



Ambedkar Times Weekly

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Genealogy of 'Educate, Agitate, Organise'

Prem Kumar Chumber

Editor-in-Chief: Ambedkar Times & Desh Doaba



The Watchwords of 'Educate, Agitate, Organise' remained central to various scholarly endeavours of revolutionary ideals and visions that aimed at inculcating awareness among downtrodden and the enslaved to help them come out of their self-imposed inhibitions to not to put resistance to their heartless tormentors. Mr Neeraj Paul in his engaging article in the current issue of Ambedkar Times (pp. 1-5) has done a commendable research on the origin of these famous watchwords, which became iconic slogan of the mission of Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar dedicated to his life-long struggle for the annihilation of caste from the soil of India. The earliest reference that he found was traced to The 'Chenango Semi-weekly Telegraph' dated 4 July 1877, wherein it was mentioned in a somewhat different sequence as "agitate," "organise" and "educate". Its proper mention was found in same sequence as referred to in the title in the announcement of the General Conference of the Socialist League held at London on July 5, 1885. Since then these iconic watchwords came to be repeatedly put into use at different intervals of revolutionary movements and radical scholarly circles from the time of Italian Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci in 1919 to the History of the Indian National Congress penned in 1935. Ambedkar Times congratulates Mr Paul for his deep research on the genealogy of 'Educate, Agitate, Organise'.

117th BIRTH ANNIVERSARY OF BABU JAGJIVAN RAM

On the auspicious occasion of 117th Birth Anniversary of Babu Jagjivan Ram, former Deputy Prime Minister of India, we, on behalf of Supreme Council Shri Guru Ravidass Sabhas USA, share our hearty congratulations and pay our homage to this dynamic leader. Babu Jagjivan Ram dedicated his entire life for the upliftment of the socially suppressed and exploited segments of society. Some of the glimpses of his struggle and achievements are shared as under.

Babu Jagjivan Ram was born in Chandwa, near Arrah in Bihar State, on April 5th, 1908 in a untouchable (Now Dalit) family. Babu Jagjivan Ram, being a very bright student attained his BSc degree from Banaras Hindu University. He, himself, being a Dalit, grew up in the midst of harsh and severe social disabilities of untouchables at that time. He stood like a rock against social discriminations and segregation. In 1935 he contributed to the establishment of All India Depressed classes' league. Because of his intellect, wisdom and patriotism, Netaji Subhash Chander Bose, was attracted to him and drew him into the field of politics at a very young age. He became an active participant in the freedom struggle led by Mahatma Gandhi including the Quit India Movement in 1942.

He remained as a distinguished and uninterrupted parliamentarian for fifty years from 1936 to 1986. He was also a member of the Constituent Assembly and advocated impassionately for the rights of the exploited and the voiceless sections of society.

He joined the interim cabinet of Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru in 1946 as the youngest member of his cabinet and held many key portfolios in his long political career.

Due to his astute political acumen and ad-

ministrative skills he was dear to stalwarts like Jawahar Lal Nehru and Indira Gandhi.

As Food and Agriculture Minister, he is best remembered to have successfully led the "Green Revolution in India.

It was during his tenure as Defence Minister that Bangladesh was liberated and established as an independent country with the help of India.

In deference of his adorable accomplishments his birth Anniversary is celebrated as "SAMTA DIWAS" (Equality Day) in India and his cremation place has been made into 'SAMTA STHAL'. The states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana observe regional holidays on his birth Anniversary day.

His illustrious daughter, Shrimati Mira Kumar, a five-time member of par-

liament, is accredited to be the first woman speaker of Indian parliament during the tenure of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh.

Though Babu Jagjivan Ram was an iconic figure in the entire political spectrum of India with all the deserving qualifications, he, because of in-built caste distinctions and political maneuvers, he was obstructed twice from becoming the Prime Minister of India.

Babu Jagjivan Ram is overwhelmingly remembered as an ardent freedom fighter, an undaunted champion of human rights and crusader for social justice.

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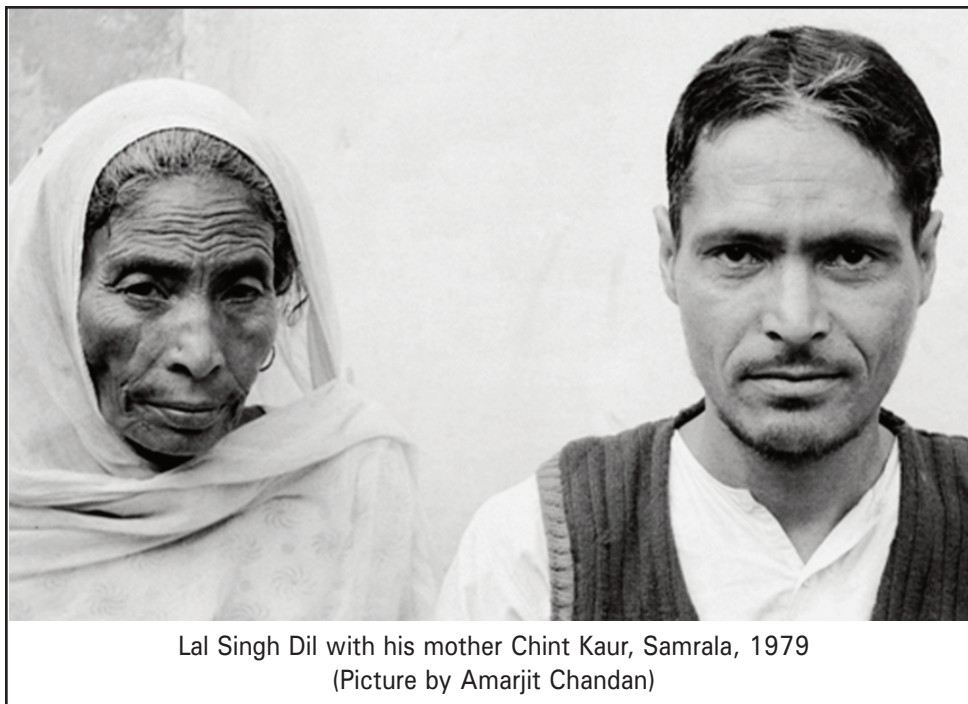
LAL SINGH DIL: POET OF PEOPLES

Lal Singh Dil (April 11, 1943 – August 14, 2007), revolutionary poet, left an indelible mark through his poetry on the struggle for equality, social justice and freedom that began in late 1960s in Punjab, popularly known as Naxalite lehar (movement). He was born at his maternal village, Ghungrali Sikhān, near Samrala, a small town in Punjab on the Chandigarh-Ludhiana highway. He belonged to a Dalit family, Ramdassia Chamār (an ex-untouchable community of tanners). Dalits were mostly deprived of agricultural land and other sources of livelihood. Like other community members, the mainstay of Dil's family was manual labour on the agricultural lands of their village farmers. During off-seasons, landless Dalits earn their livelihood through various forms of manual wage works, such as labouring at construction sites or other manual-intensive daily-wage work. His father Raunqi Ram worked as a daily wager throughout his life. During a conversation with Gayatri Rajwade, Dil recalled a time when his grandmother used to sit and grind wheat the whole day for a single paisa. And in Dil's own words, "[a]t the end of the day, we would dust our clothes, collect the wheat stuck on our clothes and mix that with water and drink it before sleeping" (based on forwarded (April 7, 2021) email from Nirupama Dutt to Amarjit Chandan dated August 13, 2007).

