

Minutes of the meeting held on 22.6.57.

The main agenda of this meeting was to prepare the agenda for the meeting on the next day and the expression of the different comrades on the specific question of guidance by the P. B. This meeting was not attended by any P.E. member. So it was also decided to convey to Com. P.B. the minutes of this meeting before the meeting on the next day.

M. Chakarvarty: Should we not include the issue of the recent movements at different places and decide some policy? What were the methods and definite policy in all these struggles?

K.T. Chakarvarty: We must also consider and discuss the Party strength in the Railways. Party has failed to give ~~xxxxxxxx~~ a clear cut policy and to give a proper line.

Satyen Ganguly: When the circular was sent, it is clear ~~that~~ that a meeting is required and we should use the opportunity to discuss the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ agenda which is not very clear from the ~~xxxxx~~ present circular and I hope that no objection would be done to his proposal. Agenda as per his suggestion should be in two parts: I. Party position. II. Trade Union activities.

N. ~~xxxxx~~ Chakarvarty: He seconded the suggestions of Satyen Ganguly. Com. A. Ghosh did not acknowledge the letter from the Railway Com., though sent through proper channel. Why? All the P.C.M. in-charges have not come. No proper selection has been done for the representation ~~xx~~ in this meeting. How Com. Ganguly has ~~xx~~ come here when his name was not selected.

Satyen Ganguly: In reply to N. Chakarvarty he explained his presence that out of those 4 to come only ~~x~~ could not come as he ~~sent~~ sent a letter to Com. Jyoti Basu giving his inability. Hence the ~~xx~~ place is filled by him. His name has been sent by the approval of P.C. whose decision is read and handed over to P.E.

M. Rly. (Delhi P.C.M.): Delhi P.C. has not received this agenda letter or any other information. It was only by chance he was informed on phone. He stressed that there seems to have been no Centre for Railways. Since 1952 there has been no P. Centre which has resulted in haphazard manner work.

S. Rly.: The meeting is being held in a hurry and on a ~~short~~ short notice. Meetings have been postponed twice and it is not ~~possible~~ possible for Rly Coms. to be present on such a short notice. Agenda should be to find out the last meeting agenda and let us see as to how far we have followed and yet left to be followed. We should have another meeting for thrashing out the policy.

M.C. (S.E.R.): Meeting should be held at Nagpur being the central place. The expenses should be borne by the D.Cs or P.Cs as comrades could not come for want of money.

C. Rly.: The leadership has entirely failed to give us ~~xxxx~~ a line which has resulted in a complete failure ~~with~~ on the railways. There is demoralisation in the new cadre when they see the old coms. going out of Railways and starving to death. Why trained men have ~~xxx~~ been snatched by DCs or PCs.

S. Rly.: Many comrades suggested their agenda and he proposes that there should be a complete review of the last 34 years and we should assess and analysis should be done.

Andhra Province: It was decided that an all India fraction ~~st~~ should be made and zonal fractions etc. It is one's own report that would be given here. First report should be of P.B. and then ours.

Com. Mushtaq: I am on the Railways for the last 14 years and many P. Com. ~~have~~ ~~not~~ ~~been~~ ~~come~~ and ~~nothing~~ ~~has~~ ~~been~~ ~~come~~





This was brought to the knowledge of P.B. but they again failed to act. In case we fail to give lead the workers will give a fight and perish. and we must think as to what are the problems.

We must have a clear cut policy regarding the movement on Rlys. P.C.s have failed to give any directions about Rlys.

Rly. Coms. have two opinions that one must not sell Party literature openly and some are of the opinion that like many others they should also sell party literature.

According to the last 3½ years experience it is very clear that they have failed to look after the Rlys. and it should be pressed that there should be some helping Committee from the Rly. Coms.

Punjab - Chopra: The workers of his side are also flared up and if not guided will burst somewhere. When the situation was brought to the knowledge of P.B. it was of no result.

It was the force of Rly. workers that have forced us to go to them. There should be a Committee of Rly. Coms. to look after the day to day work as P.B. can not do it. Those comrades who are sobre they are nearly demoralised. Those who are straight are going on without any case.

At Kalka there will be victimisation case. We fail to get the enquiry done. Com. Nambiar told the house his experience of the pattern that is under experiments on S.Rly. This has been of successful to a great extent.

~~Definite~~ Definite suggestions should be placed tomorrow so the P.B. may not be able to postpone it for further years.

Com. Mahendra Sen: For a proper co-ordination and guidance of work by the P.B. in future, it is essential that P.B. should give a review of the work since at least the Rly. Fraction meeting in Poona in July, 1953.

Then Com. P.R. was made in-charge of the Rly. front by the P.B., but he has not functioned properly as such. ~~That~~ He himself was taken up for exclusively the railway work in the Centre, but later on he was told that P.B. did not consider it necessary to have any special cadre for railway work in the Centre and that P.B. would directly look after and guide the work.

It is true that on main occasions, Com. S.R. or Com. P.R. on behalf of P.B. have dealt with the issues and guided, but there has been no regular co-ordination and guidance by it. Com. P.R. & P.B. should speak about it.

Even in this situation he ~~had~~ had tried his best to convey the reports and situation whatever he could gather to Com. P.R. and even wrote articles and notes two to three times to be circulated as information documents or thru "New Age" so that main features of the situation there and ~~to~~ could be conveyed to the Comrades, but they were always held up for want of final approval of Com. P.R.

