to attend the Caliphate Conference. Khakimoff appears to have acquired no hold on the sympathies of Ibn Saud, but notwithstanding this he offered him in December 1926 not only money but also arms and ammunition "and aeroplanes and guns also if you wish", provided the latter were used to "make trouble with the British". In the Soudan Khakimoff had an establishment at Asmara, but no signs of any success were reported from that quarter.

RESULTS AMONG INDIAN PILGRIMS

Fortunately the results of any efforts to infect Indian pilgrims with Communism have been largely negative, and careful [201] enquiries made in India, combined with a systematic scrutiny of

the Jeddah mail at Bombay, have revealed no signs of Bolshevik influence. An informant who went on *Haj* in 1926 failed to get any confirmation of Khakimoff's reported activities among Indian *Hajis*. In November 1926 it was reported that the following men —Abdul Shakur Qazanli, Abdul Hamid Daghestani and Mir Qassim Zeinal—were abetting one Sheikh Abdulla Musa Bokhari, a Russian protected person, in his attempt to secure a number of *mutawwif* agencies, so as to enable the Soviet Agency in Jeddah to get into contact with Indian pilgrims. A number of such agents who came to India, ostensibly to canvass for pilprims, were closely watched, but gave no cause for suspicion.

MOULVI OBEIDULLAH

That there is so far some justification for a feeling of assurance in respect of India may further be gathered from the inactivity of Moulvi Obeidullah, an Indian, who came to the Hedjaz in 1926 as a Bolshevik agent. Accompanied by his nephew Aziz Ahmad, he landed at Jeddah with an Italian visa on 2nd September 1926. Soon afterwards he discarded European clothes, adopted a *Darweshi* or Sufi costume, declared himself a Wahabi, and, according to later reports, was constantly at the Mosque, where he delivered lectures on religious topics. A brief examination of this man's activities will suffice to show that the Soviet have left no stone unturned to utilise persons of anti-British sympathies to such advantage as their special qualifications may indicate. That Obeidullah is well versed in Arabic and is a reputed theologian, shows that no better choice could have been made to spread Communism among Indian pilgrims. He was the central figure in the Silk Letter Conspiracy during the War and had fled to Afghanistan, from where, being expelled in 1922, he went to Russia *via* Turkey. Facts which subsequently have come to light in connection with his mission to the Hedjaz show that when he was in Moscow in 1923, he made a great personal impression on Chicherin. He explained his scheme of an Asiatic Federation under the leadership of the Soviet and promised to induce Indian leaders to interest themselves in the matter. Chicherin thereupon [202] agreed to allot a sum of £20,000 towards his activities. Chicherin explained, however, that this amount could not be paid direct to him, as the Soviet had given an undertaking to the British Government not to help Indian revolutionaries. The amount was, therefore, earmarked

and ultimately transferred to the Comintern. The expenses of Moulvi Obediullah's journey to Turkey in August 1923 were paid; but as funds were first placed in the custody of M. N. Roy, whose attitude towards Obeidullah was not friendly, it was with considerable difficulty that the latter was able to secure small sums of £10 and £20 at a time for his requirements.

In Turkey Obeidullah is believed to have discussed his plans with Sheikh Abdul Aziz Shawish (the Egyptian extremist who was in Angora in 1923), and there he also introduced to Suritz one Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, a well-known Indian pan-Islamist. In 1924 he contemplated returning to Afghanistan, but failed to do so owing to the unfavourable attitude of the Afghan authorities. In 1925, while still in Turkey, he identified himself with the Ghadr Party, and subsequently visited Milan, meeting there Mahomed Ali *alias* Sepassi and Teja Singh Sutantar. Previously, when in Constantinople, he and Zafar Hassan published an Urdu pamphlet entitled "The Second Phase of the Movement for the Freedom of India in the National Congress, or the Organisation of the Congress Committee of Kabul and the Programme of *Mahabarat Sarvrajia Party*"; the pamphlet embodied a hare-brained scheme which divided India territorially, under a revolutionary régime, and was scarcely less quixotic than the Silk Letter plot. Although the entry of the pamphlet into India was prohibited, attempts to send it appear to have been made, and some 10 copies were found along with copies of *The Masses of India* during searches in Bombay of lascars' boxes.

CONCLUSIONS

Although there is little tangible result of Bolshevik propaganda in the Hedjaz, there are good grounds for suspicion that Soviet agents are not idle. The staff of the Russian Agency or Consulate is out of proportion to the amount of work it might be expected to have to attend to; they have no interests in the country, [203] no citizens and a negligible number of pilgrims. There can thus be only two explanations of their presence; either they are themselves actively engaged in propaganda work with a view to disseminating their doctrines in the Hedjaz itself, or they are making use of their position to get in touch with the leaders of subversive movements in other countries. The latter explanation seems the more probable. As Ibn Saud is reported to have no love for Bolshevism, it would be difficult, if not impossible, for its doctrines to make any headway in his

country; but the pilgrimage offers unique opportunities, and it would be strangely unlike the Soviet agents if they failed to utilise them. In the guise of pilgrims, visitors from India, Malaya, Java and Russia get into touch with Khakimoff, who rarely fails to place a member of his staff at their disposal. If there have been no tangible results, there are at least great possibilities.

CHINA

THE SOVIET'S OBJECTS IN CHINA

For the reasons advanced in the preface to this book, it would be clean outside the scope and purpose of my task to endeavour to describe the stages and the means by which Soviet Russia contrived to secure for herself in China a position not only of dominating influence but of power to work extensive harm to other foreign interests, notably those of Great Britain. Although it has been recognised before now that the great similarity in theories advocated by the Chinese anarchists and the Bolsheviks makes the latter's propaganda readily assimilable by the former, it would be absurd to suppose that any mere doctrinal affinities can account for the extraordinary attentions which the Soviet Government has lavished on Nationalist China during recent years. Thus it was reliably reported that at a session of the Colonial Commission of the Third International, held at Moscow in 1925, Zinoviev claimed that Soviet agents in the East had made much headway. Referring to the success of their intrigues in China, he said: "Even the revolutionary phlegmatism of India is animated into starting the policy of the Comintern"; but he refuted the argument that Indian nationalism was [204] irreconcilable with an anti-Imperialist policy. Instead, however, of the "well-trodden paths" to India through Persia and Afghanistan—paths well observed by the British—it was China that had "become for us the central starting-point for action in India". China was important to them not only as an incendiary centre for revolutionary and moral action, but also as a strategical base for real technical contact with India. Their fighting slogan was: *"Via* revolutionary China to the Federal Republic of the United States of India".

It may be worth while to quote here at length the following extract from an article* published by Zinoviev in the *International Press Correspondence* of the 9th July 1925:—

*Partly quoted at page 4.

"The great events in China which are happening before our eyes, show the advanced guard of the European Proletariat very plainly what powerful reserves we have in the East. For a whole month now, a movement has been developing in China such as has never been seen before in that country, a movement which is spreading and intensifying with irresistible force in spite of the predatory campaign of the united Imperialists of a number of countries.

"The events in China will doubtless have a tremendous revolutionising significance for the other countries in the East and especially for the other colonies and the countries dependent on Imperialist England. Just as in its day the Russian revolution of 1905, had the greatest revolutionising influence on Turkey, Persia and China, the present great movement in China will without doubt have a tremendous influence in Indo-China, India, etc. The enormous contingents of oppressed humanity who live in the East, numbering hundreds of millions, will greedily seize on every item of news from revolutionary China and will concentrate their thoughts on how they themselves can organise and revolt against their oppressors, the Imperialists.....

"The lessons of the events in China, however, must not be allowed to pass without bearing fruit, especially [205] for the advanced guard of the international Proletariat..... The Imperialist policy of kindling new wars at a time when mankind has hardly had time to draw breath since the universal slaughter of the years 1914-1918, facilitates this task of the vanguard of the international Proletariat. China has revolted to-day; to-morrow Indo-China and India will rise. Shanghai, Hong-Kong, Peking and Canton have revolted to-day; to-morrow Calcutta and Madras will rise. To the slogan 'Proletarians of all countries, unite'! must be added 'and oppressed peoples of the world'!"

In much the same strain is an article published in the *International Press Correspondence* of the 19th September 1925, which is from the pen of A. Voznecienski, and entitled "The Events in China and their Influence upon the Masses of Asia". The author says that although at present there are no open symptoms of a national revolutionary movement in India, the fears of Lord Birkenhead and other British statesmen are not without foundation; and that the present upheaval in China is nothing but the prelude to revolution in India and probably throughout the whole of Asia. The writer affirms that, despite

the censorship of correspondence in India, the Indian public is gradually becoming aware of the true state of affairs in China; "Lord Birkenhead and his colleagues have good cause to tremble with fear and to turn their glances to India even when mentioning those events in China. Such events constitute only the beginning of a slowly but uninterruptedly rising revolutionary wave, which in the next few years will sweep over the whole of Asia".

THE POSITION IN 1925-1926

That China might serve the Bolsheviks as a formidable advance-base against India, and that violent disturbances in the former country were bound to cause seismic tremors in the latter, were propositions so palpable that in 1925 it was decided to institute an enquiry into the specific bearing on Indian interests of the Chinese movement; in particular, attention was to be directed to its connections, existing or projected, with India, and more especially to the extent to which Indian groups or individuals in the [206] Far East were being drawn into it. The officer who conducted this political reconnaissance visited most of the important Indian centres in China, and reported, on the whole in reassuring terms, as to the extent to which up to that time Indians in the Far East had become entangled in the meshes of the Bolshevik net. Summing up the situation as it then appeared to him, this officer wrote; "South of Canton, Russia has been able to achieve little. If she was intending to make China a base of operations to be directed against Indo-China, the Malay Peninsula and the Dutch East Indies, she has as yet been able to do little to forward her plans. In Java alone have Communists been at all active in working up an agitation among the masses. . . .

"On Indian sedition at Canton I have reported separately. The Sikhs and Mahomedans who allied themselves to the strikers were either out of employment or mostly in the employ of Chinamen. Their position in Canton was rendered difficult by the extreme anti-British feeling prevailing there, and it is not unnatural that they should have allowed themselves to be drawn into the general agitation. While the leaders joined the movement because they were actively disloyal, many of those who subscribed their names must have done so because it was the easiest course to follow, and the only alternative to intimidation and possible loss of employment.

"Elsewhere I have found no evidence to justify an assumption that the Indian community has been seriously affected by the

events of last summer (1925), or that any sustained efforts have been made either by the Russians or the Chinese to enlist Indian support. Few of the Indians abroad are loyal to the British connection, least of all the Sikhs, but they go out to the East primarily to make money, and something very substantial in the way of a pecuniary inducement would be necessary to persuade them to take an active part in a movement which is aimed at destroying the commercial interests which provide them with a living.

"The circumstances which gave birth to the Ghadr movement were unusual, and are not likely to be repeated. Certainly no parallel exists to-day . . . . .[207]

"While there is no cause for anxiety at present, it would be imprudent to assume that India will remain uneffected. Should there be further anti-European outbreaks on the China coast. For some time to come vigilance will be necessary and close liaison between India and the Far East".

INTERCEPTED LITERATURE

The earliest evidences of hostile intent to India on the part of the Bolshevik-Chinese alliance were afforded by the interception at Dhanushkodi of considerable quantities of violently inflammatory literature directed to Indian addresses. The first of these interceptions were in the shape of English leaflets from "The Whole Body of Chinese Seamen", Wharf and Tug Workers, General Labourers, etc., which were addressed to many Labour Unions throughout India. About the same time there came to notice *The Union*, published by the Shanghai Students Union which was no less objectionable than the leaflets. The latter dealt mainly with the "massacres" of Chinse in Shanghai, Hankow and Canton, declaring them to be the "most savage and cruel slaughter ever recorded in the history of mankind"; the whole Chinese nation was up in arms against "the Imperialists who exercised a high-handed and brutal oppression over our race". These leaflets were addressed to no fewer than twenty-five separate Labour unions in India, which pointed to Indian collaboration in the work of distribution. Their patent object was to win the sympathy of disaffected elements in India. At the same time there was intercepted an Urdu "appeal" from Dasaundha Singh of Peking to Indian students, inciting them to mutiny against the Government. The writer of the "appeal", which was addressed on the outer cover to the editor of the *Bande Mataram* of Lahore, was undoubtedly one of the seven

Indians who accompanied Mahendra Partap from America to China, and who were left behind by him in the latter country. Dasaundha Singh will be heard of again.

LYING RUMOURS

Another device that was resorted to was the circulation of rumours representing that Indian soldiers in Hong Kong had refused to fire on [208] Chinese strikers. A New York message, dated June 25th, 1925, stated that Sailendra Nath Ghose, national director of the Friends of Freedom for India, had wired to the *China Press* and to a Sikh organisation to urge Sikh troops not to shoot Chinese as the Sikhs were shot at Amritsar. "Representatives of the Indian National Movement of India in China and Japan are in touch with Sikh regiments in Hong Kong and Shanghai", a message to Ghose stated. "In several cases Sikh soldiers refused to obey the order to fire on the strikers, and, as a consequence, their whole regiment has been transferred to unknown destination and new regiments are replacing them". The above story was republished in more detail by *The Union* and was reproduced elsewhere. Inquiry showed that there was absolutely no foundation for the alleged incident. As illustrating, however, the mischief that such falsehoods may do, it may be mentioned that in August 1925 the Recruiting Officer of Lahore found a rumour current in some of the recruiting centres that about 300 soldiers of a Punjab regiment had been shot by the orders of the Government for refusing to fire on a peaceful Chinese crowd at Hong Kong; it was further stated that these soldiers belonged to the Sikh and Mahomedan communities.

PROPOSED VISIT BY CHINESE MAHOMEDANS

The Chicago Communist newspaper *Daily Worker* of June 30th, 1925, published the information that a general anti-Imperialist strike throughout all China had been called, to take place at the end of June. The following extract is of some significance: "The Chinese Mahomedans under Chi Ti Jen, President of the Mahomedan Foreign Relations Association, and the Mahomedan General, Maliang, who commanded Thursday's demonstration in Peking, are sending delegates to India and the other British Colonies and Protectorates to arouse the Colonial masses to fight the common enemy—foreign Imperialism", Nothing more has been heard of this proposal.

FURTHER INTERCEPTIONS

Further interceptions of literature at Dhanushkodi included copies of the leaflets already described, which were addressed to no fewer [209] than forty-two Labour Unions, sixteen being unions of Railway employees. In one cover a fresh pamphlet "Get out of China" was discovered. Further copies of *The Union* were also seized. From Rangoon it was reported that, in spite of action taken under the Post Office Act and other enactments, and a more thorough examination of passengers, some objectionable propaganda had got through, though it did not appear to be widely circulated. Most of the Chinese papers from China contained anti-British articles and comments, and loose pamphlets were often enclosed. An anti-foreign paper called the *Shanghai Crisis*, issued by the Tsing Hua College, Peking, was sent to Rangoon in a *China Press* wrapper. A novel departure in the way of propaganda was "An Open Letter to the Democratic Peoples of the World", which was addressed by the Educational Association of the Province of Hunan and twenty-nine other colleges and schools to "The President of the Calcutta University", "The Chairman, Town Council, Calcutta", and to the poet, Rabindra Nath Tagore. Superficially, the letter appeared to put the Chinese case with great restraint, and this studied moderation invested it with a plausibility that more downright advocacy would have failed to impart to it. The letter, however, gave purely the Chinese side of the case, which, if accepted, left one no choice but to believe that British "Imperialism" was the root cause of China's troubles, and that British police and troops had been wantonly shooting down in cold blood harmless and defenceless Chinese students. The letter, moreover, to make good its case, did not hesitate to have recourse to serious mis-statements. Another addition to the stream of objectionable literature was the *Canton Gazette*, the contents of which were violently anti-British; the issue for July 23, 1925, reproduced some gruesome photographs of the corpses of Chinese alleged to have been shot during the "massacre of Chinese demonstrators at Shameen". Most of this incoming literature was so offensive that its importation had to be prohibited under the Sea Customs Act, although an exception was made in the case of the "Open Letter" just described.

A pamphlet entitled "The Present Situation in China", published by the Philip Dodge International [210] Study Club of

Tokyo, was also noticed in the post. It contained an impassioned statement of the Chinese case, but was less offensive than others of its kind. The addresses numbered forty-five, many of them being newspaper editors. Since many persons on the list were known to hold advanced views, and some had distinct revolutionary leanings, all of these went to suggest that the names had been furnished by the well-known absconding criminal, Rash Behari Bose. Some of the above, or similar pamphlets, were noticed in transit from China to Kabul, addressed to the Afghan Government; they included selected documents and addresses by Hu Han Min, Minister of Foreign Affairs, published by the Foreign Ministry of the Nationalist Government of the Republic of China. A solitary copy of a pamphlet in English entitled "Massacre of the Chinese people in Canton, China" came to notice in Burma and was declared forfeited; it had been posted to a reputable Chinese Club in Rangoon.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF OPPRESSED PEOPLES

The *International Press Correspondence* of 24th December 1925 published an article dealing with the "International Union of Oppressed Peoples of the East". The article, which purported to be from the pen of one G. Lai-Shou of Hong-Kong, opened by saying that the "imperialistic deeds of blood" in China had roused a powerful wave of indignation among the peoples of the East, especially as in carrying on their "sanguinary crimes", the English and French had used Hindus and Annamites. In order to frustrate this cynical plan of turning loose members of the same class to destroy each other, the Chinese, Hindus, Annamites and Koreans had united and formed an anti-Imperialist committee of action, out of which developed the "International Union of Oppressed Peoples". A proclamation issued at the first conference of the Union, held in Canton in the summer of 1925, was then quoted verbatim and an appeal for support was made to the peoples of the East: "It is time for us to organise to join the exploited and the oppressed in all the countries in order to set up together a united front against British oppression. We the revolutionary Hindus, Koreans and Annamites who have remained in China, would rather die with you in the fight for freedom [211] than see you also become slaves". The article closed with a reference to the activities of the Union during the time of the Canton strike in China and the neighbouring countries: "For the time after the strike a plan of work has already

been elaborated. It consists in getting into direct touch with the associations of Japan, the Indian National Congress, the nationalist and revolutionary organisations of the Philippines, of Java and other colonies, the Inter-Colonial Union in France, the African Brotherhood and the other Negro organisations in United States and Africa. It was also resolved to enter into close relations with the Proletarian organisations in the capitalist countries in order to establish an anti-Imperialist united front". That the International Union of Oppressed Peoples of the East is a child of the Red International seems to be beyond doubt. The objects and rules of the League were printed in a small booklet, which was distributed, among others, to Indian watchmen in the Shameen Settlement in Canton.

In the early part of 1926 it was reported that the Second International Congress of the Kuomintang, which was held at Canton in January of that year, was addressed by an Indian named "Ko Pa Ching" (? Gopal or Kirpal Singh), who was in all probability a Sikh from Canton or Hong-Kong, as well as by an Annamite and a Korean. It was reported at the same time that the appearance at a Congress of these alleged representatives of "oppressed nationalities" was obviously stage-managed and was not, therefore, to be taken very seriously. From the above it would seem that approximately the same amount of importance might be attached to the dramatic proclamation of the "revolutionary Hindus, Koreans and Annamites" at the meeting of the "Union of the Oppressed Peoples of the East", held at Canton the previous summer, to the effect that they would rather die with the Chinese in their fight for freedom than see them also become slaves. There is, however, no continuous record of the Union, which may mean that it has never been an active concern. It has certainly never shown itself in Hong-Kong, where the view is taken that it is Russian in origin and that Indians have joined it "for what they could make out of it". An extract from a [212] Canton paper, dated the 27th January 1927, announced that "the Eastern oppressed races have organised in Hankow a union, which was inaugurated on the 12th after much preparation". The holding of the inaugural conference was regarded as proving that "the world revolution is advancing well" Speeches such as might be expected were reported to have been delivered, after which there was appointd an Executive Committee, of which eleven were Indians, all of them apparently Sikhs, as the last part of all names was "Shang", the first parts

being unidentifiable. The "watchwords" shouted were of the familiar type, including: "Let all the oppressed races in the world unite; Unite with Soviet Russia; Long live the success of the world revolution". This resuscitated Union (as it appears to be) in Hankow is evidently much patronised by revolutionary Sikhs, as will appear from later paragraphs.

Synchronising with the movement of Ghadr revolutionaries towards Moscow, which has been dealt with in the section relating to the Punjab in Chapter V, the *Hindustan Ghadr*, which is published in San Francisco, became noticeably more Communistic in tone while maintaining its violently anti-British attitude. In an article in the issue for March 1926, attention was drawn to the "Union of the Oppressed Peoples of the East", whose headquarters were in Canton, and who were closely connected with the Kuomintang; and the necessity for such an organisation among Eastern peoples were emphasised. The writer urged his compatriots to swell the ranks of the society. He further called upon Sikhs not to join the Indian Army nor to assist as slaves in enslaving other oppressed peoples.

The "Union of the Oppressed Peoples of the East", which is sometimes also referred to as the League of Oppressed People, is not to be confounded with the "League Against Cruelties and Oppression in the Colonies", otherwise known as the "League Against Imperialism".

THE CHINESE INFORMATION BUREAU

There is in London an organisation named the Chinese information Bureau, which aims at presenting facts from the [213] Chinese view point and distributing them for publication to various newspapers and periodicals. The Bureau came into existence in June 1925 with the purpose of supplying Europe with the Chinese side of the incident of May 30th in Shanghai and of subsequent happenings. Some of the "Bulletins" which it has issued have been of a very misleading character. The founder of the Bureau was Col. C. E. L'Eastrange Malone, who is an ex-member of the House of Commons, and who in May 1926 conducted some personal investigations in China. One member of the staff of the Bureau is R. F. Bridgeman, but the only Asiatic known to be connected with the Bureau was a Chinaman named Kia Luen Lo. Kia Luen Lo managed for some time the Paris section of the Bureau, and was said to have been of much assistance to those people in the British Labour movement who interested

themselves in Chinese questions; he is believed now to have returned to China. In touch with Bridgeman is a young Bengali, Pulin Behari Seal, who runs a news agency known as the "Orient Press Service". Seal gets his Chinese news from Bridgeman, and has utilised it to publish in *Forward* of Calcutta, of which he is the London correspondent, a number of articles on Chinese subjects which have displayed a markedly pro-Communist bias.

At the end of 1926 Bridgeman wrote to Eugene Chen, then in charge of the Foreign Office at Hankow, informing him of Saklatvala's visit to India. Bridgeman wrote that few men had worked harder for the promotion of international brotherhood than Mr. Saklatvala, who had interested himself particularly in the Chinese struggle for freedom; while in India he would take every opportunity of explaining to the Indian workers the meaning and importance of the Chinese National Movement. Bridgeman said that he wrote to Mr. Chen in the hope that it would be possible for the latter to arrange for a message of encouragement to be sent from the Labour organisations in China to Mr. Saklatvala, inasmuch as his work was to the common interest of all workers.

PRESS PROPAGANDA

The Bolsheviks have besides not failed to utilise the ordinary methods of propaganda in order that the significance of the upheaval in China [214] might not be lost on Indian nationalists. Thus, the November 1926 issue of the *Masses of India* published an article entitled "Point of View of the Masses—Imperialist Propaganda". The writer said that it was absurd to talk about about Soviet ambitions in India, Afghanistan and other Asiatic countries. In order to destroy Imperialism, the Proletariat of Imperialist countries must join hands with the masses in the colonies. If the Soviet had any ambition in the East, it was the ambition of effecting a union of the people of India, Afghanistan, China, etc., with the advance-guard of the Eoropean Proletariat" who are struggling to overthrow the capitalist system, a very noble aim indeed! .... It is an indisputable fact that it was owing to the support of the anti-Imperialist Workers' Republic that Russia, Afghanistan, Persia and Turkey succeeded in extricating themselves from the yoke of Imperialism". The article went on to say that the "glorious revolution" in China would rank second only to the great Russian revolution, and that no one could be more interested in the success of the Chinese nationalists than

the people of India, "Indian nationalists should make common cause with the Chinese movement and should spread the facts and point the lesson of the Chinese revolution". The writer had a special word of praise for the Kuomintang, which had been able "to lead the Chinese workers to victory". (About that period much literature of an objectionable nature had been passing from the Kuomintang in China to its branches in India).

The same number of *The Masses* contained an article "From Gaya to Gauhati," in which was foreshadowed the complete surrender of the "Swarajist bourgeoisie" to the bureaucratic wiles. The writer appealed to the left wing of Indian politicians to accept the principle of a mass revolutionary movement, "The lessons to be learnt from the Chinese revolution should not pass unheeded. The Kuomintang has been successful in uniting all revolutionary nationalists in the struggle against foreign Imperialism. The same thing can be done by the Indian nationalist movement".

In his address to the 15th Party Conference of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. on October 26th, [215] 1926, Bucharin dwelt on the importance of the revolution in China to the masses of other countries. He said : "It is not Utopian to assert that the victorious Chinese movement will awaken a mighty echo in a great number of the labouring Colonial countries—India, Indonesia and the Dutch Indies, where even now actual Civil War is going on".

THE BRITISH LABOUR COUNCIL FOR CHINESE FREEDOM

The attempts made to enlist Indian nationalist sympathies on the side of China find further illustration in the following message which was addressed to the President, Indian National Congress, Gauhati, by a body styling itself the British Labour Council for Chinese Freedom. The message ran as follows :— "The recently formed British Labour Council for Chinese Freedom sends greetings and good wishes for your fight for freedom. We are determined to avoid Great Britain making war against the Nationalist China. We appeal to the Indian National Congress also to support the claims of the Nationalist China, and protest against any war-like measure against China and against using India as a base for operation. As you are responsible for preserving the good name of India, we hope you will insist on the withdrawal of the Sikh police, all Indian troops and police, and volunteers of Indian Nationality from China". The message

was signed by, among others, George Lansbury, Ben Tillet and Colonel Malone of the Chinese Information Bureau, and was transmitted through the Orient Press Service of Pulin Behari Seal.

MESSAGE FROM THE ALL-CHINA LABOUR FEDERATION

According to another press report Mukunda Lal Sarkar, Joint Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, received the following telegram from the All-China Labour Federation :—"On behalf of the working-class of China we send you vigorous fraternal greetings wishing your congress success. We hope the forthcoming Pacific Labour Congress will strengthen close alliance. Long live the triumph of Labour movement in India and China".

KUOMINTANG PROPAGANDA

The Kuomintang propaganda, to which a reference was made in a preceding [216] paragraph, was in the hands of a Central Department which had its headquarters at 30 Tai Tung Road, Canton. The activities of this Department consisted in training propagandists for service at the front, and in the compilation, printing and distribution of propaganda at home and abroad. Special regard was paid to pictorial propaganda, and a public appeal was issued in the *Canton Gazette* for photographs of party leaders, martyrs in the "cause", activities of the revolutionary masses and all military and semi-military bodies. The *Canton Gazette* is a daily newspaper with a strong anti-British policy, published in English at Canton, and reported to be edited by an English-speaking Russian woman. Numbers of copies of this paper have been intercepted on entering India.

THE INDIAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS CHINA

There need be no doubt as to the extent of the sympathy, real or artificial, discernible among Indian nationalists towards what is regarded as the heroic fight of the Chinese people against foreign exploitation and oppression. This sympathy has been so often and so openly voiced on the platform and in the Press that it needs no detailed description here. It was perhaps most notably expressed in the resolution for the adjournment of the Legislative Assembly as a protest against the despatch of the Indian Contingent to join the Shanghai Defence Force, an event which led to a sudden and marked quickening of interest among Indians in the Chinese question. The refusal of H. E. the Viceroy to admit the resolution aroused widespread dissatisfaction,

which was voiced in no uncertain terms. This interest is still maintained, and there are few political meetings at which resolutions of encouragement and support to China do not find a place among the agenda. Thus the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, which was held at Bombay in the middle of May 1927, passed a resolution which "assured the Chinese people of their fullest sympathy in their struggle for freedom and condemned the action of the Government of India in despatching Indian troops to China, and demanded their immediate withdrawal". Similarly the Communist Party of India, in its meeting at Bombay on the 31st May 1927, "emphatically condemned [217] the Imperialist designs in China and sympathised with the Chinese in their struggle for securing economic salvation". A further manifestation of the same spirit was the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee in its Bombay meeting, appreciating the proposal of the Hindustani Seva Dal (Indian Volunteer Association) to send an Ambulance Corps to China. This proposal came under the consideration of the Government of India, but as passports were refused, it will naturally go no further. It may be stated with fair confidence that the object of this mission was political far more than humanitarian. To stimulate further the interest of Indian political bodies in the Chinese movement, R. F. Bridgeman of the Chinese Information Bureau transmitted to Eugene Chen at Hankow a list of organisations in India, to which Bridgeman thought it of "great importance" that news should be furnished by the Hankow News Agency. Chen was asked by Bridgeman to make the necessary arrangements. The list included the secretaries of the :—

Indian National Congress;
Hindustani Seva Dal;
All-India Muslim League;
All-India Khilafat Committee;
Swaraj Party;
Nepal Government;
Hindu Mahasabha;

besides a number of others.

THE INDIAN PRESS

The Nationalist Press has not been in any way behind the political organisations in the warmth of its championship of the Chinese cause and of its denunciation of British Imperialism. If considerations of space did not preclude it, I could quote many

exceedingly unrestrained and heated attacks on Great Britain, as many shameless distortions of her side of the case. Of the press campaign echoes are to be heard even in Kabul, where early in 1927 the *Aman-i-Afghan* wrote that China had already sprung to arms, and other Eastern countries would break the chains of their servitude one after the other, if the policy of colonisation continued. As in the case of the political organisations, the Chinese Information Bureau sent to Hankow [218] a list of Indian and Burmese newspapers which were to have the benefit of news from the tainted Hankow News Agency. The list included the better-known and most advanced nationalist organs of almost every Province in India.

THE PAN-PACIFIC LABOUR CONFERENCE

Of the many devices adopted to bring representatives of Indian Communism into direct relations with Bolshevik leaders and activities in China, a notable instance was the pan-Pacific Labour Conference which it was proposed to hold at Canton in May 1927. The idea was unquestionably of Russian origin, for at the Third Congress of the Profintern (R.I.L.U.), held in Moscow early in 1926, a resolution was passed on the necessity of calling a conference of workers' organisation of the countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean "to regulate questions appertaining to the Trade Union movement in the East, emigration and immigration in Eastern countries, and problems of Black and Yellow labour power". The proposal was originally taken up by the Japanese Federation of Labour and its representative, Bunji Suzuki, who appeared to have thought of forming an Asiatic International as a counterpoise to the White International. This idea, however, failed to find favour with the Australian Trade Unions, who, despite opposition at Geneva, decided to call a conference in Sydney. Dealing with these preliminary proposals and overtures, a contributor to the *Communist International* (Nos. 18 and 19 of 1926) wrote: "It is quite clear that the above-mentioned attempts are a reflection of the real desire of the masses to regulate the acute questions of the Labour movement in the East.... The revolutionary organisations of the East must vigilantly follow the trend of events and participate in all the Congresses summoned, irrespective of the character which Suzuki or others may attach to them. At the same time a Congress must be summoned at which it will be possible to bring up

the problems of the Labour movement in the East in its full dimensions, in an objective and revolutionary manner...."

In addition to the above, there is the evidence of a letter written in February 1927 by Dobrovolski, a Profintern [219] agent in China, to the Executive Bureau of the Profintern in Moscow; the writer, who appeared to be about to proceed from Hankow to Canton to meet M. N. Roy, said: "We await with impatience the arrival of the promised International Labour Delegation as an official demonstration on the part of the Comintern before the peoples of the East. Further, it would be desirable to have a personal discussion with Comrade Roy about the preparations for the movement in India".

For the genesis and aims of the pan-Pacific Labour Conference there appears to be no reason why one should not rely on a special article published in the *People's Tribune*, Hankow, of the 14th April 1927, by Earl Browder, the American representative on the International Workers' Delegation. It appears from this article that in February 1926 the New South Wales Trades Council decided to convene at Sydney on the 1st of July, 1926, a Congress of the Trades Union of the Pacific countries. Invitations were issued to the Trades Unions of China, Japan, Russia, India, South Africa, Java, the Islands of the Pacific, South America, Canada, the United States and Great Britain. Owing to various difficulties, however, few of the delegates were able to reach Sydney in time, but those who did arrive held a preliminary meeting at which it was decided to hold the pan-Pacific Labour Conference in Canton on the 1st of May, 1927. This decision was endorsed by the Third Trades Union Congress of Australia, the All-China Labour Federation, the Central Council of Trade Unions of the Soviet Unions, the Japanese Revolutionary Trade Council, the Indian Trade Union Congress and other Labour organisations. Invitations were sent to Canada, the United States, Mexico, Central America, South America, Japan, Australia, Russia, China, India, Indonesia and the Philippines. "Fraternal" delegates were also invited from England and France. On the 26th February 1927 the committee appointed by the All-China Labour Federation to make arrangements for the conference decided provisionally upon the following agenda:—

(a) The Trade Union movement and its struggle against Imperialism; [220]

(b) International action for the regulation of wages and hours;

(c) The war danger in the Pacific;
(d) Immigration problems;
(e) The establishment of "organisational relations" between the Trade Unions of the Pacific countries;
(f) Other problems of the Pacific and of the Far East.

It will be necessary now to turn to information received from China regarding the doings of delegates to the conference. The "International Workers' Delegation" consisting of Tom Mann (England), Earl Browder (America), and Jacques Doriot (France), with Stoler as secretary, arrived in Canton in February 1927. These delegates were accompanied by M. N. Roy, as Indian representative of the Comintern. The visit was regarded by the *Canton Gazette* as an event of much importance, being "a symbol of the militant alliance of the revolutionary workers of the East and West". The party received a great reception in Canton, where they made many violent speeches. They attended reviews of the Hong-Kong strike pickets and the Canton Workers' Defence Corps, and were entertained on the 22nd February to a banquet, at the close of which Tom Mann is reported to have sung the Kuomintang song in Chinese. On the 14th April 1927 the Delegation of the Soviet Trades Union arrived in Canton, the most prominent member being Losovsky, General Secretary of the Red International of Labour Unions.

TRANSFER OF THE CONFERENCE TO HANKOW

It is believed that the original intention of holding the conference in Canton was abandoned when the moderate elements in the Kuomintang gained control there, and later information showed that a conference was held at Hankow at the end of May. It was also reported that the Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism had decided to send to this conference a delegation [221] consisting of five members, amongst whom were George Lansbury, M.P., and Roger Baldwin, the American Communist. The Australian Government refused to allow the Australian delegates to leave for the conference. Meanwhile, Tom Mann, Browder, Doriot, Stoler and Roy left Canton for Hankow, where they were received with the utmost enthusiams. A number of articles in subsequent issues of the *People's Tribune* furnished detailed accounts of the activities and ceremonies following their arrival. On the 8th April a special party was arranged in their honour by the Central Military Council and the Central Military and Political Academy. On the 13th of April the dele-

gates attended a meeting held to commemorate the so-called Amritsar massacre. According to the press reports of these functions, Tom Mann made a very objectionable speech, the character of which may be gauged from the following extract :— "We know in England that there are three hundred and twenty million Indians who are dominated by Great Britain, who are robbed of freedom, whose efforts at Liberty are stamped out, who are prevented from organising and who are shot down. In India I have seen the brutal treatment the white man gives to the native. I have seen the African lashed on every occasion, lashed when he comes to work, lashed when he goes from work, and this has been endured even though there are six of the oppressed to one of the oppressors ; but the day will come when from the most southern point of Africa to the Mediterranean coast the oppressed will rise in rebellion and conquer".

In speaking of his sympathy with the cause of India and his indignation at the treatment India had received at the hands of Great Britain, Tom Mann stated that he spoke in the name of a million of revolutionary workers who did not, and would not, support British Imperialism, but would fight it on their own account and in the cause of India, China and Africa. Borodin made a speech which he opened the remark : "I see British Imperialism beginning to totter." Eugene Chen was unable to be present, but a message was read by his representative. He spoke of the similarity between the Amritsar massacre and the massacres in China : "Although China has no Rowlatt Acts, the tactics of the British are [222] no less poisonous and horrible". The *People's Tribune* of Hankow of April 13th, 1927, published a special article entitled "The Amritsar Massacre", by Dasaundha Singh, who was described as "the local Chairman of the Society for the Oppressed Peoples of the East". The tone of Dasaundha Singh's article was in keeping with that of the speeches just alluded to.

A PROPOSED INDIAN DELEGATION

Among those in India who received invitations to the pan-Pacific Labour Conference was Mukunda Lal Sarkar, in his capacity of Secretary of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, Calcutta ; the invitation, which was signed by one Lou Chow Ching, "Head of the Preparatory Bureau", was issued in the name of the Commonwealth Union Congress of Australia and of the All-China Labour Federation. An invitation was also addressed

to the party of Muzaffar Ahmad. Correspondence passing between Europe and India about this time clearly showed that both the British Communist Party and the Comintern attached much importance to the conference, and were specially anxious that a delegation of representatives of Labour bodies in India should visit Canton and participate in the deliberations. The task of selecting the personnel of the delegation and of arranging for its passage was assigned to George Allison *alias* Donald Campbell, the well-known British Communist, who, as already mentioned, was sent from Moscow to India, but was arrested and imprisoned before he was able to complete the arrangements for the delegation's visit. M. N. Roy, writing in December 1926 to a fellow-Communist in India, said : "In May 1927 the pan-Pacific Conference will meet in Canton. We must send an Indian Delegation there.... At least three or four people should leave not later than the middle of April.... There will be no difficulty as regards the financial aspect of the thing". Among those Indians who were reported to have been selected as members of the delegation (and in this selection Philip Spratt is believed to have given much assistance) were Messrs. D. R. Thengdi, Joglekar, Ghate and Nimbkar. All of these men had previously come to notice as professing Communist views, and both Ghate and Joglekar were known to have been in correspondence with M. N. Roy. [223] One Kishori Lal Ghose, a well-known journalist of Calcutta, was also said to have been selected as a member of the delegation. From a letter addressed to the members of the Executive Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress it appeared that Thengdi, who was the Administrative Secretary of this body, and S. V. Ghate, the Assistant Secretary, expressed their willingness to attend the conference at their own expense. Kishori Lal Ghose too raised the idea of sending a deputation of Indian journalists for the supply to the Indian Press of really authentic news regarding events in China, and in this connection one Venkataram of the staff of *Forward* was talked of as a possible selection. It should be mentioned that all applications for passports to attend the pan-Pacific Labour Conference at Canton were refused by orders of Government.

THE ALL-CHINA LABOUR FEDERATION

As regards the character of the All-China Labour Federation, which was one of the bodies responsible for convening the conference, it may be mentioned that this Federation and other

Labour organisations in Canton addressed to the Indian National Congress a joint letter repeating a telegram previously despatched to the same quarter in February 1927. The telegram was an appeal to the Congress to prevent Indian armed forces from helping the Imperialists in China. The letter went on to say that "as all the institutions of information are in the hands of the Imperialists, it is probable that the telegram never reached its destination". The signatory of the letter was the same as the signatory of the invitation to the Canton Conference, namely, Low Chow Ching, who subscribed himself as Chairman of the All-China Labour Federation.

MANIFESTO OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES' ASSOCIATION

Towards the end of June 1927 four covers were noticed in the post containing a type-written document emanating from "The Eastern Oppressed Peoples' Association, Hankow", and addressed to four well-known nationalist papers of Upper India, one of them being the Communist *Kirti* of Amritsar. The document was in the form of a circular letter, dated, Hankow, the 20th of May [224] 1927, and was addressed to the working-class and Trade Unions of India. It commenced as follows :—"The representatives of the Trade Union Movement of China, Soviet Russia, Japan, Korea, Java, England, France, and the United States of America, having gathered at the pan-Pacific Labour Conference at Hankow, the heart of the revolutionary movement of China, to discuss and adopt decisions on the most vital problems concerning the working-class of the Pacific countries, hereby express their deep regret that the delegates from the Trade Unions of India have found it impossible to come to China to attend the pan-Pacific Labour Conference. We can really understand why this is so. The British Government, under whose tyranny the Indian masses have suffered so long, have turned that great land into a gigantic prison house, where none may come and go except by the gracious permission of that small gang of exploiters who oppress the toiling masses of India as well as of Great Britain". The letter concluded with an expression of hope that the Indian working-class and the Indian Trade Unions would become one of the pillars of the pan-Pacific and of the world-united front, and that they would thereby deal a death-blow to Imperialism and reaction, thus clearing the way for the liberation of all oppressed peoples and exploited classes. On the back of the letter was an endorsement to the effect that a copy of the declaration were

being sent by order of the President of the Oppressed Peoples' Association, B. Narain Singh. This endorsement was signed by B. Ganda Singh as copyist. As regards its spelling, grammar and composition, declaration did no kind of credit to those who were responsible for it.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE HANKOW CONFERENCE

The following short account of the proceedings of the pan-Pacific Labour Conference was issued by the Kuomintang News Agency in Berlin :—

"Hankow 27th May (delayed)

"The Hankow Government, the Kuomintang and the local Trade Union Association arranged jointly on 26th May a banquet in honour of the Pacific Trade Union Conference, which has now finished its labour. There had [225] taken part in the Conference six delegates from Japan, one from Korea, one from France, five from the Soviet Union, fifteen from China, one from England and two from Java. Besides the Indians and Australians, who were prevented by official measures from taking part in the Conference, there were lacking the Mexicans, who were on their way to Hankow but arrived too late. The Workers' Union of Philippines, which could send no delegates since the Philippines Trade Union Congress was taking place at the same time, received a telegram of greetings from the Pacific Congress. The Congress adopted a series of resolutions dealing *inter alia* with the Chinese Revolution, the danger of war in the Pacific, the national freedom movement in India, Korea, the Philippines and Latin America, with the improvement of conditions of Labour, etc. In addition, the creation of a permanent Secretariat was decided upon, which will serve for the maintenance of a permanent connection between all the organisations that took part in the Congress for mutual exchange of information and the preparation of the Pacific Congress of 1928".

INDIANS IN CHINA

In an earlier paragraph of this section I have stated that the Special Officer who visited China early in 1926 described the reactions till then discernible among the local Indian communities as unimportant, judged either by their extent or by the class and character of the individuals affected. This opinion was no doubt true as regards the early, and possibly the middle, months of 1926. But, by the beginning of 1927, the abandonment of the Hankow Concession had pointed its own moral as to the power

of anti-British propaganda backed by mob violence; and from that time the position has rapidly deteriorated until, at the moment of writing, the anti-British agitation among Indians in China is of an extent and intensity that cannot be regarded without some anxiety.

MAHENDRA PARTAP'S FOLLOWERS

An important nucleus of disaffection has been the party of seven Sikhs who accompanied Mahendra Partap from the United States to China. In September 1926, after Mahendra Partap had been turned back from the Tibetan frontier, [226] four of his following were located in Peking. Enquiries showed the names of these four to be as follows :—Dasaundha Singh, Inder Singh, Dulla Singh and Gainda Singh. The three remaining members of the party were then in Japan, their names being Shamsher Singh, Charan Singh and Bishen Singh. In October 1926 one Narain Singh, Secretary of the Gurdwara Ghadr Party at Peking, sent to the editor of a Sikh nationalist paper in the Punjab an account of the celebrations of Guru Nanak's birthday held at the Ghadr Ashram at Peking. Dasaundha Singh, Charan Singh and one Baba Phala Singh had delivered speeches, in which the paper alluded to was praised for its outspoken account of the oppression inflicted on the Babbar Akalis in the Punjab by a tyrannical government. About the same time a most objectionable article entitled "Let China and India unite for the Holy Cause" was written by Dasaundha Singh and published in an Anglo-Chinese newspaper; this article also appeared in the *Hindustan Ghadr* of San Francisco. Apart from the doings of these revolutionaries as outlined above, their connections with Moscow and the general revival of activity on the part of the Ghadr Party in California showed that, towards the end of 1926, the conspirators were eagerly looking for opportunities to create trouble in connection with the disturbed situation in China.

ACTIVITY IN HANKOW

In January 1927 information was received that Dasaundha Singh and Charan Singh had taken up their headquarters in Hankow, where they were engaged in seditious activities along with a number of local Sikhs. On the 26th March they were joined by Inder Singh, also of their own party, from Peking. Meetings had been held early in February at which it was decided to set up a press for the printing of the *Hindustan Ghadr Dhandora*

newspaper in Gurmukhi (to be issued on the 1st and 15th of each month) and of other seditious leaflets for distribution among the Indian troops in Shanghai. Copies these papers were examined in Shanghai, including the first three issues of the *Hindustan Ghadr Dhandora*, and persistent attempts were made to distribute them, the chief organiser of this [227] work being a well-known local seditionary named Gajjan Singh, who was in close touch both with the Hankow group and with Ghadr headquarters in San Francisco. At the Hankow meetings subscriptions were collected and seditious speeches were delivered. The postal address of this group was Post Office Box No. 14, Hankow.

In January 1927 Dasundha Singh and Charan Singh were reported to have formed an "Oriental Oppressed Peoples' Association", which was supported by the Kuotintang, and which had its office in the Kuomintang building. In view of what is already on record about this association, it would appear that this was more the resuscitation of an old movement than the formation of a new one. Dasaundha Singh and Charan Singh were further reported in February 1927 to have approached the Kuomintang with requests to enlist a number of Indians and to give them military training. Later information received early in March stated that it was proposed to form an Indian army unit in Hankow for service with the Cantonese, and that the question had been referred for decision to the Kuomintang Committee. Dasaundha Singh was reliably reported to be in close touch with Borodin and George Hsu Chien, Communist Minister of Justice o fthe Nationalist Government, who were believed to be financing his activities, and both he had Charan Singh frequently visited the Soviet Consulate. According to information received, there were then in Hankow about 30 or 40 seditious Indians, a number of whom had been made members of the Kuomintang, and most of whom carried arms.

The arrival of Roy, Tom Mann, Browder, Doriot, etc., in Hankow has already been mentioned. Reliable information indicated that Roy was placed in charge of schemes in China for creating disaffection among the Indian troops. According to the Chinese Nationalist News Agency, Roy telegraphed from Hankow on the 13th of April to Chiang-Kai-Shek on behalf of the Third International Delegation, appealing to him to abandon the Nanking Conference, to sink party differences and to show a united nationalist front on the part of the revolutionary forces. [228].

GAINDA SINGH IN SHANGHAI

Gainda Singh of Mahendra Partap's party arrived in Shanghai from Tientsin on the 24th March 1927 and took up his residence in Paoshin Road in a house occupied by the General Labour Union, Chapei, under whose protection he and Gajjan Singh continued to work. Six Sikhs (probably from Hankow) were observed with the Cantonese troops at the North Shanghai Railway Station, and one of these was identified as Sadhu Singh, an ex-constable of the Shanghai Municipal Police, who was dismissed from the force in July 1922.

THE "HINDUSTAN GHADR DHANDORA"

Reliable information connected the following Sikhs with the publication of the *Hindustan Ghadr Dhandora* :—Jiwan Singh, Ganda Singh, Hakim Singh and Samand Singh. This Jiwan Singh was stated to have been on board the "Komagata Maru" and to have spent some time in Japan; he is possibly identical with Jiwan Singh, son of Bur Singh of Mirhana, police station Sirhali, district Amritsar. Ganda Singh was an ex-watchman who had been in Hankow for 12 years, and was described as one of the most active seditionists of the Hankow group. He was known to have sent an objectionable article on the situation in China to the *Akali-te-Pardesi* newspaper of Amritsar; he is not to be confused with Gainda Singh of Mahendra Partap's party, who had been active in the Chapei quarter of Shanghai. Copies of the third issue of the *Hindustan Ghadr Dhandora* were obtained and examined. This issue contained articles of a most seditious nature over the names of Inder Singh "American" and Dasaundha Singh (both of Mahendra Partap's party) and also of Samand Singh of Mari Kamboke, Lahore District who appeared to have taken over the editorship from Dasaundha Singh. A special appeal to the Indian troops entitled "The Duties of the Indian Army in China" over the name of Inder Singh amounted to direct incitement to mutiny as will be apparent from the following extract :—"The dutiful sons of China are fighting for the freedom of their country. The freedom of India and the freedom of China have a close connection with each other. By the freedom of China the day of the freedom [229] of India will draw near. It is the duty of Indians to help the Nationalist Party of China so that they may have the pleasure of seeing India free. Oh ! Brave ones of the Indian Army,

as a universal revolution is going on in China for its freedom, and the Chinese heroes are showing their military prowess in the battlefield and day and night are winning success, likewise it is the duty of the Indian Army to create a general mutiny and exterminate the unjust British rule with the power of their military knowledge, and having cut the chain of slavery of their mother country to cause the flag of freedom to wave over her head. You should cool with the martyrs' blood the face of the mother country, which is blazing like fire over the injustice of the British. Light the candle of victory over her forehead and receive her full blessing".

RÔLE OF M. N. ROY

Information from a reliable source indicated that M. N. Roy had been deputed by the Third International to spread sedition and disaffection among the Indian troops in China, to tamper with their loyalty and to promote strikes among the Indian Police. Dasaundha Singh, Inder Singh and Charan Singh were said to have received instructions both from Moscow and from the Ghadr Party asking them to co-operate with M. N. Roy. Roy gave $ 1,000 to Dasaundha Singh for immediate expenses and contributed $ 5,000 per month for work in Shanghai alone. Roy was living with Borodin in Hankow and introduced to him Dasaundha Singh; Borodin encouraged the latter and promised him full support from the Soviet Consulate in Shanghai.

DR. H. MUELLER

Other information related to one Dr. H. Mueller, who was stated to be living at Hankow in the Soviet Consulate under the name of Gordon. Mueller, who was born in Riga, was said to be an important member of the Communist Party and an agent of the Third International. He was also the representative of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. He was further said to have considerable knowledge of Indian affairs and to have been in India and Kabul. Mueller was reported to be in correspondence with seditious Sikhs in Afghanistan and Moscow. On the 14th of February 1927 Mueller had an [230] interview with a certain Indian at the Soviet Consulate in Shanghai, when he informed this Indian that he was much interested in Indian matters, and he spoke of Rash Behari Bose, V. D. Bakshi, K. R. Sabarwal, Mahendra Partap and other Indian revolutionaries in a way which showed that he either knew them personally or had closely

studied their activities. Mueller also displayed an intimate knowledge of the Congress, Akali and Swarajist movements and stated at the interview that he was expecting two Indians from Moscow who would organise the Indians in China on Communist lines. This statement of Mueller's was interesting in view of the fact that subsequent reports indicated that Pritam Singh and Karam Singh, both formerly of Shanghai, were coming to Shanghai from Moscow with literature and arms. Pritam Singh and Karam Singh were two of the five Sikhs who were sent in the spring of 1926 from America to Moscow for training in Soviet propaganda, and will be further alluded to. About the middle of February 1927 Mueller went to Peking on important business and was believed to have returned to Hankow about the 20th of March. He was reported also to be in close touch with members of Sven Hedin's expedition to Urumtchi and the Tarin Basin, particularly with one Schwazberg, Sven Hedin's transport officer, who was described as an agent of the R.V.S. (Military Revolutionary Tribunal). Five Russians attached to the expedition were also believed to be members of the R.V.S. and were deputed by Moscow to accompany Sven Hedin.