Despite extreme poverty at home, Dil's mother Chint Kaur sent him to school at Samrala. The atmosphere at the school was not very congenial to Dil. He wrote: "When I graduated to the higher classes, I started picking up some skills which thrilled me. I especially liked to trace out a picture and then shade it. I traced an image of Ravidas Bhagat, which showed him standing. Below the image was a pair of shoes and some cobbler's tools. The teacher in charge of the class was intrigued looking at the drawing and then laughed at it with disdain that was shared by the students. I brought the picture home in my satchel." (Simran Kaler available at: <https://poetlalsinghdil.wordpress.com/category/simran-kaler/> accessed on April 8, 2021). Against all odds, Dil became the first matric qualified member of his clan. His mother sold her ear-rings to enable him to reach college to become a schoolteacher. He studied for a year in A.S. College, Khanna, close to his hometown. Thereafter, he got enrolled in Junior Teachers' Training course at SHG College in Behlolpur, again near his hometown, but had to leave after two years without completing the course. He also joined a Gyani, an honours course in Punjabi literature, but again had to quit without completing it. From his school days, Dil had to support his studies along with by working part-time as a manual wage labourer/herder as well as providing tuition; this was likely one of the main reasons behind the repeated

failures to complete several study courses which he had joined after successfully qualifying in the matriculation examination.

Along with extreme poverty, Dil also experienced social exclusion and caste-based oppression during different intervals in his life. He recalled various instances of such bitter experiences in his autobiography *Dastan* (The Story). How as a small boy of five or six, he was whip-lashed and driven out of a landowner's fields in his village for daring to bathe at his well was just one such instance which expressed the gruesome scale of the prevalence of caste-based oppression in a society that otherwise boast of its casteless social order. He also narrated how a



Lal Singh Dil with his mother Chint Kaur, Samrala, 1979
(Picture by Amarjit Chandan)

comrade, a senior dominant caste writer, took away a jug of water when he tried to reach it at a party meeting, and how he felt deeply humiliated to learn that the mother of his female classmate, whom he was very fond of, had 'purified' the tumbler in which he had given tea, by casting it in the fire of the household hearth. Amarjit Chandan, a close comrade of Dil, writes in his "A Complete Story of an Incomplete Journey", an introduction to the *Dastan*, how Dil had suffered and exposed graphically the prevalence of the arrogance of caste superiority in his locality, at his school, and in the Naxalite organizations and even in police custody.

Though Dil was forced to withdraw from his studies, he continued to reflect critically on his surroundings. He continued to capture subtle nuances of the exploitative system around him till his last moment. The medium that he chose to give expression to his experiences and observations during his struggleful life was the subtlety of poetry. He was one of the most popular poets of the Naxalite movement in East Punjab, with a gravitas to match. As narrated in his autobiography, Lal Singh Dil was subjected to many inhuman tortures during police custody, and remained in jail for a long period of time. It was during his imprison-

ment that his first collection of radical poetry entitled *Satluj di Hava* (The Satluj Breeze) was published in 1971. His poetry immediately became an icon of the revolutionary struggle in Punjab as well as of the sorrows and sufferings of the poor and Dalits in the state.

After his release from the jail, Dil went underground where he spent about 15 years of his active life. He did all sorts of labour to keep himself and his struggle going on. He did not ask any help from any quarter. During free time from his hard manual labour, he continued to write and penned two more books: *Bahut Sāre Suraj* (So Many Suns), 1982; *Satthar* (A Sheaf), 1997; and an autobiography *Dastān*. His entire poetry is available in a collection entitled *Naglok* (The World of

was almost over and many of the activists had resumed their normal course of life. Some of them had settled into respectable positions in the higher echelons of government, media, academic and

even business. A few of them settled abroad. However, for Comrade Dil, the only refuge was his mud house in his caste ghetto at Samrala, and the citadel of his thoughts and philosophy; he was quintessentially a gyan yogi. He was a lonely fellow, Gulzar Mohammad Gorla, one of the closest associates of Dil in Samrala, told me during an informal conversation a few days after his passing away. He also mentioned that with the financial support from some of his comrades abroad, Dil opened a small tea-stall near the bus terminal close to his home in Samrala. It was also during this time that Dil used to spend long periods in solitude in the cremation grounds of his hometown for reasons best known to him. Nirupama met him at this stage, and since then she has been writing intermittently about Dil in newspapers and journals. After Dil's death in 2007, Nirupama translated his autobiography and selected poetry that introduced him widely beyond his Punjabi speaking region. In 2017, Trilok Chand Ghai, an academic of Delhi University, translated 100 poems of Dil, entitled *Lal Singh Dil: Selected Poems – exclusion, deprivation and nothingness / translated from Punjabi* (Delhi: LG Publishers). Five of these poems were published in the reputed translation magazine MPT (Modern Poetry in Translation), 3 (18) – *Transitions*, Oxford UK, 2012, and two of them were reproduced in MPT's golden jubilee anniversary publication *Centres of Cataclysm*, Blood Axe Books in 2016. Writing about Ghai's translation David Constantine, poet editor, MPT observed 'And Trilok Chand Ghai's English serves that cause.

the Nagas) published in 1998 and 2008. Nagas were the sons of the soil. It is commonly believed that Nagas were snake worshippers and the sovereign rulers of their land before the alleged arrival of the alien Aryans. He talked about them nostalgically in some of his poems. Two of them – *Sham da Rung* (The Shades of Evening) and *Lamma Larra* (The Long Caravan) are reproduced below. A narrated long poem called *Billa Aj Phir Aaya* (Billa Visited Again Today) was published posthumously in 2009.

Dil had started writing poetry at his early age, while he was still studying at school. That some of his poems were published in reputed vernacular magazines like *Preetlari*, Nagmani and Lakeer, even before the publication of *Satluj di Hava* (The Satluj Breeze) in 1971, his maiden collection of poetry, proved his hold over intricacies of poetry writing. His life and poetry, writes Nirupama Dutt, a writer and journalist: "... became grist to the mill of revolutionary politics, which worked happily for Dil, as he envisioned a new order free of caste and creed" (Scroll.in, 23 June 2019. Available at: <https://scroll.in/article/927571/i-saw-how-he-sought-to-break-the-chains-of-caste-nirupama-dutt-on-translating-lal-singh-dil> accessed on April 7, 2021).