Certain reports have gone directly to P.B. (Com. P.R.), but they are not to be found.

As per the experiences it is very clear that there must be a sub-Committee under P.B. of Rly. Coms. ~~xxxx~~ who would look after the front and keep a regular report after finding out a method of co-ordination.

Ultimately "T.U.Record" was the only way that could be used for publicising the news on Rly. front. <sup>(New Paper)</sup> A criticism was made by some comrades that AITUC had failed to look after victimised Comrades inspite of the fact funds were available.

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PROPOSED AGENDA BY 22nd MEETING.

1. Introductory Remarks and a Review of the period 1952-56 by the P.B.
2. Reports from the different Railways.
3. Problems re. Amalgamation of the Federation ~~xxxx~~ and the unions.  
....Our policy and tactics.
4. Recent struggles, lessons drawn and our tasks.
5. Problems of Railwaymen; demands etc; and our policy, cases of ~~victimisation~~  
victimised railwaymen.
6. Railway auxiliary organisations like co-operative societies; our work in them.
7. That P.B. should arrange to write a pamphlet and articles on II 5 year plan vis-a-vis Railway and our policy therein.
8. P. organisation on the railways:
  - i) Central;
  - ii) Zonal;
  - iii) Provincial;
  - iv) Tech. arrangements.
9. Any other item, if necessary.



MINUTES OF THE MEETING HELD ON 23rd JULY 1956 FROM 12-30.

Present: Coms. P.R., Naibiar, V.D. Chopra, Purnendu, Shivankar, Satyan Ganguly, Natha Singh, Mushtaq, Mahendra Sen, Kumaran, plus 7 other comrades (E.R./1, S.E.R./6). Com. Ajay also attended the concluding part of the meeting. Com. M. Sen presided over the meeting.

The following agenda was taken:

(1) Position in different Zones; ~~(2)~~ Reports from different Rlys. since Vasawada-Guruswami agreement; (2) Broad lessons emanating from recent struggles; (2) Central Co-ordination Committee; (4) Party organisation on the Railways; (5) Tasks that T.U.s. on railways should take up especially in context of relationship with the public.

Com. P.R. introduced the purpose and agenda of the meeting.

Then the reports from various railways were taken up.

SRLy. Review of the position since 1952 to enable us to know the correct position. Most of the comrades have tried to be present inspite of the financial difficulty.

A short notice has been given. This entails many difficulties in getting Passes or P.T.O.s.

This was clarified by Com. P.R. ~~that~~ that they all wanted to keep this meeting earlier ~~in~~ in Hyderabad but the comrades at Hyderabad refused to agree on the dates. Hence this.

Vasavda's moves are of much importance which railway comrades are not understanding.

E.Rly.: Mode of this meeting is wrong as Rly Coms. are exposed and the policy of maintaining secrecy ends in a farce.

P.R. He agrees in toto.

S.Rly: Agenda discussed yesterday should be followed.

There is no time for this and the P.B. has called this meeting only to make it very clear that Vasavda's move and agreement is very important since this will be the best opportunity to take up the Rly. movement.

E. Rly: Supported the S.Rly agenda. but agree to the postponement due to the time limit.

P.R. Comrades will go back and report back the policy decided to-day regarding further working.

DLH (N.S.) P.C. has not received any directive and it is why the review is  
FCM.

P.R.M. We are not in a position to discuss over the P.C.s here. This meeting is only for stressing the importance of Amalgamation issue. We shall take this affair later on.

Bombay: When P.C.s have failed to work in the previous years it will be of no use.

P.R. The present situation and the all India move before us in the Rlys. is the main thing which will be beneficial to the party.

S.Rly. Since there ~~is~~<sup>are</sup> enough examples that all the previous set ups have failed it will be of no use to continue this way since there is a lot of diversion from the party policy.

E.Rly. P.B. should at least hear our difficulties before they go to discuss with P.C.s.

E.Rly. Party form should be stopped and if this continues we the Rly. Coms. shall lose confidence on the leadership. It is not that the P.B. has thought for this meeting only <sup>for</sup> ~~Mrx~~ Vasavda-Guruswami move but as they heard that Rly. men are on the move through the incidents of Kalka and Kharagpore. How far we have been able to follow the old decisions of secrecy.

Chopra: It is correct that no review is possible but the organisational matters deficiencies should be brought to light to make responsible P.B. to understand their responsibility in regard to Rlys.

P.R. 1954 the whole issue was discussed in C.C.

Where the movement was developed they should convey their moves to others where it was not strong.

P.D.R. Many questions of much importance have come before us but the P.B. has in almost all the cases have failed. Many a times assurances were given but never a meeting was called inspite of the fact that notes were sent. If there were no Zonal fractions it will not be possible to work. Only J. Bose has given his sanction on his own responsibility. The ~~fix~~ faith that is being lost is not only the feeling in him but among the Rly. men.

P.R. P.B. will not take the direct responsibility of guiding day to day policy. Problems of Party organisation is not only in Rlys. but in other industries too.

Five points on agenda:

1. Different <sup>reports</sup> form different Rlys. on Vasavda Guruswami agreement.
2. Lessons from the struggles.
3. Setting up the Co-ordination Committee.



Second sitting after Tea. from 3 P.M.

W.Rly. - Reporting:- He had a full report (typed out).