TAMPERING WITH INDIAN TROOPS

Besides Hankow, Shanghai itself became an important centre of disaffection. Apart from the publication of the *Hindustan Ghadr Dhandora* at Hankow and the plans made there to create disaffection in the ranks of the Indian troops and police at Shanghai, seditious leaflets for the same purpose were received from San Francisco and copied locally. The ready co-operation of all ranks of the Indian regiments in countering this propaganda soon led to the arrest of five local Sikhs who were attempting to tamper with the loyalty of Indian troops. These five agents were at once handed over to the police by the regi- [231] ments concerned and were promptly sent for trial. Brief particulars of these cases are as follows :—

(a) One Gulzara Singh, son of Khem Singh, village Manoke, district Ludhiana, an ex-watchman with a bad record, spoke to a Mahomedan Lance Naik and three men of the 3/14th Punjab Regiment, and asked them why they had come from the Punjab to fight against their Chinese brethren. Gulzara Singh went on to speak in a disloyal strain of the dishonesty of the British Government in paying Indian soldiers less than

British, and ended by attempting to persuade these men to desert with their arms and equipment to the Chinese Nationalists, who were, he said, prepared to pay them $ 60 a month. The accused was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment with hard labour and to deportation on the expiration of his imprisonment.

(b) One Sangat Singh, son of Katha Singh, of village Jaimastpur, Tarn Taran, Amritsar, an ex-watchman and ex-daffadar of the 39th Central India Horse, approached a Naik and three men of the 4/1st Punjab Regiment and engaged them in conversation of a disloyal nature. He was similarly sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment with hard labour to be followed by deportation.

(c) One Asa Singh, son of Santa Singh, of village Makhiwala, Kasur, District Lahore, Police Constable No. 83 of the Shanghai Municipal Police, attempted to hand a copy of the *Ghadr* paper to a Hindu Naik of the 3/14th Punjab Regiment. The matter was at once brought to the notice of the police authorities, the trial of the accused ending in his being convicted both for incitement to mutiny and for being in possession of seditious literature. He was sentenced to 18 months' hard labour to be followed by deportation. [232]

(d) Two Sikh watchmen, named Amar Singh and Dalip Singh, were arrested for hanging about the camp of the 3/14th Punjab Regiment in a suspicious manner and attempting to get into conversation with some of the men. They were sent for trial, but had to be discharged as there was no evidence to connect them with the commission of any specific offence.

MURDER OF SARDAR SAHIB BUDHA SINGH

If the revolutionaries were foiled in their attempts to create disaffection among the Indian troops, they met with more success in a conspiracy to cause the death of Sardar Sahib Budha Singh, the Senior Indian Officer of the Shanghai Municipal Police. Budha Singh's staunch loyalty, and his wide experience and influence among the Sigh community had for many years combined to make him at once a serious obstacle to the successful prosecution of revolutionary plots and an object of intense dislike to the revolutionaries. Plans for the removal of the Sardar Sahib

were made in Chapei, the stronghold of the Shanghai Communist Party, where the well-known Gajjan Singh was living with Gainda Singh under the protection of the General Labour Union. A revolver was obtained by Gajjan Singh from the Labour Union and an ex-watchman who was under the influence of Gajjan Singh was selected as the assassin. After waiting for a whole week for a suitable opportunity, this man shot and killed Sardar Sahib Budha Singh near the Central Police Station on the morning of the 6th April 1927, as the Sardar was about to enter the office. The murderer, who was arrested on the spot by a Sikh Constable, gave his name as Harbant Singh. The weapon used was a .32 revolver and the deceased was shot first in the back and then in the chest and forehead; he died as he was being carried into the ward in hospital. The assassin later said that his real name was Jagat Ram, not Harbant Singh, that he had left home some twenty years ago and had been to Bangkok and Saigon; he arrived in Shanghai about November 1916, when he embraced Sikhism and took the name of Harbant Singh. He further described himself as the son of Nathu Mal, of village Chak, [233] Chabral, Sialkot, Punjab. In Shanghai, Harbant Singh appeared to have spent most of his time in loafing. He was duly sentenced to death and hanged, but made no statement as to his abettors or accomplices.

SEDITIOUS ACTIVITIES IN SHANGHAI

Further information is available regarding the seditious activities of other Sikhs in Shanghai. A meeting attended by about 60 Sikhs was held in the Chinese Press building in Kiukiang Road on the 3rd of April 1927; copies of a seditious leaflet were reported to have been distributed by Gajjan Singh and Naurang Singh Ghali. (The latter came to notice in June 1926, when he wrote to the manager of the *Kirpan Bahadur* newspaper of Amritsar, enclosing for publication two highly seditious poems, in which the Sikhs were exhorted to drop non-violent methods and to rise against the British Government). At this meeting Gajjan Singh delivered a speech in which he explained that it was the duty of every Sikh to help the Cantonese movement. Two other speakers supported this statement. A further meeting was held in the same building on the 13th of April. Gajjan Singh again delivered a very seditious speech, while two Sikh children recited a violently anti-British poem. Several other speakers quoted extensive from the *Kirti* paper of

Amritsar, copies of which were being received in Shanghai. One Lal Chand and a group of seditious Sindhis opened a club at No. 19, North Szechuen Road. This club was really a meeting place for seditionists, and Lal Chand was in close touch with Gajjan Singh and other disaffected Sikhs. Open sedition had been talked at this institution and the Indian troops had been abused for coming to China "to murder" the Chinese. Subscriptions had also been raised for disloyal purposes. An individual named A. R. Savul, who left Shanghai for America on the 27th of January 1927, appeared to have been connected with Lal Chand and his associates in these disloyal activities. Savul was said to have reached the Ghadr headquarters in April and to have delivered a sum of money collected by Lal Chand. *En route* he was believed to have had an interview with Rash Behari Bose in Japan. [234]

THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS

The point of view of the Chinese Communists may be gathered to some extent from an interview which took place between a certain Indian and a Chinese Communist agent, the latter of whom spoke very violently. He stated that Chiang-Kai-Shek would either resign or he would be assassinated, this having been decided by the Chinese Communist Party; the Nationalist Government would start "firm" negotiations for the surrender of the International Settlement, backed up by the Chinese Communist Party and the Communist Youth; if these failed, the Communists, would resort to terrorism against the foreigner; nothing short of a Soviet would satisfy Young China, and they demanded that within three years China must be a Soviet State affiliated to a Soviet Union. One of the banners of the General Labour Union in Chapei had the following inscription in English and Gurmukhi: "India's Welcome to the Revolutionary Army of Shanghai". This banner is stated to have been presented to the General Labour Union by Gajjan Singh, who is supposed to have written the Gurmukhi text. Gajjan Singh was also reported to be advising the Union on the formation of a committee for agitation among the Sikhs.

DASAUNDHA SINGH IN SHANGHAI

Dasaundha Singh of Mahendra Partap's party arrived in Shanghai from Hankow on the 16th of April 1927. He was accompanied on the journey by two Russians, one a military

officer and the other a well-known Communist agent. On his arrival in Shanghai Dasaundha Singh took up his residence in a house in Paoshin Road, where he was joined by Gainda Singh, also of Mahendra Partap's party, and Gajjan Singh, the leader of the local Sikh seditionists. On the 19th of April a meeting was held at Dasaundha Singh's house which was attended by Gainda Singh, Gajjan Singh and a number of other Sikhs, of whom Gajjan Singh, Ishar Singh, Dasaundha Singh (of Shanghai), Khushal Singh and Ranjit Singh were reliably reported to have been concerned in the plot which resulted in the assassination of Sardar Sahib Budha Singh. The meeting commenced with the reading by Dasaundha Singh of a seditious poem in Urdu, in which [235] the Sikhs were exhorted to rise, unsheath the sword and kill the English everywhere. Dasaundha Singh then informed the gathering that he had been asked by M. N. Roy to visit the Sikhs in Shanghai and to deliver the following message :—"The Hankow Government is ready to give military training to a thousand Indians and says that each should be paid not less than what he received from the Shanghai Municipal Council. They should persuade their fellow Sikhs and the Indian troops to desert and join the Hankow Government. After a year's training they would be taken to the frontiers of India through Afghanistan, and supplied with arms, ammunition and money by the Moscow Government. Afghanistan, Russia, Turkey, China and perhaps Japan would declare war on Great Britain. At the same time simultaneous risings would take place in the Punjab, and a number of Sikh troops would mutiny". Dasaundha Singh also extolled the murder of Sardar Sahib Budha Singh and asked the Sikhs present to undertake a regular campaign of assassination of British consular, military and police officers. He hinted at the formation of a committee for this purpose, which would receive the necessary arms and money from the Hankow Government. Gajjan Singh supported these proposals and emphasised the fact that the only way to freedom lay through the free use of arms.

ARREST OF SEDITIOUS SIKHS

As the result of the murder of Sardar Sahib Budha Singh and of various seditious activities both before and after that event, twelve Sikhs in all were arrested by the Shanghai Municipal authorities. These included three important leaders, Dasaundha Singh, Gainda Singh and Gajjan Singh, who were

captured together at the headquarters house in Chapei. Secret information showed that the conspirators were discussing the institution of a regular campaign of assassination of British Officers, and plans for inducing Indian troops and police to desert to the Communist Party at Hankow for eventual employment in Soviet schemes directed against India.

DASAUNDHA SINGH'S PAPERS

An examination of the papers founded with Dasaundha Singh furnished infor- [236] mation of much interest and value. Among them was a certificate of membership of the Ghadr Party signed by Munsha Singh, who is known to act as secretary. There was also a diary in Dasaundha Singh's handwriting giving details of his first meeting with Mahendra Partap in America in March 1925 and of the subsequent selection of seven members of the Ghadr Party to form a mission to Tibet, the object of which was to counteract the steadily increasing influence of the British in that quarter; mention was also made of the presentation of a flag by the Ghadr leader and other farewell ceremonies. Further diaries and correspondence gave accounts of meetings with Rash Behari Bose in Japan and the subsequent adventures of the party in China and Tibet. In a diary for 1927 Dasaundha Singh wrote : "We arrived Hankow 26th January, where we united our forces and started to print *Ghadr Dhandora*, a half-monthly revolutionary publication". Copies of issues of this paper and other seditious leaflets were in the handwriting of Dasaundha Singh, and documents were also found showing Dasaundha Singh to be the editor and publisher of the above mentioned paper, and registered owner of Post Office Box No. 14, Hankow, which was the postal address of the Ghadr Party. A memorandum was found in Dasaundha Singh's handwriting on the proposed organisation in China of a branch office of the Hindustan Ghadr Party, the objects of which were to include co-operation with Chinese Nationalists against British Imperialism, the appointment of secret agents for propaganda among troops at Hong-Kong and Shanghai, and the organisation of Indian revolutionary units for service under the Chinese military authorities. There was also found a draft article or lecture in which Dasaundha Singh emphasised the futility of non-violent measures and declared force and bloodshed to be necessary for the destruction of British Imperialism and the freedom of India and China. There was also a letter to Eugene Chen, dated Hankow,

the 25th March 1927, in which Dasaundha Singh stated that more than five hundred Indians were ready to join the Chinese Nationalists and fight against the foreign enemy (Great Britain), provided they were given protection and financial support by the Nationalist Government. Copies of [237] the photograph of Harbant Singh, the murdered of Sudha Singh, were found in possession of both Dasaundha Singh and Gainda Singh. It was believed that the papers seized contained such strong documentary evidence against the three leaders, Dasaundha Singh, Gainda Singh and Gajjan Singh, that their conviction was practically assured, an anticipation which was subsequently fulfilled.

CONTINUED ACTIVITY IN HANKOW

In spite of the temporary improvement in the local situation by the capture and conviction of these three leaders, the Hankow group formed in China by Dasaundha Singh and his associates was said to be as active as ever under the protection of M. N. Roy; and the strong group of Sikh seditionists, including Charan Singh and Inder Singh of Mahendra Partap's party, was afterwards reinforced by the arrival from Moscow of Pritam Singh and Bishen Singh, the former being one of the five who went from Mexico to Russia for training. The *Hindustan Ghadr Dhandora* continued to be issued by this centre, members of which were in touch with Moscow and with the *Kirti* group of Sikh conspirators in India, as well as with disaffected Sikhs in Shanghai and with Soviet and Communist organisations.

From various sources it was reported that in May 1927 there were in Hankow some 80 disaffected Sikhs of the watchman class; they belonged to the Akali Party, wore black turbans, and were being formed into an armed military unit, with an equal number of Chinese, for service with the National forces. Ordinary ranks were being paid $ 40 a month, and senior men $ 50, in addition to free rations and quarters. A pay of $ 100 a month was offered by Roy to a loyal Sikh with long military and police experience, whose services were required as a drill instructor for this unit. All these disaffected Sikhs were members of the Kuomintang and of the "Eastern Oppressed Peoples' Association", the club premises of which were at No. 39, Ko Min Li, immediately behind the ex-British Concession. In addition to the Sikhs there were said to be a few Korean and Mahomedan members. On the 20th and 21st of May, the Association issued a warning to the Chinese over the name of Ganda Singh against

[238] all Sikhs who did not wear the black turban, such being stigmatised as "the running dogs of the Imperialists". It was recognised that some of these men had been forced into the ranks of the disloyal and had accepted employment in the armed force mentioned above by the sudden loss, through no fault of their own, of positions which they had held for many years and by the difficulty of finding any other means of livelihood. Many of these Sikhs were also known to have lent large sums of money on interest, which they had no hope of collecting except by remaining in Hankow and by fraternising with the Chinese Communists who were in control there.

NEW ARRIVALS

On the 26th of May two Indians arrived in Hankow from Canton *via* Changsha, and went straight to the headquarters of the Eastern Oppressed Peoples' Association. Their names were reported to be Pritam Singh and Bishen Singh, and both were said to have been in Russia with Roy. Pritam Singh is presumably the man of that name who came from Mexico to Moscow, and whose expected arrival in China has been previously mentioned. The identity of Bishen Singh was at first uncertain, although he most probably is Bishen Singh of Burjraike, of Mahendra Partap's party, who arrived in Moscow from Japan in September 1926. The *People's Tribune* of June 2nd, 1927, described both men as representatives of the Hindustan Ghadr Party and announced that they were to stay in Hankow for some time. Pritam Singh, it appeared, had been in China before and had been arrested for spreading "subversive propaganda" among the Indian policemen.

Another notable arrival in Hankow was Rattan Singh of Raipur Doaba, whose activities have been described at length in the Punjab Section in the last Chapter.

HANKOW THE MAIN CENTRE

Hankow at that time appeared to have become the main centre of Indian sedition in the Far East, doubtless owing to the support given to these conspirators by the Communist Party. In addition to the large number of disaffected Sikhs of the watchman class, it appeared that the following leading Indian conspirators had made their headquarters there :—M. N. Roy; Inder Singh and Charan Singh of Ma- [239] hendra Partap's party; Rattan Singh of Raipur Doaba; and Pritam Singh and Bishen

Singh, who had arrived from Russia, *via* Canton. When the Sixth issue of the *Hindustan Ghadr Dhandora* afterwards appeared, the editorship was reported to have been taken over by one Karam Singh of village Sur Singh, district Lahore, who had been employed as a watchman by the International Export Company in Hankow for the past nine years and was said to have been in China for twenty years. One Ram Singh, a resident of the same village as Dasaundha Singh, was reported to have been appointed as the agent of the Hankow Ghadr Party for the whole of China. In the guise of a silk merchant he was to travel to the various ports with a view to linking up the different Ghadr groups and to spreading disaffection among the various Indian communities. Ram Singh was said to have been in Shanghai about three years previously, when he was closely connected with Lal Chand, whose seditious activities have already been described. Munsha Singh, a resident of Jullundur, who was out of employment, was reported to have been appointed secretary of the Ghadr Party in Hankow. This man's identity is uncertain. The new president of the Oppressed People's Association was one Narain Singh. This man, who took over from one Ganda Singh of Santavalla, stated that the Association was "co-operating with all the oppressed people of the world".

LATER DOINGS IN SHANGHAI

Later information from Shanghai indicated that Lal Chand's rooms in the Hindu Club were searched by the police with a view to instituting a criminal prosecution against Lal Chand, who was secretly known to have been actively engaged in seditious activities in association with Gajjan Singh and other plotters. Nothing of an incriminating nature was found and Lal Chand had to be discharged. He left Shanghai for Hong-Kong on the 7th June 1927. An interesting connection afterwards came to light between Lal Chand and A. R. Savul, whose mission to San Francisco has already been mentioned. Savul's full name, it appeared, was Abdul Rashid Savul, and he was said to be the son of Mahomed Sayed, a resident of Nowshera, [240] North-West Frontier Province. He was formerly manager of the firm of Noor Mahomed and Company, 237, Szechuen Road, but left under a cloud as he was suspected to having embezzled a large sum of money. About two years ago he set up business for himself at No. 218 Szechuen Road as an exporter of tea and silk and an importer of skins. Ac-

cording to his advertisements, there were branches of his business at Bombay and Peshawar. It appeared later that from America Savul went to London, Berlin and Constantinople, and in a letter to Lal Chand, dated the 29th of March 1927, written from the White Star liner s.s. "Olympic", he gave his address in Constantinople as care of the Turkish Chamber of Commerce. During the absence of A. R. Savul, his younger brother, Abdul Aziz, managed the Shanghai business.

Jagat Singh, the *Granthi* of the Szechuen Road Gurdwara, was said to be in correspondence with the Ghadr Party at Hankow and to be keeping them closely informed of events in Shanghai. Since Gajjan Singh's arrest, Jagat Singh appeared to have become the ring leader of the local Ghadr movement in Shanghai. Another important member was a watchman named Tek Singh, who was then acting secretary of the Gurdwara. He was in correspondence with the headquarters of the Ghadr-Association in San Francisco and also kept the Parbandhak Committee of Amritsar and the *Kirpan Bahadur* newspaper informed of the local situation.

CONVICTION OF DASAUNDHA SINGH

On being put on their trial in Shanghai Dasaundha Singh, Gajjan Singh and Gainda Singh pleaded guilty before the Supreme Court and were sentenced each to one year's imprisonment on charges of possessing seditious matter with the intention of distributing it and of conspiring to cause disaffection among the King's subjects. In all three cases imprisonment was to be followed by deportation.

It is interesting to note that an article in the *People's Tribune* of 15th May, 1927, described Dasaundha Singh as "one of the leaders of the Eastern Oppressed Peoples' Association and China representative of the Hindustan Ghadr Party"; Gainda Singh was also described as a member of the same party. [241]

WILLIAM PROHME OF THE NATIONALIST NEW AGENCY

Correspondence intercepted in India disclosed the fact that in Hankow Dasaundha Singh was in touch with two persons named William and Rayna Prohme. Dasaundha Singh, it would appear, induced William Prohme, in his capacity as manager of the Nationalist News Agency, Hankow, to appoint, as a correspondent, Gurdit Singh of the *Desh Sewak*—an objectionable Sikh paper published at Jullundur in the Punjab. Dasaundha Singh's

own letter with which he forwarded this authorisation to Gurdit Singh was dated 3rd April 1927, and while very offensive in tone, was no less eloquent as to the nature of the activities in which Dasaundha Singh was engaged; part of it ran as follows:—"Indians are bent upon shedding blood for the sake of the independence of India at every place and step. Brethren in India should know it well that the maximum hope of the liberty of India depends upon them. China has set an example for Indians . . . The National Government is stationed at Hankow. Indian brethren of this place have opened a branch of the Hindustan Ghadr Party, and the *Hindustan Ghadr Dhandora* too is published twice a month. Comrade M. N. Roy, who has been in Russia for a long time, reached Hankow to-day. He too might take some steps to start an English paper. It was hoped that we will be able to do some solid work soon. Try to have the armies which have come from India recalled, and more armies shoud not be allowed to leave (for China) . . . . We have entrusted you the service of making correspondence for the National and Government newspaper of this place. You can cable news. You should correspond with the newspaper direct. You might already have heavy work, but still it is hoped you will do this work. On receipt of news through you we can do a lot of propaganda". Dasaundha Singh wrote on paper headed "The Eastern Oppressed Peoples' Association".

William Prohme is an American of extreme Communist views. Reports from Shanghai indicated that the propaganda of the Chinese Nationalists was largely in his hands. The letter of Dasaundha Singh which has been quoted above showed that the writer had been acting as [242] an intermediary between Prohme and extremist Sikhs in India. The publications of the Hankow Nationalist News Agsency, of which Prohme was the manager, were afterwards prohibited from entering India. Besides being manager of the Hankow Nationalist News Agency, Prohme at one time filed the post of personal secretary to Eugene Chen. Some of his time was spent in Shanghai, where he had an interest in the *China Courier*, an English daily paper the tone of which was strongly anti-British and pro-Kuomintang. Prohme's wife, Rayna, was editor of an extremist Communist paper at Hankow named the *People's Tribune*, which had been publishing most objectionable speeches and articles by Dasaundha Singh, Tom Mann and others. During the course of the search of Dasaundha Singh's effects a letter from Rayna Prohme, dated Hankow, 25th March

1927, was found, in which the writer asked the addressee to visit her, and expressed great interest in the organisation of the "Oppressed Peoples' Brotherhood" and also in Dasaundha Singh's work.

THE PRODEHENAR NEWS AGENCY

Another agency which was found to be sending anti-British leaflets into India was the Prodehenar News Agency, Canton. One of the leaflets obtained was addressed to the Indian National Congress, the All-India Trade Union Congress, and *Forward*, "Central Nationalist Organ, Calcutta". The addressees were asked to take energetic action to prevent the despatch of Indian troops to China, and to appeal to the troops to fraternise with the Chinese people instead of fighting them. This leaflet was issued over the names of M. N. Roy, "the representative of the Communist International in China", and the "International Workers' Delegation" consisting of Tom Mann, Doriot and Earl Browder. Another leaflet contained an appeal to the Proletariat of Imperialist countries "to oppose the attempt to crush the national liberation movement in China". It was similarly issued by Roy and the International Workers' Delegation. A third leaflet was addressed to "all foreign military and naval forces in China" and purported to have been issued by the "Canton International Demonstration against Imperialist Military Intervention [243] in China". It appealed to soldiers and sailors to fraternise with the Chinese people. Two other leaflets of much the same kind were brought to notice. All of these were presumably the work of the Special Commission which the Communist International formed under the control of M. N. Roy for propaganda among the troops sent to China. From enquiries it appeared that the word "Prodehenar" was in reality a portmanteau word on the Russian model from an English original, as follows: "Press Office of the Political Department of the Headquarters of the National Revolutionary Army in China". This news agency began to issue a fortnightly publication called *Chinese Correspondence*, a few copies of which were intercepted on their way to addresses in India. The objectionable nature of this publication may be judged from the following extract: "The Chinese revolutionary has learnt much from the experience and teachings of the Russian Revolution. Such guidance and instruction is useful and valuable. . . . Revolutionary China will be a school for the approaching Indian revolution. The Kuo-

mintang consider they are in honour bound to transmit to India the lessons and experiences of their fight during recent years . . . . British Imperialism in Asia will receive its most decisive blow from the united Chinese-Indian revolutionary forces. Then Asia and the world will breathe freely".

GENERAL CONTROL FROM MOSCOW AND SAN FRANCISCO

It will be most appropriate to introduce under some such heading a highly interesting letter which was seen in India early in 1927. The letter is in Gurmukhi (largely in code) and was obtained through a known correspondent of M. N. Roy's. Although the agent who actually procured the letter reported first that it had been written by Santokh Singh of the *Kirti* to M. N. Roy in Moscow and sent back by the latter to India for inquiry as to the writer, the contents alone proved that this view was erroneous. The letter, which was dated August 15, 1926, was signed by Harjap Singh, and everything in it points to its having been written in Moscow by a man of that name (one of the party of five Sikhs from Mexico) and to its having been despatched [244] through an Indian Post Box of Roy's for delivery to Santokh Singh in Amritsar. (It may be recalled that Harjap Singh's companions were Pritam Singh, Karam Singh, Santa Singh and a Sikh unknown). The first part of the letter referred to the arrival in Moscow from China of a representative of the Kuomintang, in consultation with whom it was decided to hold a conference in Canton of the representatives of the peasants of the whole of Asia". The conference was to take place in January or February 1927, and two delegates of "our party" (*i.e.* Harjap Singh's party in Moscow) were to reach Canton about Christmas 1926 or in the first half of January 1927. It was also decided that "one able person" should be sent from India, and the addressee of the letter (Santokh Singh) was requested to make a suitable selection, the name of the person so selected to be communicated to Moscow. The Kuomintang representative also talked about publishing a paper in China and organisisng men, but was given to understand that this would be difficult in the abence of sufficient funds. It seems that the representative reduced all this talk to writing, promising to place the whole question before the "Central Committee"; the decision, the writer promised, would be communicated to Santokh Singh. The Kuomintang representative further under-

took that his party would take "our men" (Harjap Singh's friends) and give them military tranining in Canton. The emissary was entertained to a "meal", at which "one student from from each country" was present; he appears to have expressed his pleasure at meeting "such a party" and to have promised "every kind of assistance in Canton"; all their work, he said, had been done by the Peasants' International people (at least so the original appeared to read). The addressee was therefore to send a letter of thanks to the Peasants' International for all the assistance rendered, in particular he was to send a separate letter of thanks to "Eainwaznesainski" (A. N. Voznecienski) for the great help he had rendered. A later passage showed that Santokh Singh had written announcing the publication of their telegram (the Krestintern's in the *Akali,* which was said to have afforded "them" great pleasure. [245] (The reference obviously was to the May-day telegram mentioned in the section on the Krestintern in Chapter III). The writer then said that they had received none of the issues of the *Kirti,* of which they came to know only through Santokh Singh's letter. The writer continued: "Moreover the whole work in Canton is theirs. Of China there is merely the name. Do your work stoutly. Time is near. About a delegate to Canton we have also written to the party and have sent a telegram as well. They will perhaps write to you about sending a man there". The letter indicated that it had been urged on "Bhai" (Rattan Singh) that he should arrange to get Karam Singh (also of Moscow) to India as soon as he got there, but that Rattan Singh had written asking Karam Singh to remain in Moscow. The writer advised that, as the arrest of Rattan Singh was desired, he should not stay there (in India). The writer finally asked that a reply should be sent through the person who delivered the letter.

The reference to the proposed Canton conference is probably to the pan-Pacific Labour Conference, to attend which M. N. Roy arrived in Canton in February 1927; it was eventually held in Hankow from 20th to 27th May 1927. As regards the proposals and discussions with the Kuomintang representative about publishing a newspaper and organising men, these could scarcely refer to anything else except to the activities in Hankow of Dasaundha Singh and his associates and the publication of the *Hindustan Ghadr Dhandora.* It is interesting to note that these proposals were reduced to writing in Moscow as early as

August 1926 by the Kuomintang representative, who undertook to place "this whole question of ours before the Central Committee". The stress laid on the assistance given by 'Eainwaznesainski' in Moscow to Harjap Singh and his companions "in this work of ours" and the request that a special letter of thanks should be sent by Santokh Singh are significant. The publication of "our telegram" in the *Akali* has been already commented on. The passages : "Moreover the whole work in Canton is theirs. Of China there is merely the name. All the workers there are theirs" embody an admission the significance of which needs no emphasis. [246] The reference, of course, was to the extensive Soviet organisation and propaganda in Canton and South China, and to the Russian direction and domination of Kuomintang affairs, to which the cohesion and success of the Nationalist movement have been largely due. Karam Singh referred to, was obviously Harjap Singh's companion of that name : "Bhai" was Rattan Singh, who after eluding arrest in India for several months, managed to find his way to Hankow. The reference to the great help given by Voznecienski "in this work of ours" will be better appreciated in the light of what is said in the paragraph on the Krestintern in Chapter III. The whole letter was a striking revelation of the methods of Moscow in utilising both the Chinese and Indian nationalist movements to its own purposes.

Besides the above letter, the papers of Dasaundha Singh, who was arrested on the 15th of May 1927, contain a number of highly interesting references to those five Sikhs in Moscow. In a letter, dated the 22nd of May 1926, Paritam (Pritam) Singh, whose Russian name is Orloff, wrote from "C|o. House of Soviet, Log 3, Prov-Vozneciens at Moscow", to Charan Singh and Bishen Singh of Mahendra Partap's party, informing them that an arrangement had been made for Shamsher Singh "who will be going to a university here". The letter concluded : "Harjap Singh, Santa Singh, Charan Singh and I are here". It will be noted that the writer mentions Charan Singh as being in Moscow, but he makes no reference to Karam Singh. Charan Singh is possibly the name of the fifth Sikh whose identity was not known, or Charan Singh and Karam Singh may be one and the same person. This Charan Singh of Moscow is not to be confused with Charan Singh of Mahendra Partap's party, one of the two addressees of Pritam Singh's letter.

In a letter dated the 1st September 1926, addressed to Cha-

ran Singh, Shamsher and Bishen Singh (all of Mahendra Partap's party), who were then in Japan, Munsha Singh, the Secretary of the Ghadr Party in San Francisco, conveyed certain instructions which were to be forwarded to Dasaundha Singh and the other members of Mahendra Partap's party, who were then in Peking This [247] letter contained the following passage : "The general opinion is that Shamsher Singh should go either to Hankow and start studying there, or should get himself admitted to the military school at Canton".

In a letter dated the 23rd September 1926 Pritam Singh wrote in Gurmukhi to Charan Singh from "C|o. Professor A. N. Vazenscienki, Second House of Soviet, Moscow, U.S.S.R., Russia". The letter was signed "Orloff" and contained the following sentence : "Bishen Singh has arrived here". The writer then went on to reprimand Shamsher Singh for not going to Moscow, which "is in complete disobedience of the orders of the Ghadr Party".

In a letter from P.O. Box 308, Davis, California, dated the 28th October 1926, Munsha Singh wrote to Dasaundha Singh and Charan Singh, then in Peking, and sent them the following instructions : "Don't start any work in Peking which entails expense unless you receive instructions or a man from Pritam Singh, Your suggestion that it is essential to establish headquarters in China is all right, but the place at which that should be established must be considered". Another sentence of this letter read : "We are arranging for your expenses, but unless you receive money or a satisfactory reply from Pritam Singh, do not undertake any expensive work".

These instructions from Munsha Singh were interesting as they showed that Dasaundha Singh was not to undertake any important or expensive work in China until he received definite instructions and funds from Pritam Singh, who was then representing the Ghadr Party at Soviet Headquarters in Moscow.

In a letter from Post Office Box No. 48, Davis, California, dated the 2nd November 1926, addressed to Dasaundha Singh, Post Office Box 24, Peking, Munsha Singh wrote : "It is better if you make your headquarters with that of the Canton Government and communicate direct with Paritam Singh, establish connection with their Consul and work according to their instructions". In an undated letter from Post Office Box 398, Davis California, addressed to Charan Singh and Shamsher [248] Singh, Munsha Singh sent instructions to the latter to leave Japan and

try to join Pritam Singh. A further undated letter from Munsha Singh addressed to Charan Singh contained the following :— "Shamsher Singh should read either in Canton or Moscow and Charan Singh should go to China. Whatever you have received from Pritam Singh, you should act accordingly. If no man has yet arrived from him, one may be expected soon and you should act according to his instructions. Try to leave Japan very soon. How did Bishen Singh manage to go to Russia without a passport and yet Shamsher Singh cannot ?"

In a letter from Post Office Box 212, Barkeley, California, dated the 7th February 1927, addressed to Dasaundha Singh and Charan Singh, Post Office Box 24, Peking, and readdressed to Post Office Box 14, Hankow, Munsha Singh urged the addressees to try to move to Hankow and co-operate with the Kuomintang. One sentence of this letter reads : "If Paritam Singh and others arrived there, work together with them and set your difference aside."

Dasaundha Singh and Charan Singh actually arrived in Hankow from Peking on the 26th of January 1927 and their subsequent activities have already been fully related. There is no doubt that Pritam Singh, whose name occurs so often in the above correspondence, is Pritam Singh *alias* "Orloff", who shortly before had arrived in Hankow. Bishen Singh was probably Bishen Singh of Mahendra Partap's party, who, as already stated, arrived in Moscow from Japan in September 1926.

It will be most convenient to quote here a letter dated Tokio, the 2nd December 1926 addressed to Charan Singh mentioned above, by Rash Behari Bose the well-known absconder. On the subject of Shamsher Singh the writer said: "Your letter of November 26th. Day before yesterday Shamsher Singhji received a draft for $ 300 (about Y.600) from the Party. They want him to go to Teja Singh Akali immediately. Arrangements are now under way for sending Shamsher by the route which Bishen Singhji took. I think you remember that Gupta [249] wrote to me a letter some time ago saying that he would not be able to help the landing of a Hindu in Mexico when I asked him his opinion about Bishen Singhji's going there. So it is impossible to secure his help about Mr. Dulla Singh. Here too I am not in a position to do anything since I do not know anybody of the Mexican Legation. It is better for Mr. Dulla Singh to get visas from Panama as well as Brazil. What he should do is to go

straight to Kobe with the other two friends and approach Abdul Ali there, who will, I am sure, help them get visas. He must not breathe a word about his past career!"

The Teja Singh Akali mentioned in this letter was obviously Teja Singh Sutantar, who was sent to Constantinople for military training, and of whom some account will be found in the section concerning the Punjab. It seemed, therefore, that, early in 1926 arrangements were on foot to send Shamsher Singh from Japan to Constantinople, where he was to join Teja Singh Sutantar. The Gupta referred to is, in all probability, Heramba Lal Gupta, whose name is well-known in connection with the Indo-German plot during the years of the War. From a diary of Dasaundha Singh it appeared that Dulla Singh left Peking for Mexico on the 10th January, 1927.

THE KUOMINTANG IN INDIA

China's proximity to India, where a considerable number of Chinese ply their trade as carpenters, shoemakers, etc., made it inevitable that some repercussions of the Chinese unheaval should be felt in this country. In Rangoon and Calcutta especially, it was evident as far back as 1925, that the local Chinese clubs, whose members were, to a large extent supporters of Sun Yat-Sen and the Cantonese, were following events in China with keen interest. The well-known "anti-Imperialist" and pro-Soviet leanings of Sun Yat-Sen furnished sufficient reason for the Indian authorities to keep a watchful eye on the activities of his followers in India; and, as a result of postal censorship, an increasingly large quantity of objectionable literature began to be intercepted from the early part of 1926. It is only fair to remark, however, that such literature and [250] correspondence was for the most part "Nationalist" rather than Communist, and that the letters interchanged between the Kuomintang headquarters in China and its branches in Calcutta, Rangoon, etc., showed on the whole, reverence for Sun Yat-Sen's purely nationalist ideals, rather than attachment to Communist doctrines.

CONNECTIONS WITH CANTON

From 1925 onwards close connection was established between the Kuomintang headquarters in Canton and the Rangoon branch, which organised several meetings and collected subscriptions on behalf of the Chinese Nationalists. On the 6th of

January 1926, Hu Sing wan of the Rangoon branch attended, at Canton, the "Second International Convention" of the Kuomintang, and one Ling Tong from Calcutta and Than Fan Sang from Bangalore are also reported to have been present, though their identity has not been definitely established. At a meeting prior to the Convention, delegates from Burma, Malaya, Java, Siam, etc., discussed ways and means of strengthening 'the overseas Chinese organisations, and proposed the formation of an "Overseas Chinese Communist Division" to be affiliated to the K. M. T. Headquarters. The Convention, itself, proved to be distinctly pro-Communist in its resolutions and activities. It was decided to present a silver cup inscribed "Let us fight together," to Borodin, the "un-official" Soviet representative in Canton, and to send a message of "fraternal greetings" to Moscow, reiterating the K. M. T.'s intention to co-operate in bringing about a "world revolution".

Secret information was also received that Wan Chi Yan the Secretary and Managing Organiser of the Calcutta K. M. T. branch, attended a conference "Oppressed Nationalities" in Canton in January 1926. Among those who are said to have addressed the conference in Hindustani was an Indian whose name was given as Ko Pa Chin (possibly Gopal or Kirpal Singh). His speech was translated into Chinese by Wan Chi Yan.

INDIAN BRANCHES OF THE K.M.T.

About the same time a number of circular telegrams were sent from Canton to Chinese abroad, including the K.M.T. branch in Calcutta, asking for sympathy and monetary [251] aid for anti-British strike and boycott in Canton. Enquiries revealed the existence of a branch of the K. M. T. at 15, Weston Street, Calcutta. The branch was said to have no less than 2,000 members, all staunch supporters of the Nationalist movement, and therefore anti-Imperialist and anti-British. Since then, several other branches of the K. M. T. have been opened in Calcutta, and branches are also known to be in existence in Bombay and Delhi. It was also proposed, as a result of instructions received from Canton, to establish branches in Shillong, Darjeeling, Siliguri, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Allahabad and other places containing colonies of Chinese labourers and tradesmen.

K.M.T. EMISSARIES

An emissary from Canton named Kwan Hon Kong is reported to have visited Calcutta in July 1926 in order to collect subscriptions for the Chinese Nationalist Air Force; and towards the end of the year another emissary arrived in Calcutta and visited the K. M. T. centres there. As a result of the latter's visit a number of pro-Cantonese pamphlets were printed and published in Calcutta, and were circulated among Chinese in India.

RELATIONS WITH DISAFFECTED INDIANS

Up to the end of 1926, the K. M. T. agents did not appear to have got in touch with disaffected Indians, but in January 1927 information was received that an envoy from Canton, named Young Kong Nam, had come to Calcutta from Rangoon, and had interviewed certain Indian revolutionaries and extremist journalists, including Satya Ranjan Bakshi and Upendra Nath Banerji (ex-State Prisoner) of the *Forward* (Calcutta), Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, Mayor of Calcutta, Abul Kalam Azad, the well-known Muslim leader, and Nalini Gupta, the Communist ex-convict of the Cawnpore Conspiracy Case. The envoy received assurances of support, and it is noteworthy that from then onwards *Forward* has been an ardent champion of the Chinese insurgents. In return for the promised assistance, Young Kong Nam is said to have engaged to further the cause of Indian revolution as best he could. Besides visiting the offices of many of the extremist newspapers in India, Young Kong Nam succeeded in spurring [252] on to increased activity the existing K. M. T. organisations in India. On his advice the K. M. T. branch at 15, Weston Street, Calcutta, became, in May 1927, the headquarters of all the K. M. T. branches in India. He was accompanied on his tour by Chan Goo San, editor of the *Kak Min Yat Pao*, Rangoon, and Wei Chu Ten a teacher, also from Rangoon. This party was reliably reported to have requested the aid of local K. M. T. members in "driving out the British Imperialists with the help of the Bolsheviks" From Calcutta Young Kong Nam went to Bombay and departed later for Rangoon and Canton.

LITERATURE

As a result, probably, of postal interception by the Indian authorities, arrangements were made to despatch K.MT. litera-

ture from China to India through the agency of sailors on vessels plying between the two countries. In June 1927 a report was received that the K. M. T. headquarters in Canton had issued instructions permitting both Indians and Japanese to become full members of the K. M. T. The report added that the ultimate object of the K. M. T. was to form an "Oriental Communist Party".

PROPOSED K. M. T. FOR INDIA

The comparative success of the Chinese Nationalists in their revolt against "the Imperialists" has resulted in many disaffected Indians asking themselves the question "Why not a Kuomintang for India"? M. N. Roy's Communist paper, *The Masses of India*, of March 1927, discussed this question, and came to the conclusion that a movement in India, closely modelled on the Chinese Nationalist movement, would have every chance of success, and would sound the death knell of British power in this country. The same idea was mooted at a meeting in London of the Workers' Welfare League of India. Saklatvala was present and strongly supported the suggestion. He said the strength of the Indian Kuomintang should be 125 and that certain Indians abroad, such as M. N. Roy, C. P. Dutt, Saklatvala and Upadhyaya should be affiliated members. He urged, moreover, that a delegation of the Workers' Welfare League should go out to India to report [253] on the subject to a committee in London consisting of himself, Dutt and others. The report would then be considered both by the Moscow authorities and by the Communist Party of Great Britain.

The foregoing paragraphs show that the Kuomintang in India is not only growing in strength and influence, but is abandoning, to some extent, its former attitude of aloofness from Indian political affairs. It is beginning to realise the advantage of securing the sympathy and support of subversive elements in India in its struggle against the "Imperialistic Powers". As against this, it must be put on record that the pro-Nationalist sympathy which has undoubtedly been stirring the Chinese communities at the various centres has not yet produced any anti-British activity that can be laid to the charge of the Kuomintang as a representative Chinese body.

CONCLUSIONS

At the moment the whole situation in China is so tangled and obscure that no forecast of the future can be ranked at much above the level on mere conjecture. There are altogether too many factors that are either totally unknown, or, at the best, imperfectly calculable. For the time being, Communism appears to have received a definite set-back, but it may again be taken at any time, as an ally, to the bosom of one or other of the warring parties. It emerges too that even Chiang-Kai-Shek and the anti-Communist influences he represents do not apparently dislike other foreign powers the less because they hate Russia the more. Thus it would seem unwise to count with any certainty on the set-back to Bolshevism being anything more than a temporary one. At any rate, it is safe to assume that for as far ahead as anyone can see, there will be no strong, impartial Central Government in Peking or elsewhere, and there will be no settled and efficient administration in the Provinces. In such a soil every foul weed is bound to take root, and Bolshevism will probably continue to flourish either because of the active encouragement it will receive, or because of the total absence of resistance it will encounter. Similarly, the Indian revolutionary element will find a footing in a disordered China, and the Ghadr plotter and the Soviet emissary will join forces and endeavour [254] each to exploit the other to his own advantage. The combination is an awkward enough one, and it demands that we should continue to observe it with a jealous and watchful eye, at least so long as it is in vigorous existence in a country so contiguous to our borders as is China.

ENGLAND

GENESIS OF THE "INDIAN BUREAU"

Early in 1925 it became evident that Indian Communists in London, such as Upadhyaya and Ajoy Banerji, were dissatisfied with the Communist Party of Great Britain owing to the latter's "bureaucratic attitude" and to its refusal to admit them into its inner conclave. Banerji accordingly wrote to Mrs. M. N. Roy enclosing certain proposals to be forwarded to Moscow for approval. One of these adumbrated the formation in London of a Colonial Bureau of the Indian Communist Party, but Mrs. Roy, who appears to have first suggested the idea to Banerji, criticised

the scheme unfavourably in the following terms :—"The Bureau I had in mind, composed of Egyptians, Irish and Indians, would be a loose committee or something like that for general propaganda purposes, and of course should be party in name, though not too far away in spirit. Whether you can call this organisation a Colonial Bureau and get separate representation for it before the Communist International, I do not know. The heads do not like the duplication of effort and much wrangling. They would refuse to recognise it (probably) on the ground that there already existed a Colonial Bureau of the party. I imagine you will have to function through the latter for your representation at the Centre. This does not of course mean that you cannot agitate for fuller and better representation, and that you should not fight against party bureaucracy if it manifests itself in an unreasonable form."

In the course of this letter the writer referred to the constant friction between Roy's group and the local Communist parties on the Continent, and said :"We occupy ourselves a somewhat independent position, and have to struggle against either complete neglect, or bureaucracy, [255] as well as a sense of rivalry. But we are a party organisation directly affiliated to the Centre".

The upshot of this correspondence was that an "Indian Bureau" was formed, consisting of Banerji, Upadhyaya, P. C. Nandi, C. P. Dutt and a few others. Saklatvala took part in some of the deliberations of the Bureau, and though he and Dutt were members of the "bureaucratic" Communist Party of Great Britain, Banerji and his companions were glad to have their assistance and advice.

The despatch from Moscow of an official intimation that recognition was to be accorded to the Indian Bureau by the Communist Party of Great Britain put an end to the dispute. The Colonial Bureau of the C. P. G. B. was prepared to give the Indian Bureau any assistance they required, and promised to encourage both financially and morally the Indian Seaman's Union, in which the Indian Bureau were very closely interested. They undertook to get rooms for the Union, to publish advertisements and reports about it in the *Workers' Weekly* and other Communist papers, and decided, in conjunction with the Bureau, to form a committee to manage the Union's affairs. David Ramsay of the C. P. G. B. was elected a member of the Bureau

as a representative of his party, and Ajoy Banerji was similarly elected a member of the C. P. G. B. A letter from Roy was received to the effect that the group in London had been formally recognised by the "Centre" as the "European Bureau" of the Indian Communist Party.

Among the documents seized in the raid on the headquarters of the Communist Party of Great Britain in King Street, Covent Garden, were the minutes of two joint meetings of the Indian Bureau of the C.P.G.B. held in October 1925. Besides defining the relations between the two bodies, the parties agreed that the C.P.G.B. would send capable speakers to meetings of Indian associations, and that party members should endeavour to recruit as Communists all Indians of their acquaintance who were known to have Labour sympathies. It was further decided that, as English seamen were less likely to be suspected than Indians, the former should [256] be employed in carrying propaganda material to Indian ports.

COMMUNISM AT OXFORD UNIVERSITY

Other papers seized at the search of the Communist headquarters in Covent Garden revealed the fact that, at the instigation of the Communist Party of Great Britain, systematic attempts had been made at Oxford University to infect the Indian students there with Bolshevik ideas. Two non-Indian students were the agents employed in this task. These men attended meetings of the *Majlis*, a social and political organisation intended for the discussion of Indian affairs and the promotion of unity and comradeship among Indians at Oxford. Prior to the exposure of their plans, these agents had arranged for interviews between likely students and Saklatvala, who would, it was hoped, finally induce these youths to work whole-heartedly for the promotion of Communism in India. Thanks to the good sense of the majority of the students and their innate dislike of Communistic doctrines, the agents of the C. P. G. B. do not appear to have made much progress, and the subsequent publicity given to the matter in the English Press undoubtedly frightened these embryo Communists, the majority of whom hoped at a later date to secure appointments under the Government of India. Nevertheless, the deliberate attempts to debauch these young Indians before they had reached years of discretion, were particularly odious, and were evidence of the

lengths to which Moscow's allies in England were prepared to go in pursuance of their despicable schemes.

CLEMENS PALME DUTT

From 1925 onwards the importance of Clemens Palme Dutt as a link between the C.P.G.B. and Indian Communists, both in England and abroad, rapidly increased. Dutt's prolific output of Communist articles and pamphlets, and his constant and close association with the leaders of the C.P.G.B., as well as the contact maintained by him with Roy, Sepassi, and others on the Continent, secured him a firm footing in the councils of the party. He was privy to the secret despatch to India of Allison, Spratt and Fazl Elahi, and these people remained in touch with him through the medium of cryptic correspondence. It was he also who [257] arranged for the importation of Roy's paper *The Masses of India* into England and, for a time, he acted as editor of that publication. Roys' Manifesto to the All-India National Congress (*vide* page 97) which was sent out to India in such large quantities, was first received in manuscript form by Dutt, who printed 10,000 copies in London and arranged for their transmission to India. Dutt is also known to have sent Communist funds to India (notably to Muzaffar Ahmad and J. P. Begerhotta) and he has been untiring in his zeal to convert to Communism as many as possible of his compatriots in London. The part played by Dutt in corrupting lascars and inoculating them with pro-Communist and anti-British ideas was considerable. Moreover, he was mainly responsible for the organisation and conduct of the Indian Seamen's Unions, to which reference is made later in this Chapter.

WORKERS' WELFARE LEAGUE OF INDIA

This organisation has been in existence since November 1917. Though well-known Communists, such as Saklatvala and C. P. Dutt, have been closely identified with its activities, the League has always posed as a non-political body, "which is not concerned as to whether its members are Communist or non-Communist, but only as to whether they are interested in helping to improve the conditions of Indian Labour". The President of the League, Dr. Bhat, is a Communist, as also Arthur Field, an Anglo-Mahomedan hack-journalist, who has been a member of the League since its inception. However, the League's efforts

to ameliorate the conditions of the Indian workers have been singularly unsuccessful. Meeting after meeting was held in London and much "hot air" was expended, but the Indian working-class profited little thereby. The League issued from time to time circulars on Indian Labour matters and, to a limited extent, were successful in airing in the Press the alleged grievances of the Indian workers. An indication of the League's relative unimportance may be found in the fact that Chaman Lal, who could certainly claim to speak for the vocal section of Indian Labour, refused to have anything to do with the League during his visit to England in 1926. From time to time Communists such as Harry Pollitt and [258] C. P. Dutt endeavoured to give the League a more definitely Communist bias, but without success, owing chiefly to the opposition of affiliated bodies, which threatened to sever all connection with the League if the latter went over to the Communists.

INDIAN STUDY CIRCLE

Early in 1926 an Indian Study Circle was formed by C. P. Dutt, Upadhyaya and others. It was intended mainly to attract Indians of the student type, but its founders meant it to be a Communist body in disguise. Periodical meetings were held for the purpose of general discussions on Indian affairs. The Study Circle cannot, however, be described as a success and interest in the movement soon waned.

N. J. UPADHYAYA

Nathalal Jagjiwan Upadhyaya first came to notice in England in December 1925. He is a native of Nawanagar and was converted to Communism by a Mrs. Adela Knight, a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain, in whose house he resided for nearly two years. At Mrs. Knight's request Saklatvala took an interest in her protégé, who soon attained prominence in Communist circles through his activity among Indian seamen in the East End of London. At the instigation of the C. P. G. B. he issued leaflets in Indian vernaculars, appealing to the lascars to form unions like their capitalist employers. He was most assiduous in his efforts to attract the lascars. Numerous open air meetings were organised and addressed by him, and he became the leading light of the Indian Seamen's Union, an organisation in which the C.P.G.B. began to take an increasing interest. C. P.