Though familiar with Dil's poetry earlier, Nirupama came to know about the man himself only in the 1990s, when Dil returned to Samrala after spending many years out of Punjab (Scroll.in, 23 June 2019). By that time the spring thunder

Translators carry fraternity across the frontiers of space and time. Again and again, in these translations, there is a tone, an accent, a phrase as in music, that will touch readers of English as the poet himself does through his mother tongue.' Harbhajan Singh, Punjabi poet and critic expressing his opinion about Dil's poetry writes: 'These poems don't give us joy; they shame us. The poems that give us pleasure work to stabilize the already established values. The shaming poems uproot a person from his fixed position and challenge him to renew himself.' On the same back cover flap of the book, Amarjit Chandan wrote: 'Contemplating the word images of the people portrayed by Lal one is reminded of Amrita Sher-Gil's paintings'. His poetry is full of images of hard life, poverty, isolation, struggle, grief for the hapless, and faith in the victory of the toiling people. He wrote extensively on the *Ghandilasand Tapprivasi* (ever roaming vagrants

(Contd. on next page)



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LAL SINGH DIL: POET OF PEOPLES

(Continue from page 2)

/itinerants) and fuel-gatherer nomad girls. Below are reproduced two of his poems Sham da Rung (*The Shades of Evening*) and Lamma Larra (*The Long Caravan*) that crisply depict the life of the *Ghandilasand Tapprivasi*:

The Shades of Evening

*The shades of evening like many before
The paths are heading for settlements
The lake turns back from offices
thrown out of work*

*The lake is drinking its thirst
Some city has set off on the road to
the village*

*Throwing off all wages someone is
leaving*

*Dogs are dear to young men
fancying loving faces in palaces
is not for them*

*These starving ones have left behind
yet another's land*

The long caravan moves on

His poetry valiantly confronted the deeply entrenched caste-based social exclusion and other variants of oppressive dominant social structures. Dil sarcastically touched the subtle nerve of caste that followed its victims even after death in his often quoted poem *Zāt* (Caste) reproduced below:

Caste

*You love me, do you?
Even though you belong to another*

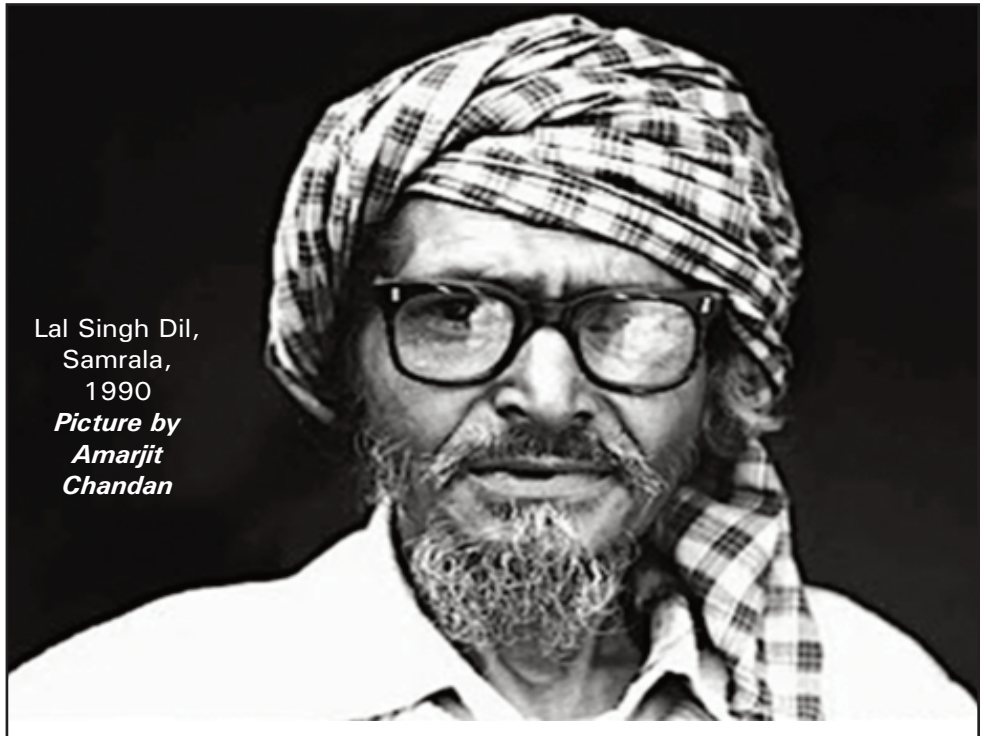
Dil was a humble and visionary poet never hankered after fame, and was happy to work incognito. He was often present in progressive programmes in different parts of the state, but never made efforts to make his presence felt. I vividly remember him once standing so unassumingly on a side of the entrance to the seminar hall of Amardeep Singh Shergill memorial College, Mukandpur (SBS Nagar, Punjab). Neither did he made any gesture nor did any of the visiting dignitaries take notice of him. One of the participants whom I was accompanying, conveyed this to me about him. Dil used to

Available at <https://scroll.in/article/927571/i-saw-how-he-sought-to-break-the-chains-of-caste-nirupama-dutt-on-translating-lal-singh-dil> accessed on April 7, 2021).

What distinguished Lal Singh Dil from his contemporary revolutionary poets was his sole concern not only for the lowest of the low, but also for those who were severely marginalised and thrown out of the society in toto, and forced to live vibrant life. He deeply sympathised with the landless manual workers, daily wagers, nomadic men and women, especially the black cloth-donning girls who gathered fuel to keep



From left: Lal Singh Dil, Amarjit Chandan and Prem Parkash, Samrala.



Lal Singh Dil,
Samrala,
1990
Picture by
Amarjit
Chandan

*Someone comes wiping on his dhoti
the blood of weak animals on his goad
The shades of evening like many before*

The Long Caravan

*Leaving behind another's land
Loaded with the humiliation of rebukes
the long caravan moves on
along with the lengthening
shadows of evening*

*Children on donkeys' backs,
fathers cradling dogs in their arms
Mothers carrying cauldrons
on their backs
their children sleeping in those cauldrons*

*The long caravan moves on
carrying on their shoulders
the bamboo of their huts*

*Who are these
starving Aryans
which India's land
are they headed to occupy*

*caste. But do you know
Our elders do not even cremate their
dead at the same place*

His poetry also boldly communicated the vivid expression of his verbal revolt against the oppressive dominant social structures. Dil audaciously underlined the presence of rebellion beneath the repression in another widely lauded poem *Shabad* (Words):

Words

*Words have been uttered long before
us,
And for long after us,
Chop off every tongue if you can,
But the words have still been uttered*

(Translated from the Punjabi by Nirupama Dutt. Available at:

[https://parchanve.wordpress.com/category/authors/lal-singh-dil/accessed on April 8, 2021](https://parchanve.wordpress.com/category/authors/lal-singh-dil/accessed-on-April-8,-2021)).

keep himself busy in his own unique way and was never heard indulging in self-propagation as well as complaining about his personal concerns.

He was reticent to the core, but at the same time there existed a volcano of revolutionary thoughts and ideals within his frail physical frame. He wanted to see radical political transformation during his lifetime, and was impatient to put an end to the sufferings of those considered the lowest of the low. Nirupama said that 'Dil was looking for the revolution that would break all shackles. In his poetry he became the sensitive spurned child and engaged with god, empowered as he was by hopes of thundering spring.' How sweet are these words dedicated to god. I wish my last words would be, 'I have complete faith in you!' I want to steal this line and dedicate it to the Revolution' (Scroll.in, 23 June 2019.

the fire burning in the hearths outside their thatched huts under the open blue sky.

Though he was not able to continue his study and reach higher education, his deep association with the existential harsh situations at the grassroots level taught him precious lessons about the varied dimensions of life – his bitter experiences at school and college, in the Naxalite movement, police custody, and day-to-day social interaction across religions, imbued and enriched his poetry with subtle nuances, anecdotes, signs and symbols, which enabled readers to see beyond the immediate and catch a glimpse, however fleeting, of life as seen through very different eyes, the eyes of the oppressed and the wretched of this earth. Dil's poetry, in fact, is the voice of the voiceless and the cradle of struggle for an egalitarian social order.