Attempts are being made to postpone the elections but Manibenkara wants elections. There is feeling that only Rlymen should only work in the Unions and all out-siders must be turned out. Proceedings were read out of the SURAT Meeting in regard to the procedure of merger for the already merged unions.

A meeting was fixed to be held on 10th June 1956 but the same was postponed. Vasavada in reply to the letter of Guruswamy had replied that he had no time till 30th July.

There are five groups. Chotto Bhai's group will side us.

Guruswamy will get more votes in case of elections.

C.Rly. A typed out report was read out. The General Secretary is of P.S.P. & S.P. but have no hold leaving aside few branches. Better results can be achieved if proper action is taken to strengthen the party work.

N.Rly. membership was 40,000 after amalgamation. Vashista Group walked out under the leadership of F.S.P. or S.P.

There was further split and this resulted in clear groups <sup>of</sup> INTUC & NFIR along with independents. Vasavda also did not take any action. All the three groups were affiliated to NFIR. The reason for not taking any action against Joshi group with whom INTUC men worked together, was the command over workers.

Joshi group agreed to the decision of Vasavda and it was settled that office bearers who were elected before split should continue to work. Vashista's Union is losing ground. Combined membership may be around about 50,000 from 20 Branches out of them 10 Branches are worked by us and in 6 branches are <sup>run</sup> ~~run~~ by us. Out of 50 Central members fifteen can be mobilised.

E.Rly. No consolidated report could be proposed 1,56,000 workers are working. 37,797 is the present membership. Two Unions only. (1) E.Rlymen's union, (2) E. Rlymen's Congress.

Our unity talks failed in Joshi's case. There are 39 Branches. 26 Branches are active. 7 Branches are semi active. 6 Branches are nearly dead. We have a peculiar way of working. Political party leadership is only of CPI but there are a few P.S.P. of B-st. Solankis etc.

Groups:- P.C. Das Gupta and Murlidhar Dubey are in one group along with few others.

2. Ram Chakravarty along with P.S.P.

Ram Chakravarty is against CPI but ~~did~~ <sup>where</sup> does not interfere before C.P.I. has a hold but does not promote the leadership of CPI. M.D. Dubey is losing ground along with P.C. Das who has already lost ground. Confidence of Class III staff is gradually being lost as we have failed to make the issue of N.C. Kapoor, G. Manager's atrocities in connection with Puja advance.

Further there has been a circular from the administration on 20th May 1956, that leave will not be granted to them who will give the cause that they were checked to come in for work.

This is the main reason along with the fear of break in service. We have four branches under our control and ten branches are semi dominated. Lack of party leadership is much felt. General demand is new wage commission A.P. Sharma has already told at ~~an~~ many places that this amalgamation is not going to take place.

In case Ram Chakravarty makes any settlement about the coming election we have less chances to come forward but there are ~~are~~ possibilities.

Das Gupta's Group also does not want election for the fear of leadership.

In spite of the rift in many Branches no worker is ~~g~~ joining Congress side.

PDR E.Rly. Because of the split in Central leadership there is a fear that some group may go to INTUC.

There have been many strikes recently in E.Rly. (1) Howrah, (2) Pathordh (3) Gomoh, (4) Dhanbad, (5) Moghalsarai.

This Railway crosses many provinces having its HQ at HWH.

Two Unions. { S.E.Rlymen's Union,  
          { S.E.Rlymen's Congress.

Membership for 54-55

40000

13,000 to 14,000 in Congress.

Mostly their membership is in Andhra - 35 Branches.

Union is not recognised.

50,000 membership for 55-56.

Your forces.

(1) CPI, (2) F.B., (3) Raghavan group, (4) Neutral group (opportunists - 22 Branches are in our control); 4 Branches of F.Block, 4 ~~seem~~ active, 2 dead branches 3. (Neutral elements.)



CPI leads in Political influence. Except Khoragpore Giri has a hold over Telegoo workers which is on the decrease.

It is the general feeling amongst the workers that whichever union will fight for them will be their choice.

Work load is of highest degree in S.E.Rly. There are glaring examples where our men are paid less in Comparison with other Rlys.

Recognition is a difficulty.

There have been many struggles leaving Kharagpore issue.

12. Continuous strikes in a short period made the situation alarming. Merger issues were properly propagated. When workers voted for strike Guruswamy told that he would rather resign than favour this.

In case of elections we are confident that 50% will follow us.

The difficulty in working is because of the other groups existing.

S.Rly. Typed out report.

Com. Nambiar: S/R Portion INTUC have no hold but by policy mass infiltration was managed.

NE RLY. Mazdoor Union - Guruswamy.

NERly. Employees Union. INTUC, at places, our Coms. are also working in Employees' Union. membership is expected to be good. Mazdoor Union is busy propagating Guruswamy's stand for an election. This Rly. runs in four Provinces. Our forces are in Bengal & Assam, Bihar & U.P. is very weak as regards our position.

25% is our total strength.

Organising Secretary is our man for the first time.

Lohia group walked out at the ~~Hd. office~~ convention held at Banaras. Hd. office Branch at Gorakhpore is as in Lohia's group. General Secretary is one of our expelled Comrades and is managing very well. Kali Prasanna General Secretary is propagating that this amalgamation will not take place.

Chittaranjan Rly. employees Union:

Three of our Comrades entered in the Central in 52.

There was a strike also and after judging the results P.C. Das Gupta and his man were removed.