Dutt was nominally in charge of the Union, but he preferred to remain discreetly in the background, leaving most of the organisation work to Upadhyaya. The latter was in direct communication with M. N. Roy, who used him as an agent for the distribution of *The Masses of India* both in England and abroad.

It is noticeable that ever since the *rapprochment* between the Indian Communist group in London and the Communist Party of Great Britain, Upadhyaya has been well supplied with funds—a fact which may be [259] explained by the importance avowedly attached by the C.P.G.B. to the propagation of Bolshevik principles among Indian and other Oriental seamen. Upadhyaya or "Paddy" as he is familiarly known to his British comrades—managed to get in touch with almost every keeper of lascar lodgings in the East End, and encouraged deserters from East-bound ships by offering to secure jobs for them as cooks and kitchen assistants in hotels and restaurants in London. Early in October 1926, Upadhyaya paid a secret visit to the Continent. In Paris he obtained some money from one of M. N. Roy's agents, and he then went to Holland, where he is reported to have met both Roy and Sepassi. At the end of April 1927, he visited Liverpool, where he recruited a number of lascars. He organised there a "May Day" demonstration and addressed some small public meetings on the subject of Trade Unionism among sailors.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

It will be observed from the foregoing paragraphs that the liaison between the C.P.G.B. and the Indian group in London has been considerably strengthened during the last two years. C. P. Dutt, perhaps more than Saklatvala, has been, in the main, responsible for this result. The latter has, of course, been fully aware of the various Communist schemes directed against British rule in India, but he has been comparatively guarded both in his public utterances and in his correspondence. Dutt, on the other hand, has confessed his creed widely and unashamedly in the *Labour Monthly*, the *Communist Review*, the *Workers' Weekly*, the *Sunday Worker* and numerous other Communist publications; and, what incriminates him still more, he has furnished the connecting links between Moscow, the Communist Party of Great Britain, Roy's group on the Continent, and the Indian Communist coterie in London. The respective missions to India of Allison,

Spratt and Fazl Elahi are an index of the increasing interest displayed by the C.P.G.B. in Indian affairs. The danger of this situation is self-evident, and it is a deplorable fact that the arch plotters in these nefarious schemes to disrupt the British Empire are themselves subjects of Great Britain. [260]

JAVA

SIMILARITY OF CONDITIONS

The extent to which Communist activities in British India and in the Dutch East Indies overlap is but slight. The justification, therefore, of this reference to Java lies in the benefit to be derived from a comparative study of the results produced there by the same forces as we see in operation against this country. Like British India, the Dutch East Indies contain a teeming population, many elements of which are highly excitable and fanatical, and which furnish an admirably receptive soil for the seeds of subversive propaganda. Both countries are within easy reach of emissaries from China, and both despatch yearly to the Hedjaz large numbers of pilgrims who are liable to be "got at" by the agents of Moscow.

ORIGIN OF THE RECENT DISORDERS

On the night of the 12th and 13th November 1926, serious riots broke out, more particularly in West Java (Batavia, Bantam, East and Central Preanger), accompanied by serious attempts to subvert authority in other districts, or the preparation for such attempts. The genesis of these disturbances, which were widespread and were suppressed only after considerable loss of life and property, is tolerably clear and is highly instructive. Since July 1925 the Indonesian Communist Party (Netherlands-Indian Communist Party) have been working on the lines of the resolutions passed at the Fifth World Congress at Moscow (middle of 1924) and at a Communist Conference at Djocja (December 1924). These resolutions, as interpreted by the local leaders, laid down that the party objects were "to struggle by all means possible, also by force of arms, for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie and the foundation of an international Soviet republic as a preliminary to the total destruction of the State". As in India, emphasis was laid on the necessity of creating an "illegal" organisation alongside of the "legal" one. Organising on

these lines and by the use of the group (cell) system, the "Board of Leaders" of the Indonesian Communist Party brought into being "illegal fighting organisations, which at a given moment would have to assist [261] in an armed attempt to seize governmental power". It appears that the propaganda conducted by the Board of Leaders in the second half of 1925 was principally aimed at Labour, this step being in accordance with resolutions passed at the First Congress of Transport Workers in countries adjoining the Pacific, which was held at Canton in June 1924, and which was attended by two important leaders from Java. The Communists throughout the country not only conducted "strong" propaganda among the existing Labour Unions, but endeavoured to establish new ones, the first fruits of this campaign being a series of strikes among these organised workers. The Government, however, were able to suppress these strikes, which were accompanied by deeds of terrorism and intimidation, so that the idea to turn the local strikes ino a general strike did not materialise. The Board of Leaders of the I.C.P. at Batavia had been able to open at Soerabaya a branch of the Secretariat of the "Red Eastern Labour" at Canton, which was affiliated with the Red International of Labour Unions, Moscow. There was also a proposal to establish at Singapore a bureau which would form a connecting link with the Netherlands—Indian Communists, and take charge of propaganda in Indo-China and elsewhere. The existence of such a branch has been confirmed, as well as the connections of the Javanese leaders therewith, but its activities seem to have been far more important as affecting the Dutch East Indies than Singapore itself.

METHODS OF ORGANISING

A marked feature of the party's policy was to draw the criminal fraternity within their organisation, the idea being to strengthen the party of illegal action, and to devise means for the use of violence against the Government. Another feature, for which India furnishes an almost exact parallel, was the attempt to secure the co-operation of the national revolutionary organisations and to get them to work under the "intellectual leadership" of the Communists. Determined efforts were also directed to the formation of cells among the army and the police, although in this direction the amount of success achieved was very limited. On the other hand the number of recruits secured [262] from

general sources appears to have been very great—vastly in excess of even the greatest membership that Communists have ever claimed for themselves in India. In Bantam, membership tickets were sold to the number of 12,000, while in Palembang a ticket found bore the number 21,114. In these figures the Dutch authorities found clear proof that a small nucleus of well-disciplined Communists, by means of effective organisations and false slogans and promises, could create an amount of discontent that led up to spontaneous explosions and mass resistance to the authority of Government.

THE TIMING OF THE OUTBREAK

The actual facts of the outbreak, which can be read elsewhere, are of far less importance for the purposes of this book than the methods by which the outbreak itself was brought about. It seems clear that the "high command" busied itself more with the illegal side of the organisation, with the result that the outbreak may have taken place in advance of the general state of preparedness for concerted action. To this result the inclusion of the criminal riff-raff and the direct encouragement of the terroristic idea must have contributed in no small degree. That the lower elements must have greatly predominated would appear to be a necessary consequence of the fact that, between the organisers and the rank and file, there was no "nationalist bourgeoisie", or politically minded middle-class, such as is to be found in the chief direction and control of revolutionary movements in India. Thus although the Communist teachings seemingly found and filled a political vacuum among the Javanese population, the progress made was notable for the numbers rather than the quality of the recruits. In spite of this, it was said that the "high command" had been so successful in Bolshevising the party, in tightening up discipline and in intensifying agitation, that it was only at the eleventh hour that the magistracy and police gained some insight into what was going to happen.

If further evidence were needed as to the responsibility of the Communists for the Javanese disorders, it may be found in the following utterance by Semaoen, an important leader, as to the character of the outbreak :—"The [263] characteristic of the Indonesian movement in this that the active part of the Indonesian people is led by Communists; therefore the Communists are the champions of the nationalist movement".

PILGRIMS TO THE HEDJAZ

In the section dealing with Arabia, it has been pointed out that the risks of infection run by Indian pilgrims are shared equally by those from Indonesia. For instance, at the Islamic Motamar (World Conference) in June 1926, most of the Indian delegates were repeatedly seen at the house of the Russian delegates, to which the Javanese representatives were said to be constant visitors. In the same section reference has been made to the arrest of certain Indonesian pilgrims who were believed to have been carrying on Bolshevik propaganda in conjunction with local pilgrim guides.

SOME COMMON AGITATORS—TAN MALAKA, ETC.

Apart from the above, British India and the Netherlands East Indies find a certain amount of common ground in a small number of agitatirs who have been connected with agitation in both countries. Two Europeans whose names will be familiar are Douwes Dekker and Sneevliet. Among Javanese the best-known is a young Malay, named Tan Malaka, from the West coast of Sumatra. This person, who is at present about 30 years of age, was formerly a school teacher, and soon attracted so much attention as a virulent propagandist of the Communist creed that he was arrested and sentenced to banishment to one of the more remote portions of the Archipelago. He asked that this sentence might be suspended on the condition that he quitted the Netherlands East Indies and never returned. His request was granted and he left for Holland in March 1922. Since then he has paid at least two visits to Moscow, where he has attended Communist conferences. In 1924-25 he was at Canton, where he held (under Moscow) the position of "Propagandist for the Pacific Area". There is abundant evidence to show that while he was in Europe, Malaka, as well as another Javanese Communist, Darsono, was in close and sympathetic touch with M. N. Roy, and that he may indeed be regarded as the Roy of Javanese Communism. On one [264] occasion it was reported that on his way back to Java he would carry special instructions for the Indian revolutionaries, and would forward Bolshevik money to India in the shape of Bills of Exchange drawn on Dutch and American firms; but this information has never been confirmed. Intercepted correspondence revealed that in September 1925 Tan

Malaka was in Chiengmai, a town in Siam close to the Burma-Siam frontier, from which place he wrote under various assumed names a number of letters to his political associates in the Dutch East Indies. These letters, which were written partly in a secret code, were eventually deciphered; and although they yielded nothing of immediate interest to India, they pointed to the establishment of a secret centre in Singapore, through which place all of them were received. Though Tan Malaka's presence in Chiengmai was verified by independent enquiry, the real object of his visit has never been ascertained. It was alleged that about December 1925 he was in Penang, but his actual whereabouts appeared to be uncertain. He was said to be suffering from tuberculosis and to be in a low state of health. Tan Malaka was educated in Holland, speaks both Dutch and English, and is obviously an intelligent and dangerous type of agitator. An old letter written by him to a fellow-worker from Singapore, and dated the 26th November 1925, is interesting as a commentary on the unpromising nature of the indigenous races of British Malaya as a field for Communist propaganda. Tan Malaka wrote that, up to the date of his letter, not the slightest advantage from their propaganda was to be seen in Singapore or Penang; the indigenous inhabitants, he said, were all conservative in their manner of living and thinking, and were petty bourgeois; the impressions which he obtained elsewhere did not differ from those gained in Singapore and Penang; and, in fact, if one looked for a movement in that part of the country, it was not to be sought on the side of the Malays; whatever sort of movement it might be, it would assuredly come from the side of the Chinese and other immigrants.

Another Javanese Communist whose name has occurred in the course of reports bearing on Indian affairs is [265] one Alimin. This Alimin along with one other delegate attended, as representative for Java, the First Congress of Transport Workers held at Canton in the second half of June 1924. Later the same pair attended the important Djocja Conference of Communists, to which a reference has been made in an earlier part of this section. The latest information about Alimin is that he attended the pan-Pacific Labour Conference which was held at Canton at the end of May last, and which was attended by a large number of Indians, including M. N. Roy and many revolutionary Sikhs.

CHAPTER VII

OTHER EMISSARIES TO INDIA

The doings of the better-known Communist emissaries to India are interwoven in the general narrative and need not be individually recapitulated. The tale of such agents from outside is a long and steadily growing one, for it may be recalled that among Indians it includes besides Roy's *Muhajirin*, Nalini Gupta, Shaukat Usmani, Abani Mukherji, Sepassi *alias* Khushi Mahomed, Abdul Hamid, Gopen Chakravarty, Saklatvala and Fazl Elahi; and among the Europeans, Charles Ashleigh, Huge Espinoza, Percy Glading, George Allison *alias* Donald Campbell, and Phillip Spratt. All these have been "front line" men, so to speak, and their activities naturally take their proper place in the body of this history. But there have been other emissaries as well who, though less important, have yet been the object of both interest and suspicion. I have thought it advisable to embody in a separate Chapter notes on some of these minor characters, no less because such persons may themselves re-appear on the stage than because they may typify others who will doubtless come after them.

PROFESSOR NICHOLAS K. ROERICH

This man, described as an artist, with his wife and two sons, was granted permission to enter India, and his party arrived in Bombay on 30th November 1923; they then visited Agra, Delhi, Calcutta, and Darjeeling. After staying for two months in Darjeeling, Roerich with one of his sons left for America, leaving behind his wife and the other son. He returned to India *via* Dhanushkodi in January 1925 from New York, and was accompained by one V. A. Shibayeff, a Latvian, described as his secretary, who had come from Paris. Roerich and Shibayeff then went to Madras and Darjeeling, which the latter (Shibayeff) after a month's-stay left for his own country. Roerich next travelled to Kashmir and Ladakh (March 1925) giving out that he intended to paint the whole Himalaya range. [267]

Roerich was in possession of a Russian passport, issued at Stockholm in November 1918, anl it was reported that he had not acquired United States naturalization papers, but held a passport which was issued by the Russian Provisional Government of 1917.

While in transit in India on the second occasion (1925), he visited the Theosophical Headquarters, Madras, to which he presented a painting in memory of Madame Blavatsky. When Roerich's party were in India they attracted no attention, but in February and March 1926 information was received that Shib Banerji, the Bengal Communist, believed that a relative of Roerich had brought a large sum of money for Bolshevik propaganda. Suspicion first fell on Shibayeff but enquiries failed to connect him with Bolshevism, while it was discovered that it was Roerich himself who had stayed at the house of Soumendra Tagore, the well-known Communist.

When Roerich arrived in Srinagar (March 1925) he applied for permission to visit Leh and to spend a year there. The impression that he was on a *bona fide* painting expedition prevailed till May 1925, when a report (subsequently described as based on 'thin' suspicion) was received from New York that Roerich was suspected of Communistic sympathies. A later report mentioned him as one of the supporters of seditious Indians in America and as definitely anti-British. In Srinagar Roerich announced that he proposed to return to the United States *via* China and Japan, and while staying at Khotan in the winter of 1925-26, he issued an 'appeal' to all foreign representatives in Kashgar asking for their intervention, on his behalf, against the action of the local Chinese authorities in having detained him. Actually he left Urumtchi for Moscow, which change of route, against his declared intention, seemed to be inexplicable, especially, as, holding a passport issued by the Provisional Government of Russia, he was almost bound to be arrested in Soviet territory. No such disaster, however, befell him. It appeared from later reports (May 1927) that he was in Moscow and Leningrad during the winter of 1926-27 and was reported to have "pronounced Soviet sympathies"; it was further said that he intended to proceed [268] to Tibet in charge of an expedition which was expected to be absent for two years. Roerich, his two sons named George and Sviatoslov, and his secretary, Shibayeff have since been blacklisted as persons to whom visas are not to be granted to India.

VICTOR FOMIAN

This man arrived in Chitral in 1924 *via* the Baroghil Pass and was reported to have previously embraced Islam. He was arres-

ted and sent to Peshawar. He stated that till 1917 he was in Roumania; in 1920 he escaped to Siberia, but was arrested and sent back to Moscow and imprisoned, until he agreed to obey the Bolshevik Government. In 1923, unable to secure release by any other means, he agreed to be sent to the Pamir 'on active service', really intending to desert at the earliest opportunity. In November 1923 he escaped to Afghanistan, and in January 1924 he was sent to Khanabad by the Afghan authorities and appointed as Russian Interpreter to the Afghan Consul at Yarkand. Eventually he secured the permission of the Hakin of Keshok to proceed to Chitral.

He was kept under observation after his arrival in India, but his conduct gave no cause for anxiety. From Peshawar he was sent to Lahore, for detention in the European Debtors' Jail, and remained in the workhouse for some time. Later he was appointed a fireman on the North-Western Railway. In May 1927 he was incapacitated through a fall from an engine, which paralysed one of his legs, and he remained in Lahore. It is difficult to say whether or not Fomian was a Bolshevik emissary; but it would be imprudent not to regard him with a certain amount of suspicion until he has been shown to be harmless.

PROFESSOR H. F. WARD

This gentleman, who is an American and a Professor of Christian Ethics at the Union Theological Seminary, New York, another of the "Repression of Civil Liberties in the United States —(1918-1923)" and other pamphlets, and a supporter of the Industrial Workers of the World (a revolutionary and anarchical association), arrived in Bombay on the 26th of September 1924, accompanied by his wife. After an extensive tour throughout India, they left Rangoon for [269] Japan *via* Singapore on the 1st January, 1925. During his stay Professor Ward delivered lectures in Bombay, Nagpur, Lahore, Benares, Poona, Madras and Rangoon. Though not openly advocating the introduction of Communism in India, Ward betrayed admiration of the Soviet régime in Russia, and the views expressed by him during the course of his addresses were, at least, definitely socialistic. Information received from London established the fact that, prior to his Indian tour, he had been a guest of the Soviet authorities in Moscow and it was strongly suspected that the object of his visit to India and the Far East was to disseminate Communist propa-

ganda. In Bombay he lectured on "The actual conditions in Russia", and observed that the majority of the people approved of the present form of Government there; democracy had given place to dictatorship by the Proletariat; there was nothing like luxury in Russia; the present realised that the State was doing beneficient work; profiteering was penalised; parasites and speculators had no place. At Nagpur he asserted that Communism was not a menace to humanity, and no other government in the world, except the Soviet, could be regarded as stable, efficient and zealously watchful in furthering the economic welfare of the masses. In Poona he defended the maintenance of a large army by Russia for self-defence on the ground that other nations of Europe had increased that naval and military strength beyond ordinary requirements; and in one of his lectures he painted a glowing picture of the social conditions in Russia, stating *inter alia* that the Zinoviev letter was a fabrication of the Conservatives in order to defeat the Labour Party at the elections. In Madras he severely condemned the profit system, and in one of his discourses remarked that the Western World, from the United States to Russia, was beginning in different ways to experiment with new and better forms of government and of economic control in order that democracy, instead of being limited, might be carried through to its logical conclusion. India, like Russia, but in a totally different way, would need to develop her nationalism, and nothing could be achieved until the strong nations of the West showed repentance and made restitution for their past misdeeds. Subsequently, in 1925, some objectionable articles [270] contributed by him on subjects such as 'Gandhi and Lenin'; 'Turmoil in India'; 'White Race Problem' etc., appeared in certain Indian newspapers. Later enquiries made indicated that in America Ward is styled a 'philosophical anarchist'; that in 1918 he came under the observation of the American authorities owing to his apparent sympathy for and approval of the I.W.W. organisation—(Industrial Workers of the World)—which, in an address delivered by him, he characterised as containing the seed of the great revolution for which he and the Fabian Club were working; and that in several speeches he criticised the attitude of the United States towards Soviet Russia.

He arrived is Japan at the beginning of February 1925 and delivered a number of lectures before the Japanese Federation of Labour, theosophical students, etc., which in tone and substance

were similar to those delivered in India. His intimacy with Japanese of known socialistic and revolutionary tendencies proved to be a source of embarrassment to the Japanese authorities. In December 1925 information was received that, according to an authoritative American source, there was documentary proof in Ward's handwriting that he regarded Bolshevik principles as correct and likely to prevail throughout the world.

In March 1926, in New York City, he made characteristic extremist statements in support of the anti-foreign student movement in China. Early in 1927 it was reported that he had visited China, and that since his return he was more active than before in disseminating Chinese propaganda, and in anti-British agitation; and that in a lecture to the students of the Columbia University on 'Soviet Tactics in the Far East' he openly stated that Soviet money was entering India and China for revolutionary work and for the training of Indians on revolutionary lines.

ANDRA PETROVITCH BUROFF

This man entered Burma *via* Tengyueh and Bhamo. He was arrested at Shwebo on 1st May 1925, and subsequently detained in the workhouse at Rangoon. After enquiry and examination of his papers, he was deported to Odessa in July [271] 1925, being regarded as a highly suspicious and undesirabsle foreigner. He professed to be an engineer by profession and to have served in the Tsarist Army. He stated that he came to Vladivostok, where he was discharged from the army; he then returned to Russia, and wandered all over the country in search of work, again returning to Vladivostok. He spent seven months in China in search of work and after leaving Vladivostok in August 1924, visited Harbin, Dairen, Tsingtau, Shanghai, Hankow, etc., Hanoi in French Indo China, Yunnan, and Tengyueh. The papers found in his possession did not establish that he was a Bolshevik agent, although they likewise contained nothing to dispel this suspicion. It appeared that he sailed from Odessa in the autumn of 1923 and subsequently took service as a stoker in a steamer for a few days in December of that year; also that he was a reservist who had served in the Red Army as senior trumpeter to a cavalry regimental commander. Among other papers, he had a Russian passport granted in 1923; a member's ticket of the Soviet of the Trades Union of the Primorski Province; two employment certificate of the same year, including one granted in Odessa; and

enlistment certificate of the Marine Union Club; and two passports granted in February and April 1924 by the Chinese authorities.

GEORGE EDUARD MICHAEL

This German applied in June 1925 for permission to proceed to India on behalf of his firm. Messrs. Michael and Nibbe, Hamburg. He produced correspondence showing that he was in business relations with certain firms in Bombay, Colombo, Calcutta and Delhi, and he also secured a recommendation from the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, Hamburg Branch, to the effect that he was personally known to them. The permission applied for was granted. Michael arrived in Bombay early in December 1925, but the authorities in Egypt had previously come to know that one George Rolin *alias* Johnson, a reported Communist agent, had sailed from Port Said for Bombay and that while in Egypt he had been in touch with Abdur Rahman Bey Fahmy, the Wafd Labour leader, through whom he was introduced to certain Communists in Egypt. In Bombay suspicion fell on George Eduard Michael as [272] being the man in question, but when examined he expressed great indignation and pretended to understand that Rolin *alias* Johnson were two distinct persons, neither of whom was in the employ of his firm. Inquiry made in Egypt, however, left no room for doubt on the question of identity, the signature on a letter from Rolin to Ali Gazzar, a well-known Communist leader of Egypt, being identified as that of G. E. Michael of the firm of Michael and Nibbe, Hamburg. Michael's photograph was subsequently identified in Egypt as that of Rolin *alias* Johnson, who had told his Communist friends in Egypt that he had received an urgent summons from Bombay and that he was "the Bombay man". It was further found that, before his departure, he had given Ali Gazzar a new cipher code. He had also told an agent of Abdur Rahman Bey Fahmy that he was one of a group of three, of whom the other two were already (or would shortly be) in Egypt, and advised him (the agent) to go to Jeddah, where arrangements would be made for him to meet them. While his case was under consideration Michael left Bombay for Mormugao and from there sailed for Europe on 24th March 1926. He has since been blacklisted and will not be allowed to return to India. Further enquiries made in Europe showed that he was a German

ex-Naval officer, whose career had been devious in the extreme; he was also suspected by the German police of trafficking in opium. He served on the Emden and was in Russia after the revolution in 1917; a sister of his married a Russian named Krause. An independent report from Berlin stated that he was in touch with the Bolshevik Consulate in Hamburg, had visited Russia several times in 1923 and 1924, and during the 1923 Communist rising in Hamburg, after which the Soviet Consul was withdrawn at the request of the German Government, had been mentioned in connection with the distribution of literature on behalf of the Russians. He was also known to have arranged (for a consideration) visas to Russia for business people. His effrontery can be judged from the fact that in July 1926 the German Consul General in Calcutta informed the Government of India that Michael had, when leaving Bombay, omitted to ask for permission for re-entry and had now solicited his good offices. Michael actually [273] applied in Europe in the same month for permission to return to India on the ground that he had established a firm of his own in Bombay.

GHOLIF FOTHER ALIAS MAHOMED AMAN

This man arrived in Peshawar from Kabul *via* Khanabad and Chitral in January 1926. Examined by the police, he gave an account of himself which aroused suspicion. He stated that he was born at Rostoff, was educated in Moscow, and since 1917 had suffered much at the hands of the Bolsheviks, who had killed his parent and brothers; he himself was imprisoned but eventually escaped in 1921 and in due course reached Bokhara; in 1924 he came to Mazar-i-Sharif and embraced Islam, reaching Kabul in 1925; he was subsequently expelled to Chinese Turkestan by the Afghan Government but was prevented by the Chinese authorities from entering Chinese territory, after which he returned to Khirgiz and then reached Chitral in January 1926. Enquiry made at Peshawar showed that this account was contrary to the information received by the authorities from other sources, which was to the effect that a Russian, who professed to be a doctor, had been arrested on suspicion by the Afghan authorities in the Wakhjir Pass, and was identical with Gholif Fother who was employed in the Kabul Electrical Department and had travelled with the Amir to Kandahar and Ghazni in 1925, thence coming to Chitral. Suspicion was strengthened by

independent information received from another quarter that the U.S.S.R. had detailed men for propaganda to various areas; that particular stress had been laid on Chitral and Afghanistan, and that the doctor, who was employed in Chitral and had been posing as a refugee from the Bolsheviks, was himself a Bolshevik agent. The report added that he was turned back at the Wakhjir Pass by the Khirgiz in 1925 and had then gone to Kabul and become a Muslim. At Peshawar, when his case was under enquiry, he expressed a wish to be sent to Australia. He was deported to China in September 1926 under the Foreigners Act.

MADAME HALENA KIZIEWICZ ALIAS STAVRINAKY

This woman was the head of a troupe of dancers, composed mostly of Russians, who applied at Shanghai [274] in 1926 for permission to visit India. The troupe was reported to consist of persons believed to be anti-Bolshevik. Stavrinaky arrived in Rangoon in October 1926. Before her arrival in Bombay, information was received that she was a Bolshevik agent who had worked for the Bolshevik Commissar for Food; that in 1919 she was on the staff of Semonoff in Harbin and was in collusion with a Tsarist General named Zukoosky, under whom, while working as a contractor, she had misappropriated large quantities of merchandise; and that in 1920 she was employed in the secret service under Koltchak, and was the mistress of General Harwat. Enquiry made in Harbin showed that she had worked for Semonoff and Baron Ungerusterberg in *contre-espionage*, and that since 1920 she had been working for the Bolsheviks. It was reported that she was an adventuress without normal principles in monetary transactions. Examined by the police in India, she admitted that she had never been a dancer, but was following that occupation only as a hobby. She was given the option of leaving India or being deported, and accepted the former alternative. She left Bombay for Shanghai *via* Colombo in December 1926, and was reported to be in Malaya in March 1927. Subsequently she endeavoured to get one Tiffin of Bombay, a British subject and a known undesirable, to join her in Singapore, probably in order to marry her and thus enable her to re-enter India as the wife of a British subject. Madame Stvrinaky made vigorous but unsuccessful efforts to return to India and was subsequently blacklisted. [275]

CHAPTER VIII

COMMUNISM AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

THE FORMATION OF TRADE UNIONS

The Trade Union Movement attracted little notice in India until about 1918. Before that year there were hardly any Trades Unions in the Country, except the Printers' Union in Calcutta (now known as Press Employees' Association), which is said to have been founded in 1905, and the Postal Workers' Union in Bombay, which came into existence in the following year.

In 1918 B. P. Wadia organised the Madras Labour Union for the workers of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, and the Indian Seamen's Union at Calcutta was formed during the same year. These were followed by an abundant crop of Trade Unions which sprang up all over the country, especially in Calcutta and Bombay. These new unions came into being mainly through the efforts of agitators whose object was to organise Labour in order to paralyse the Government, and with it, the trade and commerce of the country. As a result, a large number of strikes took place, some of which were successful. At that time conditions were favourable to the efforts of such agitators, for the rise in wages generally had not kept pace with the rise in the cost of living in India during the War period. Another circumstances which seemed to have helped the growth of the Trade Union movement was the establishment of the International Trade Conference, the first meeting of which was held at Washington. Its constitution gave the right to workers' organisations to have their delegates' names submitted to the Government for nomination, if the latter approved.

THE INFLUENCE OF BOLSHEVISM

In addition there was the example of the successful revolution of the masses in Russia, which attracted much attention in India in common with the rest of the world. Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal and others seem to have been impressed with it while abroad. After his return Lala Rajpat Rai is credited with addressing the following re- [276] marks to colliery workers at Jharia in 1921 :—"The final goal of the movement is supposed to be Bolshevism, to be brought about eventually by what

was called 'permanent strike'. In other words, a complete cessation of the output of coal, thereby paralysing the railways and all industries. It is thought that the unemployment resulting therefrom would quickly develop into a state of Bolshevism....."

This was not the first occasion on which Lala Lajpat Rai had shown his Bolshevik leanings, for on 2nd September 1919 he had published in the *Independent* (Allahabad) articles headed "Bolshevism" and "Anti-Bolshevism" in which he criticised favourably the former creed.

During the year 1919, extreme political agitators were organising Labour and preaching anti-capitalist and profit-sharing ideas. The late J. R. Roy, brother of T. R. Roy—a Communist of Calcutta—with Mahomed Mohsin Khan, a well-known Khilafat agitator of Aligarh, formed an association named the "Bengal Central Labour Federation" in Calcutta to organise the mill-hands of Bengal. C. R. Das initiated another organisation of a similar nature, with himself as president and one Hemanta Kumar Sarkar as secretary. This Hemanta Kumar Sarkar became subsequently one of the leading lights of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party, with Muzaffar Ahmad, Nalini Gupta and other notorious Communists in Calcutta. One Baidul Alam, a Khilafat agitator with pro-Bolshevik views, also preached Bolshevism and distributed a book entitled "Bolshevism in the Koran". At the same time, a Persian merchant named Ispahani, who identified Bolshevism with pan-Islamism, was endeavouring to infuse Bolshevik ideas into the minds of the labouring classes. He subscribed Rs. 1,050 to the Central Labour Federation, ostensibly for the improvement of the condition of mill-hands.

A short account of the Workers' Welfare League of India, London, has been given in Chapter VI. In spite of the League's professions of neutrality as far as politics were concerned, it appears to have been the first foreign agency to introduce Bolshevik principles into the Trade [277] Union movement in India. Immediately after its formation, this organisation attempted to capture all the Trade Unions then in existence in India. The meetings of the League held in 1919 showed that N. C. Kelkar, B. P. Wadia, Diwan Chaman Lal and Dip Narain Singh, who were then in England, were members of, or associated with, the League, which gave letters to Satyamurthi and Madhab Rao, then also in England, authorising them to act on behalf of the League in India.

In December 1919 B. C. Pal, on his return to Calcutta, openly preached the League's creed in a decidedly pro-Bolshevik speech. He became president of the Barakar Labour Union, and took considerable interest in Labour organisation and strikes.

THE ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

When Diwan Chaman Lal returned from abroad, he endeavoured to organise an All-India Labour body, ostensibly for the purpose of co-ordinating the various Labour unions, with the result that the All-India Trade Union Congress was formed in 1920. Its first session was held in Bombay in the same year, with Lala Lajpat Rai as president and Diwan Chaman Lal as secretary. Mukunda Lal Sarkar, S. N. Haldar, Joseph Baptista and several others assisted Chaman Lal. The All-India Trade Union Congress has since become the central organisation of the Trade Union movement in India.

The efforts of these and other Labour agitators attracted the attention of the Indian National Congress, which took up Labour organisation, and in 1920 the Congress Labour Committee was formed with Lala Lajpat Rai as its president and Dip Narain Singh as one of its members.

B. P. Wadia, on his return from England, became president of the Indian Labour Association, Madras. He received pamphlets and literature on Labour matters from the Workers' Welfare League of India and from some Labour Unions in England, and was connected with J. Potter Wilson and S. Saklatvala of the League, both of whom were signatories to the manifesto of the extreme Left Wing of the Independent Labour Party, which declared its adherence to the Comintern. It is also of interest to note that Potter Wilson sent a letter from [278] the Workers' Welfare League to Lajpat Rai, enclosing a handbill advertising a conference of the League in England to consider the decisions of the first session of the All-India Trade Union Congress. That Wadia was interested in Bolshevism seems clear from the fact that in 1921 the Russian Press Review was sent to him. The Review consisted mainly of extracts from Soviet newspapers in which the activities of the Bolsheviks were presented in a favourable light.

Diwan Chaman Lal, after he had become secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, maintained touch with Saklatvala, to whom, in 1921, he wrote expressing his pleasure at

hearing that Mr. Montagu, then Secretary of State for India, had received a deputation from the Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee to discuss the Labour movement in India, and that the secretary of the Workers' Welfare League of India was included in the deputation.

THE CONGRESS AND LABOUR

About the end of 1922 Roy expressed his intention of forming a Communist Party from the ashes of Gandhi's Non-co-operation movement, and, in order to achieve this end, he sent to the leading Congressmen assembled at Gaya many copies of his pamphlet entitled "A Programme for the Indian National Congress", expressing among other things, profit-sharing and anti-capitalist views. As a result of Roy's direct or indirect efforts a resolution in favour of the organisation of Labour was passed at the Gaya Congress. It was supported by Singaravelu Chettiar, Roy's chief agent in Madras, who was corresponding with Roy regarding Communist organisations in India and was receiving Bolshevik money. In addressing the Congress, Singaravelu introduced himself as a Communist and urged that Labour should be approached direct to declare a national strike and to overthrow the domination both of the Government and the bourgeoisie.

M. N. ROY'S ACTIVITIES

Roy then started a systematic propaganda campaign to infuse Communistic ideas into Labour Unions in India, and began to send his *Vanguard of Indian Independence* to the secretaries of import- [279] ant Unions, accompanied by a request that they should send him information about Labour organisations and statistics of the Labour movement in India. He made fair progress in developing connections in India, both by means of propaganda and through agents such as Nalini Gupta, Shaukat Usmani, Dange, Muzaffar Ahmad and others. In 1922 Roy promised Muzaffar Ahmad a monthly subsidy of Rs. 100. In the same year Roy wrote to C. R. Das suggesting "direct action by the organised workers and peasants". Roy also proposed to send Jotin Mitra to India with instructions to intimate to the Indian workers that the Third International was anxious to help the Indian Proletariat both with money and advice as to the methods of "making a revolution successful."

Roy wrote a letter to Dange in December 1922, informing the addressee that he was going to hold a conference in Berlin, where the programme and organisation of a revolutionary party of the working classes, and the control of the Trade Union Congress, would be discussed. About this time Roy, in an article entitled "Labour Party" wrote that the workers and peasants of India must be organised into a revolutionary party. At his instigation, a Communist paper called the *Inqilab* was produced at Lahore by Ghulam Hussain.

THE LABOUR INFORMATION BUREAU

In the middle of January 1923 a special Congress of the Communist Party was held at Essen and was attended by prominent members of the British Communist Party, including W. Newbold, M.P., Donovan, Inkpin and Fred Peel. At a joint meeting of this Congress the main object discussed was Roy's proposal to start a Labour Information Bureau which was to be affiliated with Indian Trade Unions. Roy was asked by the Third International to press forward his scheme as quickly as possible. At the meeting Roy explained that such a Bureau would establish a legal connection between Indian and European Labour organisations, and he argued that it was essential that the Communist Party should be closely connected both legally and illegally with Indian Trade Unions. The object of this Bureau would be to keep Indian Trade Unions and other Labour organisations informed of the progress and plans [280] of Labour in Europe, and to obtain a regular supply of information about the Labour movement in India. At this meeting Roy emphasised the desirability of securing the co-operation of Saklatvala, who was in close touch with, and possessed considerable influence, over, Indian Labour organisers such as Chaman Lal. As a result of this meeting the proposed Labour information Bureau was formed, and about February 1923 it began to function as a propaganda distributing agency, and despatched to Indian newspapers many copies of a manifesto from German workers to the All-India Trade Union Congress. The manifesto declared that India's political freedom must be attained before the economic emancipation of the Indian working-classes could be realised; it concluded : "Fellow workers of India, let us join hands in order that the subject peoples of the East may be freed from the bondage of Imperialism, and that the European Proletariat may break the chains of slavery forged at Versailles

by the Capitalist robbers drunk with victory; until we will march to freedom.

Down with Imperialism!
Long live the workers and peasants of free India!
Victory to the international working class!"

SANTOSH KUMARI GUPTA

In 1923 Santosh Kumari Gupta, a well-known agitator of Bengal who had taken up the cause of Labour, formed an association named the Gouripur Works Employees' Association, of which she became the secretary. This association was composed of workers in the Gouripur group of jute mills near Calcutta. She obtained from Mukunda Lal Sarkar the addresses of K. S. Bhát, president of the Workers' Welfare League of India, and of Saklatvala, and wrote to the former saying that, as the jute operatives were not properly organised, she had formed the above association, for which she solicited his support. Santosh Kumari subsequently corresponded with Deoki Prasad Sinha, a confederate of M. N. Roy, and associated closely with Shib Nath Banerji, Makunda Lal Sarkar, Kutubuddin Ahmad, Kali Das Bhattacharji and other Labour agitators of Bengal. [281]

THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE A.I.T.U.C.

The growth of the Labour movement continued during 1924 and the progressive tendencies of its leaders also began to show themselves. In January of that year N. M. Joshi endeavoured to have the All-India Trade Union Congress affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam. In the same month Santosh Kumari Gupta, Makunda Lal Sarkar (Secretary of the Employees' Association) and the Communists, Kutubuddin Ahmad (president of the Khansamas' Union, Calcutta, and an agent of M. N. Roy), Dange, Singaravelu and others, issued an appeal for funds in connection with the fourth session of the All-India Trade Union Congress, which was held in March 1924 in Calcutta, with Mr. C. R. Das as president and Santosh Kumari as the Chairman of the reception committee. They appealed to the general public to show their interest in the advancement of the economic life and the political rights of the workers by vigorous and persistent propaganda. M. N. Roy wrote to Mukunda Lal Sarkar regarding this session of the All-India Trade Union Congress, dilating on the betrayal of the working-class by their leaders and critising the action of Chaman

Lal, the secretary of this Congress. He advised that new leadership was essential. He urged Indian Labour to send delegates to the International Congress and suggested that the Trade Union Congress should become a truly working-class organisation. He added that their goal could only be reached through the thorny path of revolution.

At this session of the All-India Trade Union Congress the first resolution expressed condolence on the death of Lenin. A special committee to revise the constitution of the All-India Trade Union Congress was appointed with the following amongst its members :—

Dhondiraj Thengdi, Mukunda Lal Sarkar, Shamsuddin Hassan (of Lahore) and Santosh Kumari Gupta.

It was resolved to appoint the Workers' Welfare League of India as the representative in England of the All-India Trade Union Congress. [282]

THE BRITISH BUREAU OF THE R.I.L.U.

A letter from the British Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions to a vernacular paper in Madras urged the affiliation of the A.I.T.U.C. with the R.I.L.U. It was signed by George Hardy, a well-known Communist, who was acquainted with Roy and was associated with him in his anti-British activities in Germany. In this letter Hardy said that his Bureau was deeply interested in the Labour movements of the Far East, and that the R.I.L.U. had affiliated the Transport Workers of Java and the Chinese Seamen's Union, but that they had been unable to find out very much about the attitude of the Indian Workers towards international affiliation; upon which question the writer asked to be furnished with an opinion. He warned the A.I.T.U.C. against being brought into the International Federation of Trade Unions of Amsterdam, by the British Labour Party, which was not likely to oppose British Imperialism. This was followed by a letter from Tom Mann, Chairman of the British Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions, to the secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, in which the writer expressed the hope that the day was not far distant when, with the British Imperialist domination broken, the Trade Unionists of India would be free to carry forward the task of emancipating the Indian peasants and workers from Capitalist exploitation. Tom Mann eulogised the Red International of Labour Unions, which was formed by the victorious Russian

Proletariat and waged war against Capitalist and Imperialist domination. He concluded by praying that the Indian workers might come in close and lasting contact with the revolutionary workers of Europe and America.

ACTIVITIES OF INDIAN LABOUR LEADERS

After the meeting of the All-India Trade Union Congress a Provincial Labour Conference was held at Madras under the presidency of P. Naidu.

Santosh Kumari Gupta, continuing her activities on behalf of Labour, produced a vernacular labour organ called the *Sramik* (Labour), and Kutubuddin Ahmad of Calcutta published another Labour weekly called the *Mazdur* (labourer), which dealt with the grievances of the working [283] classes. Abdul Halim, an underling of Kutubuddin, who was intimate with Basudev Hari Joshi of Bombay (a member of the All-India Communist Party) conducted the latter paper. Kutubuddin was closely associated with Muzaffar Ahmad and contributed towards the expenses of his defence in the Cawnpore trial.

THE BENGAL TRADE UNION FEDERATION

In 1925 Mukunda Lal Sarkar organised a provincial committee in Bengal of the All-India Trade Union Congress, and named it the Bengal Trade Union Federation. He wrote to Singaravelu Chettiar, asking him to send a small deputation to England and other foreign countries to urge the cause of Indian Labour and to educate foreign opinion in its favour.

THE FIFTH SESSION OF THE A.I.T.U.C.

The Fifth Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress was held at Bombay in February 1925. The Chairman of the Reception Committee said: "You may be aware that the Workers' Welfare League of India in England has been doing useful work in disseminating correct Indian Labour information in England and other Western countries. Dr. K. S. Bhat is the president of the League and J. E. Potter Wilson and Shapurji Saklatvala are its secretaries. It was thought desirable that the League should be given authority on behalf of the Congress to represent the Congress views in England and it was accordingly done."

D. R. Thengdi (who had got in touch with M. N. Roy in 1924) in his presidential address described the condition of

workers as worse than that of cattle. He demanded more equitable distribution of the necessaries of life and the throwing open of land, free and untramelled by the claims of absentee landlords, so that the distribution of land among actual workers and tillers might be an easy matter.

It was clear from the discussion that a section of the All-India Trade Union Congress hoped to bring together the working-classes of India, under their own control, with a view to to bring about an all-India national strike that would paralyse the Government and establish a national [284] Government of the Indian people, if not of the Indian workers.

FORMATION OF MORE LABOUR UNIONS

The All-India Railwaymen's Unions Federation (which is now known as the All-India Railway Workmen's Federation) was formally brought into existence in 1925, with Mukunda Lal Sarkar as secretary and Rai Shahib Chandrika Prasad of Ajmer as president. In addition other local Labour organisations which were founded during the same year are worthy of mention. In Bengal a new party known as the Labour Swaraj Party was formed in November by Qazi Nazrul Islam (a fanatical poet), Hemanta Kumar Sarkar, Kutubuddin Ahmad and others, with the object of organising Labour and the peasantry in order to use them to enforce the demands of the people of India. The ostensible purpose of the party was the amelioration of the conditions of labourers, the nationalisation of industries and the establishment of land-ownership on a Communist basis. This party has already been dealt with in the portion of Chapter V dealing with Bengal, where it was mentioned that a party paper called the *Langal* (Plough) was published by Qazi Nazrul Islam. Kutubuddin bore the major portion of the expenses of this paper, and it is believed that he got the money from M. N. Roy.

In Northern India Diwan Chaman Lal, N. M. Joshi, Lala Lajpat Rai and others formed at Lahore the Punjab Labour Organissing Board. Ram Chandra, a local Communist, who was its secretary claimed to have organised seven Labour Unions in the Punjab.

PERCY E. GLADING

An important event of the year (1925) was the arrival in India of Percy E. Glading *alias* Cochrane—a Communist emis-

sary belonging to the National Minority Movement in England and a prominent member of the British Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions. As already related, Glading was sent to India with credentials from Roy to propagate Bolshevism and to study the Indian Labour situation at first hand. He was to report the results of his investigations to a private meeting of the party which was to be held in London by the first week of May 1925. [285] Glading was furnished by Roy with a list of persons in India who would assist him in his mission. The list contained the following name:—

(1) N. S. Ramaswami Ayengar of Madras.
(2) G. V. Krishna Rao of Guntur.
(3) I. B. Sen of Calcutta. (A barrister who had been for some time abroad and afterwards became the editor of the nationalist Calcutta paper, *The Bengalee*).
(4) Atma Ram Bhatvadekar of Bombay. (Atma Ram had been in Europe, where he worked for some time in an engineering firm in Leeds. While in Europe he came in touch with M. N. Roy and agreed to organise an association of seamen, so that literature could be smuggled into India through them).

Glading on his arrival in India attended the fifth session of the All-India Trade Union Congress at Bombay, in the month of February, as a representative of the Amalgamated Union of Engineers, London. He then went on to Delhi and stayed there for about a month. During this time he had daily interviews and consultations with Deoki Prasad Sinha (whom he had previously met in Paris in company with M. N. Roy), regarding the furtherance of Roy's programme of work. They decided to form a Labour Party, of which Lala Lajpat Rai consented to become president. It was also decided that the inner circle would consist of the following:—

(1) Deoki Prasad Sinha for Bihar.
(2) I. B. Sen for Calcutta.
(3) Lala Lajpat Rai for Northern India.
(4) Atma Ram for Bombay.

Glading, before leaving India, visited Calcutta and met I. B. Sen, who expressed sympathy with the party's cause, but would not take any active part. Sen recommended him to Mukunda Lal Sarkar, whom he met, and he also visited certain Labour centres in Calcutta. He then again met Sinha and Lajpat Rai,

who informed him that all arrangements for the contemplated Labour Party were complete. [286]

While at Bombay *en route* to Europe, Glading met the well-known Labour agitator F. J. Ginwala, secretary of the Textile Workers' Union, and R. B. Lotwala, secretary of the Free Press of India. The former promised to introduce the methods of Soviet Russia among the workers of his association, while the latter promised to print sympathetic articles in his paper, the *Sunday News* (managed by the Free Press of India). A previous Chapter (IV) has already given Glading's own account (furnished after his return to Europe) of what he saw and achieved in India.

INDIAN EMISSARIES FROM EUROPE

In February 1925 Shib Nath Banerji, a well-known Communist who had been trained at Moscow, returned to Calcutta, where he formed the Bengal Jute Workers' Association with the assistance of Kali Das Bhattacharji (ex-detenu), Sidheswar Chatterji (a revolutionary), and Santosh Kumari Gupta. Banerji was appointed general secretary of the association, which he endeavoured to develop on Communist lines. He was the first Moscow-trained Communist to hold office in a Labour organisation in India.

It may be mentioned here that the Bengal Jute Worksers' Association received a fillip from the visit of Messrs. Johnston and Sime during the early part of 1926. They visited the jute mill area of Bengal and promised Kali Das Bhattacharji £ 100 for the organisation of Labour. Mr. Johnston sent £ 25 to Shib Nath Banerji in the middle of 1926 for that purpose.

Shib Nath Banerji was followed by Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt, who returned to Calcutta in April 1925, Dutt is a well-known revolutionary, who had been abroad for about sixteen years and had been engaged in many undesirable activities, notably during the War, when he was a member of the notorious Indian Committee in Berlin. Before leaving for India, Dutt, in the course of a letter to a friend in Europe, said: "I am a convinced Marxist and on my return (to India) I have no other thing to do than to devote myself to the cause of Labour". Actually, however, his devotion to Labour has not made itself very apparent, although the markedly Communistic tone [287] of his speech as president of the All-India Political Sufferers' Conference at Gauhati, in December 1926, has required mention elsewhere.

THE NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY STRIKE

The North Western Railway strike, which touok place during 1925, was organised by the North Western Railway Union, in which the principal figures were an ex-guard named J. B. Miller, M. A. Khan, and H. T. Hall. The strike originated in the North-Western Railway workshops at Rawalpindi on the 15th of March, the ostensible cause being the dismissal of a workman, and it spread throughout practically the whole of the North-Western Railway system.

The strike soon attracted the attention of Communist organisation in England, and in an article which appeared in the *Workers' Weekly* on the 22nd of May 1925, the following reference was made to it:—"This is a matter which deserves to be taken up by the Trade Union Movement in this country. . . . . It is a Trade Union in India which is being attacked. The Trade Union Congress had declared the desire to investigate the question of Indian Labour organisation. Here is a case with which a beginning might be made". In Lansbury's *Labour Weekly* of the 4th of July 1925, the following appeared:—"Last month the strikers on the North-Western Railway marched in procession as a protest against Press statements that the strike had collapsed. They carried a great red flag. Nothing unusual. But that flag was once white. It was stained by the blood of the strikers". The concluding sentence referred to a strikers' procession in Lahore, when those taking part theatrically dyed a white flag with blood taken from their bodies, as illustrating their determination to fight to the death to gain their objects.

The strike eventually collapsed early in July 1925. So far as is known, it owed nothing to Communist influence of support.

H. T. Hall, who has been mentioned as one of the principals of the Railway Union, had been employed as a station-master. He married a Russian Pole of doubtful [288] morals and through her met several Russian Bolsheviks when he was in Europe in 1924. It is also reported that during that year he attended lectures organised by the British Communist Party. He returned to India with his wife in November 1924, and was subsequently reported to be spending money lavishly. Hall again left for England in July 1926. Mrs. Hall was reported to have given him Rs. 15,000. Information received by the Punjab C. I. D. indicated that he intended to go to Russia, and that he was confident of obtaining about two lakhs of rupees from the Soviet. His wife

was credited with the belief that Mr. Lansbury, M.P., would assist Hall in obtaining pecuniary assistance from Russia, failing which he would find work in England. Reports from London showed that, although he appeared to have no occupation, he was not short of money. On the 13th of November 1926, he married a Mrs. Ada Reid and his prosecution for bigamy was under consideration (September 1927).

A sum of Rs. 500 was alleged to have been collected by the All-India Trade Union Congress and by Mr. C. F. Andrews for the strikers, but it does not appear to have reached its proper objective, for J. B. Miller published in April 1926 a letter in the *Muslim Outlook* in which he said :—"A large sum of money was collected for their relief by the Indian Trade Union Congress....Not one anna of that money was paid to the strikers and no account submitted". The Union replied by bringing a suit of defamation against Miller and Khan, but it was ultimately dismissed.

The Workers' Welfare League of India, at their meeting of the 20th of June, complained that the All-India Trade Union Congress had not kept them informed of the latest developments of the North-Western Railway strike, and it resolved to depute Dr. K. S. Bhat, Potter-Wilson and C. Palme Dutt to discuss the subject with Chaman Lal, who was then in England. Mukunda Lal Sarkar had, however, been endeavouring to get financial assistance for the strikers from the League, and had telegraphed to them for funds, depicting the sufferings of the strikers and the indifference of the Government. In re- [289] sponse the League seems to have sent about £25 to Lala Lajpat Rai, whereupon Mukunda wrote protesting that the money should have been sent to him. In reply it was explained that, as Saklatvala had understood that the strike was not ordered by the All-India Trade Union Congress, the League had sent the money to Lajpat Rai. This is the first instance of Indian strikers receiving financial assistance from abroad.