AD DHARM IN PUNJAB ELECTIONS

Prem Kumar Chumber

Editor-in-Chief: Ambedkar Times & Desh Doaba

Ad Dharm movement of Punjab gained tremendous importance within a short period after its foundation in 1926. That it got recognition for a separate religion for the so called lowest of the low from the British Government speaks about its great strength. In 1931, about 500,000 Scheduled Castes (SCs) got recorded Ad Dharm as their distinct religion. Thereafter, its record

victory in the 1937 Punjab Provincial Assembly elections reinforced its popularity among the SCs. Its victory in the 1946 Punjab Provincial Assembly election to the Punjab Legislative Assembly assigned it an independent political identity. Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia, the founder of the Ad Dharm movement, was elected from Hoshiarpur constituency. It contested both the abovementioned assembly elections in collaboration with the Unionist Party.

Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia also contested the Punjab Legislative Assembly Election of 1952, but as an Independent contestant from the Garhshankar Constituency.

He was offered a ticket by the Congress to contest the assembly elections as its nominee but Babu Mangu Ram Ji refused to contest the election on the Congress ticket and the same was given to Mr Kartar Singh of village Langeri of Hoshiarpur District.

IAS AND IPS OFFICERS TO BE MENTORS OF STUDENTS STUDYING IN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS ACROSS THE STATE: CM

Ghanauri Kalan (Sangrur), March 29, 2025: Punjab Chief Minister Bhagwant Singh Mann on Saturday said that the senior IAS and IPS officers of the state government will act as the mentors of the students of government schools across the state to provide them necessary guidance for excelling in life.

Addressing the gathering during Parents Teachers Meeting (PTM) organized here at School of Eminence, the Chief Minister said that all the IAS and IPS will officers will be mentoring one government school in the state where they will further strengthen the atmosphere of education through conversation with students and teachers. He said that along with it the officers will prepare the students for competitive exams and ensure training to teachers for upgrading their skills. Bhagwant Singh Mann said that these officers will act a catalyst for mustering resources and resource person for development of these schools.

The Chief Minister said that these officers will work as mentors and not as bosses adding that this work will be voluntary service and interested officers will have to perform it along with their already allocated duties. He said that this act is aimed at transforming the lives of the students by encouraging them to join the coveted services adding that this ambitious program of the state government will give wings to the dreams of the students thereby excelling in every sector of life. Bhagwant Singh Mann said that these IAS and IPS officers will provide every support to the students thus enabling them to crack the prestigious exams and join the services.

The Chief Minister said that it gives him immense pride and satisfaction that exceptionally bright students are studying in these schools. He said that these days girls have outnumbered boys in every other field that had been hitherto considered as fiefdom of the men. Bhagwant Singh Mann said that the Punjab government has given a major boost to the education sector by allocating 11% of the total Budget expenditure to it, amounting to Rs.18,047 crore in the budget adding that this will help in carving out a new, prosperous and progressive Punjab.

The Chief Minister said that his government has laid due focus on the development of the education sector to impart quality education to the students. He said that Punjab has intelligent students and talented people which together can do everything. Bhagwant Singh Mann said that his government has been focusing on ensuring that the lives of the common man can be transformed through quality education.

The Chief Minister exuded confidence that the education sector in Punjab is now undergoing a significant transformation which will yield excellent results for government schools, further bolstering the endeavors of the government. He said that the Punjab government is transforming the infrastructure in the government schools and Punjab will surely emerge as a role model across the country. Bhagwant Singh Mann said that his government is focusing on fact to ensure that the services of teachers are duly utilized only for the purpose of education rather than any other work.

The Chief Minister said that the convent educated leaders of the previous governments had never bothered to improve the level of education in the state. He said that the sole reason was that they were not bothered about enhancing this level for holistic development of the state but his government has brought this paradigm shift in education. Bhagwant Singh Mann called upon the students to be grass rooters in life instead of parachuters, like the leaders of the traditional

of education being adopted here for the well being of the students. Bhagwant Singh Mann said that the state government has embarked on an era of education revolution in Punjab and no stone is being left unturned for it.

Later on interacting with the media persons, the Chief Minister said that the state government has taken several path breaking initiatives in every sphere for the well being of the common man. He said that 881 Aam Aadmi Clinics have been opened across the state where more than three crore patients have got free treatment. Likewise, he said that the state government has given government jobs to more than 52,000 youth completely on the basis of merit.

The Chief Minister also said that in order to avoid complications to the farmers in selling their paddy harvest due to high moisture content in October, the state government has decided to advance the paddy cultivation season from June 1. He said that zone wise cultivation of the paddy crop will be done in the state for which necessary planning and arrangements are being made by the Punjab government. Bhagwant Singh Mann said that the state government is duty bound to check the sale of spurious seeds and no one involved in this heinous crime will be spared.

Earlier, in his address, former Deputy Chief Minister of Delhi Manish Sisodia lauded the state government for making revolutionary changes in the education system of Punjab. He said that the Education Model of Bhagwant Singh Mann has done wonders as students from cities are now making a beeline to get admission in government schools situated in the villages. Manish Sisodia said that the situation was entirely different when they were visiting the state before the 2022 assembly polls and now in the last three miraculous changes are being witnessed in the state.

The AAP leader said that great work has been done in the last three years as compared to the last 75 years adding that Rangla Punjab can be carved out only through education. Manish Sisodia said that he had personally visited government schools in more than 50 towns, cities and villages of the state before 2022, which were in shambles. However, he said that it is a matter of immense pride and satisfaction that today the schools of the state have got a complete facelift, which symbolizes the education revolution in the state.

The former Delhi Deputy Chief Minister said that the previous regimes had ruined government schools as the leaders wanted the private schools of their loved ones to bloom.

But, he said that now the focus is on strengthening and improving the government schools across the state which is really laudable as it is ensuring imparting quality education to the state. Manish Sisodia said that the state government is ensuring that quality education is being imparted to every student of the government school thereby ensuring their holistic development.

- Daljeet Kaur



parties, to excel in life.

The Chief Minister said that the grass-rooters are those who arise from the ground to conquer the entire world adding that for these hard-workers only the sky is limit. Bhagwant Singh Mann said that on the other hand the parachuters come directly from sky and are doomed to fall on ground later or sooner. He said that the focus of the student should be to excel in life for which the state government will provide every necessary help.

The Chief Minister said that it is a historic day as this PTM is taking place in the government schools across the state. He said that lakhs of parents across the state are enquiring about the studies, atmosphere, curriculum and other things being offered to their kids. Bhagwant Singh Mann said that it will also provide an opportunity to teachers for explaining the performance of students in the schools.