Das Gupta's Union was started in 1953. They along with INTUC had no strength.

Repression started and many Coms. were sent out of Rly.

Demoralisation crept in. No recognised union as yet. Money was sent again but no affiliation was given.

Das Gupta's Union was given affiliation.

P.S.P. with the Presidentship of A.P.Sharma is working.

1,500 - were shown as Rly employees' Union since 54 we are trying our best for amalgamation and terms should be settled.

Das Gupta did not respond.

INTUC Union practically dissolved. Demand for a recognised Union was turned down. About 12 of us have lost our service. Name of the Union shall be the one of his own already reaffiliated. Amalgamation completed from 1st June 56, other political parties are immaterial, majority is the Bengal men. Other parties like RSP in Democratic Vanguard were tried to use as a shield for publishing pamphlets etc. All that were elected were our man. Labour liked it. Membership increased will be 4,000 very shortly.

There are two groups.

1 Das Gupta's Group

1 Curs.

Due to the present restrictions of Union work, it is agreed that one Union Office shall be opened outside the Rly. Compound.

Our position is very good.

There are two associations sponsored by Rly.

All the members have not resigned on the grounds that the voice of labour is not heard.

Union recognition and removal of the condition of Protected area.

Rationalisation is very much. Number of chargesheets have increased and there is no way for representation. There was strike for four hours against the enhanced rates of electric charges from 3/- to 4/8 - and this was won.

In case there is no proper policy from the party we shall perish as many have already perished.

#### Reporting Completed.

Com. P.R.: We have now seen a picture of the entire trade union movement in Railways in India and now we shall fix up the main points and problems to be discussed.



Kazipeth - In 47, 50 days struggle for promotions for grades to F/men.

There was a recent strike in view of the recent circular of the Rly. Board for a direct recruitment.

Issue of officiating pay, to F/men etc. ~~atx~~

Agreed for a direct recruitment. no reply was given even after demonstrations. When this new circular came they resorted to strike. on 14th May 56. Situation was fully explained by Com. Nambiar.

S.R.Rly. In almost all the strikes the trans did not move.

Raipor incident was the only spontaneous strike against punishment to one individual by Court.

In all the strikes we have achieved success. There were different opinions amongst the Coms. in regard to strike.

Adra strike was against Police atrocities .

At mooric the strike was against the behaviour of a policeman kicking a TTE on 3rd May.

During the enquiry the DSP refused to sign and the Railway officers were also flored up and challenged the workers that they have seen many workers going on strike but they are not like you.

This instigated the workers and strike started.

Tata strike continued even after the finish<sup>above</sup> of a demand of city allowance.

On 5th morning Union officials<sup>was told</sup> that the Policeman has been suspended and the strike should be called off. Administration assured that a lenient view will be taken of the incident. This was being conveyed by the phone to all the branches on strike. This was however checked by the Gen. Secy which was later on called off by the <sup>extending</sup> even of 5th May 1956.

Adra people who wanted to go on strike again were rounded up and sent to jail.

<sup>Re. Khana...</sup>  
Inspite of the fact that it was settled that no strike should be done but the strike started in wagon shop. General workers were not in the know as to what are the demands.

By 10th May nearly 12,000 workers were on strike.

It was the main feeling ~~amongst~~ amongst the workers that the strike was only for painters' cause. Union workers were ~~xxxxx~~ insisting that the strike must be done by the open line Branch.

On 12th there was a meeting at Calcutta and it was decided that an agreement must be reached in view of the present atrocities of the administration.

It was also decided that the strike should be called off on the ground that no victimisation.

Situation changed and on 14th May the leader of the W/shop Branch along with G/Secy. it was resolved ~~in~~ in a meeting that in case the administration does not negotiate within 72 Hrs. the strike will spread to open line also who went on strike after the arrests of Union leaders. Guruswamy arrived on 18th and 19th a mass meeting was held who later-on met G.M. with the demand, that the case of painters should be sent for adjudication.

2. No victimisation.

G.M. did not agree and Bidhan Ray was contacted.

on 20th night a W/Committee met and Guruswami was deputed to meet Giri to represent to Minister but the Minister did not meet and taunted him too.

Giri asked for an unconditional meeting. 22nd May there was a large scale round up arresting 58 workers.

The administration tried to sow the seeds of provincialism but the administration failed save the Punjabi workers. Women folk resorted to picketing on 25th.

The strike was -----

26th morning women were arrested and molested 150 men have been charge-sheeted under item No. 161.

Adjourned to meet at 8 A.M.

Kalka issue: (V.J.)

There being only one passenger train the workers had a demand for allowing the passes and P.T.Os. and a primary school. Joshi's group is stronger than Ram Chandra and ~~and~~ when the latter knew about the arrival of the Chairman and M.R. Pandey. They arranged for a demonstration in Collaboration with Joshi.

Pandey's language was ~~cut~~ but the workers stopped the motor Rail-car.

Mild lathi charge was done and Air firing was done but this could not <sup>s</sup>disuade the workers. Again there was a lathicharge which injured a man badly in Locoshed who was later on was declared as dead. The arrests of Union officials also then flared up the situation.

Ram Das an out sider intervened and union leaders were ~~asked~~ told to meet after one hour who had called for additional force.

S.I. (GRP) shot our Prakash who had abused him probably.

This added fuel to fire.