BOMBAY COTTON MILL STRIKES

Among the other strikes of the year, the Textile Workers' Strike in Bombay was the most important. Twenty thousand workers in the cotton mills of Bombay struck work on September 15th (1925) and were promptly followed by many more, the number rising swiftly to 150,000 out of a total of 154,000. The cause of the strike was a wages cut of 11½ per cent. The

mill-owners contended that the cut was rendered necessary by Japanese competition, the heavy stocks in hand and the cotton excise duty. It was commonly believed, however, that the mill-owners had deliberately forced the employees to strike as, owing to their large stocks, they wished temporarily to close the mills.

During the course of the strike, the All-India Trade Union Congress, in its strike bulletin for the week ending the 7th November, wrote that no efforts were being made by the Bombay Mill-Owners' Association to end the protracted struggle; on the contrary, they opposed any attempt made in that direction, which proved that they were not anxious to terminate the strike. The Bombay Government were also castigated for indifference. Mr. Thomas Johnston, Labour M.P., and Mr. Sime, Secretary, Jute and Flax Employees' Union in Scotland, went round the mill area and personally examined the strike situation. Mr. Johnston cabled to the *Daily Herald*, London, harrowing tales of the woes and miseries of the Bombay workers, and appealed for daily remittances, while the Workers' Welfare League of India strongly protested against the reduction of wages by the mill-owners.

The All-India Trade Union Congress Committee, Bombay, received a cable expressing the good wishes of U.S. [290] S.R. (Central Council of Trade Unions, Moscow) Textile Workers and promising a sum of 10,000 roubles to help the strikers. Manifestos were issued from Amsterdam sympathising with the strike.

For the help of the strikers the following sums were received from foreign countries :—

(1) Rs. 6,472-10-0 from the British Trade Union Congress, London.
(2) Rs. 17,591-5-4 from the International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam.
(3) Rs. 6,049 from the International Federation of Textile Workers' Association, London.

Besides this, the Moscow Textile Workers' Union sent Rs. 13,832 through Mr. Saklatvala to N. M. Joshi, Secretary, A.I.T.U.C. Out of this amount a sum of Rs. 2,000 was received during the strike and the balance, Rs. 11,832, when it was over. This balance was held in trust by a Committee consisting of Messrs. F. J. Ginwala, S. H. Jhabwala, N. M. Joshi, R. R. Bakhle and Kanji Dwarka Das as a nucleus for the Bombay Labour Relief Organisation Fund.

Joshi received this Soviet money (Rs. 13,832) *via* Saklatvala and Kapilram H. Vakil, to whose account the amount was credited with Messrs. Thos. Cook & Sons, by telegraphic transfer from the Chartered Bank. Kapilram comes of a respectable family of Surat. He first went to England in 1916 for chemical research, and returned to India in 1917. He is a B.A. and B.Sc. of Manchester University and his association with Saklatvala had evidently been of long standing.

In addition to financial assistance from foreign sources, subscriptions were also received from various Labour organisations throughout India, as the strike had attracted the attention of the pro-Bolshevik Labour agitators all over the country. Singaravelu Chettiar wrote to Mukunda Lal Sarkar and Dr. Mani Lal (of Gaya), asking them to meet him in Bombay to study the strike situation, while D. R. Thengdi, who was associated closely with the "strike Committee" referred to above, was reported to have conveyed to N. M. Joshi a message from [291] Roy to the effect that £ 1,000 had been ear-marked by the Soviet for the relief of the strikers. This £ 1,000 was perhaps the Rs. 13,000 odd received from the Moscow Textile Workers, with whom, as well as with Saklatvala, N. M. Joshi, secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress Committee, was in constant correspondence.

After the strike, which finally ended in favour of the workers of the 1st of December 1925, Saklatvala addressed several meetings in England in which he asserted that, as a result of the subsidies sent by Moscow and by the British Trade Unions, the mill-owners were forced to their knees. The secretary of the Textile Workers' Union, U.S.S.R., in sending May-Day greetings to the "Whole Working Classes of India" in 1926, also reminded them that it was the Textile Workers' Union of the U.S.S.R. whose financial assistance enabled the workers of Bombay to break down the resistance of the employers. As a matter of fact, the total effect of these contributions in bringing about a settlement favourable to the strikers was negligible, in view of the great number of men involved.

M. N. Roy, in spite of his bombastic talk, did not himself send any money, and some of the Bombay Communists complained of his failure to help with funds. From intercepted correspondence it appeared that Roy and Sepassi were equally disgusted with the Bombay Communists on account of their failure to utilise the strike to strengthen their party.

INDIAN LABOUR DELEGATION TO GENEVA

It is now necessary to touch on the activities of the Indian delegates to the International Labour Conference in 1925.

In April of that year N. M. Joshi left for Geneva to attend this conference as the official delegate of the Indian workers, and he was accompanied by D. Chaman Lal as his "adviser". The following month T. C. Goswami also left for Europe and he too went to Geneva and met Joshi and Chaman Lal there. At the conference Chaman Lal delivered a speech in the course of which he said: "Those who are familiar with the Indian situation know very well that when no less a person than the late Viceroy [292] of India, Lord Chelmsford, went to the hills from Simla, he employed peasants who were dragged away from their fields and made to do forced labour in preparing the roads, for His Excellency to travel over..... You will find men, women and children working on the tea plantations, the men getting Rs. 8 a month, the women 6 rupees and the children 4 rupees. He then spoke on the insufficiency of the wages of the workers in mines and in jute and cotton factories in India.

While at Geneva, Chaman Lal is reported to have said that, as he was being watched by the British Government, he did not propose to see Mrs. M. N. Roy. According to R. Page Arnot of the Labour Research Department in England, Chaman Lal was "doing splendid work as a link between the East and the Third International, and would be charged with an important work before returning to India".

On their way to England, N. M. Joshi, Chaman Lal and T. C. Goswami passed through Paris, where the first-named had asked Mrs. M. N. Roy to arrange a meeting between him and her husband; but this meeting apparently did not take place. It was reported, however, that Joshi and Mrs. Roy discussed Labour questions together, and that Joshi also met there G. A. K. Lohani. Joshi and Chaman Lal wished to visit Moscow, and their object seems to have been to establish direct relations with the Soviet, independently of M. N. Roy. This project received the support of Saklatvala and of the Communist Party of Great Britain, neither of whom had a high opinion of Roy. The visit to Moscow did not materialise and Roy seems to have had some hand in putting it off, but Chaman Lal succeeded in getting in touch with Moscow independently of Roy.

Chaman Lal delivered a speech at a meeting of the Indian

Association, London, on 22nd July 1925, strongly criticising Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Colonel Wedgwood. He said that men like these two were "not only traitors to the people of India, but were traitors to the workers of the country". He (Chaman Lal) met several British Communists, including Harry Pollitt, who promised that the National Minority Movement would [293] henceforth support Indian Labour and give full publicity to any statement against British employers or firms which Chaman Lal might send. Chaman Lal was not able to attend the British Trade Union Congress at Scarborough, but he thought that it was of no consequence, as he had obtained the support of the British Communists. He also hoped to secure the support of the French Syndicalists. He was said to be determined to push on the organisation of Indian Labour under the Third International, and he expressed the intention of attacking bitterly certain British Trade Unionists who were in India, and of exposing them to Indian workers as tools of the British Capitalists.

Chaman Lal and Joshi returned to India in August 1925 but they both seemed to have made arrangements to keep in touch with Labour leaders in England. In October 1925, it was reported that Arthur McManus, the British Communist, had asked Chaman Lal to send him periodical reports on the general situation in India, paying specific attention to Labour questions. In the following year Joshi wrote to the Young Communist League of Great Britain, promising to forward to it a report on the Madras Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress as soon as it was ready. In his letter he mentioned that, although they had in India at the time no separate section for the youth of the Trade Union movement, yet this aspect of the work of organisation would not be neglected. It was also reported that he wrote to Dr. Bhat, President of the Workers' Welfare League of India, asking him to return to take a leading part in Indian Labour affairs in this country.

THE SIXTH SESSION OF THE A.I.T.U.C., 1926

In January 1926 the sixth Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress was held in Madras. Letters and telegrams of sympathy were received from the British Communist Party, the Central Council of Trade Unions, Moscow, the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions, Moscow, as also from "the President of the Communist Party in India" (Singara-

velu Chettiar). The telegrams from Russia will be mentioned later. [294]

The report of the work of the All-India Trade Union Congress for the year 1925 showed that there were 51 Unions with a total membership of 125,000 affiliated to it; and that the N. W. Railway strike, the Bombay Textile Strike and also a strike of the employees of the Irrawaddy flotilla, were supported and helped by the Congress. The Congress gratefully acknowledged help received from the British and International Trade Union movements. It was announced that the All-India Trade Union Congress had again appointed the Workers' Welfare League of India as its representative in England.

At this time, along with the sixth Session of the A.I.T.U. Congress, the Employees' Union of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, and the convention of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation also held their conferences, which were attended by the Labour leaders. The All-India Railwaymen's Federation resolved that the Federation should be amalgamated with the International Transport Workers' Federation, Amsterdam. Mr. Joshi, in addressing them, pleaded for unity, pointing out how by combination, the workers of the Bombay Textile Mills had succeeded in getting rid of the Cotton Excise duty.

THE COMINTERN'S LABOUR POLICY IN INDIA

Information was received that in the middle of 1926 the Comintern were considering how best to make use of industrial and agrarian unrest in India. It is certain that during that year some efforts were made to establish direct connection between Russian and Indian Labour. These efforts took the shape of rather fulsome telegrams of greeting, mixed with the usual blatant propaganda, which were received from time to time by Trade Union organisations in India from various bodies in Moscow. Thus in January 1926, during the sitting of the 6th Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress at Madras, two such telegrams from Moscow were addressed to Mr. C. F. Andrews, Chairman of the Congress; one from the Central Council of Trade Unions and the other from the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions. The former stated : "Our sympathies are wholly and completely with your people who struggle against Imperialist oppression and exploitation..... Imperialism is still strong [295] owing to exploitation (of hundreds of millions (of) labourers in (the) East.....

The awakening of oppressed peoples means mortal blow to Imperialism. U.S.S.R. Central Council Trade Union is glad (to see) established direct connection (with) fraternal Trade Unions (in) India and hopes to see in U.S.S.R. representatives (of) all Indian Trade Unions Congress.....Close relationship between Trade Unions U.S.S.R. and India serves vital interests of workers of both countries and we hope personally (to) express to your representatives sympathies of (the) working-class U.S.S.R. towards your country and towards (the) struggle of the peoples (of) India for independence....."

The second message also urged the necessity for the establishment of connection between the All-India Trade Union Congress and the Trade Unions of China, Persia, Egypt, etc., and congratulated the Indian workers on the "proletarian solidarity" displayed in the "heroic, victorious Bombay textile strike."

In March 1926 the Secretary, Executive Committee of the Communist International, Moscow, sent a telegram to the Press Employees' Association, Calcutta, expressing hearty greetings and a sense of solidarity with every aspect of the "Indian Struggle for freedom", and stating that "national journalists are very important factor in that struggle. They are breaking down the blockade of India by Imperialist press and news agency. Correct information and appreciation of revolutionary movements in other countries will enormously strengthen Indian people in fight for freedom....In (the) hands of revolutionaries press becomes an organ of freedom. While the capitalist press of Europe and America is bitterly hostile to India's fight for freedom, proletarian press fully (and) unconditionally supports that fight, Proletariat in Imperialist countries must unite with the oppressed peoples in colonies to overthrow capitalist domination. The relation between Communist International and your association will be another step towards unity."

Another telegram, dated 24th October 1926, from the Central Council of Trade Unions of the Union of Soviet [296] Socialist Republics to the All-India Trade Union Congress, Calcutta, was intercepted. It asked the A.I.T.U.C. to send fraternal delegates to the 7th Trade Union Congress U.S.S.R., Moscow, in December of that year. Messages of a similar character despatched to India by the Krestintern have already been dealt with in Chapter III.

CHAMAN LAL REVISITS ENGLAND

It will be remembered that Chaman Lal had returned to India in August 1925. He again visited England the following year, but spent a very short time there and reached Bombay on the 8th of October 1926. During the month of September he came to notice in Labour circles in England, and was one of the speakers in the Bournemouth Conference of the British Trade Union Congress on the 10th of that month. He remarked that this was the first time a direct representative of the All-India Trade Union Congress had spoken as a fraternal delegate to the British Trade Union Congress. (It appears, however, that Chaman Lal was not authorised by the All-India Trade Union Congress to act as their representative at the conference but merely had letters from Lajpat Rai and Mahomed Daud, which gave the impression that he had been so authorised). In the course of his speech Chaman Lal said : "British workers are setting up factories in India. Dundee jute manufacturers find it more profitable to set up their factories in India, where they could win profits of three or four hundred per cent out of the blood and sweat of Indian workers. We look forward to a Workers' Government in England, which will control not only your destinies, but the destinies of the British Empire....Let the Empire be wrecked if it means keeping millions of Indian workers in industrial slavery....."

Chaman Lal also attended a conference of the National Left-Wing movement held at Poplar Town Hall, London, on 18th and 19th September 1926, the main object of which was to urge the Labour Party to give more active support to the miners then on strike. He was accompanied by Pulin Behari Seal and Clemens Palme Dutt, and his speech was delivered in his usual anti-capitalist strain.

MILL STRIKES IN BENGAL

It is now necessary to revert to activities in India itself. Persons of the Communist [297] persuasion were active in Bengal in 1926 in fomenting Labour unrest in the jute mill area which surrounds Calcutta. The leaders of the Bengal Jute Workers' Association, namely Kali Das Bhattacharji, Shib Nath Banerji, and Kutubuddin Ahmad made great capital out of an alleged assault in April 1926 by a European employee of the Gouripur Jute Mills on a collie. They seized the opportunity which the

incident provided to induce mill-hands to join the association in still greater numbers.

Janaki Prasad Begerhotta and Shamsuddin Hassan (of Lahore) went to Bengal during the strike and attended a meeting of the Bengal Jute Workers' Association. They were introduced to Kali Das Bhattacharji as "Orthodox Communists" by Kutubuddin, who said that they had come to study the strike situation. Shib Nath Banerji and Kishori Lal Ghose (of the Bengal Trade Union Federation, who afterwards stood surety for Allison) were also present.

Another strike took place at the Lansdowne Jute Mills, Dum Dum, in the same year, and Santosh Kumari Gupta, Kali Das Bhattacharji, Shib Nath Banerji, Sidheswar Chatterji and Mukunda Lal Sarkar addressed the strikers in the usual way.

CONNECTION WITH BRITISH LABOUR

The Workers' Welfare League of India also took steps to give publicity in England to cases of insufficient compensation for injuries received by members of the Bengal Jute Workers' Association. The interest displayed by the Workers' Welfare League of India in this association is easily understood when Shib Nath Banerji's close connection with both organisations is remembered.

That British Labour expected some return from their Indian confrères is apparent from the fact that telegrams were received by the All-India Trade Union Congress, from London, in June and July 1926 during the Miners' strike in England appealing for financial help. In response to these telegrams N. M. Joshi sent £ 600, collected from the different Labour organisations, and Mukunda Lal Sarkar sent £ 35 from the All-India Railwaymen's Federation. [298]

INDIAN COMMUNISTS AND THE A.I.T.U.C.

At about this time intercepted correspondence revealed that the Indian Communist group was trying to capture the All-India Trade Union Congress by becoming the office-bearers of as many Labour Unions as possible. Presumably in pursuance of this policy Singaravelu Chettiar in June 1926 was elected president of the Madras Port Trust Union, and in July Muzaffar Ahmad, Soumendra Tagore, Shib Nath Banerji and Kali Das Bhattacharji organised the Kankinarah Paper Mill Labourers' Union, of which Soumendra Tagore was made

president. In the same month another Labour organisation called the "Punjab Labour Board was formed at Lahore, with ex-guard Miller of the North-Western Railway Union as president and M. A. Ghani, Barrister-at-Law, as general secretary. The Board was reported to be used as a cover for the formation of a Communist group. A meeting of the Board was held on the 11th July, when, among others, the following resolution was passed :—

"That in view of the acceptance of money from Russia and other foreign countries by the British Trade Union Congress with the virtually tacit consent of the British Imperial Government, and in view of the extreme necessity of money for the organisation of Labour in the Punjab, this Board, therefore, most humbly asks the Government of India to allow it to apply for money, for the above purposes to foreign countries. . . . ."

DISSENSION AMONG LABOUR LEADERS

Towards the end of the year serious dissensions within the Bengal Trade Union Federation (which is also the Provincial Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress) led to the removal of Mukunda Lal Sarkar from the Secretaryship of the Federation. Mukunda Lal had constituted a reception committee for the proposed session of the All-India Trade Union Congress at Calcutta without consulting the executive, besides which his inauguration of a political party under the name of "National Labour Party" had given offence to the majority. The Federation passed into the hands of Mrinal Kanti Bose and Kishori Lal Ghose, both of the *Amrita Babar Patrika*. Mukunda Lal Sarkar then quarrelled with N. M. Joshi, [299] the general secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, as he saw Joshi's hand in the matter of his fall from power. Attempts were subsequently made, even by George Allison, to bring about a compromise, but without much success. Eventually Mukunda Lal resigned his secretaryship of the All-India Trade Union Congress as a result of a vote of censure passed on him at a meeting of the executive committee at its sitting in Calcutta in December 1926.

After his resignation, Mukunda Lal Sarkar started an agitation against N. M. Joshi. Aftab Ali, assistant secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, who had also to resign his office as a result of a vote of censure passed on him for his

having circulated leaflets, making certain allegations against Joshi, joined Mukunda Lal in his agitation. Aftab Ali is a resident of Sylhet (Assam) and was for some time in America, whence he returned to India in 1925. He was closely connected with the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party and founded a rival Seamen's Union in Calcutta, one meeting of which was addressed by George Allison. With Muzaffar Ahmad he also attended the Communist Conference held at Delhi in 1927.

ORGANISATION OF SEAMEN, 1926

In 1926 Mahomed Daud, general secretary of the Indian Seamen's Union and president of the Mariners' Union, Calcutta, was prominent. He informed Edo Fimmen, secretary of the International Transport Workers' Federation, Amsterdam, that the Bengal Mariners' Union had decided to become affiliated to the Federation. Daud visited Europe during the year as official delegate of Indian Labour to the International Trade Union Conference in Geneva and interviewed Fimmen, who is an advocate of International Trade Union Unity, which implies the fullest and closest relations with Russian Labour. Daud also came in touch with Nathalal Jagjivan Upadhayaya, a well-known Communist whose activities are referred to in some detail in Chapter VI. It was arranged that Daud would receive through lascars Bolshevik literature for distribution in India. [300]

After his return to India Daud expressed a desire to extend the samen's organisation and to form an All-India Seamen's Federation which would include Singapore. With this object in view he visited Bombay in October 1926, and obtained from J. J. Athaide, the president of the Bombay Seamen's Union, a promise to support his project.

ALLISON, SAKLATVALA AND SPRATT

The arrivals and doings of Allison and Spratt, who can in no sense be regarded as interested exclusively in Labour, have been related in Chapter IV. It will be seen from that Chapter that both of these Communist emissaries took a very active part in penetrating existing Labour organisations in India and educating them on Bolshevik lines.

Similarly the activities of Mr. Saklatvala, M.P., have been summarised in Chapter IV, but mention may be made here of his address to the meeting of the All-India Trade Union Con-

gress at Delhi on 12th and 13th March 1927. He declared that freedom was a mockery unless the workers could become their own masters. Trade Unionism was devised to secure that object; it was devised with the express purpose of overthrowing Capitalism and Imperialism. It was no use saying that they should wait until everybody was educated. As a matter of Trade Unionism in Great Britain started in 1858 and compulsory education came after it. The task of Trade Unionists in India had been made easier owing to the prestige which the movement had already acquired in other countries. Saklatvala went on to suggest certain improvements in the existing management of the Trade Union movement in India. He advised the formation of a research department which would collect information regarding the condition of workers in the various Labour organisations in India. It was decided, on the advice of Saklatvala, to form an "International Advisory and Negotiation Committee" which would keep in touch with international bodies in Europe and would advise Indian Labour organisations in matters of local interest.

At a secret meeting of the Executive Council of the A. I. T. U. C. prior to the open session at Delhi a resolution that the the A. I. T. U. C. should be affiliated to either [301] the Third International in Moscow or the "Amsterdam international" was lost, as the former body was considered far too revolutionary to suit India, while the latter, with its milk and water policy, was too insipid for the sturdy and rapidly growing organisation of the Indian Trade Union Congress.

THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' PARTIES

As a result of the labours of Allison, Spratt and Saklatvala, Workers' and Peasants' Parties were formed in Calcutta and Bombay in order "to voice the demands of the peasants and working-classes within the National Congress, to promote the organisation of Trade Unions and to wrest them from their present alien control, to advance the organisation of peasants on the basis of their economic and social requirements and to present a determined and permanent opposition to the Government, thus to secure the social, economic and political emancipation of these classes". The ultimate object of this party would be "to obtain Swaraj wherein the means of production, distribution and exchange are publicly owned and socially controlled".

In accordance with the programme of the Bombay party, Joglekar and Nimbkar tried to move a resolution at a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Bombay in May 1927 to model the Congress programme on the principles of the Soviet as a step towards the establishment of a Republic based upon universal suffrage. This resolution was, however, ruled out of order by the president.

ALL INDIA GENERAL LAROUR CONFERENCE

A conference of the Communists under the name of the "All-India General Labour Conference" was hled at Delhi on March the 14th, after the meeting of the A. I. T. U. Congress, but the attendance was very poor. Muzaffar Ahmad was voted to the chair, and the conference, which lasted only for an hour and a half, was confined to speech-making. Janaki Prasad Begerhotta, the General Secretary of the Communist Party in India, stated in the course of his speech that most of the Communists in India to-day were enthusiastic young men who had been trained in the Communist University at Tashkent. [302] Saklatvala, who spoke in Hindi, attacked the narrow outlook of the present-day Indian nationalists, and put forward Communism as the solution of the problem of the starving millions.

THE BENGAL NAGPUR RAILWAY STRIKE

A serious strike had broken out in the Bengal-Nagpur Railway workshops at Kharagpur on February 11th, 1927, and it rapidly spread to other branches of the railway workers. The total number of strikers was about 26,000. The grievances of the workshop people included the dismissal of some workmen from the wagon shops, the dismissal of station committee chowkidars, the ejectant of the people living in a village on railway land and the demolition of their houses, and lastly the alleged overbearing conduct of two European foremen. The main grievances alleged by the other employees were insecurity of service, insufficient wages, and ill-treatment and harassment by the supervising staff. But the immediate cause of the strike was the issue of an order of transfer to W. V. R. Naidu, who was branch secretary of the B. N. Railway Indian Labour Union, Kharagpur, and who instigated the men to go on strike.

Several meetings of the B. N. Railway Indian Labour Union were held at Kharagpur before and after the strike, and were attended by Mukunda Lal Sarkar, Santosh Kumari Gupta, Aftab Ali, W. V. R. Naidu, V. V. Giri (president of the Union) and others.

George Allison had visited Kharagpur on the 20th of December 1926 and had attended the annual general meeting of the Union. He had, however, advised the railwaymen not to strike then, but to concentrate on strengthening their organisation so that when a lock-out was eventually declared, it would be possible to offer a successful resistance.

Just before the strike Mukunda Lal Sarkar sent two cables to Europe, the first of which was addressed to the secretary to the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, London, and read as follows :—

"Inhuman treatment, assaults without provocation, dismantling quarters, summary dismissals, extortion of [303] money for appointment, transfer, allotment of quarters, many other oppressions exasperated Bengal-Nagpur Railway workers. Greatest discontent prevailing over entire system specially among twenty thousand workshop men at Kharagpur. Repeated representation, deputation by Union yet bore no fruit, though simple demand for joint enquiry not granted.....Workers count upon international sympathy, support in their hard struggle forced on them by administration. Please extend your co-operation and give widest publicity. Save Indian railwaymen. Situation going beyond control. Shall advise further".

The second was addressed to the secretary to the International Transport Workers' Federation, Amsterdam, and ran thus :—

"Officers' irresponsible and provocative activities like assaults, dismissals, dismantling quarters of Bengal-Nagpur Railway workshopmen at Kharagpur forcing strike possibly taking place beginning February. Representation, deputation, so far bore no fruit, administration still indifferent, give widest publicity workers seek international support".

As a result of these representations Mukunda Lal Sarkar received £ 190 from the Trades Union Congress, London, for the relief of the strikers. Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, the Swarajist leader, also received Rs. 1,315 from the Workers' International Relief, London, for the same purpose. Sen Gupta is reported

to have paid the amount to Santosh Kumari Gupta for distribution to the strikers.

An appeal was issued by the All-India Trade Union Congress for moral and financial support to the B. N. Railway strikers, who, it is urged, were fighting for a just cause. The signatories of the appeal said that the Indian employees had had nothing but ill-treatment and miserable doles from the superior staff, while the attitude of the railway authorities was callous. They added that it was clear to them that the railway authorities were bent upon breaking the strike by intimidation and repression with the held of the magistracy and the police. [304] They appealed to the Trade Union movement in Great Britain and the International Trade Union movement to give their moral and financial support to their comrades on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway.

Saklatvala visited Kharagpur on the 18th of February while the strike was still in progress and addressed the strikers, assuring them of his sympathy. He also sent a telegram to the Tata Iron and Steel Company, expressing astonishment that that firm had come to the assistance of the railway during the strike and pointing out that "if, as employers, Tata's joined in another employer's quarrel, their workers would be justified in striking in sympathy with the railway workers".

THE PAN-PACIFIC LABOUR CONFERENCE

In 1927 K. N. Joglekar, R. S. Nimbkar, S. S. Mirajkar and D. R. Thengdi applied for passports to go to China with the intention of attending the pan-Pacific Labour Conference which was to be held in May 1927 at Canton, but the applications were rejected. Before his application was rejected, Thengdi, in a letter to Mirajkar, wrote : "So the question of my going (to Canton) is now settled..... I, must congratulate you and your peasant and workers' party for being supplied with sinews of war by the rich Marwaris of Bombay. Now we shall not be long in getting the Dictatorship of the Proletariat". Kishori Lal Ghose, secretary of the Bengal Trade Union Federation, also hoped to attend this conference as Press reporter, and he issued an appeal to the members of the Journalists' Association for funds. The funds, however, were not forthcoming. Muzaffar Ahmad also proposed to send Aftad Ali as a lascar to Canton as the representative of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party, but Aftab Ali himself was not enamoured of the proposal.

ANGLO-AMERICAN OIL COMPANY STRIKE

In the same month the employees of the Anglo-American Oil Company in Madras went on strike, and a fracas occurred between the strikers and the managing staff, in the course of which the latter used firearms. Singaravelu Chettiar promptly sent the following telegram on 24th May 1927 to the "Russian Trade Union", Moscow :— [305] "Anglo-American Oil Company's Indian workers shot. Sufferers ten thousand. Serious situation. Help urgent".

LABOUR LITERATURE

In addition to the Communist and Labour organs already mentioned, some Labour Unions produced monthly, or weekly, journals of their own, either in English or in some vernacular. The Ahmedabad Unions published the *Weekly Mazdoor* (Labourer), the Bombay Railway Unions a paper in Marathi, the Postal and R.M.S. Association a monthly magazine called *Labour*, and the Calcutta Employees' Association a monthly paper in English called the *Employees' Gazette*, edited by Mukunda Lal Sarkar. The Bengal and North-Western Railway Union and the Bengal-Nagpur Railway Labour Unions also produced their own magazines, while the All-India Trade Unions Bulletin summarised to English the Trade Union activities of the whole country.

Further mention must be made of the Urdu Labour weekly entitled *Mehnat Kash* (Toiler) which made its first appearance at Lahore on April 25th, 1927, under the joint editorship of Ram Chandra and Gauhar Rahman Darveshi, who were both Communists. The object of the paper were :—

(i) to support the cause of labourers and peasants, and
(ii) to acquaint Indians with details, etc., of the Labour and peasant movement in other countries.

The paper was definitely Communist and revolutionary in tone, and one of its issues contained articles paralysing the Soviet Government and describing the happy lot of Russian peasants. Photographs of De Valera and Sun Yat-Sen were produced in this issue. Spratt is known to have contributed money towards the production of the paper.

CONCLUSIONS

During the last ten years the Trade Union movement in India has rapidly developed and is now a political factor which

cannot be ignored. It has a considerable and increasing Press of its own, and has both received help from, and given help to, similar movements in other countries. The Third International is [306] continually endeavouring to capture this movement and inefficient agents are gradually being replaced by direct communication. A Communist Party now exists in India, and members of this party have been largely responsible for the formation of the majority of these Labour Unions over which they are thus able to exercise control.

It is to be noted, however, that the leaders of the Communist Party and of Labour organisations in India come, almost invariably, from the "bourgeois" class, and that they have taken up the cause of Labour either from political motives or motives of greed. The great bulk of the actual labourers is illiterate and consequently is not as yet much affected by the literature produced for its consumption. But further development must be looked for, and the more efficiently the Labour movement is organised, the more formidable a weapon will it prove in the hands of those who may be able to capture it and to make it subservient to their own purposes. That the Communists have long been wide-awake to the possibilities so presented to them goes without saying, and they are so far easily first in the field.

[307] CHAPTER IX

APPRECIATION

QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED

I am hopeful that the lengthy treatment already accorded to my subject will be thought to be also sufficiently critical to require but little supplement in the way of a final chapter of appreciation. At the same time, it may be helpful—especially to readers outside India—if I attempt a brief summing-up from the point of view of one who is necessarily in touch with Indian unrest at many points other than those at which it makes contact with Communism. Indeed, it cannot well be disputed that the future of Communism in India will hinge perhaps less on the efforts it may make from without than on the response it can evoke from within. Moreover, any one who is dealing at first hand with Intelligence matters must tend to form many impressions of men and affairs which he might find it hard to put into so many words, and still harder to support by argument; yet, in watching the course of events, he will be guided by these impressions, because in his day-to-day experience he has uniformly found them to be well-grounded and reliable. For the above reasons, my attempt at appreciation may not be without some special value of its own, although it will naturally be more subjective than if it were based merely on the actual contents of this book.

Looking then at Communism in India from this point of view, I feel that I can confine my appreciation to the examination of three main questions. These may be stated :—

I. What has Communism attempted to do in India?
II. What progress has it made?
III. What dangers does the success of its efforts entail?

THE OBJECTS OF COMMUNISM

For an answer to the first of my three questions there is available throughout [308] this book an abundance of material the meaning of which is open to no kind of misconception. I have quoted on page 2 the "Thesis" passed at the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, to the effect that

the nationalist movement in such countries as India was essentially a revolutionary struggle, and as such formed a part of the campaign for world revolution. Almost at the same place I have stated that the Bolsheviks bore a particularly deep-seated grudge against the British Empire as an obstacle in their path, and that they wished to destroy it by attacking it in India, which they regard as its most vulnerable point. To these fundamental propositions more than sufficient support will be found in the statements of Zinoviev which are quoted on page 3. The first of these runs :—"The revolution will turn from a European revolution into a world revolution only in the measure that the hundred million masses of the East will rise. The East is the main reserve of a world revolution. The Proletariat revolution is aiming first of all at English Imperialism". But Zinoviev, as is proved by a further utterance of his which is quoted on the same page, has made it clear that this revolution is to be no mere indigenous or isolated one, but one that is to be created and controlled by the Comintern for its own ends. His actual words are as follows :—"The Indian 'Proletarian mass' must be utilised by us as a reserve and bulwark for the Comintern in Asia. Unless the Third International throws off its lassitude and alters its methods, the danger will exist of the initiative passing from its hands, and of an independent revolutionary movement growing up in the East void of the Communist spirit. This would deprive us of the possibility of seizing hold of the leading stringe of the revolutionary movement in Asia". These concluding words of Zinoviev as to the objects of Communism in India are so unequivocal as to require no added point, yet they may be reinforced by the message from the Communist International addressed to the All-India Congress at Gaya, which is described on page 34. A passage of special relevance is the following :—"The Communist International must stand shoulder to shoulder with the people of India in their struggle, while the Indian National Congress should [309] bear in mind that the British domination must be utterly destroyed, and that the workers and peasants alone are capable of carrying the revolution to victory. The National Congress should categorically declare that its political programme is the establishment of a Democratic Republic completely independent of any foreign control". That the carrying out of the above programme was to involve the violent overthrow of the British Government by armed force is clearly evident from the passages from *The Vanguard* which will be

found at page 49. In these, Roy, as the Comintern's mouthpiece, made the following pronouncement :—"There is no such thing as 'constitutional revolution', and the Indian struggle for freedom is a revolutionary struggle. It will never be successful without the final stage of violence". In the extract immediately following, Roy, after ridiculing the idea of a non-violent revolution as a conception almost as grotesque as a vegetarian tiger, proceeded to argue : "An armed conflict with those who profit by the political slavery of the Indian people is inevitable .... One need not preach the futile cult of terrorism, but it is equally useless to entertain illusions. The people of India are engaged in a revolutionary struggle .... If India will not have freedom conquered by violent means, she will have to go without it". Roy's own admissions in regard to the Cawnpore trial (p. 61) are, if anything, even more explicit.

Throughout the period covered by this book nothing has been said, written or done by her agents that would indicate the slightest weakening on the part of Moscow in the pursuit of her objectives. Indeed, during the course of the disorders in China, the Soviet Government and the Comintern have more than once taken the opportunity to reaffirm in the clearest possible terms their inveterate hostility to England, and their settled determination to strike at her through her Indian possession. In the section on China at page 203 in Chapter VI, there is quoted the speech of Zinoviev to the Colonial Commission of the Third International held at Moscow in 1925. Referring to the success of their intrigues in China, he remarked that, instead of the "well-trodden [310] paths" to India through Persia and Afghanistan, it was China that had become their central starting-point for action in India ; China was important to them not only as an incendiary centre for revolutionary and moral action, but also as the strategical base for real and technical contact with India. Exactly the same spirit permeates the following extract from a recent issue of a fortnightly publication entitled *Chinese Correspondence*, originally published by the Soviet-controlled Prodehenar News Agency of Canton :—"The Chinese revolutionary has learnt much from experiences and teachings of the Russian revolution. Such guidance and instruction is useful and valuable. Revolutionary China will be a school for the approaching Indian revolution. The Kuomintang consider they are in honour bound to transmit to India the lessons and experiences of their fight during recent years .... British Imperialism in Asia will receive

its most decisive blow from the united Chinese-Indian revolutionary forces. Then Asia and the world will breathe freely":

In the face of these repeated and blunt avowals of Soviet policy, a statement of the objects of Communist in India can gain no further support from either analysis or argument.

THE DEGREE OF PROGRESS ACHIEVED

An examination of my second question—the degree of progress achieved—will involve some consideration of the methods employed. There is much internal evidence to show that, whatever their original intention, the Comintern soon decided not to attempt to foster the projected revolution in India on the milk of pure Communism. Thus, as will appear from page 6, a wireless message issued in November 1919 indicated that the Third International would support nationalist movements in Oriental countries "as they tend to upset the existing authority while not opposing revolutionary aspirations". Roy's detailed ideas (presumably they were approved by his employers) on Communist organisation in India will be found in the extracts from letter to Muzaffar Ahmad which are printed at page 46. The Communist Party was to remain a secret organisation, but there was also to be an [311] open Mass Party in which were to be collected all the revolutionaries and nationalists, with the immediate objective of the overthrow of the British and the remoter one of establishing "the dictorship of the Proletariat". It would seem to emerge, therefore, that the first objective of Communism in India was to capture and control existing nationalist organisations, such as the Indian National Congress. Roy, in the light of his own past experience, was led to conclude that one of the causes of the failure of the Indian revolutionary movement in the past was that it had no proper political organisation behind it. Such a body, he thought, was the Indian National Congress, in which a revolutionary spirit might be introduced by means of propaganda. The importance that Roy attached to encouraging the idea that the Communists were linked with national movements in India will be apparent from the fact that he claimed that his agents in India had been responsible for the Moplah rebellion, the Peasants' (*Aika*) movement in the United Provinces, and the Akali movement in the Punjab. The Comintern itself, as will be apparent from page 14, were at that time anxious to get into touch with any representative organisation in India whether

Communist or not—the Congress, the Khilafat, or, failing them, the Akalis.

The objects of Roy's published propaganda contained in *The Vanguard* and in his pamphlets were, firstly, to appeal by reasoned argument to responsible politicians, such as the leaders of the Indian National Congress, and, secondly, to rouse the masses, by indirect incitement, to a sense of their wants and their own power. His tactics were to combine the intelligentsia and the masses in a national struggle to oust the British; but the implication was obvious that the Indian bureaucracy, which was to follow in the wake of the British, would be speedily displaced by some system of administration based on the Soviet model. As will appear from page 32, the IV Congress of the Communist International approved of Roy's plans to link up the various Communist groups in Bombay, Madras, Lahore, Bengal and the United Provinces, to add the secret revolutionary societies (especially of Bengal), the left wing of the Trade Union movement, the [312] left wing of the Indian National Congress, the Khilafat movement, the Sikh movement, and to make them into a "country-wide" party with a revolutionary outlook, which would, if possible, be 'legally' organised as part of the Indian National Congress, but which would, in fact, remain under the control and direction of the Communist Party, which could not but be 'illegal'. The Communist nucleus was thus to take a leading part in the formation of a Mass Party for a revolutionary nationalist struggle; it was, in short, to act as the illegal apparatus of the legal Mass Party–a fact which was pressed against the accused in the Bolshevik trial at Cawnpore. Besides his advances to the Indian National Congress, Roy made special attempts to get in touch with Labour organisations, particularly because he wished to be able to produce before the Communist International some delegates who could be represented as carrying a 'mandate' from recognised Indian political bodies and from Indian Labour leaders.

The manner in which Roy endeavoured to give effect to the general idea underlying the above policy, by the sending of agents, propaganda and money—in fact all his efforts at the formation of an 'illegal' party—has been described in sufficient detail in the earlier Chapter of this book. In the particular case of the Indian National Congress Roy's efforts ended in almost complete failure, for although individual members may have shown a disposition to coquet with Communism, the Congress as a whole fought shy of it. The decision of the Gaya session

to continue non-violence proved highly distasteful to the Moscow leaders, but the fact remains that none of Roy's broadcasted manifestos or repeated diatribes have regained a solitary inch of ground. The abandonment of the passive resistance movement, under the "counter-revolutionary leadership" of Gandhi, has been characterised by Moscow as a betrayal of the cause of the Indian revolutionary Proletariat by the Indian bourgeoisie, on the latter of whom Roy has repeatedly poured out both scorn and abuse. In his latest pamphlet, *The Future of Indian Politics*, Roy argues that the fear of revolution drove the Indian bourgeoisie into the arms of capitalism, and that the former, equally with British Imperialism, are [313] now a consenting party to the exploitation and oppression of the Indian workers. Even the Swaraj Party, Roy thinks, has descended to the nadir of moderation, and reflects nothing but the interests of Indian capitalism. The Swaraj Party is accused by Roy of having replaced revolutionary mass action by parliamentary obstruction, which tactics they are again abandoning in favour of compromise with the British bureaucracy. But the sum and substance of all this is that the hotness of Roy's anger against the Congress and its alleged bourgeois components is but the measure of his failure to obtain control either of them or of their policy.

Nor can it be said that Roy's success in other directions was more appreciable. Ignoring his impudent claim that his agents in India were responsible for the Moplah outbreak, and the *Aika* movement in the United Provinces, both of which are now completely extinct, his record in other respects is not impressive. In Bengal itself, where grounds of racial affinity and old association should have given him a certain "pull", his influence on the course of events has been inappreciable; in fact, in all the vast amount of recorded information on revolutionary matters—much of it of established accuracy—there is nothing to indicate that things would not have followed much the same course if M. N. Roy had not even existed. In the Anushilan Party (Eastern Bengal Section) Roy is directly represented by his emissary and agent, Gopendra Chakravarty, but the latter, although he has a certain following, is far from being in chief control. While he has been successful in persuading a certain section to orgnise on Bolshevik lines, he has by no means had things all his own way; and, although his activities were intimately known, he was careful to do nothing of so overt a nature as to bring him within the scope of even the special legislation now in force in Bengal.

Roy's claim to be responsible for the Akali movement is too ludicrous to require examination. In point of fact, as I have shown in the section on the Punjab, the Ghadr organisation has evinced a tendency to ignore Roy and a desire to work in direct contact with the Soviet. [314]

I have already dwelt at some length on Roy's failure to build up an "illegal party" through his own immediate agents, a result which I have ascribed partly to the indifferent stuff of which many of the latter were made. If the Communist Party of India owes its existence to Roy, as possibly if may, it certainly had not, up to the time of Saklavala's arrival in the country, namely January 1927, got itself affiliated to Moscow, for which reason Saklatvala refused it any kind of recognition. The same indeterminateness of its position has deprived the party of the support of Philip Spratt, who recognises only the Workers' and Peasants' Parties that have come into existence mainly through his and Allison's efforts. As an instrument, for the carrying out, in a practical way, of the Soviet's objects in India, I know of no section of the Indian Communist Party that can be regarded as a machine of even low-grade efficiency. Their power for propaganda, too, has been consistently handicapped by the fact that much of the printed matter sent out by Roy's agents in Europe is never received by the addressees.

The last matter in connection with which I propose to test the value of M. N. Roy's efforts (before I leave him for good) is Labour. Here again we are fortunate enough to have Roy's own views available to us, and they may be fittingly summarised in a couple of sentences which will be found at the beginning of Chapter XIII of his latest pamphlet *The Future of Indian Politics*. He writes: "As a matter of fact, efforts have been made to organise an Indian Labour Party. All these efforts so far have miscarried". Roy writes that even in 1920 the Trade Unions in India were still embryonic, and were little better than strike committees. The present politics of the Indian Trade Union Congress, Roy regards as an "imbecile mimicry", since the Trade Unionist policy of focussing the entire energy of the Proletariat on immediate economic issues is not suitable during a period when the Proletariat must stand in the van of a democratic revolutionary movement. For the future the people's fight for freedom must be led by the party of the people—a party organisation which will be broad enough for all the forces of national revolution. The Proletariat led by its own [315] party—the

Communist Party—will exercise hegemony in this revolutionary struggle for democratic national freedom. Patently, however, Roy is writing of something that is yet to be but so far is not; so that in regard to Labour also he is, as in all other directions, utterly bankrupt in the way of practical achievement.

I have dwelt at this length on the results of M. N. Roy's campaign, because he seems to have been the instrument through whom the Soviet elected to put forth their main effort—the sparking-plug by which they hoped ultimately to explode the violent-minded elements in the country. It would be quite erroneous, however, to suppose that Roy's singularly barren record can be taken to mean that Communism has obtained no footing whatever in India. For instance, many recent articles in Indian-edited papers could be cited to show that the Press is becoming increasingly alive to the immense power of mass action as a political weapon. Communism, as expounded by Mr. Saklatvala during his recent tour, earned appreciative comment in several quarters which could not all be dismissed as irresponsible. It is hardly to be supposed that such papers accept the doctrines of Communism with their ultimate implications (the reverse is almost certainly true), but it is indisputable that the mass action idea has come to stay, as also the impression that, as this particular weapon broke the dominion of the Tsars in Russia, so it may again he used to win India her freedom from the overlordship of Great Britain. There are many clear evidences also of a growing recognition on the part of the Indian National Congress (and cognate political bodies) of the need of organising the labouring masses in order to associate them with the general movement for the country's political advancement. Then there are the organisation of Workers' and Peasants' Parties, and the growing instrusion into Labour movements of persons working for avowedly Communist purposes. The address of Bhupendra Nath Dutt to the Political Sufferers' Conference at Gauhati, no less than the association of individual revolutionaries with Communism, could be fittingly quoted to support M. N. Roy's contention that the "tendency of 'going to the masses' is gaining ground among the [316] nationalist intellectuals of advanced views". The penetration by Communism of indigenous revolutionary movements—notably the Sikh—is also a feature the significance of which it would be dangerous to ignore.

All these various manifestations must be regarded as so many symptoms that can be diagnosed in only one particular way.

THE DANGERS OF SUCCESS

The third and last of my questions I will answer on the lines I have followed in replying to occasional queries privately addressed to me, sometimes by earnest inquirers and sometimes by open scoffers. We are amazed, such persons have said, to find Government so exercised over something that appears to us to be the merest bogey; the whole of our knowledge and experience go to satisfy us that Communism to the average Indian—whether Hindu or Mahomedan—is something that, in the nature of things, is utterly repugnant; we are quite at a loss, therefore, to understand why Government should be so "jumpy" about the spread of Communism in India, which is something that can never really happen.

Such questioners I have usually invited to cast their minds back over the events of the Non-co-operation years and to tell me frankly whether they could point to anything since 1857 that had shaken the foundations of our rule so rudely. I may say that but rarely have I been given an answer in a sense different from what I desired. In fact, I have found no general disposition to question the accuracy of Roy's description of the Non-co-operation movement as a serious challenge to the authority of the British Government, in the course of which "the horizon—was ablaze with the smouldering flames of peasant revolt". This preliminary ground cleared, I have usually proceeded to inquire whether there was any real obstacle to the revival of Non-co-operation—a revival that, profitting by past mistakes and drawing inspiration and assistance from extraneous sources, might well prove far more dangerous than the original movement. Agreement secured on this point also, I have met objections as to the "senselessness" of such a movement by inquiring where was the "sense" of all that has been done in Russia, or, [317] to take an illustration from nearer home, of the recent general strike in Great Britain. I have then gone on no explain that a mob, indulging in the kind of mass violence of which we had an unpleasant foretaste in 1920-22, does not require to be composed of convinced Communists, but only of persons whose minds have been inflamed beyond all control; and that Communism is an exceedingly potent and subtle poison for exciting the mob-mind in such a way, witness our own recent experiences in several parts of China and those of the Dutch authorities in Java. After such explanations, I have seldom been denied the admission that the spread of Communism in India might easily be productive of

grave danger to our rule especially in times when Government was preoccupied with a campaign, or otherwise embarrassed, whether inside or outside India.

What I have said above will have already disclosed, to some extent, the nature of the danger I most readily apprehend from the spread of Communism in this country. The Non-co-operation movement was hailed in Moscow as something admirably adapted to the furtherance of her designs against India, and its collapse has been unceasingly lamented. What the Soviet desires is not the conversion of India to the Communist creed (for it expressly recognises that in Eastern countries the nationalist spirit must be stimulated and played upon) but such a general upheaval, such a wide-spread outbreak of disorder as will render a continuance of our rule impossible. Now in Non-co-operation we have had a clear illustration of a state of affairs after Russia's own heart, an upheaval which, even without outside direction or assistance, shook our authority as it has seldom been shaken. It may frankly be admitted that the combination of circumstances that favoured the birth of Non-co-operation was altogether exceptional—war weariness and economic pressure, apprehension and unsettlement in the minds of Indian Muslims, the bitter memories of the Punjab disturbances of 1919, and finally a leader in the person of Gandhi, whose appeal to the mass mind was semi-divine, and whose influence was far more religious than political. But if the hour and the man are not again likely to arrive [318] together, there may yet be movements of a serious enough character even though they fall short of the country-wide scale of that inaugurated by Gandhi. The Punjab disturbances of 1919 were purely secular in their origin and owed much to the activities of the propagandist and the agitator; had they occurred at a time when our hands were already full on the North-West Frontier, or in other directions, their suppression might have been far more difficult and their challenge to Government's ability to prosecute a war incalculably more serious. The Malabar rebellion was also provoked by political mischief mongers, and it might have taken far longer to smother had Government been heavily pre-occupied in other directions. Both these outbreaks were strictly indigenous in their origin, and they were supported neither by foreign direction nor by foreign money. But such isolation is not to be looked for in future, and the stimulation of disorders by means of trained propagandists and liberal financial support are among the more obvious and elementary factors that will

have to be reckoned with. What is more, Russia has now spread her net of intrigue so wide that she could probably succeed in arranging that troubles outside our borders should synchronise with any serious outbreak within them. At least her position of influence in places like Afghanistan, Central Asia and China suggests disquieting possibilities in this direction. If ever India were to be seriously denuded of troops at a time when there was internal trouble on any widespread scale, the extent to which the situation might be exploited by an efficient Communist organisation can readily be imagined. An Indian Communist's appreciation of the possibilities is as follows :—"The time to start *Satyagraha* will be when we are most organised, when the Government has made itself most unpopular, and when the political situation outside India has added to its distractions and increased its embarrassments; such a situation may arise any day". The longer Communism can go on propagating the idea that by their own action the masses themselves can remove the British tyranny and every ill from which they suffer under it, the more formidable will be the conflagration it will set alight when the time comes to apply the match. I am asking no one to believe that [319] Bolshevik Russia can achieve the supernatural (as was popularly believed of Germany), but I do, on the other hand, lay stress on the consideration that the case with which popular feeling against the Government can be whipped up in this country, will ever tend to increase the odds in favour of Communism being able either to find its opportunity or to make it. The special dangers to India arising out of the Bolshevik penetration of countries contiguous to her borders is well expressed in the following passage from a recently published article from the pen (probably) of an Indian Communist in Europe :—"However that may be, the question of immediate concern to the Indian Government is whether, if necessary, by a recourse to armed force it can eradicate the new centre of Bolshevik influence from which infectious Marxist doctrines may spread to India. If it were merely to stop the distribution of Bolshevik pamphlets and literature (some of which have perhaps been printed and forged by anti-Bolshevik agents in Europe), the task, though difficult, is by no means insurmountable. A rigorous censorship and close examination of foreign mails can for all effective purposes do the trick, but the real impossible task is to stop the spread of ideas which travel without vehicle and gain momentum from resisting force. The very existence of a pro-Bolshevik Afghan State will

be the greatest sign-post of Bolshevism to the tribes of the North-Western Frontier Province, who will pass the message onwards to India".