The Chief Minister said that this was a paradigm shift as such PTMs were a regular practice earlier in private schools but were missing in government schools. He said that this is one of the best practices

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Goodie Takhar, PhD

THE WATCHWORDS

EDUCATE AGITATE ORGANIZE

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PAST HISTORY OF USAGE



The exercise for knowing about the past usage of the watchwords "Educate, Agitate, Organize" started some time back when I came across a quote in English by Antonio Gramsci who was an Italian Marxist philosopher. The quote was: "Educate yourselves because we'll need all your intelligence. Agitate because we'll need all your enthusiasm. Organize yourselves because we'll need all your strength." (1919)

Around the same time during self-study I also came across the article "Educate, Agitate, Organise" By Dora B. Montefiore in the Marxists Internet Archive with reference to the source as: The Call, 26 December 1918, as well as another article titled "George Bernard Shaw, the Fabian Society, and Reconstructionist Education Policy: the London School of Economics and Political Science" By Jim McKernan, East Carolina University, available from the source: Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies, Vol. 2 No. 2 (September 2004) which had the following passage:

The Fabians mounted a Five E's Campaign from the inception of the LSE in 1895. (1) Education. The idea that higher education could turn itself to practical social problems (2) Economics the development of Economics alongside industrialism; there was a (3) Efficiency quest in the post Gladstonian period and (4) Equality or what in those days was referred to as "collectivism" all of which were living under the banner of (5) Empire in the Victorian halcyon days. One of their

THE MANIFESTO

OF

SIGNED BY THE PROVISIONAL COUNCIL AT THE FOUNDATION OF THE LEAGUE ON 30th DEC. 1884, AND ADOPTED AT

THE GENERAL CONFERENCE

Held at FARRINGTON HALL, LONDON, on JULY 5th, 1885.

—o—

A New Edition, Annotated by

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~~~~~

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famous slogans was "Educate, Agitate and Organise".

It was then felt to further explore the past historical usage of these watchwords and hence time was devoted for this exploration.

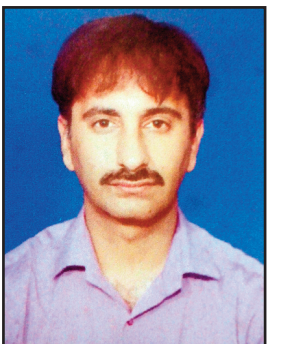
It was observed that there had been different variations of the usage of the watchwords. Examples: "Educate, Agitate, Organize", "Agitate, Organize, Educate", "Organize, Educate, Agitate", "Organize, Agitate, Educate." What has been discovered from various sources is placed below for information and knowledge:

\*\*\*\*\*

To agitate, organize, instruct and educate our people is yet our mission. No side issues should be allowed to divert us from the line of action we have chosen, and upon which we are doing so well.

**Journal of Proceedings of the Grand Lodge, Volume 11 (1866)**

Nineteen thousand Christian temperance women, members of our union mostly mothers, in this Empire state are loudly saying, "These things must not be. We cannot longer furnish fuel for the flames from our own cherished hearth stones." Long ago they began to "agitate," "organize" and "educate." (Contd. on next Page)



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# EDUCATE AGITATE ORGANIZE

Today their only hope is in the rising generation.

**The Chenango Semi-weekly, Telegraph 4 July 1877**

In seeking to develop a better manhood and womanhood shall we not seek to supplant the political hucksters with a generation of patriotic statesmen, who are in purpose and action, united (in essentials unity), full of liberty and charity? Let us, then, **organize, educate, agitate, emancipate.** Then shall we indeed stand forth the proud nobility of the land.

**Proceedings of the Annual Session of the Indiana State Grange, Volume 10 (1880)**

The worker stops in the field, the toiler hesitates in the workshop, the operative thinks in the factory, and they feel and know that wealth combines and that labor must also combine. United wealth, seeking its own good rolls up into monopolies; and united labor, seeking the common and universal good, may roll up into generous freedom, lifting the people to competency, happiness, intelligence, and power. Hence goes out the cry: **Organize, Agitate, Educate,** will labor shall produce for all, and government shall exist for the good of all.

**The People's Telephone, 18 October 1882**

**Educate! Agitate! Organize!**

Fellow citizens, we of the Democratic Federation demand complete adult suffrage for every man and woman in these islands, because in this way alone can the whole people give free expression to their will.

**The Irish Canadian, 25 October 1883**

It calls, in the name of human brotherhood, in the name of art, of culture, of all that is noblest in human nature, to aid in delivering humanity from the living death with which it is encompassed; to educate, to agitate, to organize, and, maybe, when the time comes to strike, to strike, and again to strike, till the vile huckster civilization of this nineteenth century shall be no more.

**Progress: A Monthly Magazine of Advanced Thought Volumes 3-4 (1884)**

The proletariat must learn from the system which they have to overthrow to be equally indifferent to class, creed or colour, religion or nationality, so long as the individuals sink their personal objects in a resolute organize against the common enemy. **Unite! for this we educate, to this end we agitate, to achieve a certain victory for all we organize.** Unite! Unite! Unite!

**A summary of the principles of socialism: written for the Democratic Federation**

**By Hyndman, H. M. (1884)**

Secretary Howard Urges Spinners to **"Educate, Agitate, Organize."**

Secretary Howard has issued a call for the monthly meeting of the spinners, next Tuesday evening. He heads it: "In time of peace prepare for war." He begins: "Our motto in the

future should be **educate, agitate, organize.**" The whole circular is devoted to urging the spinners to remain loyal to the union and help build it up.

**The Evening News 5 February 1885**

He strongly urged on all to **agitate, educate, and organize** until these evils under which they suffered were removed, and until they sent men to Parliament who would even risk imprisonment and expulsion in order to draw the attention of the

Child labor is the product of our boasted civilization, Schools for children – work for men, Employ the unemployed and reduce the hours of labor. Similar mottoes were printed in German and Polish.

**Omaha Daily Republican, 7 October 1885**

These rights we must establish. The right to a footing upon the earth, the right to labor, and the right to receive a full just share of the

of national greatness. **"Educate, agitate and organize."**

**Dubuque Daily Herald, 30 June 1886**

"The gods help those who try to help themselves," observed Jack. "A solid, permanent national order is what we need, one that includes every mining district in the United States. We must be definite and thorough going. Organization means more than giving our names to a declaration of principles. It means for each individual to have a definite purpose and intelligent idea of how to reach it." **"Organize, educate, agitate,"** drily repeated Alex, McLaughlin.

**National Labor Tribune, 5 November 1887**

But we have a yet higher source, - the work of our Lord the Son of man. There are three lines of action shown in his life that apply to this task. They have been tersely expressed by some reform societies in the motto, **"Educate, Organize, agitate!"**

**The Baptist Missionary Magazine, Volumes 67-68 (1888)**

I believe if the laboring men will unite, elect their Legislative men and Congressmen, and put a stop to so much monopoly laws, and give all men an equal showing, times will be better. Until the laboring men **agitate, organize and educate,** they need not expect relief.

**Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of North Carolina (1888)**

The working classes can exert their power to a much better advantage by using their votes as a club to smash the head of that one of the other of the old parties that refuses to deal justly with them. In the meantime **agitate, organize, educate** for the eight hour day on the first of May, 1890.