P.R. From the discussions held yesterday:

1. Policy of the Govt. pursued.
2. Policy (Ours) to <sup>defeat</sup> the above.
3. Labour policy <sup>of the Govt.</sup> is as it was
4. Govt. is adamant in regard to any improvement for workers.
5. No fair wage will be given
6. No Bonus will be given
7. Planning Commission has stood against any increase of facility and wage.
8. They say that <sup>by</sup> any increase in the wage the entire plan will suffer a set back, and any increase will be an example for private concerns.
9. Capital shall accumulate with some. Railwaymen they know can mobilise the entire country as was seen in 1946.

Public sectors are not properly organised as most of them came from class

III.

Since 1947 onwards Govt. has been trying to create a disruption and ~~has~~ have been successful to some extent.

They even could not trust even their own men. This was the cause that they <sup>spurred</sup> INTUC and all possible help was given to push them up.

Guruswamy and others seeing that they had no future they agreed on the call of <sup>unity</sup> thirty as it is clear that no other union could work.

We took advantage of the local leadership where they looked to us.

Wherever we had an opportunity to work we penetrated. The more we worked the more we became consolidated and our hold became better with ~~new~~ <sup>new</sup> cadre weakness.

<sup>Weakness-</sup> Absence of a Central Organisation which could be of a great help to us <sup>to</sup> ~~be~~ <sup>average</sup> successful. Even after the Madras Convention when Guruswamy agreed to our <sup>only</sup> proposal of <sup>27th</sup> Demands Day, <sup>this</sup> ~~weakness~~ <sup>remained</sup>.

INTUC have failed to judge the backing of Guruswamy etc. As the policy of INTUC has been to grab every thing the group of Guruswamy like men revolted and the present bold stands by the Railwaymen has put the Govts stand in suspense and ~~has~~ suspended for some time.

Recognition of S.E.Rly Unions and some others will not be given on the ground that such Unions have violated the constitution but we may cite the parallel example of their Union e.g. N.Rly.

There is vigorous propaganda that the unity will not be achieved for a long time to come. Because of the top unity they thought that they have been

Government now wants to put an end to ~~the end~~ <sup>it</sup> as the Railwaymen have stood up in spite of their attempts. They will ~~adopt~~ <sup>resort</sup> to mass victimisation.

In case an All India organisation is not achieved we shall not be able to stand against the Government's present move.

It is therefore that we should attach all importance and mobilise all our force to propagate the Vasawda and Guruswamy agreement.

Our major task:

The agreement must be implemented. Fight any sabotage.

Democratic functioning can not be stopped by the Government.

We must penetrate in INTUC as this has proved successful.

Our strikes show:

That most of the Drivers are with INTUC. This division is dangerous. Workers loose confidence.

In order to see that this policy of sabotaging etc. is defeated we must work that way.

Consciousness must be inculcated amongst the workers.

How should we work:

We should realise that we must not bother about whether we go in as an important position or any ordinary position. Penetrate we must. This should not be the only deciding factor.

United workers demand should be put forward.

Problem of unity is more important. We should forget our domination <sup>the idea of</sup> along with any group and eliminate some other group.

Possibility of winning demands is more feasible along with united front.

Being militant workers we shall emerge out of favourites again.

How is that this agreement to be achieved:

Guruswamy is calling a W/Committee is good.

1. Resolution demanding this agreement's implementation, <sup>should be passed.</sup>
2. Undertaking a terrific propaganda to create a mass sanction <sup>for</sup> ~~for a~~ demand of implementation.
3. Contact Working Committee members to explain the importance of this unity through amalgamation.
4. The failure ~~of~~ and absence at places of negotiating machinery should be shown the main reasons of all strikes etc.



5. We must also say that we do not want strikes in the interest of the Plans before us to put the Govt. on defensive.

6. This campaign shall defeat the purpose of Govt.

What we find out <sup>in these</sup> struggles:

Destruction must be checked immediately and a propaganda must be done.

Unions must be on the safe side by making <sup>with a view</sup> publication that they do not want the destruction of any article.

The fear in other parties or groups should be brought <sup>under</sup> near by making it public that we do not stand for destruction of national property.

Govt. understanding <sup>it</sup> the important weapon utilises the same against us taking the sympathy of public.

The present corruption in Rly also goes against public sympathy.

Unless the workers of Railways do not stop this bad practice they will not get a public support.

Public Sector is going to be main factor in the 5 year plan and Railways are one of them.

Consciousness in Railwaymen is much more than it was few years back. Unity of the Union shall promote a morale amongst the workers. Better service to the public should be one of the important tasks of the Union. Some ~~foreign~~ foreign countries are practicing this.

Self respect amongst the workers should be roused.

E.Rly: A classification was sought in regard to the policy of unity with INTUC keeping in view the resolution adopted by the party.

S.Rly: How should ~~we~~ fight out the mass victimisation and the moves of some groups of Individuals like Raghavan? Should we include such men also in the coming unity.

Punjab: There is a section which is bent on spoiling the National property.

Mustaq: Re. explanation of not eliminating any group.

A document regarding this meeting.

PDR: There is great unrest amongst Rlymen and unions have to face it. What should be our stand when Rlymen go on strike themselves? What should be our main demands? Where reactionary or spies of Govt. are exposed, labour <sup>except their exclusion</sup> except it, with a good spirit, of course the groups shall not be eliminated. Conflicts amongst leaders should not be promoted.