Extensive internal disorders, even though falling short of armed rebellion, may nevertheless create difficulties of a sufficiently formidable character. The dispersal of large hostile mobs is ever a matter of the utmost difficulty to the civil authorities, while to the military it is anathema. There can be no more disagreeable duty than the use of force against a rabble which can never stand a chance against well-disciplined and well-armed police or troops. It is equally true that there is nothing that alienates popular sympathy and kindles popular indignation so quickly as the shooting of the members of a mob (no matter how much they may have deserved it) by the armed forces of the State. The only remedy, therefore, [320] which Government has against a general mob-rising is the very one which is most likely to aggravate it, as recent events at Shanghai, Hankow and Canton will bear witness. The power of the infuriated rabble was well illustrated at Hankow, when the British were driven from their Concession, not by the armies of Canton but by hordes of yelling Chinese, drunk with anti-British hatred. Disturbances of Communistic origin, even if of lesser magnitude, can never be but the beginning of greater evil, for their suppression will, by exciting popular sympathy, inevitably shorten the time and pave the way to another and more serious recurrence. To leave all question of active violence on one side, it needs few words to point out the mischief that Communism might do were it to obtain a proper grip over organised, or even unorganised, Labour in this country. During a time of war (possibly of Moscow's making) the calling of a general or sectional strike among railway-workers, dockers, etc., might completely paralyse Government's ability to procure supplies and to keep open its lines of communication.

A study of the dangers arising out of the spread of Communism in India inevitably suggests a consideration of the possible safe-guards that can be adopted against it; but this latter is naturally a subject that cannot be usefully discussed in the open. There is, however, one general consideration I desire to advance; and, as it is a fairly obvious one, I can be giving but little away in putting it forward. It is this, that the amount of mischief Communism can do us in India will depend mainly on the response from within that is accorded to efforts from without. Outside assistance will undoubtedly be freely available in the

shape of agents, propaganda, money and ideas. But none of these will avail, unless effective touch and co-operation can be established with those sections of the Indian populace—revolutionary societies or Labour bodies—which are willing to make common cause with our enemies. That there will always be such possible points of contact is unquestionable, for the hatred of British rule which animates both will always serve to establish a certain identity of interest between the Indian extremist and the Bolshevik agent–predisposing [321] the one to accept assistance and the other to render it. Of this contention the case and celerity with which the Communists captured and united the native revolutionary elements in Java furnish a recent and striking illustration. Therefore, while the Government's watch on the indigenous forces of disorder must always be sufficiently vigilant to enable it to detect any new accretions of strength, its face must be rigidly set against the leaving unclosed of any loophole whatsoever by which the agents and doctrines of Communism might find admission to this country. It would be fully to despise the day of small things, for the germ is bound to multiply, even as that of an infectious disease, and to taint the entire body politic. It would be as little justifiable for the Government to relax its vigilance in time of peace as it would be for our health authorities to discard precautious when the public health is at its best. Wherever Communism manifests itself, it should be met and stamped out like the plague. The spread of Communism in India is not case of these problems which may be looked at from a particular "angle of vision"; it must be looked straight in the face, and it must be fought with the most unrelenting opposition.

[322] WHO'S WHO

The following list does not include everyone who is mentioned in the narrative portion of this book. Only those who are considered to be of some importance as regards Communism in India have found a place in the who's who. Furthermore, the details given in each case do not constitute a complete history sheet, but are intended to give the reader an idea of the comparative importance of each person mentioned, and to furnish a general summary of his activities.

ABDUL GHANI *alias* MAHOMED ABDUL GHANI, of Lahore. Age 35 (1927). A well-known Labour agitator. Was in communication with S. A. Dange (*q.v.*) in 1924. In 1925 organised the Punjab Labour Board, of which he was General Secretary with the object of co-ordinating all forms of Labour on Trades Union and Congress lines. Reported to have Communistic leanings.

ABDUL HAFIZ, DR., son of the late M. Ilahi Baksh, pleader of Lahore. Went to England in 1904, where he became friendly with Har Dayal and other extremists of the India House Party. Returned to India in 1909 but went back to Birmingham the following year. He then went to Leipzig, visiting America shortly afterwards, but returned to Germany after the outbreak of hostilities. Joined the Berlin Indian Committee. Employed by the Germans to organise assassinations and sabotage in allied countries with the aid of anarchists. Expelled from Switzerland in 1915. When to Constantinople in 1916 to take charge of the branch of the "Berlin Indian Committee." Was sentenced in *contumaciam* in June 1916 in the Zurich Bomb Case to four years' imprisonment and a fine of 2,000 francs. Went to Afghanistan in 1920, where he was employed in the manufacture of explosives. He is said to have been in touch with the Soviet Government there. He later visited Berlin and Vienna. In 1923 he wrote from Holland to his brother, who applied on his behalf to Government for permission for him to return to India. He was not allowed to return.

ABDUL HALIM, of Birbhum, Bengal. Brother-in-law of Kutubuddin Ahmed (*q.v.*). A member of the Indian Communist Party and Bengal Workers' and Peasants' Party. Was in touch with Anushilan Samiti, a revolutionary organisation in Bengal. Was very friendly with Muzaffar Ahmad (*q.v.*).

ABDUL HAMID, MUHAJIR, of Ludhiana District, Punjab. Age about 35 (1927). In February 1915 fled to the Frontier with the other Mujahid students of Lahore. Was enlisted as a "Lieutenant-Colonel" in M. Obeidullah's (*q.v.*) revolutionary [323] "Army of God". Subsequently went to Russia, where he was trained at the Bolshevik Military School at Tashkent and also at the University for "Workers of the East" at

Moscow. In May 1922 was sent to India by M. N. Roy with several other agents for propaganda work. Convicted and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment under Section 121-A, Indian Penal Code, but the conviction was set aside on appeal and he was released in September 1926.

ABDUL KADIR AZAD SUBHANI, son of Moulvi Murtaza of Cawnpore (originally of Ballia, U.P.). Came to notice in 1913 in connection with the Cawnpore Mosque affair and was closely associated with the Ali Brothers, Abul Kalam Azad and Abdul Bari. Identified himself with the Khilafat and Non-co-operation movements, and made many objectionable speeches. Joined the Indian Communist Party in 1925.

ABDUL LATIF, son of Sharaf Din, Izzat Khel, of Kohat. Fled from Lahore to Independent Territory shortly after the disappearance of the Lahore Jehadi students. Was in Khost in 1919.

ABDUL MAJID *alias* M. A. MAJID, of Lahore. Age about 35 (1927). Left India during the *Hijrat* movement in the spring of 1920. Joined M. N. Roy's school for training Indians in Bolshevik Eastern propaganda, at Tashkent. Was later sent to Moscow for further training. Tried to get into India *via* Chitral but was arrested and sent to Peshawar, where he was tried under Section 121-A, Indian Penal Code, and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment in May 1923. Released in April 1924. One of the leading organisers of the Punjab Labour Board formed in March 1925 with the object of co-ordinating all forms of Labour in the Province. Early in 1926 began to show revived interest in Communism and corresponded with Indian Communists in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. One of the organisers of the "Young India Association" or "Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha" formed in the spring of 1926, which was strongly impregnated with revolutionary ideas.

ABDUL RAHMAN *alias* MULLAH TAWAKAL, an Uzbeg of Tashkent. Arrived in Kabul from Tashkent in November 1926, and served there in the Russian Legation for about a month. Left for India in March 1927 and was arrested at Peshawar and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment for travelling on a forged passport. Reported to have come to India on Bolshevik secret service and with the intention of ultimately visiting Constantinople, where the Bokharan refugees had formed an association to work for the independence of Turkestan.

ABDUL RASHID SAVUL, son of Mahomed Said of Nowshera, North-West Frontier Province. Left Shanghai, where he had been for five or six years, for San Francisco in January 1927, to deliver a sum of money collected by one Lal Chand (*q.v.*) to the Ghadr Party there. Interviewed Rash Behari Bose (*q.v.*) in Japan *en route*. Associate of Lal Chand (*q.v.*) and other Indian seditionists in China. Travelled to London, Berlin and Constantinople on his return from America.

ABDUL WAHAB, a suspected Bolshevik agent. Was the so-called Commander-in-Chief of Bashmachi Irregular forces. [324] Obtained a pass from the British Legation, Kabul, for a through journey to the Hedjaz. Arrived Peshawar and was placed under surveillance (May 1927).

ABDUL WAHID ABA, SAIYID, son of Abdul Aziz, of Muzaffarpur, Bihar and Orissa. Has travelled all over Europe and has been in

touch with Indian revolutionaries. Joined the Turkish Army in 1915, but later went to Berlin and joined the Indian Nationalist Party. Was interned by the Germans in 1918. After his release became a member of a pan-Islamic organisation at Berne, Switzerland. Went to Berlin in 1920 and from there accompanied Chattopadhyaya and Agnes Smedley to Vienna. Visited Rome in 1921, where he got in touch with Soviet agents. Received in that year 5,000 Marks from the Soviet Legation, Berlin, for his journey to Moscow. Returned to India in 1924 in connection with Indo-Italian and Indo-Swiss commercial ventures. Left India in November 1924. Is believed to have been made an offer of ample funds, by a Russian named Orloff, to carry on work on behalf of the Soviet. Abdul Wahid asked for time to consider it. Was reported to be married to a German woman named Kaethe Hulda Wolf.

ABDUL WARRIS, of Amritsar. Age about 24 (1927). A Moscow-trained Communist. Closely associated with Moulvi Barkatullah (*q.v.*) and Mahomed Ali *alias* Sepassi (*q.v.*). Reported to have been sent to India by M. N. Roy but has not been traced up to the present.

ABDULLA JAN *alias* SAFDAR (or SAVDAR), of Peshawar City. Age about 32 (1927). A Moscow-trained Communist. Associated with Abdul Rab, a notorious renegade abroad. In 1926 a report was received that Savdar was about to visit India on a secret mission from Moscow, but no trace of him has been found up to the present.

ABDUR RAZIQ *alias* HAJI ABDUL RAZAK, of the Chamarkand Colony of Hindustani fanatics. Was for a time an important Bolshevik agent in Kabul and acted as a link between Moulvi Bashir (*q.v.*) and the Afghan and Bolshevik authorities. Held the post of Chief Court Mullah to the late Amir Habibullah Khan. Died 1925.

ABUL KALAM AZAD *alias* MAHIUDDIN, originally of Delhi but subsequently settled in Calcutta. Son of late M. Khairuddin. An Arabic scholar who has visited Arabia. An ardent pan-Islamic and a dangerous seditionist. Took an important part in the Cawnpore Mosque affair in 1913. Was one of the principal organisers of the Khuddam-i-Kaaba movement in the same year. Started the Hazbulla society. In 1915 founded the Dar-ul-Irshad, a college in which he delivered seditious lectures for which he was expelled from Bengal. Later interned at Ranchi. Released in 1920. Has taken a keen interest in the Khilafat, N. C. O. and Swaraj movements. Convicted and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment under section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, in 1922.

ACHARYA, MANDAYAM PARTHASARATHI TIRUMALAI. Originally of Mysore but the family settled in Madras many years ago. Age about 40 (1927). Left India in November 1908 for [325] Europe. Went to America in 1912, but returned to Europe again in 1919. In 1921-1922 was employed in translation work for Bolshevik propaganda in India. Returned to Berlin at the end of 1922 with a Russian wife. Has been for some time discredited in Soviet circles and now passed as an "Anarcho-Syndicalist" and a member of the "IVth International." Was employed by the Eastern group of the "League Against Imperialism" in Berlin, as typist and secretary.

AFTAB ALI, of Sylhet district, Assam. Age about 31 (1927). Worked as a saloon boy and steward on various ships and visited a

number of foreign countries. Elected Assistant Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress in January 1926 and is the Secretary of the Indian Seamen's Union, Calcutta. Holds Communist views and takes a very active part in the Labour movement in Calcutta. Suspected to be an arms smuggler. Associated with George Allison *alias* Donald Campbell (*q.v.*) and became his staunch follower.

AGHA ZADE. Mentioned in a list of members of the Council for Propaganda and Action in the East and as the representative for Afghanistan in the Presidium of the Baku Congress held in August 1920.

AJODHYA PRASAD, of Jhansi. Age about 25 (1927). First came to notice as visiting Ram Charan Lal Sharma (*q.v.*) in Pondicherry in 1924. Is a youth of pronounced Communist views and is connected with many revolutionary suspects. Left India in March 1927 disguised as a lascar and under an assumed name. Got in touch with C. P. Dutt, in England, and acted as go-between for the interchange of correspondence between Dutt and Philip Spratt (*q.v.*).

ALIMIN, a Javanese, lieutenant of Tan Malaka (*q.v.*). One of the leaders of the Communists in the Netherlands East Indies; arrested in the Straits Settlements in December 1926, released in March 1927, and left for Hankow *en route* to Canton on 26th March 1927. Attended the pan-Pacific Labour Conference held at Hankow in May 1927 as a representative of Java.

ALLAH NAWAZ KHAN, son of K. B. Rab Nawaz Khan, Honorary Magistrate, Multan. One of the students who fled from Lahore in 1915. Was listed as a Lieutenant-Colonel in Obeidullah's "Army of God". Agent of the Indian Revolutionary Party in Afghanistan and an intermediary between it and the Hindustani fanatics. In 1924 was reported to have secured a post in the Afghan War Office; in 1925 was believed to be wielding great influence in Bolshevik circles in Afghanistan, suspected of having received arms and ammunition from the Bolsheviks and of having distributed them in Tirah. Is a close associate of Mir Rahmatullah Humayun (*q.v.*). Connected also with the Indian National Club, Kabul.

ALLISON, GEORGE, *alias* DONALD CAMPBELL, a well-known Communist, who was sent out to India in April 1926 by the British Communist Party to organise Labour Unions on revolutionary lines and to act as a link between Indian and British Communists. Had previously been in Moscow from 1924 to middle of 1925. While in India he fraternised with Communists, got in [326] touch with revolutionaries, took a prominent part in Labour affairs, and wrote newspaper articles on Trade Unionism. Was arrested on 23rd January 1927 and sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment on 9th March 1927 for forging a passport, for using a forged document, and for breach of passport regulations.

ANSARI, DR. MUKHTAR AHMAD, son of Abdul Rahman, of Yusufpur, Ghazipur and Delhi. Educated at the Muir Central College, Allahabad and Hyderabad and later at Edinburgh and London. Returned to India in 1911 and became intimate with the Ali Brothers at Delhi. Leader of the All-India Medical Mission to Turkey in 1913 when he met members of the Young Turk Party. Has identified himself with the Khilafat and Congress movements and represented the Indian Khilafat

Party on a deputation to England in April 1921. In 1925, accompanied by Hakim Ajmal Khan, went to Europe, where he met amongst others S. R. Rana and Madame Cama (*q.v.*) Went on to Turkey, but was not altogether pleased with his visit. Returned in August 1925, but sailed for England in March 1926 with Lajpat Rai and Moti Lal Nehru. Returned in June 1926. Has been elected President of the Indian National Congress for the year 1927.

ASHLEIGH, CHARLES, *alias* JOHN ASHWORTH. In 1918 was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in Leavenworth Penitentiary, Kansas, U.S.A., in connection with the Industrial Workers of the World strikes and riots in America, and for a violation of the so-called Espionage Act. Released and deported in February 1922 from America to the United Kingdom, where he got in touch with various extremists and started his career as travelling agitator and Communist propagandist. Left Berlin for India, in August 1922, as an agent of the Comintern for propaganda work in India. Arrived in Bombay on 19th September 1922, but as the Empire-wide endorsement on his passport was cancelled he returned to England. During his short sojourn in Bombay he managed to see several people there and to give S. A. Dange (*q.v.*) instructions from M. N. Roy. In October 1922 went to Berlin where he met Mrs. Roy. In 1924 was placed in charge of the Indian Communist Defence Committee in London which collected funds to defray expenses for an appeal in the Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case. Is an active Communist and a correspondent in England for American Left Wind newspapers.

AWASTHI, PANDIT RAMA SHANKAR, of Allahabad, now Cawnpore. Age about 30 (1927). A pro-Bolshevik journalist, paid politician and agitator. Editor of the Hindi daily *Vartman* of Cawnpore. Convicted in April 1925 on three charges under section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, and sentenced to an aggregate sentence of 8 months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 300. In June 1926 he was again prosecuted at Cawnpore under section 153-A, Indian Penal Code. Was discharged on submitting an apology.

AZIZ AHMAD, son of Habibullah of Gujranwala. A newhew of Moulvi Obeidullah (*q.v.*). Has been trained as a Communist in Moscow. Returned in 1927 to India from the Hedjaz, where he had resided with Obeidullah since 2nd September 1926.

BACH, F. Acting General Secretary of the League Against Imperialism, and an official of the Workers' International Relief.

BAKSHI, VIDYA DHAR, son of Ram Chand, of Dera Bakhsian, Police Station Jatli, district Rawalpindi. Went to Japan in 1915, where he was known to be an important member of the Ghadr Party. A thoroughly undesirable character, who has been on intimate terms with notorious revolutionaries like Rash Behari Bose and Kesho Ram Sabarwal, was a leader of the boycott movement in Japan in 1922, and is known to have discussed the assassination of the Prince of Wales on the latter's visit to Japan. Is at present in India (1927) on an alleged "political mission", the nature of which is not known.

BALDWIN, ROGER N. One of the most dangerous Communists in America. Works also in Canada and Mexico. Director of the American

Civil Liberties Union, a Soviet-financed organisation in New York City, of which Professor Henry Ward (*q.v.*) is Chairman. Was on the Executive Board of the "Friends of Freedom for India" and acts as a legal adviser to Indian nationalists in difficulties with American authorities. All British Overseas countries were warned that he should not be granted a *visa* or be allowed to land in the United Kingdom and should be removed in the event of his landing at any port in India. Attended the Congress of the "League Against Imperialism" held at Brussels in February 1927, and represented the United States of America on the Executive Committee of the League.

BANERJI, AJOY CHANDRA, of Bhagalpur. Age about 32 (1927). An active Communist. Is a member of the Indian Association, London Workers' Welfare League of India, Young Communist Party, Indian Communist Party, Teachers' Labour League, International Oriental Seamen's Union, Lascars' Welfare League, Dutt's Indian Bureau, Communist Party of Great Britain, Colonial Bureau, etc. Helped to draw up a scheme for the formation of a Colonial Bureau to work direct with the Comintern. Associates with M. N. Roy, Saklatvala, C. P. Dutt, Upadhyaya and other Communists.

BANERJI, SHIB NATH, of Khulna, Bengal. Age about 30 (1927). Came in contact with important Jugantar revolutionaries while a student. Was in charge of Daulatpur "Satya Ashram" in Khulna, a rendezvous of dangerous members of the Jugantar revolutionary party. Left India for Afghanistan in March 1922 where he stayed about six months and associated with Obeidullah (*q.v.*) and other Indian revolutionaries. Was expelled from Kabul and went to Moscow where he stayed for 18 months and got in touch with M. N. Roy, Rahmat Ali Zakaria (*q.v.*) and other well-known Indian Communists. Became a fully instructed Bolshevik agent having graduated at the Eastern University for instruction in propaganda at Moscow. Subsequently went to London where he met Saklatvala. His name appeared in a list of workers of the Eastern Section of the Executive Committee of the Comintern and he was reported to be a travelling [328] agent of the Executive Committee, and a member of the Indian Communist Party. Since his return to India in February 1925, has been taking part in the Labour movement in Bengal, and has been appointed General Secretary of Bengal Jute Workers' Association. Was in close touch with George Allison *alias* Donald Campbell (*q.v.*) whom he had known in Moscow. Associated with Muzaffar Ahmad (*q.v.*) and Kutubuddin Ahmad (*q.v.*).

BANERJI, UPENDRA NATH, of Gondalpara, French Chandernagore. Age about 44 (1927). Was sentenced to transportation for life in the Maniktola Bomb Conspiracy Case in 1909, but was released in consequence of the Royal amnesty in 1919. On release resumed revolutionary conspiracy and got in touch with M. N. Roy. Sheltered Abani Mukherji (*q.v.*) who visited Bengal in January 1923 as an emmissary of of the revolutionary Communists in Berlin. Was dealt with under Regulation III of 1818, on 25th September 1923, as he was involved in a conspiracy to assassinate police officers in Calcutta. Released on the 25th of February 1926. Since release, has been interesting himself in the "Karmi Sangha", which is a revolutionary concern.

BAPTISTA, JOSEPH, of Bombay. Age 61 (1927). President of the Indian Home Rule League founded by Tilak. After the War went to England in July 1917 as the trusted advocate of the cause of Home Rule. Later became engrossed in Labour questions. Was Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress in November 1920 and President of the Indian Seamen's Union, Bombay, in 1923. Represented Indian Labour at the International Labour Conference held at Geneva in June 1924. Elected President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation in 1925.

BARBUSSE, HENRI. A well-known French socialist writer. Secretary of the Comité pro-Hindou, Paris, a purely "Red" centre financed by the Bolsheviks through Indian extremists, and an organisation with which M. N. Roy is closely connected. On behalf of the Comité pro-Hindou, he issued an objectionable monthly Bulletin, which was prohibited from entry into India under the Sea Customs Act, 1878. Was a cover address for M. N. Roy. Barbusse is a prominent official of the League Against Imperialism.

BARKATULLAH, a well-known seditionist and revolutionary Moulvi, of Bhopal. Visited England, America and Japan before the war. Edited the *Islamic Fraternity*. Accompanied the Turco-German Mission to Kabul in 1915. Believed to have acted as Editor of the *Siraj-ul-Akhbar* for some time. Was in Herat and later in Russian Turkestan. Fled from Bokhara to Russia in 1919 and interviewed Lenin. Was with the Bolsheviks in Merv and later with Djamal Pasha's mission to Kabul (1920-21), member of the "Provisional Government of India" at Kabul. In 1922 was in Moscow working for the Russian Foreign Office in conjunction with M. N. Roy. Was President of the Indian Independent Party, in Berlin, which was financed with Bolshevik funds. Was regarded by the Russian Communist leaders as one of their most trusted agents for Afghanistan and India. In July 1925 published his Arabic paper *Elislah*. In July 1927 was reported to be accompanying Mahendra Partap (*q.v.*) to the U.S.A. from Berlin. [329]

BASHIR, MOULVI, *alias* ABDUL RAHIM, son of Moulvi Rahim Baksh, ex-Imam of the Chinianwali Mosque, Lahore. With one M. Fazl Ilahi was responsible for the flight of the Lahore students to Asmas in February 1915, where he joined them later. Was in close touch with Barkatullah (*q.v.*) and Obeidullah (*q.v.*) in Kabul and was later listed as "Major General" in the "Army of God". In 1921 was in touch with Suritz, and in 1925 received a large sum of money from the Russian Legation, Kabul, for revolutionary work. Is a proclaimed offender.

BEGERHOTTA, JANKI PRASAD. Age 27 (1927). Son of Madho Prasad Begerhotta, Brahmin of Rewari, District Gurgaon, Punjab. An ex-Secretary of the Rewari Congress Committee and a member of the All-India Congress Committee. Is a man of extremist and Communist views. Corresponds with M. N. Roy who once wrote to him in connection with the proposed formation of a "strike committee" to help the labourers and to form a connecting link between them and the Comintern. Distributed pamphlets headed "Not masses for the revolution but revolution for the masses" at the All-India Congress Committee meeting at Patna in September 1925. Appointed General Secretary of the Indian

Communist Party for the year 1926 at the Indian Communist Conference held at Cawnpore in December 1925. Elected Chairman of the Reception Committee of the 2nd Session of the Communist Conference held at Delhi in March 1927. Resigned the post of General Secretary on the ground that he had lost the confidence of the Party. Continues to associate and correspond with Spratt (*q.v.*) and other Communists in India.

BHAG SINGH, 'Canadian', son of Attar Singh 'Jat' of Uppal Bhopa village, Nakodar Police Station, Jullundur District. Reported at one time to have served in a cavalry regiment, but left service and went to America. Returned from America by the "Tosha Maru" in 1914 and was arrested. Released from Jail in 1918, and restricted to his village under the Ingress into India Ordinance till 1919, when restriction was removed under the Royal amnesty. A year later, was active in fomenting sedition in the Jullundur District, where he associated with a number of returned emigrants including Master Mota Singh (*q.v.*) and Kishen Singh of Baring, who was executed in the Babbar Akali Conspiracy Case. In 1922 took an active part in running the *Pardesi Khalsa* newspaper, which afterwards became the *Akali-te-Pardesi*, and visited Bengal to collect subscriptions. In the same year was believed to have organised a society of returned emigrants. Was dealt with under Section 107, C.P.C., and in default of security was sent to jail for one year. On release, became treasurer of a committee formed to assist the families and dependants of arrested members of the Babbar Akali gang. Was again bound down under Section 107, C.P.C., for publishing an objectionable poster. In 1925 became a member of the *Desh Bhagat Qaidi Parwar Sahaik Committee* which helped relations of prisoners convicted for revolutionary offences. In 1926 was reported to have received money from America, for the help of the families of Babbar Akalis. Was intimately associated with Santokh Singh (*q.v.*) in starting the *Kirti* newspaper and became a member of the original managing committee. Concerned in the Sikh Conspiracy, which is described in Chapter V. Has also been prominent in Akali agitation; was [330] at one time Jathedar of the Jullundur Akali Dal, and a leading member of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and the Sikh League. Is undoubtedly one of the most dangerous returned emigrants.

BHAGWAN SINGH *alias* BHAN SINGH *alias* NATHA SINGH *alias* B. S. JAKH, of Viring village, Tarn Taran Police Station, Amritsar District. Age 42 (1927). Left India about 1909 and was for some time Granthi at the Sikh Temple in Penang, but was dismissed by the committee for preaching sedition. In 1913 went to Canada but was subsequently deported for having entered that country under a false name (Natha Singh). He met the "Komagata Maru" in Japan on her outward voyage in 1914, sold a pistol to Baba Gurdit Singh (*q.v.*) and delivered very violent and seditious speeches to the passengers. In 1914 went to San Francisco accompanied by the notorious Moulvi Barkatullah (*q.v.*). Later when Har Dayal fled from America these two took over the management of the *Ghadr* newspaper. In June 1918 he was arrested in the United States for infringing neutrality and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment. On his release he retired to a farm in California and

ceased to take active interest in the affairs of the Ghadr Party. He recently rejoined that party in an active capacity.

BHAT, Dr. K. S., of Karkul, S. Canara, Madras Presidency. Age about 39 (1927). Went to England about 1916-1917. Member of Workers' League of India, Indian Seamen's Union, National Minority Movement, etc. President of the W. W. L. I. Associates with Saklatvala, C. P. Dutt (*q.v.*), Upadhyaya (*q.v.*), Wilson of the C.P.G.B., and many other Communists. Delegate for the W. W. L. I. to the Brussels Conference of the League Against Imperialism, and to the National Minority Movement Conference. Corresponds with S. D. Hassan (*q.v.*) of Lahore, and Chaman Lal. Is still in England (1927). An earnest Communist worker.

BHATTACHARJI, KALIDAS, of Bhatpara, Bengal. Age 28 (1927). A revolutionary who was concerned in a bomb outrage and dacoity, and supplied arms for revolutionary purposes. Interned on 17th April 1916 Released on 31st May 1918 on guarantee. Has been taking a prominent part in organising Labour in the mill areas of the 24-Parganas. Closely connected with Shib Nath Banerji (*q.v.*).

BHATTACHARJI, LALIT MOHAN, *alias* R. CHARI, younger brother of M. N. Roy. Received correspondence from his brother on party matters and passed it on to Roy's agents in India. Has not come to notice for some years.

BHATTACHARJI, NARENDRA NATH, *alias* M. N. ROY *alias* C. A. MARTIN *alias* RICHARDS, etc., etc., of Kodalia, 24-Parganas, Bengal. Age 39 (1927). A most dangerous conspirator who first came under the influence of Arabindo Ghose, the doyen of Bengali revolutionaries. Bhattacharji has been known as M. N. Roy for many years. Took part in several political outrages in Bengal including the Garden Reach Dacoity, and absconded from bail in 1915. Backed by German influence, he organised s.s. "Maverick" affair, when an attempt was made to ship arms and ammunition to India for the use of revolutionaries. [331] In this connection Roy visited Shanghai, Java, Sumatra and Batavia. He remained some time in Japan and later made his way to America where he was indicted in the San Francisco Conspiracy Case. However, he again absconded and crossed the border into Mexico. Left Mexico for Europe in 1920, and since then has been by far the most important Indian Communist agent employed by the Soviet. Has issued an enormous quantity of Communist propaganda literature, and, in spite of numerous rebuffs and failures, has zealously worked to promote Communism in India with the ultimate object of bringing about a revolution. Besides corresponding with Communists and revolutionaries in India, has organised the publication of such periodicals as the *Vanguard, Advance Guard, The Masses of India,* etc. Roy was commissioned by Moscow to get in touch with disaffected Indians in Afghanistan and after the *Hijrat* movement in 1920, he seized the opportunity of bringing a number of Muslim youths under his influence, and trained them in Bolshevik propaganda work at his "school" in Tashkent. Thenceforward he has been most of his time either in Moscow or Berlin, but. after the anti-Bolshevik *coup* of the German authorities in 1923, Roy settled down in Paris whence he continued to pour out a stream of Communist literature and corres-

pondence, the ultimate destination of which was India. His wife, Evelyn, née Trent, an American lady whose views on Bolshevism were similar to his, assisted him in his propaganda work and contributed numerous articles to the periodicals issued by him. He was indicted, in his absence, in the Cawnpore Conspiracy Case, and a warrant for his arrest was issued. Was expelled from France early in 1925, but continued to carry on his intrigues from Moscow. The disturbances in China in 1926-27 furnished the Soviet with an opportunity of utilising Roy's services in corrupting loyal Indian there and in assisting the plots of those who were already disaffected. In conjunction with the International Workers Delegation, and as an accredited representative of the Soviet, he attended the pan-Pacific Labour Conference held in Hankow in May 1927. The latest report concerning Roy showed that he was on his way back to Moscow. Ambitious, energetic and unscrupulous, Roy has managed in an extraordinary fashion to retain the confidence of the Soviet and has apparently succeeded in so magnifying his achievements, that he is still regarded as having gone a long way towards the promotion of Communism in India.

BHATTACHARJI, RAM CHANDRA, of Nadia District, Bengal. Age about 33 (1927). A revolutionary who was interned 11th September 1916 and released 23rd May 1918. Left India 1920. One of M. N. Roy's agents in Europe. Was one of five Indians whose names were submitted for entry into the High Party School at Moscow for training Communist leaders.

BHATTACHARJI, SURESH CHANDRA, of Ganesh Mohalla, Benares, and Cawnpore, United Provinces. Age about 34 (1927). A revolutionary of the United Provinces, who was interned under the Defence of India Act in 1915, but released in 1919. A prominent member of the Indian Communist Party in the United Provinces, and an associate of Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi and other persons connected with the dissemination of Bolshevik propaganda. Was a recipient of Communist literature from abroad. An important [332] member of the Hindustan Republican Association, which had as its object the otherthrow by violence of the British Government in India. Convicted and sentenced in the Kakori Conspiracy Case to seven years' rigorous imprisonment on the 8th of April 1927.

BHATVADEKAR, DATTARAM ATMARAM, of Bombay. President of the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal, an organisation started in December 1923 with the avowed object of settling strikes and preserving the peace during strikes. Played a prominent part in the general mill strike of the early part of 1924. Was a member of M. N. Roy's Bombay Strike Committee and associated with the Communist, Percy Glading (*q.v.*). A man of little or no education.

BISHEN SINGH, son of Jiwan Singh, village Burj Raike, Police Station Sirhali, Amritsar. Accompanied Mahendra Partap (*q.v.*) on his tour to the Far East in 1925. Was formerly a head goaler in Shanghai, but went to America in 1916 after resigning his post. Suspected to have been with M. N. Roy at Moscow in September 1926. A keen revolutionary. Is at present in China (1927).

BORODIN, MICHAEL, *alias* GEORGE BROWN *alias* MICHAEL

GRUSENBERG, age 48 (1927), was formerly an important Soviet agent in Great Britain; was sentenced to six months' imprisonment in August 1922, and ordered to be deported to Russia. Has been a Communist agent in Spain, Mexico and the United States. Occupied an important position in the Councils of the Nationalist Government in Canton and Hankow and worked on behalf of the Soviet though not ostensibly their official representative. Attended the pan-Pacific Labour Conference held at Hankow in May 1927. As a result of the anti-Communist movement in the ranks of the Kuomintang, Borodin left China for Moscow—July 1927.

BOSE, MRINAL KANTI, of Calcutta. A Labour agitator. Was the editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, a nationalist paper. President of the Bengal Trade Union Federation.

BOSE, RASH BEHARI, *alias* P. N. THAKUR, son of Binod Behari Bose, of Subaldah, Burdwan, Bengal. Age about 40 (1927). One of the most dangerous Indian revolutionaries and the leading figure in the Delhi-Lahore Conspiracy Case, after which he absconded in 1915 to Japan, whence he has since been carrying on anti-British propaganda. Has been in touch with the Bolsheviks in Afghanistan, and with well-known revolutionaries like M. N. Roy and Mahendra Partap.

BOSE, SUBHAS CHANDRA, of Cuttack, Bihar and Orissa. Age about 30 (1927). Appointed to the I.C.S. in 1919, but resigned his post in pursuance of the Non-co-operation policy. While in Europe closely identified himself with Indian revolutionaries there. A staunch follower of the late C. R. Das, and an important Congress organiser. One of the leading organisers of the revolutionary movement in Bengal and in close touch with revolutionaries and Bolshevik propagandists abroad, including M. N. Roy. Sheltered Nalini Gupta (*q.v.*), Roy's emissary, when he was in India. Deeply concerned in conspiracies to assassinate [333] police officers, and in plots to smuggle arms into India. Was arrested and dealt with under Regulation III of 1818, on 25th October 1924, and subsequently dealt with under the Bengal Ordinance I of 1924. Released in the beginning of May 1927 for reasons of ill-health.

BRIDGEMAN, REGINALD FRANCIS ORLANDO, born 14th October 1884, formerly Counsellor of Embassy in H. M. Diplomatic Service. Attaché at Madrid, 1903; clerk in the Foreign Office, 1904; transferred to Diplomatic Service and appointed to Paris, 1908; unemployed since 1922; at present secretary of the British Section of the League Against Imperialism, and a prominent member of the Labour Council for Chinese Freedom. Has been in close touch with Jawahir Lal Nehru (*q.v.*) and other Indian extremists, and has assisted in the dispatch of subversive propaganda literature to newspapers in India.

BROWDER, EARL, *alias* JOSEPH DIXON *alias* WARD. Believed to be an American from Chicago. In 1921 attended the first Congress of the Profintern in Moscow. Was at the Workers' Party Convention in Toronto in 1922. Was elected member of the Central Executive Committee and Control Commission of the Workers' (Communist) Party of America. One of the owners of the *Daily Worker*, the American Communist organ. Attended the pan-Pacific Labour Conference held at

Hankow in May 1927 as the American representative of the International Workers' Delegation.

BUNJI SUZUKI. A graduate of the Imperial Law University, Tokyo, and a prominent Japanese reformer, who proposed creating a "Coloured Trade Union International" in the Far East. Founder of the Japanese General Federation of Labour. Was in touch with the "Hands Off Russia" Committee in England, and hence suspected to be under Bolshevik influence.

CAMA, MRS. or MADAME B. R., of Bombay. Age about 52 (1927). Has been in Europe since 1902. A notorious Parsi seditionist who has, however, ceased to be prominent in revolutionary affairs. Has associated with most of the Indian revolutionaries in Europe.

CANTOR, ROBIN, *alias* RUCIN KANTOR. A Russian. Age 37 (1927). Arrived in Colombo as a stowaway, in September 1922. Prosecuted and sentenced to one month's rigorous imprisonment under Section 6 of Ordinance No. 12 of 1907/1921. Released on 20th September 1922, and while arrangements were being made for his deportation, eluded the Ceylon Police and got as far as Madras, whence he was deported back to Colombo under the Foreigners Act on 11th October 1922. Left Colombo for Port Said on 21st October 1922. Suspected to be a Bolshevik sent by M. N. Roy.

CHAKRAVARTY, GOPENDRA KRISHNA, *alias* SUBODH *alias* B. GHOSE *alias* BASANTA KUMAR GHOSE *alias* NAIDU [334] or NAIDRI *alias* ARJUN LAL MISRA, of Dacca. Age 27 (1927). An ex-detenu and an active member of the Bengal Revolutionary Party. Went surreptitiously to Europe for revolutionary purposes sometime in 1924, and associated with M. N. Roy. Visited Moscow, whence he returned to India in June 1925 with the object of diverting the Bengal Revolutionary organisation to Bolshevik channels. In March 1926, was reported to be preparing a note on the progress of the revolutionary organisation in India which he intended to send to Germany. Is still active and dangerous.

CHAMAN LAL, DIWAN, BAR-AT-LAW, age about 33 (1927), son of Diwan Bahadur Daulat Rai, C.I.E., Pleader of Rawalpindi. Went to England in 1914, where he imbibed revolutionary ideas and attended meetings of organisations such as the Workers' Welfare League of India, a society which is violently anti-British and pro-Bolshevik. Shortly after his return to India, began to take part in the Labour movement. Was an accredited agent of the Workers' Welfare League of India, his object being to organise a society in India on the lines of the Labour Party in England. Actively supported the North-Western Railway Strike of 1920. Had a hand in the organisation of the All-India Trade Union Congress and was secretary of the session held in Bombay in 1922. In July 1922 started the *Nation*, a paper with strong proletarian sympathies, which survived only a year. In October 1923 became a member of the Legislative Assembly and offered his services to promote the cause of Mass Civil Disobedience. Was a delegate to the International Labour Conference at Geneva in 1925. On return from Geneva revived his paper, the *Nation*, as an organ of the Swaraj Party. During his visit

to Europe in 1925 he refused an invitation to visit Moscow and carefully avoided contact with M. N. Roy, Mrs. Roy, and other Communists. Though exceptionally clever, and an excellent speaker, he is an arrant *poseur* and a born opportunist.

CHARAN SINGH, son of Attar Singh, of Dholeta, Phillaur Police Station, Jullundur, Punjab. A member of the Ghadr Party of America and one of Mahendra Partap's companions on the latter's tour to the Far East in 1925. Worked hand in hand with Dasundha Singh (*q.v.*) in disseminating seditious literature and propaganda. Reported to have received Soviet money and to have been instructed by the Ghadr Party branches in San Francisco and Moscow to work in close co-operation with M. N. Roy in China. At present in Hankow (1927).

CHATTERJI, AMARENDRA NATH, *alias* GOBIN BABU, of Uttarpara, Hooghly, age about 40 (1927). An extremist political agitator, who has been interesting himself in revolutionary activity since 1908 or thereabouts. Produced the *Atma Sakti* and the *Swadesh*—the former of which advocated violence, and was openly Bolshevik in tone. Was known to have been concerned in the dissemination of Bolshevik propaganda, and to have met the Bolshevik emissaries who came to India in 1922 and 1923. Was involved in a conspiracy to assassinate police officers, and was dealt with under Regulation III of 1818 on 25th September 1923. Was released on 16th March 1926, and subsequently interested himself in the "Karmi Sangha" in Bengal. [335]

CHATTERJI, JIBAN LAL, of Dacca. Age about 31 (1927). An important member of the Jugantar Revolutionary Party of Bengal. Was dealt with under Regulation III of 1818 in 1917, but was released in 1919 under the Royal amnesty. On release resumed revolutionary activity, and got in touch with M. N. Roy's emissaries in India, and participated in the dissemination of Bolshevik doctrines. Corresponded with Roy, and was requested by him to assume the direction of his (Roy's) propaganda in Bengal. Was again dealt with under Regulation III of 1818, in September 1923, and is still (1927) a State Prisoner.

CHATTERJI, JOGESH CHANDRA, *alias* CHARTER, of Dacca and Comilla, Bengal. Age about 31 (1927). An important member of the Anushilan Revolutionary Party of Comilla. Dealt with under Regulation III of 1818 in November 1916, and released in August 1920, when he immediately resumed revolutionary activity. His whereabouts were unknown from October 1923 until October 1924, when he was arrested in Calcutta on his way back from Pondicherry where he had been to see R. C. L. Sharma (*q.v.*), one of M. N. Roy's agents. Among certain papers which he attempted to throw away when he was being searched was one which contained the minutes of a meeting of the Provincial Council of the Hindustan Republican Association held at Cawnpore in 1924, dealing with United Provinces centres of the Bolshevik *cum* revolutionary organisation. Interned in Jail under Bengal Ordinance I of 1924 in October 1924. Was a member of the conspiracy to establish a 'Federated Republic of the United States of India' by an organised and armed revolution. Was subsequently convicted in the Kakori Conspiracy case and sentenced to 10 years' rigorous imprisonment on the 8th April 1926.

CHATTOPADHAYA (CHATTERJI), VIRENDRA NATH, *alias* VINCENT CHATTERTON *alias* A. ALFIERI *alias* MAHOMED DJAFAR, familiarly known at Chatto, Biren or Binnie, of Hyderabad (Deccan) and Calcutta. Age about 44 (1927). A notorious and dangerous revolutionary. Went to London in 1908. Advocated wholesale assassination to do away with English rule. Left London hurriedly in 1910 for Paris, and remained in Europe (mostly in Berlin). In 1917 went to Stockholm where, supported by Bolshevik funds, he carried on anti-British propaganda. Was in touch with Litvinoff and Kamenoff, well-known Russian Communists. In December 1921 started the "Indian News and Information Bureau". Joined by Barkatullah (*q.v.*) in 1922. Received a substantial sum from Dip Narayan Singh for Indian Students' Bureau. Was approached in 1924 through his sister (Mrs. Sarojini Naidu) by some Bengal revolutionary leaders regarding the smuggling of arms into India. Has lived for many years with Agnes Smedley, the writer of numerous anti-British pamphlets and articles.

CHEN, Mr. EUGENE, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hankow, China, and member of the Cantonese "Political Bureau". Was asked by the Chinese Information Bureau, London, to send a message of hope and encouragement to Saklatvala on the latter's visit to India, and also to arrange for information about the Chinese National Movement to be supplied to newspapers and organisation in India and Burma. [336]

CHETTIAR, MYLAPORE SINGARAVELU, B.A. B.L., age about 51 (1927). Son of Venkatachela Chettiar, a native of Madras and a fisherman by caste. Was a High Court Vakil but in 1923 suspended practice on account of the Non-co-operation movement. Is a member of the working Committee of several societies in the Madras Presidency, which are connected with Congress and Labour movements. Was head of the District Communist organisation in Madras, and issued a signed pamphlet at the Indian National Congress, Gaya, entitled "New Manifesto to Congressmen" based on M.N. Roy's "programme". Was the recipient of money from M. N. Roy with whom he corresponded regularly. Got in touch with the New Zealand Labour Party through Ruby Watson, who frequently corresponds with him and other Indian Communists. Was arrested in March 1924 under section 121, Indian Penal Code, and was one of the accused in the Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case. Owing to his illness the case was, however, withdrawn against him and the warrant cancelled. In December 1924, M. N. Roy definitely dropped Singaravelu, whom he regarded as stupid and inefficient. Presided at the Indian Communist Conference at Cawnpore in December 1925, but having expressed a desire to dissociate himself from the Comintern and foreign Communists generally, he broke away from Begerhotta, Ghate and the other comrades. Since the beginning of 1926 he has taken but a small part in Communist affairs.

DALIP SINGH, JAT, of Nangal Kalan, Hoshiarpur, Punjab, who has spent several years in America. Returned to India for two years in 1911. Is an active adherent of the Hindustan Ghadr Party; was formerly secretary of the Sikh American Educational Society at Stockton, California, and an organiser of the Canadian American Press Society.

Believed to be trying to get into touch with Bolshevik parties in China and Afghanistan in order to start secret societies in the Punjab and to be engaged in an attempt to smuggle revolvers into India, with the help of Chinese Communists. At present in America.

DANGE, SHIPAD AMRIT, of Nasik, Bombay. Age about 28 (1927). In April 1921 published a Communist pamphlet "Gandhi *versus* Lenin" contrasting the revolutionary methods of these two leaders. In August 1922 founded a weekly newspaper *Socialist* which later became a monthly, and regularly published Communist propaganda. Associated with Charles Ashleigh (*q.v.*) when the latter was in India, and corresponded regularly with M. N. Roy and other prominent Communists. Sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment on 20th May 1924 under section 121-A, Indian Penal Code, in the Bolshevik Conspiracy Case, Cawnpore. Released on 24th May 1927 having earned a year's good conduct remission.

DAS, C. R. (CHITTARANJAN), BAR-AT-LAW, of Calcutta. Aged about 57 years at the time of his death in 1925, when he was the leading nationalist of Bengal. He sympathised with and assisted revolutionaries and defended a large of political [337] cases in Bengal. Took a prominent part in the non-official enquiry into the Punjab disturbances of April 1919. At one time a staunch follower of Gandhi and leader of the Non-co-operation movement in Bengal, but afterwards broke away from them and formed the Swaraj Party. Took a leading part in Labour organisation and Congress propaganda. Gained much popularity by giving up his practice and devoting himself to national work. Sentenced in February 1922 to six months' simle imprisonment under section 17(1) and (2) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908. Elected Mayor of the Calcutta Corporation in 1924. Started the *Forward* newspaper as the Swaraj Party organ.

DAS, PULIN BEHARI, of Lonesing, Faridpur, Bengal. About 54 years of age (1927). One of the original members of the revolutionary party of Bengal, and the founder and organiser of the Anushilan Samiti, —a revolutionary concern—in Dacca. Sentenced to seven years' transportation in the Dacca Conspiracy Case in 1910. Interned in March 1919, but released in January 1920. Was in communication with M. N. Roy and agreed to work in co-operation with him. Roy was of opinion that Pulin Das's organisation in Bengal would be a useful instrument for the spread of Communistic ideas.

DAS, TARAK NATH, son of Kali Mohan Das, of Majpara, Police Station Naihati, district 24 Parganas. Age about 37 (1927). A dangerous and violently anti-British revolutionary in America. His revolutionary activities first came to notice in 1903, and in 1905 he practically organised the Dacca Anushilan Samiti. In 1907 left India for Japan and thence proceeded to America, where he started an objectionable publication called the *Free Hindustan*. Became a close friend of Har Dayal (*q.v.*), leader of the Ghadr party, and associated with Barkatullah (*q.v.*), Harnam Singh (*q.v.*), Bhag Singh (*q.v.*), Sailendra Nath Ghose (*q.v.*), Surendra Nath Kar (*q.v.*) and all the leaders of the Indian revolutionary party in America. Was cognisant of the Vancouver bomb conspiracy. Became secretary of the Hindustan Association of Chicago

in 1914. Was arrested in connection with the attempt to smuggle arms and ammunition into Canada for conveyance to India by the passengers of the "Komagata Maru". Shortly afterwards went to Germany and was sent to the Suez Canal region by the Germans for propaganda work. Returned to America *via* China and Japan, in which countries he endeavoured to spread anti-British feeling. Was convicted in the San Francisco Conspiracy Case and sent to jail in 1918. Developed Bolshevik tendencies after his release from jail. Became a prominent member of the well-known society in America called "Friends of Freedom for India", and regularly published seditious pamphlets under the heading "India News Service". In 1921 was said to be the organiser of a conspiracy to convey revolutionary Indians to and from America and to smuggle arms into India *via* Singapore.

His activities during the last few years have been confirmed mainly to the publication of anti-British articles in the Indian and Foreign Press.

DAS GUPTA, Miss Prabhabati, B.A., of Calcutta. Age about 30 (1927). Went to America early in 1921, where she became [338] closely associated with Tarak Nath Das and other revolutionaries. Remained in America nearly three years and then left for Europe. Worked with Roy's group in Paris. Associated with Communists in Germany.

Was cognisant of Glading's visit to India. On arrival in Europe she was soon on very friendly terms with Mrs. Roy to whom she gave a list of addresses in America to which copies of the *Vanguard* could be sent. Arrived in Calcutta on 9th September 1925. Since her return to India she has not come prominently to notice.

DAS GUPTA, NALINI BHUSHAN, of Bakarganj, Bengal. Age about 32 (1927). Came to notice in 1914 in connection with the enquiries into the Rajabazar bomb case. Left for Europe in 1915, where he got into touch with M. N. Roy and was sent as his emissary to India. On his arrival in India in December 1921, entered into negotiations with Muzaffar Ahmad (*q.v.*) and went back to Europe. Returned to India again in June 1923. Arrested on 20th December 1923 and dealt with under Regulation III of 1818. Convicted under Section 121-A, Indian Penal Code, and sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment on 20th May 1924, in the Bolshevik Conspiracy Case, Cawnpore. Released on 3rd July 1925 on medical grounds. Resumed his old activities after release, and corresponded with M. N. Roy. Associated with George Allison *alias* Donald Campbell (*q.v.*). Is a member of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party. Reported to have again left for Europe in March 1927.

DASAUNDHA SINGH, of village Dhada Kalan, Hoshiarpur, Punjab. Was an active member of the Hindustan Ghadr Party of America for several years. Came into prominence in 1925 as a member of Mahendra Partap's party on the latter's tour to the Far East. Showed great activity in disseminating from China revolutionary propaganda, consisting of seditious communications addressed by him to extremist Indian newspapers. Was editor and publisher of the *Hindustan Ghadr Dhandora*, a violently objectionable newspaper published in Hankow. Reported to have received Soviet money from both the Soviet Consulate at Canton and from M. N. Roy. Sentenced to one year's imprisonment with de-

portation by the Supreme Court at Shanghai for being in possession of seditious literature and for inciting disaffection among the King's subjects.

DATTA, BHUPENDRA NATH, *alias* DR. HAIDER, of Calcutta. Age about 43 (1927). One of the most dangerous revolutionaries Bengal has ever produced. In 1919 went with a mission to Moscow. Early in October 1920 visited Stockholm and attended a conference with Virendranath Chattopadhyaya (*q.v.*) and B. N. Das Gupta (*q.v.*) to decide the future action of the Indian Revolutionary party in Europe. As a result of this conference Dutta's activities became Communist rather than nationalist, and his policy was to spread Communism in India by means of propaganda. In February 1921 he was made "General Secretary for Europe" of the Indian Committee. Returned to India in April 1925, and presided at the Political Sufferers Conference at Gauhati in 1926 where he made an openly Communistic speech. Holds strongly pronounced Bolshevik views and is in touch with revolutionary organisations all over the world. [339]

DATTA CHAUDHURI, RAMESH CHANDRA, of Mymensingh, Bengal. Age 38 (1927). An important member of the Anushilan Samiti, a revolutionary organisation, at Bajitpur. Sentenced at Dacca to one year's rigorous imprisonment under Section 109, Criminal Procedure Code. Dealt with under Regulation III of 1818 in July 1916. Released in connection with the amnesty following the Royal Proclamation of December 1919. Resumed revolutionary activities and took a leading part in the re-organisation of the Anushilan Samiti in Calcutta. Was concerned in the collection of arms and was in touch with revolutionary Communists in Madras. Again imprisoned under Regulation III of 1818 in September 1923. Since been dealt with under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925.