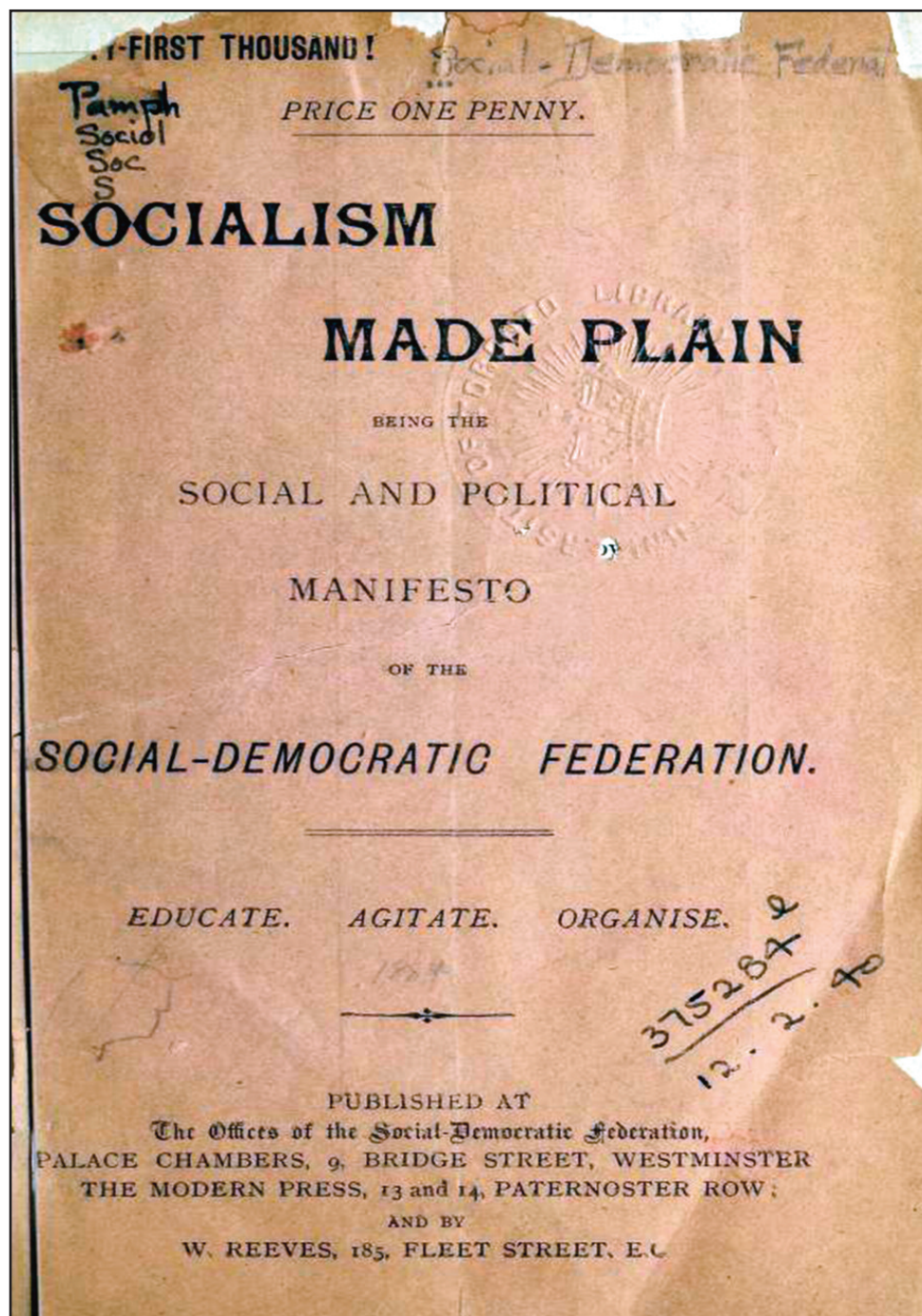
**Locomotive Firemen's Magazine, Volume 13 (1889)**

I hope for peace, harmony and better times; that the N.P.U. may spread, and that each member will read a labor paper and become posted. Let us **educate, agitate and organize.** I will close, with my best wishes for success to my friend, Patk. Donnelly, in his meanderings through Egypt. Yours, Alex.

**National Labour Tribune, 30 March 1889**

We started out with the intention of accomplishing three things – **first, to agitate; second, to organize;** third, to educate ourselves and fellow workingmen. We consider the first of these purposes has alone been accomplished; the second only partially so; the third has been entirely overlooked, if not willfully neglected. We therefore find ourselves, after a lapse of nearly twenty years, compelled to continue the work of agitation, strengthen and perfect organization and commence the work of education. An education which shall secure liberty for all and present to the world a spectacle which it has never yet beheld – a free man in an industrial state.

**(Contd. on next page)**



governing classes to the clamant interests of the people.

**The Glasgow Herald, 3 July 1885 Labour Representation Meeting at Partick**

Detroit, Oct. 6 – Tonight a labor demonstration was made in this city which was a great success. About two thousand men were in line, composing five divisions, or twenty-five organizations, and embracing all kinds of labor. The demonstration was orderly throughout. Upwards of 100 transparencies were carried, among the mottoes being the following: Convict contract labor must go, Eight hours only for a day's work, When Capitalists conspire poor men must combine, The employment of child labour should be made a state prison offense, Equal pay to both sexes for equal work, Rent interest and profit are robberies, **Agitate, educate, organize,** The land for the people, not another area for railroads,

wealth we create. Ignorance must be overcome by education of a kind which will teach man his rights, show him the wrongs under which he suffers, and enable him to apply the remedy. Contempt must be met by self-respect, by creating a healthy public opinion upon labor, and making honesty fashionable among men. And neglect must be prevented through constitutional agitation, based upon education and honesty, and supported by thorough organization. In this way only may we hope to succeed. Therefore **organize, educate and agitate.**

**The Montreal Daily Post, 23 January 1886**

We labor to live and live to labor. That is the most perfect government in which an injury to one is the concern of all. An organization for the people of the people by the people. We strive to make individual worth, not wealth, the true standard

# EDUCATE AGITATE ORGANIZE

**Warsaw Daily Times,  
14 February 1889**

Socialists generally make the grand mistake of taking too little cognisance of the moral side of the question. They cry **agitate, educate, organize**, but always in a purely secular direction. For the most part they look coldly at religion and its teachers. Unchanged human nature will never mind itself very much. Observation of the teachings of Jesus Christ, the writer claimed was the only hope for social reform.  
Lecture on Socialism

**Montreal Herald, 28 March 1891**

Let the Co-operators co-operate with each other, with Trade Unionists and Social Democrats for the same object. Let us all **agitate, educate and organize** to form the workers of the world into a gigantic trade union, an International Co-operation, a Social Democratic Commonwealth.

**Trade Unionism, Co-operation, and Social Democracy  
By H. Quelch (1892)**

**Organize, agitate, educate,** and adhere to our present conservative policy, which will not only keep us before the railroad officials and recommend us to them, but will soon place us where the public press will take up our cause and then the public will soon be wondering how it is possible for railroads to get well educated men to represent them at the present low rate of wages paid agents; and railroad corporations will learn that the best paid men are the cheapest for them in the end. It takes a business man to do business with business men and that is the class we have to deal with.

**The Railway Agent and Station Agent: A Monthly Magazine  
Volumes 9-10 (1893)**

Brother farmers, if we would prevent this enslaving process, we must awake to a full sense of our duty. We have the power if we will but act. We must **agitate, organize, educate** and cooperate, in the fullest and broadest sense. As indicated, our observations and thoughts must cover a broader territory than ever before.