We should <sup>accept</sup> except that we failed to adopt proper policy regarding safety

S.Rly: Com. PDR's analysis is correct. but the point to stress is that Party leadership has not taken this analysis correctly up till now. The stand taken during the time of split was not appropriate otherwise the position of INTUC would have been Nil.

ERly.: Unity of slogan was given in Madras Convention but there was a departure from this. This should be classified. Methods of campaign against corruption should be clarified.

*Rationalisation*  
Rationalisation Rlys. have not been touched.

SIRly: We must have an organisation through which we may be able to function when we fail to achieve any success through Vasavda's group.

The fear of betrayal of leaders of other groups will bring a set back in the demands of Rlymen.

SIRly: 1952 Dec. during the speech of Com. Dange and Com Ajoy a unity call was given. We have tried our best to follow the same but the party did not care to look after us to make us more successful.

It will be difficult to unite with known gangsters of INTUC.

What shall be the policy to face the elections to avoid Bezwada's like murders etc. Will it not be the practice of Vaswada to make Ad-Hoc Committees where they succeed in disrupting the elections.

Com. Nambiar | General Secretary of S.E.Rly was of the opinion that there has been a  
chance for us to go on strike, we shall not check the spontaneous strikes but we must take all precautions. We must know that we should not go out of our way to have unity risking our position when we know that we have some hold and at some places a strong hold too.

It will be wrong to see that we shall create enemies while fighting corruption.

Bombay: A clarification was sought for the unity move.

PG | There is general weakness that workers do not work wholeheartedly. This  
DLH | is a general thing.

f.R.-T.U. Unity is different than that of other political parties of the country.

As a matter of class Railwaymen come in one class and their demands are the same INTUC too stands for the betterment of Rlymen.

IN Rly. we fight for united one <sup>united</sup> strong union and not a united front like that of political parties.



In Ahmadabad INTUC settles all the matters through negotiation and their last resort is strike too. This defeats their very policy.

In the face that INTUC denounces the policy of unity it is clear that they do not stand for democratic functioning.

In spite of all dirty attempts Rlymen have been able to put forward their demands.

The days are passed when worker in general would submit to whatever leaders say and it is thus we shall emerge successful. Question raised during the previous year's meeting's was not in the conditions that exist now. It should be made clear to the workers that these days their demands will not be fulfilled until the leadership stop fighting for their chairs.

Reg. groups:

We ought to eliminate the spies but this may differ in different Railways. We might be able to transform many bad elements through the moral fear.

P.R.: Second Sitting: 24-6-1956.

Demands to be put before the Railwaymen. In my opinion the ~~above~~ demand of a new wage Commission is not a correct demand. We should see whether this demand can be materialised or not.

1. In 1946 we had placed the demand of a new wage Commission. An Interim relief was granted also till new wage Commission.

C.F.C. award is a very big advance and if case the Govt. materialises the new wage commission it will effect other categories too even in private sectors too.

2. A new wage Commission will have a direct bearing on all the State Govts. The position thus is not the same as it was in 1946.

3. How are we to achieve this demand. This slogan was given by Guruswamy group. Our demand should be the basis of <sup>that there has been</sup> total increased turn-out without any significant increase in the number of R. staff. Govt. in their 5 years plan were forced to admit the demand of a wage increase in view of the increased output without any load of new workmen. We should thus put this slogan.

During the propaganda for unity if we should also include the demand of INTUC which supports <sup>our</sup> demand of an increase in wages.

Struggles and Strikes:

Trade Union unity is very important but till this is achieved we must work tactics. By having such spontaneous strikes we might lose our hold for the reason of going out of the Railway through punishment etc.

Demonstration of strength is as much of a value as would be a spontaneous strike and a demonstration of strength is of much importance without any harm to workers.

Engineering of spontaneous strikes should be avoided by us as far as possible.

Federation should be mobilised against mass victimisation. No hard and fast rule can be laid for spontaneous strikes.

Guruswamy wants also to solve the problem of mass victimisation. Here we and he agree. If we are not successful against the mass victimisation we shall not get the co-operation of the workers.

An attitude <sup>against</sup> towards corruption must be created as the members of the union shall hear whole heartedly and this has been achieved with success at places. Due to a goodwill we could get a public support too. Merchants etc. came to our conferences too with their goodwill to support us.

---



HARRY POLLIT  
COMMUNIST Party  
16 King Street  
London

In death of Ben  
Bradley we have suffered  
lost an old friend -  
colleague ~~of~~ and ~~lost~~  
lost too workers  
everywhere lost ~~lost~~  
loyal champion ~~of~~

Dampf,  
Hirshkowitz,  
Achtikow.



\* Com. Nambiar whom Com. F.R. had met ~~xxx~~ explained that Com. F.R. could not reach Delhi on 22nd. morning for the meeting as he had been ~~xxxx~~ delayed in Bombay on some urgent work. Com. F.R. had, however, sent instructions to hold the meeting on 22nd as scheduled previously for preliminary exchange of ideas and reports.

Com. M. Sen presided over the meeting.



To all P.C.s:

A meeting of the comrades working on the railways was held on 23rd & 24th June 1956. In this meeting, situation on the different railway Zones was discussed and it was decided to set up a Railway Sub-Committee under the P.B. to co-ordinate the work in the different Zones. The following were elected to form the Sub-Committee:-

1. Mahendra Sen (Secretary)
2. K.A. Nambiar.
3. K.L. Narasimhan.
4. K.S. Nadkarni.
5. Purnendu Datta Roy.

P.B.