DEKKER, DOUWES. Born at Pasoeroean, Java. Age 47 (1927). Leader of the Berlin Indian Party in the Dutch East Indies. As ringleader of the nationalist movement he was expelled from Java. Returned to the Dutch East Indies but was again expelled and sailed for Holland in August 1913. In 1914 arrived at Zurich and called at the "pro-India Society" with an introduction from Har Dayal (*q.v.*). Returned to the Dutch East Indies in 1919, was arrested, and confessed to being connected with the Indian Revolutionary Party in Berlin. Acquitted in May 1920. Was however re-arrested by the Dutch authorities as the author of a seditious article and sentenced to one year's imprisonment. Later became the leader of the Communist Party in the Netherlands East Indies. In September 1924 was reported to have left Java for Holland.

DESAI, MOTIRAM GAJANAN, of Bombay. Age about 31 (1927) Communist. Went to England in 1924 where he attended meetings of the 'Indian Association' and the 'Anglo-Turkish Society' and delivered objectionable speeches. Was employed in the Labour Research Department which is controlled by the Communist Party of Great Britain. Contributes articles to Labour and Communist publications. Distributed Roy's *"The Masses of India* in London". Was seen visiting the headquarters of the Workers' International Relief in London. Engaged in working out

a scheme for organising the Communist Party of India with Saklatvala and other Communists. Is an active member of the Workers' Welfare League of India and the 'Indian Study Circle', and associates with other well-known Communists such as, N. J. Upadhyaya (*q.v.*), P. B. Seal (*q.v.*) and Dr. Bhat (*q.v.*).

DIP NARAYAN SINGH, BAR-AT-LAW, of Bhagalpur, Bihar and Orissa. Age 49 (1927). A prominent political and Labour agitator. Participated in the Home Rule League agitation along with Mahatma Gandhi and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in 1917. Joined the Non-co-operation movement and took an active part in its early stages. Was in correspondence with M. N. Roy in Berlin and received Bolshevik literature. Was Vice-President of the Provincial Congress Committee and a member of the All-India Congress Committee. Has not come to notice unfavourably during the last few years.

DORIOT, JACQUES. Well-known French Communist. Was a member of the International Workers' Delegation to the pan-Pacific Labour Conference held at Hankow in May 1927. Reported [340] to have left Hankow for Vladivostok before the conference opened and was said to be returning to France to meet the charges brought against him by the French authorities in connection with subversive propaganda in Indo-China.

DULA SINGH, son of Khema, caste Chamar, Khera village, Mahilpur Police Station, Hoshiarpur, Punjab. Age 36 (1927). Reported to have been a prominent member of the Ghadr Party in America. Was one of the seven companions of Mahendra Partap (*q.v.*) on the latter's tour to the Far East in 1925. Believed to be at present in Brazil (1927), where he has apparently been sent in furtherance of a scheme to establish a strong colony of Sikhs there.

DUTT, CLEMENS PALME. Born in England. Age 34 (1927), and has never been to India. A well-known and active Communist. Is a member and attends meetings of the Indian Seamen's Union, Workers' Welfare League of India, Indian Communist Party, Communist Party of Great Britain, National Minority Movement, etc., contributes articles to Labour and Communist publications. Post Box for M. N. Roy, Mrs. Roy and other Communists. Employed in Labour Research Department of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Was engaged in working out a scheme for re-organising the Communist Party of India, with Saklatvala and other Communists. Is on the Council of the W.W.L.I. and in charge of the Indian Seamen's Union. Finances the Indian Study Circle and sent £300, received from Moscow, to Spratt for the *Ganavani* of Calcutta; also sent money, obtained from Paris, to the Indian Communist Party in India. Associates with other well-known Communists such as N. J. Upadhyaya (*q.v.*), P. B. Seal (*q.v.*), Saklatvala (*q.v.*) and Dr. Bhat (*q.v.*). One of the most capable and active members of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

DUTT, RAJANI PALME, of Cambridge, England. Age 31 (1927). Is the younger brother of C. P. Dutt (*q.v.*), an active and well-known Communist. Born in England and has never been to India. Married Anneta Pekkala, a Finnish Communist. Was in charge of M. N. Roy's centre at Brussels. Has been editor of the *Workers' Weekly* and the

Labour Monthly. Is the author of "Modern India", "Empire Socialism" and other Socialist publications. In 1925 was arrested in Brussels with a quantity of Moscow papers in his possession.

FAKHRI PASHA, former Turkish Minister at Kabul, Afghanistan. Believed to have assisted Teja Singh Sutantar (*q.v.*) to get re-admitted to the Military College at Constantinople. Frequently referred to as "Baba" in the correspondence of the Sikh Conspirators. Is now in Constantinople.

FAZL ELAHI *alias* KURBAN *alias* RAFIQ *alias* HAR KISSEN *alias* GORI *alias* JOHN CHARLES *alias* HERALD *alias* [341] KRISHNAMURTI *alias* VICTOR. Age about 26 (1927). A Moscow-trained *Mujahir* and an important Communist agent of M. N. Roy. Travelled extensively in Europe for several years as one of Roy's trusted lieutenants. Was in close touch with other Communists like Mahomed Ali *alias* Sepassi (*q.v.*), Gopen Chakravarty (*q.v.*) and Nalini Gupta (*q.v.*). Returned to India on a false passport in December 1926. Was arrested in Bombay in April 1927 and was sentenced under Section 121-A of the Indian Penal Code to seven years' rigorous imprisonment.

FAZL RABBI *alias* MOULVI FAZL RABBI *alias* ABUL FATTEH, son of Mahmud of Baffa, Hazara District, was formerly a teacher in an Islamia school founded by the Haji Sahib of Turangzai. Subsequently attended the Deoband Arabic College and became an admirer of the late Mahmud-ul-Hassan who sent him to Independent Territory to raise *jehad*. Went to Kabul in 1916 on a secret mission from the Haji of Turangzai. In 1923 wrote a letter to the Amir of the Hindustani fanatics colony of Samasta appealing for men to set up a Bolshevik propaganda agency.

FEROZ DIN *alias* FEROZ AHMAD *alias* MANSUR, of Lahore. Age about 25 years (1927). Left India during the *Hijrat* movement in the spring of 1920. Joined M. N. Roy's school at Tashkent, the object of which was to train Indians in Bolshevik Eastern propaganda. Was later sent to Moscow for further training. Tried to get into India *via* Chitral, but was arrested and sent to Peshawar, where he was tried under Section 121-A, Indian Penal Code, and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment in May 1923. Released in April 1924. A member of the Indian Communist Party. Employed as a proof reader in B. G. Horniman's (*q.v.*) "Indian National Herald".

FIELD, ARTHUR, a journalist and convert to Islam. Is a member of several pan-Islamic bodies in England such as the Anglo-Ottoman Society and of the Workers' Welfare League of India. Has corresponded with S. A. Dange (*q.v.*), Marmaduke Pickthall (*q.v.*) and others in India. Has been in touch with M. N. Roy. A hack journalist of doubtful repute. Formerly resigned his membership of the Communist Party of Great Britain in 1927 as a protest against the latter's censure of Saklatvala, who had incurred the displeasure of the party by his participation in a Parsi religious ceremony.

FIMMEN, EDO, of Amsterdam, member of International Federation of Trade Unions. Secretary, International Transport Workers' Federation, Amsterdam. An apostle of International Trade Union Unity;

has persistently endeavoured to bring about the affiliation of the International Transport Workers' Federation with the Red International of Labour Unions, but without success. Presided at the Conference of the League against Imperialism held at Brussels in February, 1927. Formerly a cover address of M. N. Roy. Contributes to many Communist publications.

GAINDA SINGH, JAT, of Sarhala Kalan, Police Station Mahilpur, District Hoshiarpur. Age about 35 (1927). Was one [342] of the seven companions of Mahendra Partap (*q.v.*) on the latter's tour to the Far East in 1925. Has been in close touch with Indian revolutionaries since his arrival in China, where he has been very active in distributing copies of the seditious paper *Hindustan Ghadr Dhandora* started by Dasaundha Singh (*q.v.*). Subsequently sentenced to one year's imprisonment with deportation, by the Supreme Court, Shanghai, for being in possession of seditious literature and for inciting disaffection among His Majesty's subjects.

GAJJAN SINGH, son of Rattan Singh, of village Govindgarh, District Ludhiana, Punjab. One time secretary of the Khalsa Diwan, Shanghai. Was editor of the *Hind Jagawa,* seditious vernacular newspaper published in Shanghai; was subsequently bound over and his printing plant confiscated. A most active revolutionary and a member of the Ghadr Party in Shanghai. Worked conjointly with Dasaundha Singh (*q.v.*) and Gainda Singh (*q.v.*) and was very influential among his associates. Sentenced to one year's imprisonment with deportation by the Supreme Court at Shanghai for being in possession of seditious literature and for inciting disaffection among His Majesty's subjects.

GANGULI, BEPIN BEHARI, of Halisahar, P.S. Naihati, 24-Parganas District. Age 47 (1927). Was sentenced to five years' rigorous imprisonment in September 1915 for being in possession of a revolver near the scene of a political dacoity, and released in September 1919. Has been engaged in revolutionary conspiracy since 1907. Has also fomented Labour unrest. Sheltered Abani Mukherji, the well-known Communist agent, at the time of the latter's visit to India in 1923. Was concerned in a plot to assassinate police officers in Calcutta, and on the 9th of March 1924 was dealt with under Regulation III of 1818. Still in jail (1927).

GAUHAR RAHMAN *alias* HAVILDAR GAUHAR RAHMAN *alias* G. R. DARWESHI, of Hazara District, Punjab. Age about 30 (1927). Left India during the *Hijrat* movement in the spring of 1920. Joined M. N. Roy's school for training Indians in Bolshevik Eastern propaganda, at Tashkent. Was later sent to Moscow for further training. Left Moscow in 1922 and went to Bokhara. Eventually found his way *via* Gulbar, Jalalabad and Sarkani to Jamrud. Surrendered and was arrested at Peshawar. Tried under Section 121-A, Indian Penal Code, and sentenced to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment. A member of the Indian Communist Party and editor of the *Mehnat Kash* of Lahore, an Urdu weekly Communist paper.

GHATE, SACHIDANAND VISHNU, son of Vishnu Ghate, of Mangalore. A close friend of Janaki Prasad Begerhotta (*q.v.*) C. G.

Shah (*q.v.*) and K. N. Joglekar (*q.v.*) of the Bombay Communist Party. Elected Secretary of the Indian Communist Party and is a prominent member of the All India Trade Union Congress. Has corresponded frequently with M. N. Roy and other Communists in Europe.

GHOLIF FOTHER *alias* MAHOMED AMAN, son of Ghalif Andreav. Born at Rastoff. Arrived in India in 1926 *via* Chitral. Was regarded with great suspicion and was deported from India. [343] Left Rangoon for Shanghai on 2nd October 1926. Is at present untraced (1927).

GHOSE, ARABINDO ACKROYD, of Ghoshpara, District Hooghly, Bengal. Age about 50 (1927). Brother of Barindra Ghosh, who was sentenced in the Maniktola Bomb Case. Brought up and educated entirely in England. Was a youth of great literary ability. Passed into the Indian Civil Service, but was rejected in the riding test. Much embittered by this, he came out to Bengal, where he founded the *Bande Mataram* newspaper. Was an accused in the Maniktola Conspiracy Case, but was acquitted. In 1910 a warrant was issued against him under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code. He absconded, however, to Pondicherry where he has since lived as a *Yogi* or ascetic. His influence from the purely religious point of view is undoubtedly still very great among Hindus, but he has repeatedly refused to come forth from his retreat and take part in political affairs.

GHOSE, KISHORI LAL, of Calcutta, Sub-editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, a nationalist newspaper of Calcutta. Closely connected with Shib Nath Banerji (*q.v.*) with whom he organised mill-hands in the 24 Parganas District. Is secretary of the Bengal Trade Union Federation and the Press Employees' Association, Calcutta. Stood surety for George Allison *alias* Donald Campbell (*q.v.*). Was anxious to leave India to attend the pan-Pacific Labour Conference in Hankow, but later abandoned the project.

GHOSE, SAILENDRA NATH, *alias* KHOKA *alias* MAMA *alias* HEMENDRA MITRA *alias* MUKERJI *alias* SANCHEZ *alias* FERNANDEZ *alias* ABBAS HUSSAIN, of District Jessore, Bengal. Age 31 (1927). A dangerous and active revolutionary whose name first came to light in 1916 as a member of Atul Ghose's party, and an expert in the manufacture of bombs. To avoid arrest escaped to America, where became an important Bolshevik agent and a leading member of the Indian revolutionary party. Was arrested in New York for complicity in the Indo-German conspiracy case. Was the organising secretary of the "Friends of Freedom for India" society, in which capacity he carried on vigorous Bolshevik and anti-British propaganda. Is now (1927) Secretary of the newly formed organisation "India Freedom Foundation", New York. Ghose is thoroughly unscrupulous in money matters and has for this reason forfeited the confidence of many of his compatriots in America.

GHULAM HUSSAIN, PROFESSOR, M.A. Age 33 (1927). Son of the late Babu Fazal Ahmad, Khilji Pathan, of Mohalla Khojian, Gujrat. Was on intimate terms with Indian students in Kabul and through them imbided the doctrines of Communism. Employed by the Afghan education authorities in February 1922, but the appointment

was merely a blind to discuss plans for introducing Communism into India. Associated with Obeidullah (*q.v.*), Iqbal Shaidai (*q.v.*), Khushi Mahomed *alias* Sepassi (*q.v.*) and other prominent members of the Communist-revolutionary gang, and got in touch with the Soviet Legation. Took charge of Bolshevik activities in the Punjab, and was provided with money to establish a Communist centre at Lahore. In September 1922 restarted the *Inqilab* of Lahore, an extremist socialist organ. [344] Corresponded regularly with M. N. Roy and other Communists in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and ultimately formed a provincial centre of the Communist Party in the Punjab. In June 1923 was arrested under Regulation III of 1918 and interned in the Lahore Central Jail. Accused in the Cownpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case, but made a full confession, and the case against him was withdrawn. Misappropriated for his own use the funds which were entrusted to him to forward the cause of Bolshevism in India.

GHULAM KADIR, son of the late Mehtaram of Quetta. Arrived at the British Legation, Teheran, in 1927 (without a passport), accompanied by one Ghulam Hussain. The latter was thought to be identical with a man of the same name who was a member of the Tashkent school, and who had been working for the Bolsheviks in Bokhara. Ghulam Kadir has since returned to his home.

GHULAM MOHAMED AZIZ, son of Madho, Kashmiri of Mori Ganj, Amritsar City. Came to notice during the Rowlatt Bill agitation and in 1920 performed *Hijrat*. In Kabul he set up an Indian *Muhajirin* Committee, mixing with the Indian revolutionary element there and spreading anti-British propaganda. Hearing the Amir was about to arrest him he, along with Risaldar Rukan-ud-din, fled from Kabul and arrived at Chamarkand in January 1922. Returned later to Kabul, where he was interned. After his release he continued to engage in revolutionary intrigue and was in close touch with the Russian Legation in Kabul.

GIBARTI, L. A., Secretary of the League Against Imperialism. Member of Workers' International Relief, a Comintern-controlled organisation which exists solely as a means of carrying on revolutionary activities. Corresponded with the Communist Party on Great Britain regarding the issue of a German edition of R.P. Dutt's (*q.v.*) book *Modern India*. Issues monthly the Press Service of the "League Against Imperialism." Has been in touch with several Indian Communists and other extremists.

GILL, DALIP SINGH, of Kalsia State, Patiala. Age about 35 (1927). Was formerly an active member of the Ghadr Party in America, and in touch with German and Russian Communists in Europe. Was employed in the Moscow Foreign Office as a translator of Indian newspapers. Reported to have been employed by both Germans and Bolshevists and to have proved incapable. Gill is an advanced revolutionary and claims an intimate acquaintance with M. Barkatullah, Abdul Rab, Acharya, M. N. Roy and Mahendra Partap. Visited Kabul in 1927 and is believed to have acted as intermediary between the Afghan Government and commercial concerns in Europe and America.

GINWALA, F. J., of Bombay. A well-known Labour agitator. General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress in 1924-25.

Associated with Percy Glading *alias* R. Cochrane (*q.v.*) when the latter came to India, and is said to have promised him to introduce and work up the methods adopted by Soviet Russia among the workers. Is president of the G.I.P. Railway Workmen's Union. [345]

GLADING, PERCY EDED, *alias* R. COCHRANE. A member of the National Minority Movement, an organisation which is under the direct control of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Was at one time an important member of the British Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions. Came to India in the beginning of 1925, ostensibly as a member of the Amalgamated Union of Engineers, but in reality as an emissary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, and armed with credentials from M. N. Roy to study Labour conditions at first hand, to encourage Bolshevism, and, if possible, to form a Labour Party with certain well-known Indian agitators as office bearers. Visited Calcutta and Delhi and delivered a speech before the All-India Trade Union Congress session which was held in the first week of February, 1925, in Bombay. Left India on the 10th of April 1925. The report made by him on his return to England showed that matters were not very satisfactory in India, from the Communist point of view.

GOSWAMI, DHARANI MOHAN (DHAR), of Kishoreganj, Mymensingh. Age about 30 (1927). An active member of the Anushilan Revolutionary Party of Bengal, and the Chief Lieutenant of Gopen Chakravarti (*q.v.*) with whom he tried to organise a party in Bengal on Bolshevik lines. Corresponds with M. N. Roy.

GOSWAMI, TULSI CHARAN, BAR-AT-LAW, of Hooghly district, Calcutta. Age about 31 (1927). A lieutenant of C. R. Das. Paid a lakh of rupees for the purchase of machinery, etc. for the *Forward* newspaper, the Swaraj Party organ, of which he is one of the directors. Took a prominent part in the Tarakeswar Satyagraha movement. A prominent member of the Bengal Swaraj Party. Went to England in May 1925 to undertake propaganda on behalf of the Swaraj Party. While there he came in contact with members of the Communist Party of Great Britain who desired to make use of him in furthering their schemes for spreading the cult of Communism in India. Met Mrs. Evelyn Roy in Paris. Returned in August 1925. Elected president of the Hindustani Seva Dal to which he subscribed Rs. 1000. Is a member of the Legislative Assembly. Associated with George Allison *alias* Donald Campbell (*q.v.*) prior to the latter's arrest.

GURMUKH SINGH *alias* ANUP SINGH, son of Hoshnak Singh of Laltu, District Ludhiana. Arrested after the *Komagata Maru* riot of 1914. Was released and subsequently interned. Took part in abortive bomb raid on the Doraha Bridge guard, armed with a pistol, and was also in the Mansuran dacoity. Sentenced by the Lahore Tribunal to transportation for life, but escaped from jail.

GUPTA, SANTOSH KUMARI, *alias* SANTOSH KUMARI DEBI, of Calcutta. Age about 28 (1927). Her political activity commenced in April 1921, when she delivered a series of lectures at Moulmein and collected money for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Also attended meetings held under the auspices of Congress and Khilafat Committees. Is a Labour agitator and in her weekly paper called the *Sramik* (Labour),

now defunct, openly preached anti-capitalist ideas. Was Chairman of the Reception Committee of All-India Trade Union Congress held at Calcutta in 1924. [346] Has taken a prominent part in almost all the Labour strikes in Calcutta and in its vicinity. Is in touch with Shib Nath Banerji (*q.v.*). Associated with George Allison *alias* Donald Campbell (*q.v.*) and Saklatvala. Took a prominent part in the relief work of the Bengal Nagpur Railway strikers.

HABIB AHMAD *alias* NASIM *alias* GHULAM HABIB, of Shanjehanpur. Left India during the *Hijrat* movement in the spring of 1920. Joined M. N. Roy's school for training Indians in Bolshevik Eastern propaganda, at Tashkent. Was later sent to Moscow for further training. Tried to get into India *via* Chitral but was arrested and sent to Peshawar, where he was tried under section 121-A, Indian Penal Code, and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment in May 1923. Released in April 1924. A member of the Indian Communist Party. Was the Secretary of the Reception Committee of the All-India Communist Conference held at Delhi in March 1927.

HADJALI ABDEL KADER OULD MAHI. Born on 23rd December 1883 at Constantine, Algeria. Has specially undertaken propaganda work amongst colonial workmen in France. Is a member of the "Committee for Native Inter-Syndicalism" constituted in defence of foreign workers, and also of the "League for the Rights of Native French Citizens of Madagascar," which is specially designed for Communist propaganda work among colonial natives. Is considered a dangerous extremist by the authorities in France and Algeria, and acts as an accommodation address for correspondence form India.

HALL, HENRY THOMAS, an ex-Station Master on the North Western Railway, is said to have been born in Manchester and to have come out to India with the Royal Artillery. Age about 40 (1927). First came to notice in 1918 in connection with doubtful nationality of his wife who is a Russian Pole. Joined the North Western Railway Union in 1920-21 and subsequently became the President. In January 1925 joined forces with J. B. Miller (*q.v.*) and helped him and M. A. Khan (*q.v.*) to form a new Union, of which he was elected president. Took a very active part in the N. W. Railway strike which finally collapsed in June 1925. Went to England in July 1926 and is reported to have bigamously married a Mrs. Ada Reid at Manchester, for which his prosecution is being considered. Is a Labour agitator of some importance.

HARBANT SINGH (*see* JAGGAT RAM).

HAR DAYAL, M.A., of Delhi; *alias* MIRZA OSMAN *alias* HARE HUSSAIN. Age about 43 (1927). Studied at Oxford. Left India for Europe in 1908, and in 1911 went to America, where he founded the "Ghadr" paper and organisation. In 1914 was recognised as the head of the revolutionary and anti-British party in U.S.A. Fled to Switzerland in April 1914 to avoid arrest. Did his utmost to help Germany and to injure Britain during the War. Applied for an amnesty which was refused. Announced [347] his intention of going to Moscow and working for the Soviet Government in case he were refused permission to settle down in London. Is still in Sweden (1927).

HARDIKAR, Dr. NARAYAN SUBRAO, of Hubli, Dharwar district, Bombay Presidency. Age about 36 (1927). A prominent agitator during the Swadeshi movement. Left India for America to prosecute his studies in 1913, and returned in November 1921. During his stay in America was a prominent member of the Hindustan Association of America and the Indian Home Rule League, and was also associated with the Bolshevik, Labour and Socialist parties there. Was one of the most active Indian propagandists in America. Was cognisant of the Indo-German scheme to smuggle arms into India (1916). Since his return he has taken a keen interest in the Non-co-operation movement. An energetic Congress man responsible for the starting of the "Hindustani Seva Dal", a band of volunteers enlisted under the auspices of the Indian National Congress, the ostensible aim of which is said to be to train and discipline Indian youths, but whose real aim is revolutionary. Is an associate of well-known revolutionaries in India.

HARDIT SINGH, son of Sawan Singh of Bivioa village, Gurdaspur District, Punjab. An executive member of the Gurdaspur Akali Jatha. Acted as "dummy" editor of the *Kirti*, a revolutionary and pro-Bolshevik monthly Gurmukhi magazine of Amritsar, but later resigned his post.

HARJAP SINGH, of Mahilpur, Hoshiarpur, Punjab. One of the five emissaries of the Ghadr Party in California, who left for Moscow in January 1926, for instruction in Soviet propaganda. Was the writer of a letter from Moscow to Santosh Singh (*q.v.*) in which he described the revolutionary activities of the Ghadr party in Europe and China. Harjap Singh later sent a large quantity of Communist literature to Gurmukh Singh in Kabul. Is at present contemplating secret return to India (1927).

HARNAM SINGH *alias* ARJAN SINGH, son of Bhag Singh. Mahajan of Kahuta, District Rawalpindi. One of the leading assistants of Gurdit Singh in the s.s. *Komagata Maru* expedition, but remained behind in Japan. Returned to India later and was reported to have been seditiously active among the passengers. Is an absonder in the Lahore Conspiracy Case.

HASRAT MOHANI, MAULANA, *alias* FAZL UL HASSAN, of Cawnpore. Age 46 (1927). Son of Azhar Hussain. Convicted in 1908 under section 124-A Indian Penal Code, and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment. In 1919 took part in the Khilafat and Satyagraha movement and, on the arrest of the Ali Brothers in 1921, made particularly intemperate speeches. Was convicted for violent speeches at Ahmedabad in 1922 and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment, under sections 121 and 124-A, Indian Penal Code. Released in August 1924. Tried to form a party to attain national independence "by violent or non-violent means, whichever is expedient." Associated with well-known Communists such as Satya Bhakta and Saklatvala, and took a prominent part in the Communist Conference at Cawnpore in December 1925. Received a letter from M. N. Roy who hoped to enlist his support. [348]

HAZRA, SANTOSH KUMAR GHOSE, of Calcutta. Age about 28 (1927). Left India in 1921. Was reported to have acquired Bolshevik sympathies while in Europe. Returned to India in 1926.

HORNIMAN, BENJAMIN GUY, of Bombay. Age 54 (1927). Was the editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*. In 1917 an order was served upon him under the Defence of India Rules prohibiting him from publishing any matter regarding what he dubbed "The Reign of Terror at Dadar", based on extravagant rumours that soldiers were molesting Indian women in Bombay. Took part in the Labour strike of 1917. Condemned the Reforms Scheme and led the agitation against it. In 1919 supported the Passive Resistance Movement as a protest against the Rowlatt Bill. His writings in the *Bombay Chronicle* led to his deportation on 26th April 1919 under Rule 3 of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915. Returned to India in January 1926. Resumed the editorship of the *Bombay Chronicle* but later gave up the post and started the *Indian National Herald*. Is now on the executive Committee of the Bombay Nationalist Municipal Party. Though still strongly nationalist his bitterness and invective against the Government are less pronounced than before. In his editorial capacity he associated with Allison (*q.v.*) Spratt (*q.v.*) and Saklatvala, all of whom contributed articles on Labour matters to his paper.

HUGO ESPINOZA *alias* ROGERS *alias* ROSCHKIS *alias* ABDUL RASHID, is a German-Russian Jew of doubtful extraction who claims to be a native of Libau, Latvia. Prior to his arrival in India he was in America, Japan and China, in all of which places he associated with seditious Indians. Was said to have been concerned with Rash Behari Bose in a plot to smuggle arms into India. He arrived in Calcutta on the 28th September 1924, and was arrested ou the 8th November. Was incarcerated under the Bengal Ordinance, and the question of his deportation to America is under consideration (1927).

IMAM-UD-DIN-RIZVI, of Bada Upasara, Udaipur. In 1923 was reported to be a member of the United Provinces group of Communists. Acted as a postpox for other Communists and corresponded with M. N. Roy, S. A. Dange, etc.

INDER SINGH, son of Kahan SINGH, Tuto Majara, Hoshiarpur, Punjab. Age about 37 (1927). First came to notice as one of the seven companions of Mahendra Partap (*q.v.*) on latter's tour to the Far East from San Francisco, in 1925. One-time secretary of the Ghadr Party in San Francisco. At present in China (1927).

ISHAR SINGH *alias* WASDEV SINGH, of Punwan, District Amritsar, Punjab. Brother-in-law of Teja Singh Sutantar (*q.v.*). Owns a shop in Kabul, and is one of the principal leaders in the Sikh Conspiracy, being the writer and recepient of several letters which have been seen in secret censorship. Reported in 1926 to have been employed by the Bolsheviks as a secret service agent. [349]

ISMAIL EFFENDI, of Mohalla Arifwala, Kapurthala. Enlisted as a sepoy at the age of 16 at the beginning of the Great War. Deserted to join the Turks at Batum and later fought under Enver Pasha against the Bolsheviks. Subsequently went to Kabul where he was imprisoned as a spy and, on release, joined the followers of the ex-Amir of Bokhara. In March 1926 was reported to be one of the Bolshevik secret service agents in Kabul. Left Kabul for Russian Turkestan in

September 1926. Is now employed as Intelligence agent by the Russians in Karki (1927).

IYENGAR, R. KRISHNASWAMI, of Madras. Visited Ram Charan Lal Sharma (*q.v.*) frequently, and through him got into touch with M. N. Roy. Corresponds with Ajodhya Prasad (*q.v.*). Is a member of the Indian Communist Party and was elected Provincial Secretary for Madras at the All-India Communist Conference held at Cawnpore in December 1925. A man of no real political importance.

JAGGAT RAM *alias* HARBANT SINGH, son of Nathu Mul of Wazira Chak, Police Station Chapral, Sialkot, Punjab. Left India about 20 years ago and changed his name to Harbant Singh on becoming a Sikh. Arrived in Shanghai in 1916. Became an intimate friend of Gajjan Singh (*q.v.*). Was hanged for the murder of Budha Singh, Senior Inspector of Police, Shanghai (1927).

JAGGAT SINGH. Son of Gurdit Singh of Kandola, District Jullundur. First came into prominence early in 1917 in San Francisco, where he was one of Bhagwan Singh's (*q.v.*) principal assistants. In January 1918 was appointed Secretary of the Hindustan Ghadr Party and in 1920 was secretly in communication with M. N. Roy who was then in Mexico. Said to have visited Russia and to have interviewed Trotsky in 1920-1921. It was rumoured in 1922 that he had been arrested in San Francisco when ready to proceed to India. On September 22, 1922, was with Mahendra Partap (*q.v.*) at a meeting held at Marysville, California. Was a constant visitor of the "Friends of Freedom for India", and in 1923 was living at the Ghadr Ashram, San Francisco. Was reported in 1923 to be collecting funds for the Ghadr Party. Said to have left America for Shanghai, but could not be traced there. Is believed to be still in San Francisco (1927). Another report stated that he was to have left America with Puran Singh (*q.v.*) to join Karam Singh (*q.v.*) in Moscow but this report has not yet been confirmed.

JANKEL LOEB *alias* ANTON KONOVALOW, a Jew, born at Dvinsk. Age 37 (1927). An agent of the Propaganda Section of the Politbureau in Moscow. In May 1925 was reported to have been sent to Afghanistan on a special mission disguised as a horse-dealer, and had orders to get in touch with certain Indian revolutionaries at Kandahar.

JHABWALA, SHAWAKSHAW HORMUSJI, of Surat. Age about 25 (1927). Is secretary for India of the "League Against [350] Imperialism". Has been responsible for the initiation of a number of Labour Unions in Bombay and is a prominent correspondent in the local press on all Labour questions.

JOFFE, son of Dr. Abraham Moisew, Moscow. Has been in Berlin and is a nephew of the Russian Bolshevik Minister in Berlin (1919). In 1922 was reported to have been employed in propaganda work in Turkestan, Persia and China. On return from the latter place was to accompany a Soviet Delegation to Kabul. Present whereabouts unknown.

JOGLEKAR, KESHAV NILKANT, of Bombay, age 29 (1927). A journalist. Intimate friend of S. A. Dange (*q.v.*). Member of the "Indian Communist Defence Committee" which collected funds to defray expenses for an appeal in the Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case. Edited

the "Socialist" for six months after Dange's conviction. One of the most prominent members of the Bombay group of Communists, but has had frequent quarrels with the "comrades" owing to his truculent and overbearing disposition.

JOSEPH, GEORGE, M.A., BAR-AT-LAW, of Madura, Madras. Age about 42 (1927). Joined the Home Rule League in 1916 and identified himself with Mrs. Besant in politics but later deserted her and joined the extremists. Started the Madura Mills Labour Union in January 1920 and declared himself its president. Joined the editorial staff of the *Independent* of Allahabad in 1920. Convicted at Allahabad under section 17(1) of Criminal Law Amendment Act read with section 117, Indian Penal Code, and sentenced to 2 years' simple imprisonment and 2,000 rupees fine.

JOSHI, NARAYAN MULHAR, M.L.A., of Colaba District, Bombay. A member of the Servants of India Society, a political organisation founded by the late Mr. Gokhale. Was one of the principal office-bearers and organisers of the Social Service League in Bombay, which works mainly for the uplift of Labour. One of the founders of the All-India Trade Union Congress in which he has played a very prominent part since its inception. Was active during the 1925 Textile Strike in Bombay. Represented Indian Labour at the International Labour Conference at Geneva in 1922 and 1925. A prominent Labour agitator with Communist tendencies, though, during his visit to Europe in 1925 he rejected the advances of Roy and his group.

JOSHI, BASUDEV HARI, of District Colaba, Bombay. Sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment in 1923 in the Mulshi Petha Satyagraha Campaign. Secretary of the "Indian Communist Defence Committee" which collected funds to defray expenses for an appeal in the Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case. A member of the Indian Communist Party.

KAR, SURENDRA NATH, of Faridpur, Bengal. Went to America in 1910 where he became a member of the Indian Communist Party. Subsequently went to Berlin where he associated with revolutionaries and Communists. Was Editor of the newspaper *Indian Independence*. Died in 1923. [351]

KARAM SINGH, of village Dhut, near Kapurthala. A revolutionary at Stockton, California, who headed the party of five Ghadr emissaries which left for Moscow in January 1926, for instruction in Soviet propaganda. Was later sent to Shanghai with Pritam Singh (*q.v.*) with arms and literature. Still in China.

KARANDIKAR, VITHAL RAGHUNATH, of Pandharpur, Sholapur. Age about 41 years (1927). Went to Europe in 1923 and got in touch with well-known Communists like P. B. Seal (*q.v.*), Mahomed Ali Khan (*q.v.*), N. J. Upadhyaya (*q.v.*). A prominent Swarajist who was one time sub-editor of Mrs. Annie Besant's paper *New India*. Has organised an "Indian News Service" in London, which is said to be pro-Soviet in tone. Is a member of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain. Appears to be closely connected with the Russian News Agency in England. Is Editor of *The Indian*, London.

KERIM KHAKIMOFF. Arrived at Jeddah in August 1924 as Bolshevik Consul there, with the object of spreading propaganda among the pilgrims from India and the Far East. Was formerly in the Soviet Legation, Tehran, and closely connected with Rothstein, an enthusiastic Communist in Persia. In December 1924 was being used as a forwarding agent by the Soviet for Bolshevik propaganda in Arabia, and in April of the following year paid a visit to Mecca to try and gain the sympathy of Ibn Saud in regard to Bolshevik Policy in the East. During this visit he openly carried on propaganda work partly directed against the Government of the Dutch East Indies but mainly against the British Government. Sent letters and instructions to Communists in India through pilgrims returning from Haj. Is in close touch with Obeidullah. (*q.v.*).

KHUSI MAHOMED *alias* MAHOMED ALI *alias* SEPASSI *alias* IBRAHIM *alias* Dr. NAIR, etc., son of Jan Mahomed of Nawanshahr, Jullundur district. In February 1915 fled across the border with other Lahore *Mujahid* students. Joined the anti-British party in Kabul and in March 1916, was sent by Mahendra Partap (*q.v.*) and Mahomed Barkatullah (*q.v.*) on a mission to Russian Turkestan with letters for the Tsar and the Russian Governor-General at Tashkent. Was a "Major-General" in Obeidullah's "Army of God" and in 1919 was active at Chamarkand in inciting the tribes to fight against the British. In 1922 was working as a Bolshevik agent at Kabul. Subsequently went to Moscow. Attended a Communist Congress in Berlin and used M. N. Roy's accommodation address, when writing to friends in India. In 1924 arrived at Pondicherry as an agent of M. N. Roy, and interviewed R. C. L. Sharma (*q.v.*). In February 1924 he was ordered to leave by the French authorities and embarked for Antwerp. In June 1925 was engaged at Marseilles by M. N. Roy in the despatch to India of Bolshevik literature by means of lascars. Is at present in Paris (1927). This man has for some years been M. N. Roy's chief agent in Europe, and has had a hand in the despatch of several Communist emissaries to India.

KIZIEWICZ, MADAME HELENA *alias* STAVRINAKY. Born in Odessa in 1888. In 1919 was on the staff of Semonoff in Harbin and was in collusion with a Tsarist General named Zukoosky under whom, while working as a contractor, she [352] mis-appropriated large quantities of merchandise. Worked for Semonoff in counter-espionage (1918-1920). Since 1920 has been working for the Bolsheviks. Arrived in India in October 1926 as the head of a troupe of dancers composed mostly of Russians. Was given the option of leaving India or being deported and accepted the former alternative. Left Bombay for Shanghai in December 1926 and was reported to be in Malaya in March 1927. Has made vigorous but unsuccessful efforts to return to India.

KUTUBUDDIN AHMAD, of Calcutta. A devoted follower of Abul Kalam Azad (*q.v.*). Was in touch with M. N. Roy. An intimate friend of Muzaffar Ahmad (*q.v.*) whose defence expenses he defrayed in the Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case. Closely connected with Shaukat Usmani (*q.v.*) and Shib Nath Banerji (*q.v.*). Takes an active part in the Labour movement in Calcutta. Is a member of the Bengal Peasants'

and Workers' Party. Associated with George Allison *alias* Donald Campbell (*q.v.*) prior to the latter's arrest. Is rabidly anti-British and pro-Bolshevik.

LAJPAT RAI, LALA, of Ludhiana district, Punjab. Age about 60 (1927). An Arya Samajist and a member of the Servants of India Society, a political organisation founded by late Mr. Gokhale. Arrested and deported to Mandalay on 9th May 1907 in connection with the Rawalpindi riots and released in November of the same year. Represented Punjab in the Congress deputations to England in 1905 and 1914. Also visited America and Japan. Was in receipt of German gold in America and started a branch of the Home Rule League in New York. Returned to India in February 1920, and founded the *Bande Mataram*, an Urdu daily paper, of extremely advanced political views. Presided at the Special Session of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta in September 1920. One of the founders of the Trade Union Congress of India. Founded in 1921 the Tilak School of Politics, Lahore, an institution to train political workers. Founded also the Lahore National College. Took a prominent part in the agitation for the boycott of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and was one of the chief promoters of *hartal* in 1921. Arrested under section 6 of the Seditious Meetings Act and 17(1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, read with Section 117, Indian Penal Code, and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment and one year's simple imprisonment in March 1922. Released in August 1923 on medical grounds. Was appointed president of the Akali Defence Committee formed in November 1923, to render financial aid to the Akali leaders arrested in connection with the Guru-ka-Bagh affair. Since April 1924 devoted himself to the Hindu Mahasabha as an ardent advocate of the *Sangathan* movement. In July 1925 started *The People* at Lahore, an English weekly of advanced views. Joined the Swaraj Party in November 1925. Attended the International Labour Conference at Geneva as a Workers' Delegate in 1926, and in the same year was elected to the Legislative Assembly. Is now a protagonist of the Hindu Party and one of the leading personalities in Indian politics. [353]

LAKHA SINGH, of Chima Kalan, Jullundur, Punjab. Age 36 (1927). Went abroad in 1911 and was a member of the Ghadr Party of America. Is acquainted with both Rattan Singh (*q.v.*) and Santokh Singh (*q.v.*). Arrived in Milan in 1926 with a letter from Barkatullah (*q.v.*) and left for Venice *en route* to India in June of that year with a secret message from the Ghadr Party. Was reported to be in possession of a large sum of money to be made over to Karam Singh Chima for the benefit of the "Doaba Sufferers" (the families of political prisoners in the Punjab). This amount, however, does not appear to have been handed over to the party concerned or even to have been disbursed. He again left India in June 1927, presumably, *en route* to America.

LAL CHAND, parentage and Indian address not known. Actively engaged in seditious activities in Shanghai, where he was instrumental in opening a club with a group of other seditious Indians as a rendez-

vous. Is in close touch with Gajjan Singh (*q.v.*) and other disaffected Sikhs. Collected a large sum of money for the Ghadr Party in America which was handed over by A. R. Savul (*q.v.*). Was arrested in Shanghai in May 1927, but was later discharged as nothing of an incriminating nature was found among his papers. In Hong-Kong at present (1927).

LEDEBOUR, GEORGE. A German Communist; leader of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany. Attended the Brussels Conference of the League Against Imperialism and was on (1) the Board of International Chairmen, (2) the International Executive Committee, (3) the German Committee and (4) the Provisional Organising Committee of the League.

LOHANI, GULAM AHMAD KIBRIYA (GOLAM AMBIA LOHANI), of Sirajganj, Bengal. Age 34 (1927). A very keen and active Communist. Went to London in 1914 to study law and to Paris in 1920-1921. Was suspected of being a courier between Moscow and Bolshevik agents in London. Visited Berlin in January 1921 and worked with Chattopadhyaya. Was in charge of Roy's agency in Paris. Connected with the Workers' Welfare League for India, Indian Communist Party, Comité pro-Hindou and the Indian Bureau in Berlin. Was reported to be receiving 2,000 francs monthly from Russian sources. Contributes to Communist publications, such as *The Masses of India.* Went to Moscow in November 1925, and since then has worked zealously as a Bolshevik propagandist.

LOSOVSKY, A., a Russian. Age 50. General Secretary of Red International of Labour Unions and candidate to Executive Committee of Communist International at time of arrest of Communist leaders in England in October 1925. Former member of Russian Social Democratic Party; active in 1905 rising. Secretary of All-Russian Council of Trade Unions (1917) and of All-Russian Union of Textile Workers and Railwaymen's Union (1918-1919); Executive Member of All-Russian Council of Trade Unions (1919). Started organisation of Red International of Labour Unions (1920); has since been member of the Presidium and General Secretary of that body. Voluminous writer on theory and politics of Trade Union movement. Has paid special attention to Communist affairs in the East. [354]

LOTWALA, RANCHODDAS BJAVAN, of Bombay. Age 50 (1927). Went to America in 1920 and there met Dr. N. S. Hardikar (*q.v.*) to whom he wrote on his return to India about the grant of $ 3,000 by the All-India Congress Committee to the Indian Home Rule League, America, for propaganda work. A patron of S. A. Dange (*q.v.*). In December 1922 opened the Ranchod Lotwala Trust Hostel, whose object is to advance socialism in India. Went to England in 1923 and while there associated with extremists in the Labour Party. On his return to India mixed with Communists like Percy Glading *alias* R. Cochrane (*q.v.*) and George Allison *alias* Donald Campbell (*q.v.*). Again visited England in February 1927.

MAHENDRA PARTAP, son of Raja Gansham Singh, Jat, of Murshan, District Aligarh, United Provinces. Figured conspicuously in the "Silk Letter" case. While in Kabul, he founded the so-called "Provi-

sional Government of India", with himself as President, Barkatullah (*q.v.*) as Prime Minister, and Obeidullah (*q.v.*) as "Minister of the Interior". Was sent with the Turko-German Mission to Afghanistan in 1915 with letters from the Kaiser to the Sultan of Turkey and the Ruling Princes of India. Went to America early in 1925, where he collected a large sum of money from the Ghadr Party in San Francisco, and with seven Indian companions, set out for the Far East, with the object of promoting a revolution in Nepal. Eventually found his way to Afghanistan, leaving his companions in China. Subsequently returned to America *via* Germany and France accompanied by Barkatullah (*q.v.*). Has sent a considerable quantity of letters and objectionable literature to the Indian Press. A thoroughly mischievous, though not very competent, anti-British conspirator.

MAHOMED ABDULLA KHAN *alias* M. A. KHAN, of Jullundur, Punjab. Age about 40 (1927). Took a prominent part in the N. W. Railway strike of 1920 and was dismissed from his post of Assistant Station Master. Was appointed General Secretary of the North-Western Railway Association and remained in close touch with J. B. Miller (*q.v.*) till 1922. After his dismissal from the Association he begun to dabble in Communism and asked permission to defend Shaukat Usmani (*q.v.*) in Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case. A regular recipient of Bolshevik literature from abroad. Interested himself in the Tanzim movement in 1924. Was the General Secretary of the North-Western Railway Union in 1925. Is a Labour agitator of an unscrupulous type.

MAHOMED ASLAM KHAN, son of Imam Bakhsh Khan, of Sokar village, Dera Ghazi Khan. Joined the editorial staff of the *Vakil* in Amritsar. He then started the *Mu'in*, an Urdu Weekly, but gave it up when security was demanded, and returned to his village. In August 1916 he was sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment. After his release he disappeared and was next heard of in Kabul, where he was engaged in anti-British [355] intrigues. Is a member of the Indian National Club, Kabul, and presided at one of its meeting held in June 1927.

MAHOMED DAUD, M.A, B.L., of Nadia, Calcutta. Secretary of the Indian Seamen's Association. A member of the Legislative Council. Attended the International Labour Conference at Geneva in 1926 as an official representative of Indian Labour. Is an active Labour agitator and takes a keen interest in strikes.

MAHOMED IQBAL *alias* IQBAL SHAIDAI, son of Master Ghulam Ali of Sialkot. An adherent of Shaukat Ali and Abul Kalam Azad. In 1920 went on *Hijrat* to Kabul and worked as translator under Djamal Pasha there. Associated with such well-known revolutionaries as Obediullah and Barkatullah. In 1921 went to Tashkent *en route* to Anatolia but returned to Kabul. Was expelled in 1922 and in the following year found his way to Moscow. From there went to Angora where the Turks refused to recognise him on account of his past connection with the Bolsheviks. Visited Paris and Rome; was approached by Khushi Mahomed (*q.v.*) and asked to join M. N. Roy's group in Europe. In 1924 was reported to be connected with an Italian Commercial Company at Milan. In January 1927 was living in Marseilles.

MAHOMED MIAN, MOULVI *alias* MOULVI MANSUR, is the son of the late Moulvi Abdullah, Professor of Theology, Aligarh. Accompanied Mahmud-ul-Hasan to the Hedjaz in 1915. Important member of the "Silk Letter Case". In 1926 was reported to be one of the chief working agents of the Bolsheviks in Afghanistan, and has sent several remittances to his son Hamid Mian in Deoband.

MALAKA, TAN *alias* MELLAN. A notorious Javanese Communist, who was expelled from the Netherlands East Indies in 1922 on account of too enthusiastic exertion on behalf of the Communist cause. Subsequently repaired to Berlin and to Moscow, where he represented Java at the International Congress of that year. At Moscow he was working out a scheme for propaganda in India and the Far East generally, in collaboration with M. N. Roy and certain of the Far Eastern Communists, under the aegis of the Third International. In September 1925 was living at Chiengmai on the Siamese frontier of Burma endeavouring to create a Communist cell there. In January 1926 was stationed at Canton as a Bolshevik propagandist for the Pacific area. Is now said to have gone to the Philipine Islands.

MALONE, COL. C. E. L'ESTRANGE. An ex-member of the House of Commons. Founded the Chinese Information Bureau, which aimed at the collection of facts relating to China from a purely Chinese point of view. Extremely pro-Chinese, he is in touch with extremist movements in England, China and elsewhere. Visited China in March 1926 in connection with his pro-Chinese activities, and after his return to England produced a pamphlet entitled "New China". Is a member of the "British Labour Council for Chinese Freedom".

MANGAL SINGH, B.A., of Gill, Ludhiana District and of Chak 208, Lyallpur District. Age about 31 (1927). While under Settlement training at Multan, resigned his appointment, and in May 1920, took up the editorship of the *Akali*, Lahore, a [356] Gurmukhi organ, avowedly nationalist, and from the outset, objectionable in tone. For publishing a series of grossly seditious articles on Non-co-operation, was, towards the end of 1920, prosecuted and sentenced to 3 years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000 under section 121-A, Indian Penal Code, both sentence to run concurrently. In August 1923, was elected a member of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, and subsequently became President of the Committee, for a short time. Associated with Congress leaders, and was the connecting link between the Akalis and the Congress. Was one of the accused in the Akali Leaders' Case, but was discharged. Associated with Gurmukh Singh (*q.v.*) and Udham Singh (*q.v.*), the leaders of the Sikh conspiracy. Violently anti-Government, and an extremist leader of the worst type.

MANI LAL MAGAN LAL SHAH, of Baroda. Age about 47 (1927). Since 1907 spent most of his time in Mauritius and Fiji championing the cause of the Indian immigrants. In 1920 was prohibited from living in certain parts of Fiji as he was considered dangerous to the peace of the Colony. Since 1923 has identified himself with Labour matters in India. Is interested in emigration affairs and identured labour in the Colonies, and corresponds with Socialists and Communists both in India and abroad. Defended two of the accused in the Cawn-

pore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case. Is reported to have settled down in Fyzabad.

MANN, TOM. A well-known English Communist. An original member of the British Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions (formed 1921); became president of that body in the year of its foundation; retained position till formation of National Minority Movement (*q.v.*) in 1924. President of the National Minority Movement from 1929 onwards. General Secretary of Amalgamated Union of Engineers (1919-21). Attended the pan-Pacific Labour Conference held at Hankow in May 1927, and presided at several of its meetings. As a member of the International Workers' Delegation he associated with M. N. Roy in China.

MAZUMDAR, BHUPENDRA or BHUPATI, of Guptipara, Hooghly. Age about 35 (1927). Has for many years been a most important member of the Bengal Revolutionary Party and holds strong Bolshevik and terroristic views. Was dealt with under Regulation III of 1818, but released under the Royal amnesty in 1920. Was in communication with M. N. Roy and is known to have been recipient of money from him. Was deputed to translate Bolshevik literature into the vernacular, and was in receipt of Roy's official organ *The Vanguard*. Met certain of Roy's agents when they were in India, and was concerned in the Bolshevik conspiracy. Was desirous of spreading revolutionary propaganda on Communist lines, the idea being first to stir up the masses, and then to start a revolution. Was privy to a conspiracy to assassinate police officers and was consequently dealt with under Regulation III of 1818 in September 1923. Is still in jail (1927).

MAZUMDAR, SURESH CHANDRA, of Jasodal, P. S. Kishoreganj, Mymensingh, Bengal. Age about 37 (1927). An old and [357] important member of the Bengal revolutionary group, inclined to violence. Was one of the persons whom M. N. Roy suggested that Charles Ashleigh *alias* Nanda Lal (*q.v.*) should be introduced to when the latter visited India in 1922.

MICHAEL, GEORGE EDUARD *alias* GEORGE ROLIN *alias* JOHNSON. A German ex-Naval Officer. Born in Hamburg in 1893. Merchant. Arrived in Bombay from Port Said on the 4th December 1925. Passed in Egypt under the name of George Rolin *alias* Johnson who was said to be reputed Communist agent and had been in touch with Egyptian Communists to whom he described himself as the 'Bombay man'. Left Bombay on the 22nd March 1926 for Mormugao and sailed thence for Europe on a German steamer on the 24th March 1926.