**Journal of Proceedings of the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry (1894)**

At first the society was made up entirely of well-to-do men. The meetings were held in the drawing rooms of the members, and this, of course, prevented working men from joining the organization. It did not, however, prevent the Fabians from joining the workingmen's societies, and that they did with a will, pledged to carry out their campaign of "**Educate, agitate, organize.**"

**The Morning Herald, 2 June 1895  
"Agitate, organize, educate."**

These words are the war-cry of labor, and labor needs knowledge a sit never has since time began. I pray you, then, learn what child labor means. I pray you, learn in what it ends. I pray you, for the child's sake, who has no voice to speak for itself, give the chance we ask for ourselves,

and so let the new life we know must come begin where it must begin – with the little ones in whose lives our own may work again, and whom, if we neglect or disown, it were better for us that a stone were about our necks and we cast into the depths of the sea.

**Daily True American,  
30 September 1895**

One of the good ways to perpetuate the principles and benefits of

the suppression of the liquor traffic should be formed in this district, whose object shall be to **educate, organize, and agitate**, and by all legitimate means to consummate the object contemplated."

**Country News – Meeting of Temperance Workers**

**The Sydney Morning Herald, 24 June 1895**

We have every reason to believe that the time is not far distant

were displayed in great numbers, and three or four bands furnished a generous supply of music. The Socialists occupied the place of honor. Some of their mottoes read "Our Chief End – a Cooperative Commonwealth," "**Agitate, Educate, Organize,**" "Use the Ballot to Abolish Wage Slavery."

**The Philadelphia Record,  
7 September 1897**

Local Unions should ever remember our watchwords are "**Educate, Agitate, Organise**". Education is a very important part of our work. There is great need for a closer study of our Constitution, and a more intelligent grasp of our methods. Would it not be well when local Unions are arranging their quarterly programme to give one meeting for a "rally of first principles", or "Constitution Day" or call it what you will?

**Annual Report: Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Victoria (1897)**

**Educate, agitate, organize,** were the watchwords of political progressives; and "Associate, co-ordinate, legislate," is now the cry of the progressive educationist.

**Journal of Education,  
Volume 19 (1897)**

Organize the silver clubs. In no other way can the united front be presented to the money monarchs, who, with insulting effrontery, are attempting to ride down the masses and lash them into line by every species of abuse and intimidation, or lure them into economic destruction by the arts of this damnable sophistry. **Organize, agitate, educate.** Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty!

**Daily Times, 13 September 1897**

The motto of the W.C.T.U. used to be 'For God, for home and native land.' It is now 'For God, for home and humanity'. The work has been greatly enlarged and classified into forty-two departments of benevolence and philanthropy. The watchwords of the organization are 'agitate', 'educate' and 'organize'.

**The Evening Telegraph,  
26 February 1898**

**Organise, agitate, educate,** read, study, think. Do not organize 'Jones clubs', but organize non-partisan political clubs. We are contending for a principle not a person. Persons die, but principles are eternal. We have had too much hero worship in our political history and too little devotion to the eternal principles of truth and justice.

**Muncie Morning News,  
10 September 1899**

In conclusion I have only to add that Women's Trades Unions will have to be supplemented by legislative action. Without the help of the State woman cannot secure that place in the Commonwealth that she ought to occupy on terms of perfect equality with man. In the meantime her watch words must be **Educate, Agitate, Organise.**

**The International Congress of Women London, (1899)  
(Contd. on next page)**

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are before you. Success can only be achieved by organised effort.

EDUCATE! We shall need all our intelligence.  
AGITATE! We shall need all our enthusiasm.  
ORGANISE! We shall need all our force.

**EDUCATE! AGITATE! ORGANISE!**

Signed } *The Executive Committee of the Democratic Federation.*

E. BELFORT BAX,  
HERBERT BURROWS.  
R. D. BUTLER,  
H. H. CHAMPION, Hon Secretary.  
JOHN CLARK,  
H. FULLER,  
H. M. HYNDMAN, Chairman.  
J. L. JOYNES.  
TOM. S. LEMON.  
JAMES MACDONALD.  
WILLIAM MORRIS, Treasurer.  
JAMES F. MURRAY.  
H. QUELCH.  
ANDREAS SCHEU.  
HELEN TAYLOR.  
J. TAYLOR.  
JOHN WILLIAMS.

**Membership of the Democratic Federation is open to all who agree with its objects and subscribe not less than One Shilling a year. Clubs and Associations are cordially invited to co-operate. Those ready to form Branches should communicate with the Hon. Secretary.**

Meetings of the Executive are open to Members after 9 p.m., every Tuesday, at the Offices of the Federation,  
PALACE CHAMBERS,  
*June, 1883.* 9, BRIDGE STREET, WESTMINSTER.

trade-unionism is to keep everlastingly at it. "Pray without ceasing." is a valuable admonition. Agitate without ceasing, is another. Organize while the sun shines, rather crude, it is true, but full of promise in tangible results and happy returns. Be up and doing! "Now is the accepted time." Organization is salvation. Don't try to be saved alone. Don't be selfish. Don't try to occupy all the road to yourself. You will probably get lonesome and lose your way. Call upon every last wage-worker to fall in; pull hands together – all the way – and victory will be yours. **Agitate! Educate! Organize!**

**Weekly Spokesman-Review,  
18 April 1895**

After discussion, Mr. Youll moved, and Mr. F.Asher seconded, a motion, - "That in the opinion of this meeting the time has arrived when an association embracing all total abstainers and others willing to work for

when every national and international labor union, trades assembly or trades council will be in full fellowship with the great body of the organized workers of America, under the banner of the A.F. of L. The central bodies are to each locality what the American Federation of Labor is to the general labor movement. They can be made a most effective force to carry out the aims and purposes of the organized workers of the country. Let the good work go on. **Organize, agitate, educate, federate.**

**Rock Creek Record, 27 June 1896**

Alone we can do little, separated we are the units of weakness, but aggregated we become batteries of power. **Agitate, educate, organize** – these are the deathless watchwords of success. The fingers of the hand can do little alone, but formed into a fist they become formidable.

**Kentucky New Era, 11 April 1896**

Flags, banners and mottoes

# EDUCATE AGITATE ORGANIZE

## "Agitate, educate, organize!"

John Burn's rallying cry during the great dockers' strike of 1888 in London, describes the natural and inevitable order in which the demand of the worker must take shape. This is an age of organization and, as Carlyle has said, "It is time that work, too, was organized."

### The Arena, Volume 21(1899)

If the trusts are here to stay, let us as workers stop railing at them and **organize, educate and agitate**. Perfectly organized, we can take care of ourselves under any condition; completely organized in strong, compact trade unions, we can successfully battle with all the trusts and combines that now or shall hereafter exist.

### National Labor Tribune, 2 February 1899

It is a well-known fact that God helps those who help themselves. If you depend solely on the philanthropic spirit of your employer, you will hardly "Get all that's a-comin' to you." **Agitate, organize and educate** yourself by reading the very best labor paper published in the United States, the National Labor Tribune. Brothers, you know that the Tribune has been and is our best friend to day, and is fully deserving of our undivided support.