Points as summed up by Com. P.R. on discussions held in the meeting:-

1. There have <sup>been</sup> an increasing number of spontaneous, sporadic strikes on the different railways (e.g. Kharagpure and Kalka) in the recent past. Local actions have at times taken place even on all India issues, without a central guidance or co-ordination.

The experience of these struggles has clearly brought out that the greatest weakness of the movement to-day is the absence of a strong and united centre.

Hence, the supreme need of the movement to-day is to campaign for the realization of the unity agreement between the two federations.

2. While campaigning and endeavouring to build unity, we should stand for unity everywhere irrespective of our position in it. That is, it should not weigh with us whether in a united agreement we will be in a majority, minority, in a decisive ~~pos~~ position or in no position.

The tendency to build alliances with this group or that to dominate the union or to eliminate a particular group is the case of an individual <sup>case</sup> case be taken into consideration in concrete conditions.

Questions of ideological differences should also not be raised in building T.U. unity, as T.U.s are mass plat-forms open to all views and trends.

3. Moreover, the sporadic strikes have also shown that the workers have in some cases in a fit of anger resorted to violence. This is due to lack of unity which results in frustration and failure to be able to wage a sustained struggle. This only results in more frustration.

We must raise the consciousness of the workers to wage a united and disciplined struggles. We must condemn any resort to violence as harmful to interests of workers and the country.

Against the Government's policy to isolate the railway workers on the basis of sporadic actions, we should isolate the Government stating that we are against sporadic strikes and for that stress need for a united organisation to build a proper disciplined organisation and movement.

These sporadic strikes serve a particular purpose at a particular time. But should workers continue with these tactics? No, for the reasons given above. Demands should be put forward, workers mobilised and negotiate on that basis. But, at certain stages, workers may have to go on strike, negotiate and settle.

4. The railway workers occupy a strategic position. It has dual aspects. The railway workers do not only work on the railways but also come directly into touch with the public and this raises the question of relationship between the workers and the public. To-day, this relationship cannot be ~~xxx~~ said to be good. Corruption amongst the Staff directly coming into contact with the public is a very big cause of this. We must create a moral atmosphere amongst the railwaymen against any acts of corruption. Better service to the public should be taken as a part of trade union activities.

Moreover, in the economy of the country, public sector is going to play a very major part. So, how railway workers conduct their struggles is going to affect all the workers.

5. Regarding demands, we feel that demand for a new Pay Commission in to-day's situation is not correct. The Government has seen what a Pay Commission means, as it affects not only one section of the Government employees but all sections and the workers in the private enterprises too. So the Government would oppose this demand stiffly. The realizable demand is the demand for 25% increase in wages on the basis of existing productivity, as it is a demand acceptable to all trends in the T.U. movement.

6. As a result of the recent actions, question of victimisation on a large scale has also cropped up. The Federation must be pressed to take up this question. The workers must simultaneously be mobilised to resist victimisation.

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WAMEIAR AND KALYANSUNDARAM  
SOUTHERN RAILWAY LABOUR UNION  
GOLDENROCK

I AM IN TRIVANDRUM THIRD FOURTH FIFTH STOP  
CAN YOU MEET ME THERE DISCUSS AIRF PROBLEMS  
STOP CONFIRM THERE

DANGE

*Shankar*  
*30/6*

Railway Sub-Committee met on 31-7-56. at Calcutta. Coms. Nambiar, Purnendu and M.Sen attended.

AGENDA:

1. Re. functioning of the Committee.
  2. Report of the 16-man Committee of the NFIR on amalgamation.
1. Re. Functioning of the Committee:-

(a) The Committee felt that the main difficulty in the functioning of the Committee is to be the lack of any finances. To discharge its responsibilities, it would be necessary for the Committee members sometimes to go to a Zone, meet the Zonal Committee, to get reports and discuss the issues with it. This requires some finance at the disposal of the Committee. Travelling expenses will be necessary for the Members too (except for Com. Nambiar's travel) for attending the Committee meetings. Then, some expenditure would be incurred on postage, stationery etc.

This would need at least 100/- per mensem.

The Committee requests the P.B. to consider this and take a decision on it.

(b) The Committee members in various Zones will require travelling in their respective zones as for example Com. Purnendu in E.R. & S.E.R. Zones to meet the Zonal Committees. These expenses should be met by the P.B.

(c) Com. Nambiar, and M.Sen suggested that there should be one Comrade from each Zone on the Committee to enable the Committee to co-ordinate and function better. On the proposal of Com. Purnendu to review the position after the functioning of the present Committee for 2 to 3 months, the suggestion was postponed.

(d) Com. Vithal Chaudhry has informed that it would not be possible for Com. Nadkarni to function on the Committee, as he was now a part timer and that the Bombay Committee had suggested Com. D.S. Vaidya's name to replace Com. Nadkarni.

Moreover, Com. K.L. Narasimham has also expressed his inability to function for the C.R. Zone on the Committee, as had been decided upon.

The Committee requests the P.B. to discuss the above situation and decide re. Bombay Committee's suggestion in consultation with the Maharashtra Committee and the other P.C.s concerned.