MILLER, J. B., of Rawalpindi. Age about 50 (1927). Took a prominent part in the North-Western Railway strike of 1920 and was consequently dismissed from his post of guard on that railway. Formed a Railway Association in conjunction with M. A. Khan (*q.v.*) and spread unrest among the Railway staff throughout the Punjab. Arrested in February 1922 under Section 126, Railway Act, and Section 117, Indian Penal Code, and sentenced to 4 months' rigorous imprisonment. During 1923 busied himself touring the North-Western Railway organising the Union and collecting funds. Was elected president of the unrecognised North-

Western Railway Union which has since been amalgamated with the recognised North-Western Railway Association. Is one of the few genuine Labour agitators.

MIRAJKAR, SHANTARAM SAWLARAM, of Colaba District, Bombay. Age about 27 (1927). Is in close touch with C. G. Shah (*q.v.*) and is an active member of the Bombay Communist Party being secretary of the Workers' and Peasants' Party in Bombay, a Communist organisation formed at the instance of George Allison *alias* Donald Campbell (*q.v.*). In 1927 received packets of Communist literature from the British Communist Party.

MIRZA, AJMUDIN AHMAD. Born in Mauritius. Age 39 (1927). Name of his father not known, though he lived in Surat. Mirza first came to notice in 1918 in connection with meetings of orientals in London. Became a member of the Workers' Welfare League of India, and in January 1919 spoke at a "Hands off Russia" meeting and strongly advocated Bolshevism. Reported to be an intermediary between Indian and Irish revolutionaries. In 1920 he travelled to the Continent and Anatolia, returning to India in 1921 with message, it was thought, from Mustapha Kemal to Mahomed Ali. Left India for South Africa in June 1921 and was last heard of in Durban in August 1921.

MIT SINGH, of Pandori village, Ludhiana District, Punjab. Deputed by the Ghadr party of America with a considerable sum of money for the Akali Sikhs in India. Was appointed a Jathedar at Muktesar, and was arrested, and sent up in the Akali Conspiracy Case at Lahore, but was subsequently released.

MITHA SINGH, son of Nihal Singh Khatri. Village Durani, Kurram, North-West Frontier Province. A deserter from the Indian Army. At present in Berlin. Came to notice as trying to extend in Germany the business connections of the firm in [358] Kabul owned by Ishar Singh (*q.v.*) and believed to have been used as a post box by Rattan Singh (*q.v.*). Reported to be an associate of Indian renegades in Germany and to be working for the revolutionary party there.

MITRA, JOTINDRA MOHAN *alias* AKRAM, of Decca, Bengal. An important member of the Bengal Communist Party. In 1922, went to Germany to learn the principles of Bolshevism and the cult of revolution. His expenses were born by M. N. Roy. Attended the 4th Congress of the Third International at Moscow in 1922. Returned to India in November 1925 and has since been working in the Anushilan Samiti, a revolutionary organisation in Bengal. Roy was disappointed in Mitra's progress as a Communist in Europe.

MOHTA, VIJAY SINGH HIRALAL *alias* JETH MUL, of Ajmer. A close associate of Janki Prasad Begerhotta (*q.v.*) and a disciple of Arjun Lal Sethi (*q.v.*). Convicted of sedition in 1923 in the Flag Satyagraha Case at Nagpur. Published a leaflet headed "Not masses for the revolution but revolution for the masses" which was distributed at the All-India Congress Committee meeting held at Patna in September 1925. The production costs of the Communist Party of India's Annual Report (1927) were largely defrayed by him.

MOTA SINGH, MASTER, of Patara, P.O. Jullundur Sadr, District Jullundur, Punjab. Age about 48 (1927). Was convicted and sentenced

in the Lahore Leaders' Case to transportation for life, which sentence was subsequently remitted under the Royal amnesty in 1920. In August of that year he came into prominence as a violent lecturer, instigating villagers not to pay land revenue to Government nor to enlist in the police or the army. Was sentenced in 1922 to transportation for five years and an aggregate of 3 years rigorous imprisonment under sections 124-A and 153-A of the Indian Penal Code. A staunch Akali and a member of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. Visited Kabul in June 1921—while absconding—where he associated with Bolshevik agents, and became imbued with Communist doctrines. Shortly before his arrest received £600 in Bank of England notes, which appear to have been suuplied by Bolshevik sources in Kabul for Communist propaganda, and which were misappropriated by him. At present (1927) in jail A violent and dangerous seditionist.

MUELLER, Dr. JUR HERBERT *alias* GORDON *alias* GISSLER. Born in Riga. Age about 28 (1927). Representative in Peking of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. Comintern representative in China. Expert on Indian affairs and has a very intimate knowledge of the Indian revolutionary situation and border state politics and claims to know M. N. Roy and Mahendra Partap. Is said to have been in India and Kabul and to be in correspondence with the seditious Sikhs in Afghanistan and Moscow. Is in close touch with Erich Von Salzmann, another representative of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, who has been working for sometime past for the German secret service and the Soviet. In May 1927 was reported to be living in the Soviet Consulate at Hankow under the name of Gordon. [359]

MUKERJI, ABANI NATH, *alias* CHARLU *alias* R. SAHIR, of Khulna. Age about 35 (1927). In 1910 went to Japan and then to Germany in 1911 ostensibly to study. Returned to India in 1912 and went again to Japan in 1915. Returned to India in 1923 as an emissary of the revolutionary Communists in Berlin. In touch with Upendra Banerji, Santosh Mitra and other active members of the Bengal Revolutionary Party. Contributes to Communist publications. Promised to supply arms to Sachindra Sanyal (*q.v.*) who, in return was to send men to Abani to be trained as Communists. Was said to be a member of the "Institute of Red Professors", Moscow. Wrote *A Short Biography of Lenin, White Terror in India, Rural India*, etc. Came to India in 1923 as an emissary of Chattopadhyaya's Indian Independence Party. Returned to Europe in February 1924. A self-opiniated scoundrel, who has been completely overshadowed by Roy in Indo-Bolshevik intrigues.

MUKERJI, JADU GOPAL, M.B., *alias* DOCTOR, of Tamluk, Midnapore, and 62, Beniatola Street, Calcutta. Age 36 (1927). A very important leader of the Jugantar Section of the revolutionary party in Calcutta. Was involved in M. N. Roy's Bolshevik plans, along with other Jugantar leaders. Known to have been in correspondence with M. N. Roy, and to have received money from him for the furtherance of Bolshevik propaganda in India. Met Nalini Gupta and Abani Mukerji, the Indian Bolshevik agents, when they came to India in 1922. Was involved in a plot to assassinate certain police officers in Calcutta

and was dealt with under Regulation III of 1818 on the 25th of September 1923, and is still (1927) in jail.

MUKHTAR AHMAD *alias* MAHOMED ALI KHAN, of Malihabad, Lucknow. Age about 38 (1927). Was a member of the Khilafat Committee, Malihabad, Lucknow. One of the leading spirits of the Indian Home Rule League in London which was organised by him. Delivered anti-British speeches at the above League as well as at the Indian Study Circle and lascars' meetings. Is secretary of the British and Indian Workers League in London. In close touch with well-known Communists like Saklatvala, N. J. Upadhyaya (*q.v.*), C. P. Dutt (*q.v.*) and P. C. Nandi (*q.v.*).

MUNSHA SINGH, son of Indar Singh of Nagar, Police Station Phillaur, Jullundur, Punjab. Emigrated to America in 1907; left for India in 1913 and returned again to America in 1914. Has written a number of letters in connection with the Sikh Conspiracy to Santokh Singh (*q.v.*) and Bhag Singh of Uppal (*q.v.*). Has taken an active interest in the *Kirti* (Amritsar). Was elected secretary of the Hindustan Ghadr Party at San Francisco, California, early in 1927, and has since interested himself in the unrest in China. Still in America (1927).

MUZAFFAR AHMAD *alias* MAHABUDDIN, of Noakhali, Bengal. Age about 34 (1927). Was the principal agent in Bengal of M. N. Roy. Circulated Bolshevik periodicals and literature and was also in touch with revolutionaries. Interned under Regulation III of 1818 on 17th May 1923. Convicted under Section 121-A, Indian Penal Code, in the Bolshevik Conspiracy Case, Cawnpore, and sentenced to 4 years' rigorous imprisonment on 20th May 1924. Released in September 1925 on medical [360] grounds. Since his release has been taking an active part in the work of Communist Party of India, and presided at its conference hold at Delhi in March 1927. Is also one of the active members of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party and editor of the *Ganavani*. Is in constant correspondence with well-known Communists in India and abroad.

NAIDU, MRS. SAROJINI, of Hyderabad (Deccan). Age about 48 (1927). One of India's leading Non-co-operators. Presided over the East African Congress Session held at Mombasa in 1924. In April 1924 was reported to have been in correspondence with her brother V. Chattopadhyaya (*q.v.*), regarding the importation of arms into India. Presided at the session of the Indian National Congress held at Cawnpore in December 1925.

NANDI, PRAFULLA CHANDRA, of Calcutta. Age about 27 (1927). Is a Communist and worked with S. D. Saklatvala. Was in regular touch with "Arcos" (All-Russian Co-operative Society) and with the Communist Party of Great Britain. Helped in preparing a Communist pamphlet entitled *The Indian Seaman*. Closely associated with other Communists like N. J. Udadhyaya (*q.v.*), M. G. Desai (*q.v.*), Ajoy Banerji (*q.v.*), C. P. Dutt (*q.v.*) and P. B. Seal (*q.v.*).

NARAIN SINGH, son of Nand Singh of Gandiwind, District Amritsar, Punjab. Went abroad about 1910. First came to notice on his contributing seditious articles to the *Hindustan Ghadr Dhandora*, a

violently seditious newspaper published in Hankow by the Ghadr Party there. Is now one of the most active leaders of the Ghadr Party in China and is also believed to have taken over the presidentship of the "Oriental Oppressed Peoples' Association" (1927).

NAURANG SINGH, GHALI, son of Santokh Singh, village Wadagarh, District Ferozepore, Punjab. Came to notice in June 1926, when he sent seditious poems to an Indian newspaper, exhorting Sikhs to drop non-violent methods and rise against the British Government. Has since sent several other seditious poems for publication. Suspected to be a recipient and distributor of Ghadr literature.

NAZRUL ISLAM, QAZI, is the son of Fakir Ahmad of Churulia, P.S. Jamuria, Burdwan. Was convicted under Sections 124-A and 153-A, Indian Penal Code, and sentenced to one years' rigorous imprisonment in the Dhumketu sedition case in Calcutta on 16th January 1923. Holds revolutionary views and his articles are violently Bolshevistic in tone. Is a member of the Bengal Communist Party.

NEHRU, JAWAHIR LAL, BAR-AT-LAW, of Allahabad. Age about 34 (1927). Joined the Satyagraha movement and became one of the most zealous non-co-operators. A devoted follower of Mahatma Gandhi. Convicted at Lucknow in 1921 under section 17(1), Criminal Law Amendment Act, to six months' simple imprisonment. After release organised the picketting of cloth [361] shops and was again convicted at Allahabad under Sections 506, 117/506, 116/385 and 117, Indian Penal Code, to eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 100 fine. After release again resumed Non-co-operation work. Took interest in the Nagpur Satyagraha affair and advocated the flying of the national flag in all places. Was the General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee in 1925. Left for Europe in 1926, and there came in contact with a number of Indian revolutionaries. Represented the Indian National Congress at the meeting of the League Against Imperialism held in Brussels in February 1927, and was elected a member of the Provisional Organising Committee. Took a very prominent part in the proceedings of the League, and was later elected to the Executive Committee.

NEHRU, MOTILAL, of Allahabad. Age 66 (1927). An All-India leader of considerable influence. Convicted at Allahabad in December 1921 under section 17(1), Criminal Law Amendment Act, and sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment and Rs. 500 fine. Was a member of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee. Is also a member of the Legislative Assembly and leader of the All-India Swaraj Party.

NIDHAN SINGH *alias* NARAJAN SINGH *alias* NIRANJAN SINGH, of Thalla, Jullundur. Age about 43 (1927). Suspected to be a Soviet agent who has been in Moscow. Reported to have served a term in jail in California for sedition, also a term of imprisonment in India. Treasurer of the Ghadr Party in San Francisco. Subscribes to the *Kirti*, a revolutionary newspaper of Amritsar. Identity not definitely established.

NIMBKAR, RAGHUNATH SHIVRAM, of Ratnagiri District, Bombay. Was secretary of the Young Nationalists' League, a nominal political party formed in Bombay after Tilak's death. Is a member of the Executive Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay.

Closely connected with K. N. Joglekar (*q.v.*) in conjunction with whom he tried to move a resolution, in the All-India Congress Committee meeting held in Bombay in May 1927, to model the Congress programme on the principles of the Soviet aiming at the establishment of a Republic based upon universal suffrage. The resolution was, however, ruled out of order by the president.

OBEIDULLAH, MOULVI *alias* BUTA SINGH, Ex-Sikh of Chianwali village, Sialkot District. Was educated at the Arabic College, Deoband, where he became a professor but owing to his evil influence and to differences with the staff was compelled to leave in 1913. Went to Kabul in 1915 and became the most active of the "Silk Letter" conspirators. Was the originator of the scheme for an "Army of God" which aimed at liberating Muslim Countries. During the Afghan War of 1919 he issued many inflammatory leaflets over his signature as "Administrator of the Provisional Government of India", inciting Indians to murder and treason. Also attempted to smuggle bombs into India for the assassination of high European officials. [362] Subsequently became Raskolnikoff's principal agent for the distribution of money for propaganda in Afghanistan. Expelled from Kabul in 1922 along with other Indian revolutionaries. Reached Moscow in December 1922. The Third International and M. N. Roy wanted to put him in charge of the Indian Information Bureau in Berlin. Was assisted by the Soviet Government, to go to Angora with the object of establishing relations between revolutionary organisations in Egypt, Arabia and India, and the Hindustani fanatics in Tribal Territory. Went to Constantinople where conjointly with Zafar Hassan (*q.v.*) he published a pamphlet entitled the "Programme of the Mahabarat Sarvrajia Party" which has been prohibited entry into India. Also came in touch with Teja Singh Sutantar (*q.v.*), Iqbal Shaidai (*q.v.*) and Dr. Abdul Hafiz (*q.v.*). An unscrupulous agitator and a dangerous revolutionary. Is at present (1927) in the Hedjaz where he is believed to have been sent by the Comintern in 1926.

PAL BEPIN CHANDRA, of Sylhet. Age about 61 (1927). An extremist journalist and a political agitator. Went to England in 1903 and while there contributed articles on political matters to several English papers. Took the initiative in the formation of the Anushilan Samiti—a revolutionary society—at Dacca. Convicted for contempt of court in September 1906 and sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment. Went to England again in 1909 and associated there with Indian seditionists and joined an Indo-Egyptian Nationalist organisation. Returned to India in 1911 and in 1919 went to England for the third time as a member of the Congress deputation. After returning to India identified himself prominently with the Labour movement. advocated strikes and propagated anti-capitalist and pro-Bolshevik ideas. Was a conspicuous factor in the organisation of the Indian National Congress during the year 1920, but since then has severed his connection with the extremists, and has figured as an Independent in the Indian political arena.

PARVATE, TRIMBAK VISHNU, of Bombay. Age about 25 (1923). A friend of S. A. Dange (*q.v.*). Formed the "Indian Communist Defence Committee" to collect funds for an appeal in the Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case, with K. N. Joglekar (*q.v.*) with whom he associates. Takes a keen interest in Communism.

PHALA SINGH, of Wahawal, District Hoshiarpur, Punjab. Was one of a party of Sikhs who assembled at the Ghadr Ashram and took part in Guru Nanak's birthday celebrations in Peking in October 1926. On this occasion he expressed strongly his anti-British views.

PICKTHALL, MARMADUKE, is the son of the late Rev. Charles Pickthall, Rector of Chillesfer, Suffolk. Was educated at Harrow and is an author and journalist by profession. Became a Mahomedan in 1918 and since then has associated himself with the Anglo-Ottoman Society and other pan-Islamic organisations. Was appointed Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* in 1920 but in [363] August 1924 resigned. In November of that year obtained a post as lecturer in the Islamic College, Hyderabad. Interested himself in the Khilafat and Non-co-operation movements. Described by Arthur Field (*q.v.*) to be at heart a Communist. Since his appointment in Hyderabad he is reported to have shown no anti-British tendencies. Left for England in March 1927 on leave.

PILLAI, M. P. S. VELAYUDHAM, of Madras. Age about 27 (1927). A close friend of Dr. Mani Lal (*q.v.*). Was a correspondent of the extremist paper *Socialist* (Bombay) edited by S. A. Dange (*q.v.*). An admirer of M. N. Roy with whom he corresponded regularly. Was secretary of the Labour and Kishan Party's Central Committee, Madras. Has also corresponded with Ruby Watson, the New Zealand Communist. Was concerned in the selling of a printing press which M. N. Roy sent to R. C. L. Sharma (*q.v.*) in 1924 for the printing of Bolshevik propaganda in India.

PRITAM SINGH, of Dhand Kasel, Amritsar District. One of the five emissaries of the Ghadr Party in California who left for Moscow in January 1926 for instruction in Soviet propaganda. Reported to have been sent to Shanghai with arms and literature, together with Karam Singh (*q.v.*) in 1927, where from a financial point of view he was to direct and control the work of the revolutionaries in the Far East. Is believed to have assumed the *alias* of Orloff since his arrival in Europe.

PROHME, Mrs. RAYNA, wife of William Prohme (*q.v.*). Has strong Communist sympathies, and is at present (1927) editing the *Peoples' Tribune* of Hankow. Was in communication with Dasaundha Singh (*q.v.*). In a letter to him she expressed great interest in his organisation—"The Oppressed Peoples' Brotherhood". She authorised a Sikh journalist named Gurdit Singh in the Punjab to act as correspondent of the Hankow Nationalist News Agency.

PROHME, WILLIAM, an American journalist of extreme radical and Communistic views. Formerly on the staff of the San Francisco *Examiner*. Was acting publicity agent in the early part of 1927 for the Nationalist Government of Hankow, and was also personal secretary to Eugene Chen (*q.v.*). The propaganda of the Nationalist Government is

believed to be largely his work. His wife, Rayna Prohme, edits the *Peoples' Tribune* of Hankow, an organ of the Hankow Communist Party.

PURAN SINGH, of Bara Jundiala, District Jullundur. Emigrated to America in 1908. Reported at one time to be employed in the Ghadr Press. War reported to have left America in February 1927 with Jaggat Singh (*q.v.*) to join Karam Singh (*q.v.*) in Moscow, but a report dated July 1927 mentions that he was still in California living at the Ghadr Ashram and collecting subscriptions on behalf of the Ghadrites in China.

RADHA MOHAN GOKULJI, of Agra. Age 63 (1927). Has lived in Calcutta since 1899. A well-known revolutionary who [364] in 1925 joined the Indian Communist Party. Is in close touch with Satya Bhakta (*q.v.*) and Mahendra Partap (*q.v.*). An extremist of a dangerous type.

RAFIK (RAFIQUE) AHMAD *alias* R. A. MANSUR *alias* MAHOMED RAFIQUE, of Bhopal. Age about 28 (1927). Left India during the *Hijrat* movement in the spring of 1920. Joined M. N. Roy's school for training Indians in Bolshevik Eastern propaganda, at Tashkent. Was later sent to Moscow for further training. Tried to get into India *via* Chitral but was arrested and sent to Peshawar, where he was tried under section 121-A, Indian Penal Code, and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment in May 1923. Released in April 1924. Is at Bhopal at present under surveillance (1927).

RAHMAT ALI MUHAJIR *alias* RAHMAT ALI ZAKARIA *alias* IBRAHIM YAHYA *alias* GOUR LACK, of Gujranwala, Punjab. Aged about 31. Fled with other *Mujahid* students to Kabul, where he was listed as a "Lieutenant-Colonel" in M. Obeidullah's (*q.v.*) revolutionary "Army of God" and appointed "Minister for Communications" in the "Provisional Government of India". Subsequently went to Russia where he was closely associated with Communist activities directed against India. Attended various Communist conferences at Moscow in 1922 and was trained as one of M. N. Roy's Bolshevik agents. Detailed for work in Persia from where he wrote several cipher letters to Nalini Gupta (*q.v.*) who was convicted in the Cawnpore Conspiracy Case. In December 1923 Rahmat Ali was again in Moscow obviously working for Roy and the "Eastern Department". He then appears to have gone to Berlin, where he translated Communist literature into Indian vernaculars. Present whereabouts (1927) not definitely known but he is believed to be still a very active agent on behalf of Roy and his Bolshevik employers. Was in Paris in May and June 1927, and was said to be trying to get back to India, although he was apparently not keen on this.

RAHMATULLAH HUMAYUN, MIR, son of Haji Shamsuddin of Lahore. Went on *Hijrat* in May 1920, returning in September 1920 to collect funds for the *Muhajirin*. Returned to Kabul where he entered the service of the Amir and was reported to be in close touch with Bolshevik-German agents. Has sent large sums of money to his father, who has also since gone to Kabul—It is believed that he obtains funds from Bolshevik sources.

RAM CHANDRA, B.A., of Jullundur District, Punjab. Age about 25 (1927). Was educated at the National College, Lahore, and received a stipend from the 'Tilak School of Politics', an institution to train political workers. Came in contact with Professor Ghulam Hussain (*q.v.*) who infected him with Communist ideas. Interested himself in the Labour movement in the Punjab and assisted in the formation, in 1926, of the Young India Association or *Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha,* at Lahore, of which he became secretary and later president. The avowed object of this association was to prepare young men for political service, to popularise *Khaddar,* and to work for Hindu-Muslim unity, but its proceedings soon showed that it was impregnated with revolutionary [365] ideas. Took an active part in the All-India Communist Conference at Delhi in March 1927. Is secretary of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee. Convicted under section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, to two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500 on September 15th, 1927.

RAM SINGH, village Dhadc Kalan, District Hoshiarpur, Punjab. Agent of the Hankow Ghadr Party for the whole of China. Travels in the guise of a silk merchant, with a view to connecting up the different Ghadr groups at various ports, and spreading disaffection amongst the various Indian communities. Closely connected with the seditious Sindhi, Lal Chand (*q.v.*).

RANJIT SINGH "TAJWAR", of village Fatehgarh, Sukar Chak, District Amritsar. Age about 28 (1927). Sentenced to three months' imprisonment under the Seditious Meetings Act on 22nd February 1922, and to one year's simple imprisonment on 22nd October 1922 for delivering a lecture in connection with the Guru-ka-Bagh affair, but was released in April 1923, along with other Guru-ka-Bagh prisoners. Went to Jaito as a guide of the Shahidi Jatha in February 1924. Later on went to Afghanistan where he associated with many well-known revolutionaries. Returned to India in June 1924, but having heard, while in Amritsar that a warrant of arrest was out against him, decided to return to Afghanistan. He was arrested at Shabkadar on the 4th July 1924, while attempting to slip across the Frontier. Was tried in Amritsar and sentenced to six years' imprisonment in September 1924, but released on the 5th June 1926. An extremist Akali and a somewhat dangerous man.

RASKOLNIKOFF. Gave up the command of the Baltic Fleet in 1921 and became a member of the Military Revolutionary Soviet of the Russian Republic. Was a lieutenant in the Imperial Russian Navy before the revolution. Went to Kabul in 1921 as Soviet representative there, and was reported to have given great assistance to Communist Party workers and couriers going to Moscow and back. In 1925 was said to be working under M. N. Roy who was put in charge of the Eastern Section of the Comintern. Was in sympathy with and praised Maulana Hasrat Mohani (*q.v.*) for his intention to work for the separation of India from the British Empire. Is at present (1927) one of the chiefs of the Oriental Section of the Communist International. Has written numerous articles on Eastern Questions with special reference to Afghanistan.

RATTAN SINGH, *alias* SANTA SINGH *alias* ISHER SINGH, son of Nihal Singh of Raipur Doaba, P.S. Banga, District Jullundur, Punjab. Emigrated in 1914 to Fiji Islands and went thence to Vancouver. In 1920-22 he took an active interest in the Ghadr Party and collected funds for it. Left the Ghadr Ashram in 1922 and lived in New York. Visited Russia in 1923 with Santokh Singh (*q.v.*). Prosecuted by Immigration authorities in America in July 1925. Returned to Europe and then came to India. Is at present (1927) untraced and is believed to have left India. A most important and dangerous Sikh Communist.

ROERICH, PROFESSOR NICHOLAS, Russian artist, arrived in Bombay in November in possession of Russian passport viséd [366] at Paris, and returned to America in February 1924. Returned to India on the 15th January 1925. Left Kashmir in the beginning of November 1925. Was suspected of being in sympathy with Communist activities. In September 1926 he and his family proceeded from Urumtchi to Moscow. Has pronounced Soviet sympathies. In August 1927 was reported to be in the U.S.A.

ROY, BASANTA KUMAR, of Bitna, District Bakarganj. Went to America about 1906 and became a leader of the Indo-American revolutionary party. Author of several inflammatory articles in American publications and was editor of the "India News Service of the Friends of Freedom for India Society". Openly advocates Bolshevik principles. Is reported to have delivered a lecture at Detroit, U.S.A., in November 1926 which consisted chiefly of a violent attack upon Great Britain.

ROY, MRS. EVELYN (*née* Trent) *alias* V. GARCIA *alias* MRS. HELEN ALLEN, *alias* SANTI DEVI. An American of Los Angeles who married Mr. M. N. Roy about 1917. Is said to be a cleverer and more capable Communist than Roy himself. Left Mexico with her husband in January 1920 under name of V. Garcia. Contributes numerous articles to Communist publications and is a prolific writer of Communist pamphlets, etc. After Roy's expulsion from Paris, was responsible for the production of *The Masses of India*. Has been lost sight of since early this year (1927), but a recent report indicates that she has finally separated from her husband.

ROY, KIRON BIHARI, of Bombay. Closely connected with Nalini Gupta (*q.v.*) with whom he was a student at Glasgow in 1916-18. Remittances intended for Nalini Gupta used to come to his address. Was also visited by Charles Ashleigh (*q.v.*) during the latter's visit to India.

ROY, M. N., *see* BHATTACHARJI, NARENDRA NATH.

ROY, MOTI LAL, of Borai Chanditola, French Chandernagore, Bengal. About 44 years of age (1927). The leading light of the French Chandernagore group of revolutionaries and in close touch with revolutionary elements in Bengal. Author of several proscribed and prohibited books, including *Kanai Lal* the tendency of which is to incite the youth of Bengal to follow in the footsteps of Kanai Lal Dutt, who assassinated an approver. Organiser of the "Prabartak Sangha" at Chandernagore—a revolutionary organisation—and publisher and editor of the *Prabartak* newspaper, an extremely anti-British organ, in which the work done by revolutionaries and Bolsheviks, including Rash Behari Bose and M. N. Roy, is eulogised. Was a recipient of the objectionable

publication *The Masses of India* and was in correspondence with Indian revolutionaries abroad, as well as with M. N. Roy. Was suspected of being implicated in a conspiracy to smuggle arms into India, with the help of his friend Rash Behari Bose.

ROY, Dr. T. N. of Calcutta. A close associate of Nalini Gupta (*q.v.*). Also connected with M. N. Roy and a recipient of Roy's paper *The Vanguard*. Was one of those to whom Charles Ashleigh (*q.v.*) was given a letter of introduction. [367]

SABARWAL, KESHO RAM *alias* KESHO DAS *alias* KAURA, son of Tara Chand Khatri, of Andarshahr, Peshawar City, North-West Frontier Province. Bound over to be of good behaviour for three years on account of his connection with the revolutionary movement in the Punjab. Fled from India in 1915 and settled in Japan where he became secretary to Rash Behari Bose (*q.v.*). Received money from German funds and was cognisant of German plots in the Far East. Indicted in the San Francisco Conspiracy Case, but went into hiding to evade extradition. Suspected to be connected with Bose in smuggling arms into India. Has been refused a passport to return to India.

SAKLATVALA, SHAPURJI DORABJI. Age about 52 (1927). Member of Parliament (Battersea North): member of the Communist Party of Great Britain, with seat on Central Executive Committee of the Party while an M.P. A Parsee of Bombay who has been in England for nearly 22 years. Married an English woman of the labouring class. Formerly employed by the firm of Messrs. Tata & Co. of Bombay. Prior to going to England he was living in New York, where he associated with revolutionary Indians. The earliest mention of Saklatvala's name in England is in 1909. It is evident from what is known of his then associations that he was in close and intimate touch with the Indian Revolutionary movement and with Indian seditionists in London. Shortly after settling down in London he figured prominently in societies such as the "London Indian Association", "The United India Club", "The Anglo-Ottoman Society", "East West Centre", etc. Was one of the founders of the Workers Welfare League of India. Is also president of the Indian Seamen's Union, which is affiliated to the Red International of Labour Unions. Saklatvala received instructions from the Red International of Labour Unions to make full use of the Indian Seamen's Union as a Communist propaganda organisation. Was closely connected with the "People's Russian Information Bureau" and "The League Against Imperialism". Toured in India during the winter of 1926-27 and delivered a number of objectionable speeches advocating the formation of Labour and Trade Unions and suggesting Communism as a remedy for India's troubles. Has always been a strong advocate of class warfare and is violently anti-British. Intended returning to India in October 1927 to seek election to the All-India Congress Committee but has been refused a visa.

SAMPURNANAND, SWAMI. A well-known Congressman of Benares. Was convicted in December 1921 under section 17(2), Criminal Law Amendment Act, for his activities in Non-co-operation agitation, and sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment. After release again

took up the Congress work and began to dabble in communism. His "Memorandum on the Congress Programme" in 1922 was specially commended for its Communist tendency by M. N. Roy's *Advance Guard*. Was in close touch with Shaukat Usmani (*q.v.*) in connection with whose arrest, Sampurnanand's house was searched and some Communist literature [368] discovered. Is on intimate terms with the national leaders of the United Provinces and is also connected with S. A. Dange (*q.v.*).

SANTA SINGH, son of Vir Singh of Gandiwind, Police Station Sirhala, Amritsar. One of the five Ghadr emissaries who left California for Moscow in January 1926, for instruction in Soviet propaganda, said to be endeavouring to leave clandestinely for India.

SANTOKH SINGH *alias* NIHAL SINGH *alias* BHAN SINGH, son of Jowala Singh of Dadher Singh, Police Station Beas, Amritsar, Punjab. Went to England in 1912 and thence to New York and Stockton. Was secretary of the Khalsa Diwan and Assistant Secretary of the Ghadr Party. Was prominent among the Ghadrites in Siam during the War. Returned to U.S.A. and was tried and convicted in the San Francisco Conspiracy Case. Visited Russia and attended the Congress of the Third International. In 1923 was arrested in Independent Territory under suspicious circumstances and was eventually released on security to be of good behaviour. Attended the Cawnpore Congress in 1925 and associated with Communist leaders. Was editor of the *Kirti*, a Communist and revolutionary organ. Died in 1927.

SANYAL, SACHINDRA NATH, of Benares, U.P., and Santipur, Nadia District, Bengal. Age about 34 (1927). A dangerous leader of the revolutionary party and a confirmed advocate of violence. Was during his early revolutionary career a lieutenant of the notorious Rash Behari Bose (*q.v.*). Was convicted in the Benares Conspiracy Case in 1915, and sentenced to transportation for life, but was released early in 1920, in consequence of the Royal amnesty. After release he continually endeavoured to promote revolutionary organisation and devoted himself to the spread of sedition by means of literature and leaflets. Was deeply concerned in a conspiracy with Rash Behari Bose and M. N. Roy to smuggle arms and ammunition into India from the Far East. Had Bolshevik connections. Arrested in February 1925 and dealt with under Bengal Ordinance I of 1924. Was convicted under section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, to two years' rigorous imprisonment in September 1925, for disseminating a seditious leaflet entitled *The Revolutionary*. Was a leading member of the "Hindustan Republican Association", the object of which was to establish a "Federated Republic of the United States of India" by an organised and armed rebellion. Subsequently convicted and sentenced in the Kakori Conspiracy Case to transportation for life, on the 8th April 1927.

SARKAR, HARISH CHANDRA, of Ganderia, Dacca. One of the students sent by the Bengal National Council of Education to Germany in 1923. Subsequently reported to be the Anushilan representative in England and a member of the Communist Party in London. Associated with Ajoy Banerji (*q.v.*), P. B. Seal (*q.v.*), Nalini Gupta (*q.v.*) and other well-known Communists. Said to have given Bolshevik books to another

Indian and to have carried ciphers from Pratul Ganguli to be made over to Indian revolutionaries in Russia for their communications with the Anushilan. During his stay in England, however, Sarkar did not come to notice unfavourably, and it is possible that the reports received [369] in India about him were exaggerated or incorrect. Reported to be returning to India in August 1927.

SARKAR, HEMANTA KUMAR, of Krishnagar, Bengal. Age about 30 (1927). A prominent Swarajist member of the Legislative Council. Was the personal secretary of C. R. Das. Resigned the membership of the Swaraj Party and the All-India Congress Committee as he was suspected to be a police spy. Takes an active part in the Labour movement in Bengal and is a member of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party.

SATYA BHAKTA, (real name CHAKAN LAL), of Bharatpur, now residing at Cawnpore. Age about 32 (1927). Was the editor of the *Pranvir*, Nagpur, and from there issued socialist pamphlets. Since 1923 has been taking active part in the Labour movement. Issues Communist and Labour pamphlets from his "Communist Bookshop", Cawnpore. Was the secretary of the Indian Communist Party until the defection of Janki Prasad Begerhotta (*q.v.*) and Muzaffar Ahmad (*q.v.*) in December 1925. The split in the party was due mainly to Satya Bhakta's refusal to co-operate with M. N. Roy's European group.

SATYA DEV SWAMI *alias* SAT DEV *alias* SUKH LAL, of Ludhiana, Punjab. Aged about 42 years in 1927. Went to America in 1905. On his way back to India in June 1911, passed through Paris where he met the leading members of the Paris gang of Indian revolutionaries. In 1921 was convicted under section 188, Indian Penal Code, and fined in connection with the Begar agitation in the Kumaon District, United Provinces. In May 1923 left for Europe to obtain ophthalmic treatment. Violated the conditions of his passport and visited most of the countries of Europe. Interviewed M. N. Roy and other revolutionaries in Germany. At Paris he was reported to have visited a gunsmith and to have purchased a number of automatic pistols, which were ordered to be sent to Marseilles. In July 1924 and June 1926 again applied for a passport for further treatment but was refused. Eventually granted a passport in February 1927.

SHAMSHER SINGH, son of Bhai Bakhshish Singh, of village Sur Singh, District Lahore, Punjab. About 14 years old. One of the seven companions of Mahendra Partap (*q.v.*) on the latter's tour to the Far East in 1925. Met Rash Behari Bose in Japan in October 1926. Teja Singh Sutantar (*q.v.*) wished to get Shamsher Singh to Italy for military training. He is believed to be under training in Moscow (September 1927).

SATYAMURTI AYYAR, S., B.A., B.L., of Madras. Age about 36 (1923). A member of the Madras Legislative Council. Took an active part in the Home Rule propaganda. Went to England in 1919 as a member of the Indian National Congress and while there was made much of by the extreme section of the Labour Party and took considerable interest in the Workers' Welfare League of India in London. Has always been a prominent Labour agitator.

SAVARKAR, VINAYAK DAMODAR, of Bhagur, Nasik District, Bombay Presidency. Age about 46 (1927). A prominent agitator since 1905, and one of the leaders of the "Mitra Mela" an association started about 1899 in connection with the Ganapati [370] celebrations. Went to England in 1906, and there became the head of a secret society, one of whose members was responsible for the murder of Sir William Curzon-Wyllie in July 1909. Instigated and abetted the murder of Mr. Jackson, Deputy Collector, Nasik, in December 1909, and was sentenced to transportation for life in December 1910. Was released conditionally —abstention from politics for five years, was one of the conditions—on the 6th January 1924, owing to reasons of ill-health. Since his release has been taking part in semi-religious and semi-political movements, and has been interesting himself in the Hindu Sangathan movement specially, through which channel he tried to re-enter politics. Was reported to have been keen on starting secret societies in the Bombay Presidency, but was dissuaded from so doing by his friends. Warned by the Bombay Government in May 1925 for having written an article entitled "The 'Suffering' Muslims of Kohat" which was considered by the authorities as likely to cause Hindu-Muslim dissension. Elected a member of the Working Committee of the All-India Political Sufferers' Conference, with which many well-known Communists are connected. Eulogised Mahendra Partap (*q.v.*) in an article published in the *Mahratta* in September 1926.

SCHMIDT, F. A sailor on the s.s. *Trautenfels* who brought packets of Communist literature to Dange (*q.v.*) from M. N. Roy.

SEAL, PULIN BEHARI, of Chittagong. The London representative of the Swaraj Party. Foreign correspondent of the *Forward*. Went to England in 1924, where he became an active member of the Workers' Welfare League of India and president of the 'Indian Association', London. An active member of the 'Indian Study Circle', which is said to be a Communist body in disguise. Manager of the 'Orient Press Service' in London. Supplies and receives news from the 'Russian News Service' and other Communist papers. Is closely associated with Saklatvala, N. J. Upadhyaya (*q.v.*), M. G. Desai (*q.v.*), and other well-known Communists.

SENF, PAUL, a Communist of Hamburg, who went to Marseilles in March 1924 and lived with Sabiani, a Communist Municipal Councillor. Contributes to Communist publications. Published *The Vanguard* in Marseilles on behalf of Roy.

SEN, INDU BHUSAN, of Rupganj, Dacca. Age 45 (1927). An extremist agitator. Has corresponded with M. N. Roy, and his wife. His name was given to Percy Glading (*q.v.*) as one who was likely to be of assistance to him.

SEN GUPTA, J. M., of Calcutta. A well-known Congressman and leader of the Bengal Swaraj Party. Was president of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee in 1925-26. Elected Mayor of Calcutta Corporation after C. R. Das's death.

SETHI, ARJUN LAL, of Jaipur. Age about 48 (1927). A well-known revolutionary who was imprisoned by the Jaipur Durbar for 5 years, in December 1914, for his share in the revolutionary movement.

Suspected of complicity in what was known as the Nimej murder case and also in the Delhi Conspiracy Case. Transferred to Vellore Central Jail in November 1917 under Bengal [371] Regulation III of 1818 and eventually released under amnesty. In April 1921 was bound down for two months under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, and in May 1921 was arrested under a warrant from the Central Provinces where he was sentenced to two concurrent periods of 12 months' rigorous imprisonment under sections 124-A and 153-A, Indian Penal Code. After release returned to Ajmer in May 1922 and was elected secretary, Congress Committee, Ajmer. Is connected with the Communist movement in India.

SHAFIQ, MAHOMED, is the son of Abdul Halim of Akora, Peshawar District. Was employed in the Irrigation Office, Peshawar, when he went on *Hijrat* in 1919. Associated with Obeidullah in Kabul and accompanied Mahendra Partap and Abdul Rab to Tashkent. Attended the second Congress of the Third International at Moscow. Acted later as Roy's secretary at the Tashkent School. Shortly before the school broke up he joined the University at Moscow. Returned to Kabul in 1922 and on the expulsion of Indian seditionists from Kabul in 1923, appeared at the British Consulate, Seistan, and asked to be repatriated. Was arrested on arrival at the border and sentenced, under section 121-A, Indian Penal Code, to three years' rigorous imprisonment on 4th April 1924, at Peshawar. Released in September 1926, and placed under certain restrictions under section 3(*c*) and (*d*) of the North-West Frontier Security Regulation IV of 1922.

SHAH, CHANDUL GIRDHARLAL, B.A., of Ahmedabad. An associate of S. A. Dange (*q.v.*) and other revolutionaries. Was one of a committee of five members constituted to assist the strikers in the mills in Bombay. Corresponded with R. Palme Dutt (*q.v.*). Wrote a Communist pamphlet entitled "Hundred Per Cent Indians" in which Saklatvala and C. P. Dutt betrayed interest.

SHAHA, AKSHAY KUMAR, of Mymensingh, Bengal. About 27 years of age. A member of the Anushilan revolutionary party of Bengal. In 1926 was sent abroad at the instigation of Gopen Chakravarty (*q.v.*) to resume connection between the Anushilan and M. N. Roy in Berlin, and to be trained as a Communist agent. Met certain well-known Communists in Marseilles and Paris, including Khushi Mahomed *alias* Sepassi. From Paris he went to Berlin and thence to Russia.

SHAMSUDDIN HASSAN, age about 35 (1927), son of M. Imamdin, Kashmiri, of Lahore City. Joined the Communist Party and became a leading member of the Lahore group and acted as its publicity agent. Maintained close touch with all prominent Communists throughout India and corresponded with M. N. Roy. Was elected Provincial Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress. Chief organiser of the Punjab Labour Board and took a prominent part in the N.-W. Railway strike of 1925. Was somewhat frightened at the result of the Cawpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case, but has of late resumed his correspondence with other Indian Communists. Took part in the Indian Communist Conference held at Cawnpore in December 1925, and was appointed its Provincial Secretary at Lahore. In October 1926, started the *Khawar*, a

Labour paper of Lahore, the first issue of which was decidedly [372] objectionable in tone. Is not at present looked upon with favour by other Communists, who suspect him of being a Government spy.

SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD, of Birbhum District, Bengal. Brother of Abdul Halim (*q.v.*). One of the organisers of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party. Closely connected with Muzaffar Ahmad (*q.v.*) and used to put up in the Communist Office at 37, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Interested himself in the Labour movement in Bengal. Died on 30th October 1926.

SHARMA, KRISHNA GOPAL, of Jhansi, United Provinces. Age about 41 (1927). Worked as an Arya Samaj propagandist and was the cause of Hindu-Mahomedan trouble in 1915. Is a Non-co-operator and holds anti-Government views. Suspected of counterfeit coining and other offences. Is in close touch with Ajodhya Prasad (*q.v.*) and Ram Charan Lal Sharma (*q.v.*). Sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment in August 1925, under Section 20 of the Arms Act, and is still in jail (1927).

SHARMA, RAM CHARAN LAL, *alias* RAM CHAND *alias* HAR CHARAN LAL *alias* GHULAM SABAN, of Etah, United Provinces. Age about 47 (1927). An associate of well-known Bengal revolutionaries. Sentenced to six years' rigorous imprisonment under section 121-A, Indian Penal Code, in 1909. Released in 1918. In July 1920 was prosecuted under section 153-A, Indian Penal Code, and a warrant was issued against him. Fled to Pondicherry to avoid arrest. Thrice sued for pardon but was refused. Was one of the accused in the Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case, but was not tried, being *ex*-India. Is M. N. Roy's chief agent in Pondicherry and the recipient of funds from him. Was convicted at Pondicherry on 1st September 1926, for having assaulted a constable of the British Indian Police and sentenced to pay a fine of 35 francs with 16 days' imprisonment. The execution of the sentence is being held in abeyance under the French *loi de sursis*. Is a hot-headed and incorrigible revolutionary, but of poor mental and moral equipment.

SHARMA, SHEO CHARAN LAL, of Etah, United Provinces. Age about 28 (1927). Is the brother of Ram Charan Lal Sharma, of Pondicherry (*q.v.*). An important member of the Mainpuri Conspiracy Gang. Was arrested at Manipur and convicted in September 1919 under section 121-A, Indian Penal Code, to five years' rigorous imprisonment. Released conditionally in February 1920, but was re-arrested in January 1921, and the remission of sentence granted was withdrawn for highly suspicious conduct. Finally released on 4th October 1924. Is still active in organising the revolutionary party disorganised by the arrests in the Kakori Conspiracy Case. Has been used by his brother as a link with Communists in British India.

SHAUKAT USMANI, of Bikanir. Age about 27 (1927). Left India during the *Hijrat* movement in 1920. Reached Tashkent and was selected by M. N. Roy as a promising recruit and taken to Moscow for training as a Communist agent. Attended the conference of Indian revolutionaries summoned by the Comintern in Moscow during the summer of 1921 and was subsequently sent back to India *via* Persia.

Arrived in India in September 1922 and worked in the United Provinces and Bengal to establish Communist nuclei. After his return to India he maintained regular [373] correspondence with M. N. Roy up to the time of his arrest at Cawnpore on 9th May 1923. Was sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment in the Bolshevik Conspiracy Case, Cawnpore, on 20th May 1924, and released on 26th August 1927.

SHIVA RAO of Adyar, Madras. For some time "political secretary" to Mrs. Annie Besant. Took a keen interest in the Home Rule agitation, and latterly in the Labour movement, and is at present (1927) president of the Madras Labour Union. While in England in 1925, used to write articles for *Lansbury's Labour Weekly* and the *New Leader*, and still occasionally contributes to the former. A member of the Executive Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

SINHA, DEOKI PRASAD, M.L.A., of Daltonganj and Patna town, Bihar and Orissa. Age 37 (1927). Came to notice in 1919 when he took the *Satyagraha* pledge. Was in touch with M. N. Roy who hoped to utilise him in the formation of a Communist Party in India. Elected to the Legislative Assembly in 1923 as a Swarajist candidate. Joined the Independent Congress Party and returned uncontested to the local Council in 1926. A fluent and unscrupulous speaker.

SMEDLEY, AGNES, *alias* ALICE BIRD *alias* Mrs. PETROIKOS, an American. Lived for some years with Virendranath Chattopadhyaya (*q.v.*). Is a member of the Hindustan Association of Berlin and the Berlin Indian Revolutionary Party. Writer of numerous anti-British pamphlets and articles. A clever and unscrupulous revolutionary.

SNEEVLIET, HENRICUS JOSEPHUS MARIE *alias* HENDRICUS MARING. Age 44 (1927). At one time Communist agitator in Dutch East Indies and China; leader of Dutch Transport Workers' Federation and member of Inner Council of the Red International of Labour Unions (1922): Communist International representative in Holland (1923); "President-Editor" of National Arbeids-Secretariat (Federation of Trade Unions of Left Wing), 1924; in touch with British extremists and with M. N. Roy's group in Indian Communists in Europe.

SPRATT, PHILIP, a young Communist of Downing College, Cambridge. Came to India in December 1926, ostensibly on behalf of a firm of booksellers, but in reality to open a Labour Publishing House in India through which Soviet money could be received and distributed. Attended the Communist conference held in Delhi at the end of May 1927, and got in touch with leading Communists in India. Delivered several objectionable speeches on Labour matters, and wrote the proscribed pamphlet *India and China*. Visited Lahore, where he stayed with Diwan Chaman Lal, and took a leading part in organising Labour in the Punjab. Is reliably reported to have secretly financed the Communist publications *Kranti, Mehnat Kash* and *Ganavani*.

SULTAN AHMAD, of Rehana, District Hazara. Age about 28 (1927). A *Muhajir*, who left India in the spring of 1920 during the *Hijrat* movement. Went to Tashkent and joined M. N. Roy's school for training Indians in Eastern Bolshevik propaganda. Later went to Moscow for further training, and did six months in the aviation class and six months at Moscow. While [374] trying to enter India *via* Chitral was

arrested and eventually tried under section 121-A, Indian Penal Code, at Peshawar and sentenced to one years' rigorous imprisonment in May 1923. Released on 17th April 1924.

SURAIN SINGH, Subedar, of Chhidan, District Amritsar. Came to notice during the Guru-ka-Bagh Gurdwara agitation, when he was arrested for recruiting Akalis for raiding parties. Was elected to the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, and was for a time president of the Committee. A staunch member of the Shiromani Akali Dal. Concerned in the Sikh Conspiracy Case which was engineered from Kabul by the notorious Gurmukh Singh (*q.v.*) and Udham Singh (*q.v.*). Is illiterate, and is more or less a tool in the Hands of others.

SURITZ, Soviet representative in Angora.

TAGORE, SOUMENDRA NATH, of Calcutta. Is said to have taken a vow of celibacy and ascetism until the freedom of India is achieved. A youth of avowed Communist sympathies who has closely identified himself with the Labour movement in Calcutta and its environs. Also associated with many dangerous revolutionaries and is said to be a party to their plans. Associated with George Allison *alias* Donald Campbell (*q.v.*) prior to latter's arrest. Elected Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-Bengal Communist Conference held at Calcutta in February 1927 under the name of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party. Proceeded abroad in May 1927 on a definite mission to the Comintern, to obtain funds for Communist work in India, to make a practical study of the working of the Communist Party abroad, and to enlighten them as to conditions in India. A zealous and dangerous Communist and revolutionary.

TANDON, PARSHOTAM DAS, of Allahabad. Age about 42 (1927). A vakil of the Allahabad High Court. Became one of the leading political workers in the United Provinces and interested himself in the peasant organisation movement. Took part in Mr. Gandhi's Satyagraha campaign in 1919, and was a member of the Committee appointed by the Congress to enquire into the suppression of the Punjab disturbances. Was convicted in December 1921 and sentenced to 18 months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 250. On his release in 1923 continued his activities as a staunch non-co-operator. Was vice-president and subsequently president of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee. Early in 1925 joined the Indian Communist Party organised by Satya Bhakta (*q.v.*). In January 1925 visited R. C. L. Sharma (*q.v.*) and Arabindo Ghose (*q.v.*). Became a prominent member of the Political Sufferers' Conference in 1926. Is considered to be dangerous as he is in touch with the secret revolutionary movement on the one hand and with overt agitation on the other.

TARA SINGH, B.A. 'Master', of Haryal, District Rawalpindi. About 47 years of age (1927). A member of the Executive and Working Committees of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak [375] Committee, which was elected in 1923. Took a leading part in the Nabha agitation and was, in fact, one of the chief originators of the agitation. Was arrested with the Akali leaders in 1923 and headed the party of those under-trial Sikh leaders who refused to give the undertaking required by the Government. Was finally released on the 27th September 1926 on the withdrawal of the prosecution by Government consequent on the constitution of the Central

Board under the Gurdwara Act. One of the most hot-headed and intransigent of the Akali leaders, and a man of considerable importance in Sikh politics.