### National Labor Tribune, 23 November 1899

When they trained their young men to hate every sham, and to seek to elevate public life, they would have accomplished one of the greatest movements of the twentieth century. In conclusion he would give them a motto for the new century: "**Organise, educate, agitate.**"

### Address on Christian Endeavour The Sydney Morning Herald 18 September 1900

The masses know that they suffer; they have a notion that something wants doing and that rapidly. But they are incapable alone of finding out what are the actual causes of the wrongs they bear, or how they are to be removed. This should be the work, as far as politics is concerned, of the party which associates itself with ideas of democratic reform. Such a party must **educate, agitate, and organize** if it really desires to carry a reform programme into effect. It must stir up a spirit of enthusiasm and confidence among its followers by laying down clearly and unmistakably the line it intends to follow.

### The Political Re-organisation of the People By William Sanders (1902)

Inasmuch as the "red" card occasioned quite a flurry in the Knights of Labor in 1886 and 1887, and was frequently referred to in the newspapers at that time, but was never published, it may be of interest to quote some of the sentiments it contained. Among these was the exhortation of the organization: "**Educate, agitate, organize, unite!**" The magic words, whose initials were incorporated in the seal, were: "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, Solidarity!" "Our motto: War to the palace. Peace

to the cottage. Death to luxurious idleness." "Our object: The reorganization of society independent of Priest, King, Capitalist, or Loafer." "Our Principles: Every man is entitled to the full product of his own labor, and to his proportionate share of all the natural advantages of earth."

### The Story of a Labor Agitator By Joseph R. Buchanan (1903)

Against those evils, it is for each parish and diocese to create, and to persevere in maintaining, a

## Federation Conference

### The Glasgow Herald, 7 October 1905

The history of great struggles for freedom made in this and other countries during the nineteenth century had always attracted me, and I had learnt from history, and also from the teaching of great leaders, the secret of all successful reform movements – a fighting policy. Mazzini, especially, was one of my teacher; he was never tired of exhorting his followers to **educate and organize, but**

labor unions, but we are far, very far, from the goal today, and must be alert and watchful lest we be driven backward instead of marching forward. **Educate, agitate, organize**, is the slogan.

### The Tobacco Worker (1916)

Political democracy opens the way to the achievement of any ideal that awakens a response in the minds of the people, and where that response is not awakened the only course if the ideal possess vitality and worth is educative propaganda. **Educate, agitate and organize** should be the motto of all those who believe they have something that will make a better world and though progress may be slow, there is always the satisfaction that humanity never lets go of what is proven to be good.

### The Saskatoon Phoenix, 23 December 1919

Cultivate the spirit of fellowship on national, political and economic basis. **Organize, educate and agitate**. Form yourselves into self-denying groups. Fill your minds with sound knowledge and start newspapers and magazines, not for profit but for education.

### India's Will To Freedom: Writings And Speeches Of The Present Situation

#### By Rai, Lala Lajpat (1921)

Tilak the patriot has fascinated the hearts of millions of his countrymen; and he still speaks out his message to his people. Not many weeks have passed since Karachi saw him at the self-same Idgah; - the Lokamanya, tired and spent in physical strength, yet retaining mental vigour and giving the Karachi citizens his great message – '**agitate, educate, and organize** for the achievement of Swaraj'!

### All About Lok. Tilak By Sons, Ramaswamy Sastrulu 1922)

"This party emphatically asserts the fitness of India for Representative and Responsible Government and claims for the people of India, on the principle of self-determination, the exclusive right of fashioning the form of government and determining the most appropriate constitution for India. It regards the Montagu Reforms Act as "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing" and will strive to remedy the defect by introducing, with the aid of the members of the Labour party and other sympathisers in the British Parliament, at the earliest opportunity, a new Reform Bill for establishing full Responsible Government in India, including full military control and full fiscal freedom, and an exhaustive Declaration of Rights with constitutional guarantees. To achieve this object, it contemplates and recommends a resolute and energetic campaign in India and in the countries represented on the League of Nations. In this matter, the party's watchword will be '**Educate, Agitate and Organize**'.

### The History of The Indian National Congress (1935) Volume I (1885-1935)

## Genealogy of 'Educate, Agitate, Organise'

The Watchwords of 'Educate, Agitate, Organise' remained central to various scholarly endeavours of revolutionary ideals and visions that aimed at inculcating awareness among downtrodden and the enslaved to help them come out of their self-imposed inhibitions to not to put resistance to their heartless tormentors. Mr Neeraj Paul in his engaging article in the current issue of Ambedkar Times (pp. 1-5) has done a commendable research on the origin of these famous watchwords, which became iconic slogan of the mission of Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar dedicated to his life-long struggle for the annihilation of caste from the soil of India. The earliest reference that he found was traced to The 'Chenango Semi-weekly Telegraph' dated 4 July 1877, wherein it was mentioned in a somewhat different sequence as "agitate," "organise" and "educate". Its proper mention was found in same sequence as referred to in the title in the announcement of the General Conference of the Socialist League held at London on July 5, 1885. Since then these iconic watchwords came to be repeatedly put into use at different intervals of revolutionary movements and radical scholarly circles from the time of Italian Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci in 1919 to the History of the Indian National Congress penned n 1935. Ambedkar Times congratulates Mr Paul for his deep research on the genealogy of 'Educate, Agitate, Organise'.

Prem Kumar Chumber

Editor-in-Chief: Ambedkar Times & Desh Doaba

strong public opinion: against those evils, strengthened by our Holy Sacrament, we should work unitedly. "**Agitate, educate, organize,**" should be our motto as well as the motto of others!

### The meaning of the mass: five lectures with other sermons and addresses By Headlam, Stewart D (1905)

In this country we also have the federation principle developed to an extent unknown in Great Britain. Federation helps more than anything else perhaps in the organization of the unskilled. The motto of the American Federation of Labor is "**educate, agitate, organize.**" Practically all the education in unionism, the agitation of unionism and the organization of unions accomplished in Great Britain, has been done not by any federation, but by the separate trade unions.

### The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. XXVI July-December (1905)

The Miners's Federation of Great Britain continued its Blackpool Conference yesterday. Mr. E. Edwards, the president read a telegram from the Gasworkers Union at Stockton-on-Tees sending internal greetings. They must all, it said, **organize, educate, and agitate**. They had "nothing to lose but their economic chains."

### Labour Affairs: The Miners

**above all things to agitate;** to agitate, because deeds have the power to move the human heart that no words possess.

### Votes For Women, 12 March 1909

At the Industrial Remunerative Conference they denounced the capitalists as thieves; while among themselves they were vehemently debating the questions of revolution, anarchism, labour-notes versus pass-books, and other like futile and daring projects. The tacit assumption under which they worked, the purpose of their campaign with its watchwords: "**Educate, Agitate, Organize**", was "to bring about a tremendous smash-up of existing society, to be succeeded by complete Socialism".

### George Bernard Shaw: His life and works, a critical biography (1911)

Archibald Henderson  
For every million that it wants for nation-building, the democracy will have to **agitate, educate, organize**, and, in the last resort, fight on the floor of the House of Commons, and when at last the fight is won, it is absolutely imperative that the money be ear-marked for the nation, and not for "fireworks".

### Modern Democracy: A Study In Tendencies By Brougham Villiers (1912)

When justice shall have been done to all, then there will be need for