TEJA SINGH SUTANTAR *alias* TEJA SINGH GYANI, son of Desa Singh *alias* Kripal Singh, of Aloona village, Police Station Sadr, Gurdaspur, Punjab. Is the brother-in-law of Wasdev Singh (*q.v.*). Was a preacher of the Sikh Missionary Society in Afghanistan in 1923; was later sent to the Military College in Constantinople in 1924 to be educated as a "future General of the Sikh Revolutionary Army of the Punjab", and was financially helped by the Ghadr Party. Subsequently expelled from the college on the ground that he was an Indian, but is believed to have been re-admitted through the assistance of Fakhri Pasha (*q.v.*). Sutantar has been on very friendly terms with Zafar Hassan (*q.v.*), Obeidullah (*q.v.*) and other Indian revolutionaries in Enrope.

TEK SINGH, son of Jiwa Singh, Village Manke, Ludhiana, a watchman in Shanghai, and an important member of the Ghadr Party there. Also secretary of the Sikh Gurdwara. Is in correspondence with the Ghadr Association in San Francisco, and keeps the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee of Amritsar and the *Kirpan Bahadur* of Amritsar informed of the situation in Shanghai. Friend of Gajjan Singh (*q.v.*).

THENGDI, DHONDIRAJ, of Nagpur, now residing at Poona. Age 62 (1927). Went to England in 1897 to learn engineering and while there got mixed up with the Socialist Party. From 1906 onwards took the lead in Nagpur in various extremist political movements. During the Bombay Mill Strike in 1924 associated closely with the Strike Committee set up by M. N. Roy and was reported to have conveyed a message from Roy to N. M. Joshi (*q.v.*). Corresponded with Mrs. Roy (*q.v.*). Presided at the 5th Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress held at Bombay in February 1925. Elected administrative secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress in March 1927. President of the Kirkee Arsenal Labour Union. Applied for a passport to attend the pan-Pacific Labour Conference held at Hankow in May 1927, but was refused. Is keenly interested in Communism.

TILLETT, BEN, M.P. (LAB.). Born at Bristol in 1860. Secretary, Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union of Great Britain and Ireland from its inception in 1887 to its amalgamation with the Transport and General Workers' Union in 1922; now Secretary to the Political and International Department of that Union. Member of General Council, Trade Union Congress. Was imprisoned at and ejected from Antwerp and Hamburg, where he had gone to help the strikers; one of the pioneer organisers of General Federation of Trades, National [376] Transport Workers' Federation, National Federation of General Workers, and the International Transport Federation Labour Party.

TJOKROAMINOTO, HAJI SAID OEMAR. An ardent socialist and Javanese nationalist leader. President of the politico-religious association known as *Sarikat Islam*. Was a member of the Volksraad (People's Council), but later became *persona non grata* with the Government through his alleged implication in a criminal conspiracy. Associated himself with the pan-Islamic movement; was interested in the Caliphate question and was a member of the delegation from the Netherlands East Indies

which attended the conference called to discuss that question at Mecca. Has lately come under the influence of Mirza Wali Ahmad Baig, a missionary of the Lahore Branch of the Ahmediya sect, who has for sometime past been working in Java. Is a prominent figure on the stage of Javanese politics and has identified himself with the school of political Non-co-operators.

TOSCHE, RICHARD, born at Riga. Age 29 (1927). Arrived at Calcutta as a stowaway on a German Steamer in July 1921. Was sent to India as a Bolshevik emissary and succeeded in getting in touch with Labour agitators in India. Was arrested, but escaped from the prison van. Was recaptured, tried and sentenced to two weeks' imprisonment under the Merchants' Shipping Act, and to two months for escaping from custody. After release deported to Shanghai in November 1921.

UDHAM SINGH *alias* UDHAM SINGH, Afghan, son of Mewa Singh of Kasel, Police Station Gharinda, Amritsar, Punjab. Visited Canton to purchase arms. Was chosen at Penang to interview the sepoys there with a view to obtaining arms. Sentenced in the Lahore Conspiracy Case to transportation for life. Escaped and was killed early in 1926 in Afghanistan on his return from India.

UPADHYAYA, NATHALAL JAGJIVAN *alias* SUDERSON, of Nawanagar, Kathiawar. Age about 32 (1927). Went to England in November 1922 and became an ardent Communist. Addressed meetings of the International Class War Prisoners Aid. Is a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain, Indian Study Circle, Indian Seamen's Union, National Minority Movement, Young Communists League, etc. Associates with Saklatvala, Bhat (*q.v.*), C. P. *Dutt* (*q.v.*) and other Communists. Works under C. P. Dutt at the Labour Research Department of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Receives and distributes *The Masses of India* and other Communist literature. Contributes articles to Communist publications. Corresponds with M. N. Roy. Is still in England (1927) and very active in Communist work particularly among seamen. [371]

VENKATRAM, AIYA SWAMI, son of Neelakanta Aiya Swami Aiyar, of Tanjore district, Madras. Librarian of the *Forward* Office, Calcutta, and an intimate friend of the late C. R. Das. Close associate of Soumendra Tagore (*q.v.*). Reported in February 1927 to be in touch with Chinese delegates of the Koumintang, Canton, who were in Calcutta and whom he introduced to Nalini Gupta (*q.v.*) and Upendra Nath Banerji (*q.v.*). Is said also to be known to Donald Campbell *alias* George Allison, the British Communist who was convicted in Bombay.

VIDYALANKAR, MAHABRAT, of Delhi. Age 26 (1927). Attended a Communist meeting in London in 1925 and signified his intention of joining the Communist Party of Great Britain. Also attended meetings held by Communist bodies such as the Indian Bureau, Workers' Welfare League of India and the Indian Study Circle. He is said to be non-violent but of extreme views. In touch with Communists like Ajoy Banerji (*q.v.*), M. G. Desai (*q.v.*), C. P. Dutt (*q.v.*), P. B. Seal (*q.v.*) and N. J. Upadhyaya (*q.v.*). His passport was fraudulently used by Fazl Elahi when the latter visited India in December 1926, and it is probable that Mahabrat was a party to the fraud.

VIDYALANKAR, RAM GOPAL, of Nagpur. Since 1919 began lecturing and taking part in the Non-co-operation movement. Was the assistant editor of the *Pranvir* an extremist paper of Nagpur at the time Satya Bhakta (*q.v.*) was editor, and took over the editorship when the latter left Nagpur. Joined the Indian Communist Party in 1925. Is a personal friend of Satya Bhakta (*q.v.*) and holds the same views.

WADIA, BAHMAN PESTONJI, of Bombay. Age about 45 (1927). A well-known Labour agitator and Theosophist. While in England in 1920 met Saklatvala and promised to act in concert with the Workers' Welfare League of India in London; and he agreed to join the League as a member. A staunch friend of Edward Garrety, a dangerous Irishman, who was a keen Sinn Feiner and a leading light in the Red Flag (Communist) movement. Said to have been active in the Ghadr movement on the Pacific Coast of America.

WARD, HARRY FREDERICK, American, Professor of Christian Ethics, was in Moscow as a guest of the Soviet prior to visiting India. He arrived in Bombay on the 26th September 1924, and lectured at various places in India. Left Rangoon on the 1st January 1925 for Japan. When last heard of he was, in April 1927, in New York City actively engaged in Communist propaganda. Since his departure from India, has contributed some objectionable anti-British articles to the American and Indian Press. [378]

WASAKHA SINGH, son of Dayal Singh of Dadher, Police Station Sirkali, Amritsar. Formerly in Shanghai police. Went to Canada from Shanghai. Took an active part in revolutionary work in the Punjab, and was sentenced in the Lahore Conspiracy Case to transportation for life, but was subsequently released. Was elected president of the Qaidi Parwar Sahaik Committee (Prisoners' Families Relief Committee) in 1924, and was re-elected to the same post when the name, etc., of the committee was changed to Sikh Desh Bhagat Qaidi Parwar Sahaik Committee (Committee for the Relief of the Families of Sikh Patriots) in 1925.

WASDEV SINGH (*see* ISHAR SINGH).

WONG CHI YAN or WANG CHIN-YUAN of Moiyean (Kayianchew), Swatow district, China. Attended the meeting of the Oppressed Peoples of the East at Canton in 1925 and 1926. Is the organiser and the present secretary of the Calcutta branch of the Kuomintang (1927). An active worker who is very influential among the Chinese in Calcutta.

ZAFAR HASAN, son of late Hafiz Azim-ud-din Arain of Karnal. Was one of the students who fled across the border in 1915. Listed as "Lieutenant-Colonel" in Obeidullah's (*q.v.*) 'Army of God' and conjointly issued, during the Afghan War of 1919, a number of inflammatory leaflets. Went to Moscow after expulsion from Kabul in 1922, and attended the second session of the fifth Congress of the Communist International. Returned to Kabul later and acted as Roy's intermediary for correspondence with Professor Ghulam Hussain (*q.v.*) of Lahore. In April 1925 he and Obeidullah issued their "Programme of the Mahabarat Sarvrajia Party". Is at present (1927) in Constantinople and is a cover address for Teja Singh Sutantar (*q.v.*). Contributes Turkophile and pro-Bolshevik articles to the extremist Press in India.

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MAHADEVAPRASAD SAHA

Page 13

Obeidullah, Sindhi *alias* Buta Singh, son of Ram Singh, Chianwali Village, Sialkot District (Punjab). Embraced Islam, reached Sindh. Before 1913 tried to contact Bengal revolutionaries (Sanyal, *Bandi Jivan*) Had close contact with the Wahabis of Chamarkand. Published conjointly with Zafar Hasan a pamphlet entitled "Programme of the Mahabharat Swaraiya Party". Reached Kabul, October 15, 1915, kept in jail but released after the arrival of the German-Turkish Mission. One of the organisers of the Provisional Government of India at Kabul. Organised Kabul branch of the Indian National Congress. Expelled from Kabul in 1922, lived in Moscow for 7 months. Reached Turkey and lived there for 3 years and also lived in Mecca. Allowed to return to India, November 1, 1937, through the efforts of Allah Bux, Prime Minister of Sindh and INC. After his return to India in 1939 started the Ganga. Jamuna, Sindh Party. Died August 21, 1944.

Page 13

Tarak Nath Das, (1884-1950). Worked in South India under the pseudonym of Tarak Brahmachari, political guru of Chidambram Pillai. Left India in 1906. Went to San Francisco via Japan and entered the University of California, at Berkeley as a student. He was in the employ of U.S. Immigration Office at Vancouver as an interpreter. Left this job and went to Seattle. In July 1908 entered the Norwich University, Northfield, Vermont to receive military training. Left it at the end of the winter term of 1908-1909. *Free Hindusthan* continued publication from New York and it came to an end in 1910. Said to have become sympathetic towards communism after his release from jail. In later life he turned pro-American and anti-communist. Besides editing Benoy Kumar Sarkar's *India in America* (1949), he wrote (a) *India's Position in World Politics* (1922); (b) *India in World Politics* (1924); (c) *Sovereign Rights of Indian Princes* (1924); (d) *British Expansion in Tibet* (1927); (e) *Rabindranath Tagore : his religious, social and political ideals* (1932); (f) *Indien in der Welt politk* (1932); (g) *Foreign Policy in the Far East* (1936).

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Mandayam Parthasarathi Tirumalal Acharya or Mandayam Prativadi Bayanliam Acharya. Son of M. P. Narsimha Aiyar. From August to November, 1907, was registered printer and publisher of left nationalist Tamil paper *India* of Madras. When the press was removed to Pondicherry in July, 1908, on the arrest of the editor, Acharya signed papers as proprietor until he left for England in November 1908. In London he was resident member of the India House and was intimate with V. D. Savarkar and V. V. S. Aiyar. In October, 1909, he went to Paris where he associated with leading nationalist revolutionaries. He visited Germany

and Turkey during 1910-11 and crossed over to America in 1912 but kept himself in touch with Indian revolutionaries in Europe.

After living two years in New York he went to Berkeley, California, where he associated with the Ghadr Party. In 1915 he made his trip to Berlin, worked with Virendranath Chattopadhyaya and others there. He visited Afghanistan with Abdur Rab. Went to Russia and met Lenin along with other Indians on May 7, 1919. He was one of the first seven members of the Communist Party of India founded at Tashkent on October 17, 1920. He was not on good terms with Roy who considered him to be an Anarcho-Syndicalist. He is said to have been employed in translation work for Communist propaganda in India. He returned to Berlin at the end of 1922 with his Russian wife. He called himself a member of the Fourth International. He worked in the League Against Imperialism. Much later he returned to India and settled down at Bombay, where he died in 1967.

Page 13

Shaukat Usmani, real name Maula Bux, popularly known as Maula Ganja (Maula the bald) among his fellow students. Pan-Islamist influence may have led him to adopt his new name which means Glory of Usmania i.e. Turkey. Trained in Indusky Kurs (Indian military School) at Tashkent. Member C.P.I. in Moscow in 1921. Schooling in Eastern People's University at Moscow. Returned to India in September 1922. with the British Intelligence agent Masood Ali Shah. After completing his sentence of four years in connexion with the Kanpur Bolshevik conspiracy case, he was released on August 26, 1927. Left for Moscow in the company of Masood Ali Shah in 1928 in spite of the party comrades asking him not to go. Reached Moscow just on the eve of the sixth world Congress of Comintern. Elected a delegate and member of the Presidium on the basis of forged credentials. Left Moscow soon after the Congress before his forgery could be detected. Reached India in December 1928, surrendered to Muzaffar Ahmad in Calcutta confessed his guilt. (M. Ahmad, *Myself* etc. pp. 443-449. 452-53). He admits this guilt in his unpublished autobiography. Prosecuted in the Meerut Communist Conspiracy Case. Expelled from the C.P.I. in 1932 during the course of the trial. Usmani continued to hobnob with many parties and doubtful persons. After independence lived for some time in Karachi. Now he is living in Cairo. Except enjoying adventurous foreign trips with the British spy and editing the *Payam-i-Mazdur* for some two months he did little for the Party. He is the author of the following books : *Peshawar to Moscow : Leaves from an Indian Muhajireen's diary etc.* 1927, (2) *Four Travellers,* 1950, (3) *I met Stalin,* 1953.

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Bhupendranath Datta, September 4, 1880, active in nationalist revolutionary movement from the beginning of this century. Editor *Yugantar* (Bengali Weekly) 1906. Sentenced to one year's imprisonment for seditious writing. Left for U.S.A. after release. Studied in Chicago and Brown Universities. Took part in revolutionary activities there. Founded Friends of the Freedom of India in U.S.A. After the first World War broke out, reached Berlin. General Secretary Berlin Committee. After end of war did doctorate from Hamburg University. Though pro-

Marxist did not join Communist Party. Returned to India in 1925, participated in working class and peasant movements. Vice-President A.I.T.U.C., President Bengal Provincial Kisan Sabha and founder President, Friends of the Soviet Union. Died December 25, 1961. Author : *Studies in Indian Social Polity*; *Dialectics of Indian Land Economics*; *Vivekananda: Patriot and Prophet*; *Racial Elements in the Population of Afghanistan, Baluchistan, N.W.F.P. and Hindu Kush*, (Translation of his doctorate dissertation in *Man in India*, Ranchi); *Aprakashit Rajnaitik Itihas* (political memoirs in Bengali) etc.

Page 14

Moplah Rebellion : Moplah is the name given to the Muslims of Malabar coast of Kerala. Most of them are agricultural workers and hired labourers of the lower strata of society who had earlier embraced Islam. Mostly they worked for landlords and British planters. Since last century there had been over thirty Moplah risings that is why British troops were permanently stationed in this area whose maintenance meant additional backbreaking burden on the peasants.

With general rise of the anti imperialist movement favourable conditions were created for Khilafat and Swaraj agitations. Non-literate Moplah religious peasants interpreted Swaraj as an idea for creating Islamic Kingdom. Partly this was due to the fact that oppressed and exploited section of Moplahs were against Hindu landlords who had the support of British rulers.

1921 was difficult year for India and also for the Malabar Coast. Food prices had gone up sharply and famine conditions were officially declared in some districts of Madras.

A revolt broke out in Tirurangadi, a small town south of Calicut. Police and troops went there to suppress the movement and arrest its leaders. On August 20, police attacked the Moplahs assembled in a mosque. In retaliation 5,000 Moplahs surrounded them. They were machingunned by soldiers. Dauntless Moplahs stubbornly resisted. Some soldiers and the District Magistrate managed to escape, several Englishmen were killed. The rebels took control of roads and cut telegraph communications, administration was paralysed. The Moplahs declared Swaraj, more taluks of Ernad and Valluvanad were captured and declared Khilafat Kingdom Seventy year old Ali Musaliyar was proclaimed ruler.

More British troops arrived, the Moplahs put up stubborn resistance. In this hopelessly unequal fight they were besieged in a mosque and had to capitulate. Inspired Moplahs again united under the leadership of Kunhamad Haji, who was declared ruler of Moplah kingdom after the arrest of Ali Musaliyar, martial law was declared, more British and Gurkha soldiers arrived. The Moplahs went on fighting heroically, sacrificing hundreds of their men. The 'Khilafat Kingdom' did not liberate the peasantry from feudal bondage, they did not get the land they hoped for. By the end of 1921 over 30,000 Moplahs had surrendered or were arrested including Kunhahmad Haji (who along with six of his followers) was shot dead on January 20, 1922. The revolt was almost completely suppressed. In the place of mythical so called Black Hole, real Black Hole was perpetrated by the Britishers.

After the defeat of the main force of the rebels, the armed struggle

continued for a long time in the mountainous areas. In the suppression of the revolt the colonial forces lost 43 dead and 126 wounded, the rebel casualties were 3,226 dead and 1,625 wounded.

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Amarendranath Chatterji, of Uttarpara (Hooghly). Active in the revolutionary movement since 1907. Due to lack of sufficient evidence could not be implicated in the Alipore Bomb Case. Editor of Arabindo Ghose's weekly *Karmayogin*. In October 1910, started the Sramajivi Samavaya, 90/2, Harrison Road, Calcutta, with himself as Director and Secretary. It was a meeting place of revolutionaries, Basanta Kumar Biswas, who was executed in the Delhi Conspiracy Case was an employee in this establishment. He was connected with the so-called German plot in 1914-15. Remained underground for 7 years. Manager *Atmashakti* (1922-23). Arrested under Regulation III of 1818 in September 1923 and released on 16th March, 1926. Started Karmi Sangha along with Upendranath Banerji and others. Detained in 1930s. Member of Central Legislative Assembly, 1937-45. Joined Radical Democratic Party of M. N. Roy in 1945. Author of a pamphlet *What next* ? published from Delhi. Died September 4, 1957.

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Sanyal, Sachindra Nath, of Benares (U.P.), and Santipur, District Nadia (Bengal). Founded Anushilan Samiti in Benares in 1908. To avoid hostile attention of the police authorities it was changed into Young Men's Association. In early 1923 he seceded from the Association and formed a new group. A close associate of Rash Behari Bose. he was convicted in the Benares Conspiracy Case and sentenced to transportation for life on 14th February, 1916. He was released early in 1920. in consequence of Royal amnesty. He continued to be active in the movement. Arrested in February 1925, under Bengal Ordinance 1 of 1924. Was convicted under Section 124-a, Indian Penal Code. to two years' rigorous imprisonment in September 1925, for disseminating a leaflet entitled *The Revolutionary*. Was a leading member of the Hindustan Republican Association, the object of which was to establish a 'Federated Republic of the United States of India' by an organised and armed rebellion. He was subsequently convicted and sentenced. He was released from jail in 1937 after undergoing his sentence in connexion with Kakori Case and joined the Forward Bloc on its foundation by Subhas Chandra Bose in 1940. He edited a Hindi daily from Benares. His most famous literary work in Bengali is *Bandi Jivan* (Prison Life) which has gone through several reprints and has been translated into Hindi and Punjabi. Sanyal died in 1943.

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Kakori : On 9 August, 1925, a train was hold up at Kakori and railway money taken away by nationalist revolutionaries, belonging to the Hindustan Republican Army. About two dozen young revolutionaries were arrested in this connexion and case started against them which came to be known as Kakori Conspiracy Case. Four of the accused were hanged, two were acquitted and the others were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment in 1927.

(Kakori, a railway station on the East Indian Rly. some 10 miles to the west of Lucknow.)

Page 20

Jadu Gopal Mukherji after his release settled down to practice at Ranchi (Bihar) and had little to do with politics. He has written his autobiography in Bengali entitled *Biplabi Jibaner Smriti* (Memoirs of revolutionary life.)

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Chauri Chaura : Village and police station, fifteen miles to the east of Gorakhpur (U.P.) on 4th February 1922, two thousand volunteer and peasants were fired at by the police causing some casualties. In retaliation people raided the police station all (20) but two police were killed. The police station was burnt down. 228 men were sent up for trial, 172 of the accused were condemned to death in the lower court by H. E. Holme. District Magistrate. In an appeal to the Allahabad High Court 38 were acquitted, 19 death sentences were confirmed, and all the remaining accused were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The Executive Committee of the Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions (Profintern) issued an appeal to all workers against the death sentences (*Inprecor*), Vol.-III, No. 48, March 1923, p. 378. During 1920-22 there was a series of peasant disturbances in the United Provinces, Punjab, Bombay and the Malabar coast of Madras Presidency.

There was unprecedented boycott of the visit of the Prince of Wales in Bombay, Calcutta and elsewhere in which the industrial workers too took a significant part. Gandhi angrily wrote that "the Swaraj that I have witnessed during the last two days has stunk in my nostrils." He demanded the calling off the Non-cooperation movement. In his appeal to the Congress Working Committee he demanded that the "Committee must devote attention to the situation and consider in the light thereof whether mass Civil Disobedience can be encouraged until the Congress has obtained complete control over the masses".

By the end of 1921 the leading figures of the National Congress and the Khilafat Committee—Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, C. R. Das, the Ali brothers, Lajpat Rai and other were jailed.

Indian National Congress in its Ahmedabad session (December, 1921), decided to continue the programme of individual and mass civil disobedience. There was extraordinary mass enthusiasm. The struggle of the people in towns and villages became acute from the early months of 1922. On February 1, 1922, Gandhi sent ultimatum to Lord Reading, the Viceroy that if political prisoners were not freed and the government control of the press was not removed he would begin the last stage of the non-cooperation campaign, namely, refusal to pay taxes It is in these circumstances that the Chauri. Chaura incident took place. On 11 and 12 February, an extraordinary session of the Congress Working Committee was called at Bardoli (Gujarat) and a resolution passed which in part declared :

The Working Committee deplores the inhuman conduct of the mob of Chauri Chaura in having brutally murdered constables and wantonly

burnt the police station there and tenders its sympathy to the family of the bereaved.

In view of the repeated warnings every time mass civil disobedience has been imminent and some popular violent outburst has taken place indicating that the atmosphere in the country is not non-violent enough for mass civil disobedience, the latest instance being the tragic and terrible events at Chauri Chaura near Gorakhpur, the Working Committee of the Congress resolves that mass civil disobedience contemplated at Bardoli and elsewhere be suspended and instructs the local Congress Committees forthwith to advise the cultivators to pay the land revenue and other taxes due to the Government and whose payment might have been suspended in the anticipation of mass civil disobedience, and instructs them to suspend every other preparatory activity of an offensive nature. The suspension of mass civil disobedience shall be continued till the atmosphere is so non-violent as to insure the non-repetition of popular atrocities such as at Gorakhpur or hooliganism such as at Bombay and Madras respectively on the 17th of November, 1921 and 13th of January 1922. In order to promote a peaceful atmosphere, the Working Committee advises till further instruction to all Congress organisations to stop activities specially designed to court arrest and imprisonment save normal Congress activities including voluntary hartals. Wherever an absolutely peaceful atmosphere can be assured and for that end all picketing should be stopped save for the bona fide and peaceful purpose of warning the visitors to liquor shops against the evil of drinking, such picketing to be controlled by persons of known good character and specially selected by Congress Committees concerned. The Working Committee advises till further instructions the stoppage of the volunteer processions and public meetings; this, however, shall not interfere with the private meetings of the Congress and other Committees or public meetings which are required for the normal activities of the Congress.

Complaints have been brought to the notice of the Working Committee that ryots are not paying rents to the zamindars, the Working Committee advises Congress workers and organisations to inform the ryots that such withholding of rents is contrary to the resolutions of the Congress and that it is injurious to the best interests of the country.

The Working Committee assures zamindars that the Congress movement is in no way intended to attack their legal rights and even where the ryots have grievances, the Committee's desire is that redress should be sought by mutual consultation and by the usual recourse to arbitration . . . .

The Working Committee is of opinion that unless the Congressmen carry to the full the Congress constitution and the resolutions from time to time issued by the Working Committee it is not possible to achieve its objects expeditiously or at all.

The second half of the resolution called on Congressmen to undertake peaceful constructive work in accordance with the proposed programme : to popularise hand-weaving and hand-spinning, to fight for the abolition of untouchability, and the strengthening of unity between the Hindus and Muslims, and the development of national education, etc.

This betrayal of the national movement by the Congress under the absolute leadership of Gandhi surprised and angered everyone.

Subhas Chandra Bose wrote :

"The Dictator's decree was obeyed at the time but there was a regular revolt in the Congress camp". Bose charged Gandhi of "strangling the movement all over the country" without consulting the representatives from different provinces and because the situation in the country was so favourable for the success of the civil disobedience campaign. To sound the order of retreat just when public enthusiasm was reaching the boiling-point was nothing short of national calamity.

(*The Indian Struggle*, 1920-34- p. 90, London, 1935).

Gandhi's closest collaborators Das, senior Nehru, Lajpat Rai sent angry letters from jail, some even not hesitating to call it a betrayal. Gandhi coldly replied that men in prison were "civilly dead" and had no right to any say in the policy. (R. P. Dutt, *India Today* p. 34, London, 1940).

Junior Nehru wrote :

We were angry when we learnt of this stoppage of our struggle at a time when we seemed to be consolidating our position and advancing on all fronts.—(*An Autobiography*, p. 81, London 1942).

None of the Congress leaders could understand why really Gandhi sabotaged the movement. Gandhi knew it fully well. This becomes clear from his following confession recorded by poet Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, the younger brother of Sarojini Naidu.

"Gandhiji at the Belgaum Congress (1924) while seated in a tent, surrounded by leaders including Ali Brothers, remarked to the younger 'Shaukat, (sic) if I had not called off the Civil Disobedience Movement, for which people blame me, you and I would not have been sitting here today. I was there, I heard it. It was most revealing !" (*Life and Myself*, Vol. I, p. 191, Bombay 1948).

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Sampuranand : Through the influence of his ex-student Shaukat Usmani dabbled in Communism for some time. He admits this fact in his autobiography. Sampuranand was a disciple of Bhagwan Das, a follower of Anne Besant. He later became a minister and Chief Minister of U.P. Congress ministry. In the last phase of his life he was made the Governor of Rajasthan. He is no longer alive. He was one of the thirteen persons about whom the Intelligence Bureau furnished full details for prosecution in connexion with the proposed Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case, but was dropped by the Government Counsels. (M. Ahmad, *Myself* etc. pp. 339, 341).

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Santokh Singh *alias* Nihal Singh *alias* Bhan Singh, of village Dadher Singh, Police Station Beas, District Amritsar (Punjab) went to England in 1912 and thence to New York and Stockholm. Was Secretary of the Khalsa Diwan and Assistant Secretary of the Ghadr Party. He was prominent among the Ghadrites in Thailand during the first World War. Returned to U.S.A. and was tried and convicted in the San Francisco Conspiracy Case. Visited Soviet Union and attended the Fourth Congress of the Communist International. In 1923 was arrested in Indepen-

dent Territory of North-West Frontier Province and was eventually released on security to be of good behaviour. Attended the Kanpur Session of Indian National Congress in 1925. Edited *"Kirti"*. Died in 1927.

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Rattan Singh, Bhai : Born 1879 in village Raipur Dabba in Nawanshahar tehsil, District Jullundur, Punjab. Joined Indian army but with meagre earning failed to support his poor peasant family. In 1908 left for China and then to Canada to earn his living. In 1913 lived in Yugantar Ashram, San Francisco and joined Ghadar Party. After the arrests in connexion with the Indo-German Conspiracy Case, he was elected President of the Ghadar Party. In 1919 came in touch with communists. Attended Fourth Congress of Comintern (1923) and Second Congress RILU. Along with his fellow workers had discussions with Lenin. Activised Ghadar Party in different countries and sent students for study of Marxism to Moscow. Came to India in June 1926 and left in January 1927. Toured Euro-Asian-American countries to coordinate Ghadar Party work. Attended as delegate the Assembly of the League Against Imperialism in July 1927 at Frankfurt on Main and submitted his *A Brief History of the Hindustan Ghadar Party* (San Francisco, 1929) to the League Assembly. In 1931 he replaced Jawaharlal Nehru on the Executive Committee of the League. After expulsion of M. N. Roy took active part in the E.C.C.I. In 1941 was arrested in France but through the efforts of Iqbal Shedai Italian Government got him released. Italian Government did not know his identity. Met Ajit Singh and Subhas Chandra Bose in Rome where Rattan Singh lived for over two years but their view points differed. Died there in the third week of September 1943 due to liver trouble. (H. S. Surjeet, *Bhai Rattan Singh : An Ardent Revolutionary and A Devoted Communist*, Jullundur 1971).

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Manilal Shah : His full name is Manilal Maganlal Shah, also known as Manilal Doctor. He was M.A., LLB., Bar-at-Law. Born about 1880 at Baroda. He could not get appointment in the Education Department of Baroda Government because of Aravind Ghosh. While studying law in London, he had connexions with some prominent Indian revolutionaries but he differed with them. He worked for the amelioration of the sufferings of Indian immigrants of Mauritius and was in contact with Gandhi in South Africa but differed with him on the question of sexual abstinence and left him. Since 1913 he was in Fiji, where he was not appointed to the Legislative Council on the plea of not being a British subject (Baroda being in princely India). Along with his wife he led militant strike of the P.W.D. and municipal workers of Suva (Fiji) in January-February, 1920, when warship was called by the British colonial authorities from New Zealand. After the strike had ended Manilal was prohibited entry in major areas of Indo-Fijian settlement, he left for India. In India his name was in the list of thirteen persons who were to be prosecuted in the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case but was dropped. Manilal practiced law at Gaya (Bihar).

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Shapurji Dorabji Suklatvala, born March 28, 1874 at Bombay. His mother Jerbai was sister of J. N. Tata, the founder of the noted industrial house. Prior to going to England in October 1905, he was living in New York, where was associated with Indian revolutionaries. Joined I.L.P. at Manchester, 1909. He had relations with the Indian revolutionaries in London. One of the founders of Workers Welfare League of India, President Indian Seamen's Union affiliated to RILU, closely connected with People's Russian Information Bureau and League against Imperialism etc. Joined C.P.G.B. with left wing I.L.P. in March 1921. Elected Labour M.P. for Battersea North in November 1922, and again in 1924. He plunged into the Parliamentary debates just as often as he was able to catch the Speaker's evasive eye, in particular to raise an almost lone voice against British imperialist policy in the colonies, denouncing the oppression in India, the Irish Treaty of 1922, repression in Mesopotemia [Iraq] and British occupation of Germany. (James Klugmann, *History of the Communist Party of Great Britain*, Vol. I, p. 193, ondon, 1968). Toured India 1926-27, made bold speeches against imperialism and for Communist cause, challenged Gandhi and his ism. Intended to return to India in October 1927, to seek election to AICC but refused a visa. Tireless champion of Indian independence and the cause of British and Indian working class. Held in respect in India and Britain. Died January 16, 1936.

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Bhupati Majumdar, of Guptipara, District Hooghly, belonged to Yugantar Party of Bengal revolutionaries. Imprisoned under Regulation III of 1818 during the first World War and again in September 1923. Imprisoned again in 1930s and forties. Was Minister in the Congress Governments in West Bengal in 1950s. Though had connexions with M. N. Roy, he never became a friend of the Communists.

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Radha Mohan Gokulji. Though he took interest in and had to suffer imprisonment more than once, he was not a revolutionary of the description of David Petrie. Gokulji edited *Pranvir* from Nagpur. During his incarceration Satya Bhakta ran the journal.

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Hardy, George, C.P.G.B., Organising Secretary, National Minority Movement and Secretary Transport Workers Minority Movement.

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Satya Dev Swami *alias* Sat Dev *alias* Sukh Lal. In 1927 went abroad for opthalmic treatment. Later he visited Germany in 1934, 1939, 1956. He is said to have met M. N. Roy and other Indian revolutionaries in Germany but had nothing to do with the Communist movement in India. He wrote several books in Hindi including an account of his fifth visit to Germany in 1956. He is no longer alive.

Page 56

Lansbury, George : Born 1859, Labour M.P., Bow and Bromley division, 1910-12, 1922-40. A founder (1912) and editor (1919-23) of the *Daily Herald*. Leader of Labour Party opposition 1931-35. He always opposed the imperialist policy of the Labour Party.

He cooperated with the C.P.G.B. on many issues.

Raymond Postgate, *The Life of George Lausbury*, London, 1951.

A Defence Fund was established for the accused in the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case with the help of George Lansbury and James Maxton.

Page 56

Maxton, James : Born 1885. Leader Independent Labour Party. Imprisoned during the First World War. M.P. 1922, continued to represent the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow till his death in 1946. Author: *Lenin* (1932) and *If I were a Dictator*, (1935).

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MacManus, Arthur : Belonged to the Socialist Labour Party. Member Central Committee of C.P.G.B. and its first Chairman. The notorious so called Zinoviev Letter purporting to be addressed from the headquarters of the Communist International to the C.P.G.B. supposedly carried also his signature.

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Suresh Chandra Bhattacharya of Banaras but settled down in Kanpur. A sub-editor in Ganeshshankar Vidyathi's *Pratap*. He was arrested at Banaras in connexion with the Kakori Case. Awarded 7 years' rigorous imprisonment. After his release he continued to work in the *Pratap* and later became its manager but was not active in politics.

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Arnot, Robin Page, leading member, C.P.G.B; delegate to foundation Congress of Red International of Labour Unions (RILU) 1921. Leading authority on trade union problems, and history of trade union movement. He has been the associate editor of the *Labour Monthly* from its very inception. He is the author of the following : *How Britain Rules India; The General Strike, May 1926—Its Origin and History; History of Scottish Miners; The Miners—Years of Struggle; There are no Aryans*, etc.

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Keshav Nilkant Joglekar : Member A.I.C.C., Secretary B.P.C.C. An accused in the Meerut Communist Conspiracy Case. In early 1940s on his expulsion from the Party he joined the Forward Bloc. Later he again joined the Party and became a trusted friend of Dange. Joglekar died on 20 November, 1970.

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Eugene Samuilovich Varga (6 November 1879 to 7 October 1964). Hungarian by birth. As a student participated in revolutionary movement in Austro-Hungary and Germany. Professor of Political Economy in Budapest University in 1918. Commissar of Finance and then the Chairman of Higher Counsel of Hungarian Socialist Republic. After the suppression of the Hungarian revolution emigrated to Soviet Union in 1919. Active leader of the Comintern from its foundation when he worked with Lenin. Delegate to 4th, 5th and 6th Congress of Comintern. 1927-47 Director Institute of World Economy and Politics of USSR Academy of Sciences. Member Presidium of the Academy and Chief Editor of *World Economy and World Politics*. Works published in many

languages. Thrice awarded Order of Lenin and also Red Banner of Labour.

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Langal : A Bengali weekly, organ of the Labour-Swaraj Party began publication on 25 December, 1925. Nazrul Islam was its chief-editor and Manibhusan Mukhopadhyaya was the editor, who did nothing for it. On 12 August 1926, the name *Langal* was changed to *Ganavani*. (M. Ahmad, *Myself* etc., p. 416).

Page 83

Hemanta Kumar Sarkar, founder-member of the Labour-Swaraj Party of the Indian National Congress; assistant editor of C. R. Das's Bengali weekly *Banglar Katha;* an eminent scholar of linguistics.

Convened the second conference of the Nikhil Bangiya Praja Sammelan at Krishnagar (Nadia), 1927, (6-7 Feb.); he was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. At this conference the name was changed to Bangiya Krishak-Shramik Dal (The Bengal Peasants' and Workers' Party).

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Forward, a Calcutta daily newspaper founded by C. R. Das in 1923. It had also a weekly edition.

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Clemens Palme Dutt, elder brother of Rajani Palme Dutt, taught Science in Birmingham University, linguist, translated some books of Marx, Engels into English. Connected with C. I. work in Berlin & Western Europe, during the last war correspondent of *Daily Worker* and *L. M.* in North Africa. Retired from politics, still living.

Page 95

Joseph Baptista, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the First Congress and President of the second session of the AITUC at Jharia. Influenced by the ILP of Great Britain. He sought to introduce Fabian Socialism in India. He was one of the founders of a Neo-Fabian Society in Madras in 1919. In his presidential address said, "the political policy of the Congress (AITUC) must steer clear of the extreme individualism and Bolshevism and follow the golden path of Fabian Socialism." In his address as chairman of the Reception Committee of the First Congress he said, "the supreme need of the moment is really for some light from the East to illumine the darkness of the West; for the humanising spiritualism of the East to chasten the brutalising materialism of the West". He was a *chela* of Annie Besant.

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Fazl-ul-Hasan *alias* Hasrat Mohani. Born Mohan (Unao, U.P.), 1883, son of Azhar Husain, B.A. from Aligarh. Celebrated Urdu poet, extremist nationalist leader and journalist. Editor *Urdu-e-Muellah,* a literary political monthly. Devoted follower of B. G. Tilak. Sentenced for sedition to two years' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500 or six months in August 1908. Sentenced reduced to one year by Allahabad High Court. In May 1913 his journal ceased publication as security money demanded under the Press Act could not be provided. Mohani was interned in jail during the first World War. In Ahmedabad session of the I.N.C. Gandhi moved a resolution on Swaraj. Mohani proposed an amendment to the effect that Swaraj shall be free from all foreign control. Gandhi

opposed him tooth and nail, Mohani's amendment was lost and Gandhi saw to it that he was expelled from the I.N.C. Mohani presided over the All-India Muslim League session at Ahmedabad, December 1921. Prosecuted for two speeches in the I.N.C. session and presidential address at the League session, he was sentenced two years rigorous imprisonment for each speech, the sentences to run simultaneously. Bombay High Court too upheld this sentence. After release, continued to take active interest in politics and working class movement. He was a pioneer of working class movement in Kanpur. Helped in organising the Mazdoor Sabha, Kanpur. He was its president for many years. He died in 1950.

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Janaki Prasad Bagerhatta, joint secretary, C.P.I., he later became Secretary. He had connexion with M. N. and Evelyn Roy. He participated in the Kanpur Communist Conference (1925). Hailed from Bikaner where he was Usmani's classmate.

After Kanpur he convened a second Communist conference at Delhi, the venue being later changed to Lahore. M. Ahmad's suspicion about his being an Intelligence Bureau agent was confirmed during the Meerut Communist Conspiracy Case trial. Bagerhatta later entered the film business. He is dead.

It was at his insistence that Soumen became a member of C.P.I. in 1927 before his departure to Europe with a forged credential. (M. A., *Myself* etc. pp. 406, 419-20, 437-42).

Page 104

Philip Spratt, born 1902, B.A. (Oxon), Member CPGB. Sent to India by C. I. in 1926. Took part in working class movement in Bombay and Bengal. Jailed in 1927 for publishing a seditious booklet *India and China*. Member Workers and Peasants Party. Prosecuted in the Meerut Communist Conspiracy Case. Released in 1934. Detained for two years without trial. Married Singaravelu Chettiar's daughter. After release became anti-Communist. Edited *Mysindia* (1939-65). Editor *Swaraj* (Madras) from 1965 till his death on 8 March 1971.

Before the second world war he collaborated with M. N. Roy. Later he joined his Party. Spratt was the author of *Blowing up India* and *History of the DMK*.

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Jibanlal Chatterji, hailed from Faridpur district, Bangladesh. He told me that he could not join Anushilan Samity of Dacca due to its hostile attitude towards the Muslims. Later he joined Yugantar. Detained under Regulation III of 1818 in 1917, but was released in 1919 under the Royal amnesty. In 1922 worked for a few months with Muzaffar Ahmad. (M. Ahmad, *Myself and the Communist Party of India*, pp. 193-98, Calcutta 1970). Corresponded with M. N. Roy. Arrested under Regulation III of 1818 in September 1923. After release of M. N. Roy in 1936 he joined him. Later founded Democratic Vanguard which is now named Workers Party of India. Chatterji died on December 1, 1970.

Page 138

Hardyal born 1884. Son of Gauri Dayal (Kayastha), reader in the

District Court of Delhi. He was first of his year in M.A. (English), Lahore University. Selected for State Scholarship, tenable for three years, he in 1905 went to Oxford, residing at St. John's College till 1907. When his scholarship had only six months to run he threw it up as he was unwilling to accept any favour at the hands of the Government. Returned to Lahore in the beginning of 1908, recruited some youngmen, met Lajpat Rai. He proposed complete non-cooperation with Government which was repudiated by the *Punjabee* (August 1908). Returned to Europe the same year. In 1909 refused to take part in a meeting organised by Indian nationalists only because Anand Kentish Coomaraswamy, whose mother was a foreigner and who himself had married a foreigner lady to preside, and a beef-eating Indian Muslim was to speak there. (Dharmavira—*Letters of Lala Har Daya!*. Delhi, 1971). In France in 1909-10 helped Madam Cama in editing her *Bande Mataram*. Visited Algiers in 1910 in search of health. Reached U.S.A. in 1911. Lecturer of Indian Philosophy, Stanford University, March to September 1912, when he resigned his post. Lecture tour of the States on behalf of the Pacific Coast Hindi (Indian) Association (soon after popularly known as the Ghadar Party) of which he was one of the inspirers. Edited the *Ghadar* a Punjabee weekly (Nov. 1913) from Yugantar Ashram, San Francisco. Altogether he worked five and a half months with Ghadar Party and the *Ghadar*. Arrested on March 26, 1914 for his speeches of the earlier year with a view to deportation. Released on bail he absconded to Switzerland. Associated with the Berlin Committee of Indian nationalist revolutionaries. In 1918 Chattopadhyaya was to send him to Socialist Russia to work in its eastern department. In Nov. 1918 Hardayal renounced his faith in revolution and his faith in the principle of imperial unity with progressive self-government for all civilised nations of the empire. In 1919 in his statement issued from Stockholm he said "I now believe that the consolidation of the British empire in the East is necessary in the interests of the people of India . . . in its worst form it is a thousand times preferable to German and Japanese imperialism . . . ."

He wrote an article on the basis of J. Spargo's *Biography of Karl Marx*. He regarded Marx's theory as onesided and defective, his theory of class struggle and of value very accurate or convincing, but to him they represented the present practical ideal of the working classes and harmonised with it. (p. 282). To him materialist conception of history was a half truth and found Carlyle's theory of civilization much nearer the truth (p. 283). To him Marx was a benefactor of humanity because he had faith in the working classes. He asked critics of Marx to remember Johnson on Goldsmith — "Let not his faults be remembered. He was a great man". (Karl Marx : A Modern Rishi in *Modern Review*, March 1912, pp. 273-286).

In 1925 in his so-called political testament *Mere Vichar* (My Thoughts) he said that "the state should belong to the Hindus and the Muhammadans may live there. But the State cannot be a Muslim State nor can it be a jointly Hindu-Muslim administered State . . . To attain desire to establish a Joint Rule" (Quoted in Rajendra Prasad's *India Divided*. Bombay, 1946, p. 19).

Hardayal has been described by V. Chattopadhyaya as "a veritable genius during the first half of every hour and a pretty polly prattling nonsense, a dull as ditch-water creature during the second half. When he was inspired Hardayal was a phenomenon of intellectual sparkle and crytalline vision . . . but gradually even the brilliant first half brain began to wear out and become ordinary. This slowly led his footsteps away from revolution to reaction which the whole group of his contemporaries resented". (Harindranath Chattopadhyaya—*Life and Myself : Dawn Approaching the Noon,* Vol. I. Bombay, 1948 pp. 198, 200). Hardayal died in U.S.A. on March 4, 1939. Among his works are the following :

Forty Months in Germany and Turkey, London, 1920. *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Sanskrit Literature,* London, 1932. *Hints for Self-culture,* London 1934. *Twelve Religions and modern Life,* Edgware, 1938.

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Pratap, Hindi Weekly founded by Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi in 1913. It was a genuine anti-imperialist journal having sympathy for the Russian revolution and national revolutionaries and Communists in India. It has ceased publication.

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Fedor Aronovich Rotshtein (Rothstein) (1871-1953), academician, historian and a Communist leader. Joining the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1901, he took active interest in revolutionary activities, for which he had to emigrate to England. He worked in the British Socialist Party, and played an important part for a Marxist understanding in the B.S.P. and for internationalism, was a moving figure in the whole unity negotiations between the B.S.P. and Socialist Labour Party. After 1920 July-August Unity Conventions, left on a visit to Soviet Russia in autumn of 1920. On his return to Russia in 1920, he was appointed as Ambassador to Iran (1921-1922) by Lenin. He was also elected as a Member of the Socialist Academy of Social Sciences and as a Member of the Presidium of the Communist Academy of Social Sciences and as a Member of the Presidium of the Communist Academy. For some time, he was also the Director of the Institute of International Economic and Political Studies. An erudite scholar, Rothstein, in 1939, was elected as a Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. He was also one of the seniormost members of the Editorial Board of the *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya* the Big Soviet Encyclopaedia). He has, to his credit, a number of books which include; *Essays on the History of Labour Movement in England* (1923); *Two Prussian Wars* (1945).

Both these books are, of course, in Russian.

The British Foreign Office discovering that he had never formally been 'naturalised', thought to play a clever trick by refusing him re-entry into Britain in 1920.

It was Rothstein who initiated the joint translation and publication by the B.S.P. and S.L.P. of Lenin's *State and Revolution,* the ideological effect of which was extremely important during the period from the autumn of 1918, and helped to clear the way for Communist unity (J.

Klugmann, *History of the Communist Party of Great Britain*, p. 17. London, 1968).

He was the most consistent and influential member of the Social Democratic Federation and later, the B.S.P. to fight against imperialism. He published his *Egypt's Ruin* (1910), his *Socialist Annual*, awakened many to the duties of international working class solidarity, and his *Essays in Socialism and War* (July 1917), under the pen name of John Bryan, explained the imperialist character of World War I.

Page 199

Hindu Mahasabha founded in 1906 by Lajpat Rai, Madan Mohan Malaviya, C. Y. Chintamani etc. It is a communal organisation and stands for a Hindu Rashtra (State) in India.

Page 202

Canton Uprising : To resist the Kuomintang reactionaries' policy of massacre, the workers and soldiers in Canton organised the well-known Canton Uprising on December 11, 1927 under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. It was started by the Soldiers' Training Corps under the command of Yeh Chien-Ying in unison with the Workers' Red Guards. In the beginning the former constituted the main force, but the latter was soon strengthened by nearly 60,000 volunteers. A democratic government of workers and peasants known as the Canton Commune was established and a revolutionary programme proclaimed. Since Canton was a big city, the Communards were up against overwhelming odds. The Kuomingtang troops stationed in the city outnumbered the revolutionary forces by five or sixfold. In addition, other armed forces of the Kuomingtang, police and militia made a concerted attack on Canton from all sides, under cover of U.S., British, and Japanese imperialist gunboats. Failure to co-ordinate with the peasant uprisings at Haifeng and Lufeng contributed to the rapid defeat of the uprising. A period of White terror followed. About 8,000 revolutionaries were killed by the Kuomingtang warlords. (Ho Kan-chih, *A History of the Modern Chinese Revolution*, p. 189, Peking, 1960).

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A. Lozovosky (pseudonym of Solomon Abramovich Dridzo) 1878-1952 : Started revolutionary career in 1900. Joined Party in 1901. Arrested and exiled 1909-17, these years he lived outside Russia. During First World War took part in organising Internationalist groups in French Socialist Party and trade unions. Returned to Russia in 1917, organised the Third All-Russian Professional Union. Removed from Party in 1918 for differences with regard to trade union work. Taken back in Party in December 1919. 1921-37 General Secretary of R.I.L.U. (Profintern). 1937-39 Director State Publishing House of Literature. 1939-46 Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs of U.S.S.R. 1940-49 also holding chair of history of International Relations and Foreign Policy of U.S.S.R. in the Higher Party School under the Central Committee of the CPSU. Simultaneously 1941-48 first deputy chief and then chief of Soviet Information Bureau. Doctor of Science in history. Awarded Order of Lenin and the First Order of Patriotic War.

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Narayan Subarao Hardikar, later turned to communalist politics. Founder of the semi-fascist Rastriya Svayamsevak Sangh (R.S.S.).

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Bamanji Pestonji Wadia of Bombay, one of the founders and leaders of AITUC. Connected with many trade unions in Madras. Theosophist and follower of Annie Besant, wanted to organise Indian workers on the line of British Labour Party and at the same time, wanted them to look at problems from a "spiritualistic point of view." (Speech to Serampur workers, July 13, 1918). In 1918 Wadia along with V. Chakkarai Chettiar took active part in the organisation of a big labour union in Madras. Arrested in 1918, British Labour Party secured his release by taking up his case with the Secretary of State for India. Met Saklatvala in England (1920) and promised to act in concert with Workers' Welfare League of London. Author; *How India Can Save the Empire* (Collection of speeches of members of Indian Deputation), 1918; (2) *Problems of National and International Politics,* 1919; (3) *Labour in Madras,* 1921; (4) *Will the Soul of Europe Return ?* 1921; (5) *To All Fellow Theosophists and Members of the Theosophical Society, a statement,* 1922; (6) *The Inner Ruler* (Talks to students), 1922; (7) *Thus Have I Heard* (leading articles from *"The Aryan Path"*, Bombay).

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Inkpin, Albert, Assistant Secretary, Social Democratic Federation and British Socialist Party, 1907-13; General Secretary, B.S.P. 1913-20; Secretary C.P.G.B. 1920-29. Inkpin died in 1944.

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Young Communist League of Great Britain (Y.C.L.G.B.) was set up early in October 1921. The first National Conference of Y.C.L.G.B. was held in London early in August 5-6, 1922. It had branches in many industrial centres of Great Britain. Though organisationally independent, it was "under the political direction of the C.P.G.B." The two organisations were mutually represented on each others' executives.

The Communist Party was the first to raise its voice against the deep traditional neglect of the youth in the British labour movement. Unlike Social Democracy, Communism had no fear of youth rebellion, but saw it as a strong ally in the fight for socialism.

Y.C.L. membership was about 500 in 31 branches in 1924 and its organ the *Young Worker,* which has replaced the *Young Communist,* was selling 6,500 copies.