The P.B. should decide how C.<sup>4</sup> & W.R. Zones will be co-ordinated by the Committee and take steps to strengthen it accordingly.

As regards N.E.R., it was decided that Com. Purnendu or in the alternative, Com. M.Sen, must try to attend the first meeting of the NER Zonal Co-ordination Committee, study the situation and then recommend about its representation on the Committee, for it is not possible otherwise to co-ordinate



The travelling expenses for this purpose will have to be met by the P.B.

(e) The Committee noted with regret that the Circular to the P.C.s re. the formation of the Committees, a note for the P.units on the conclusions of the last railway Comrades' meeting and notes for New Age and T.U. Record reviewing and summing up the situation on the Railways, which Com. P.R., P.B.M. in-Charge was to do, had not yet been done.

Now, as asked by Com. P.R., the Committee will draft the circular and the Committee deputed Coms. M.Sen and Nambiar to do so at Delhi.

To facilitate the functioning of the Committee, the circular to the P.C.s re. its formation, functions and immediate tasks is essential.

For future, the Committee decided that in a like situation, the Secretary and the Members available should make a draft and place it before the P.B.M. in-charge for final approval and speed up its circular or publication as the case may be.

Com. P.R. be requested to immediately prepare the other above-mentioned note and articles as they are badly needed for clarifying ~~the~~ unifying the ~~understanding~~ understanding of the Comrades in accordance with the Conclusions at the last railway Comrades' meeting.

(2) Report of the 16-man Committee of the NFIR on amalgamation of the two federations, their respective unions was made by Com. Purnendu.

*Mohendra Sen.*  
Secretary.



✓ Gar. file  
7. OAKHILL MANSIONS.  
ETON AVENUE.  
EAST BARNET. HERTS.  
ENGLAND.

18. 9. 1956.

S. A. Dange,  
9, Kohinoor Road,  
Dadar, BOMBAY.14.  
INDIA.

Dear Dange,

As promised - herewith some notes re. myself, a bit sketchy but will no doubt do. You will have received the copies of the documents which you selected for copying. I sent these about a month ago.

To-day I have sent a complete set of documents your require by TOM. Also as promised. I trust you will get them safe. How is Mrs.Dange - I hope much better. Give my very best wishes to all Ghate, S.S.Mirajkar, Tambitkar, Phatkar, Doc. and others.

I have not been feeling to good lately and am under rather heavy treatment.

Hope you are well,  
Best greetings,  
Yours fraternally,

*B. Bradley*

Ben Bradley.

Born January 22nd, 1898. Working Class family. Education up to fourteen years, Higher Elementary School. Apprenticed to engineering industry. Joined British Navy 1916; served three years during 1914-1918 War. Demobilised January, 1919.

Returned to industry as Engineer. Became an active member of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. Took prominent part in the fight for one Union for Engineering Workers. Finally achieved amalgamation of Unions in 1920 and the formation of the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

Took keen interest in various questions including growing unemployment; became member of National Unemployed Workers Committee Movement.

Became unemployed myself in 1921. Successfully applied for position of Civilian Artificer to go to India. Went to India in mid 1921, worked in civilian job in Rawalpindi until late 1922. This was during period of most bitter struggle on part of Indian people for Freedom. Following the imposition of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms and the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh Amritsar 1919.

I witnessed many examples of oppression and things which I felt to be wrong. It was as a result of many of the things I saw in India and the economic conditions under which Indian people were forced to live that I came to realise that British rule over India was not only against the Indian people, but against the British people, and was wrong and should be ended.

Shortly after my return to England I joined the Communist Party, early 1923.

I became more active in the political as well as the Industrial field. Early in 1924 I was elected onto the London District Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, of which I remained a member until I left for India again in 1927. During this period the most outstanding struggle was that of the miners which resulted in the General Strike of 1926. I was a member of the Central Engineers' Strike Committee in London. Also during this period I had conducted, as Shop Steward, a successful strike of workers at the Associated Equipment Co. works.

Over these years I had gathered quite a lot of experience both as a result of Political as well as Industrial activity. In addition this activity had brought me victimisation, although I managed to get jobs from time to time at my trade.

About July, 1927 I was asked if I would like to visit India again. This time more as a friend of the people of India, to help them with my knowledge and experience on Trade Union and strike struggles. I warmly welcomed this proposal of re-visiting India; I had a keen desire to meet India under different conditions, and to meet Indian people at close quarters.

I was told it would mean about six months and I would be back again, in fact of course it was six and a half years before I got the chance of returning to Britain.

They were six and a half years packed with the finest possible experience in the finest possible cause - that is, the struggle of a great people for their National Liberation and in this the struggle of the masses of workers and peasants to raise their economic standards.

During these years I was privileged to work, associate, live and go to prison with my Indian comrades; what greater compensation could one ask for four and a half years spent at Meerut Prison.

Today I look back with pride at the period from 1927 to 1934 when I was privileged to work along with Indian comrades and inside the Indian Trade Union and Working Class Movement. In this I particularly cherish the memories of the great strike struggles of 1928 and the founding of the Girni Kamgar (Red Flag) Union.

My association with India is now of nearly thirty years standing, as many Indian students will bear witness, since I left India in 1934, through organisations like the League against Imperialism, India League and many student bodies.

I trust that my association will continue for many more years, and that I shall live to see India again. The Communist Party of India I am confident will have taken India a considerable distance on the road to a Socialist India.



Since leaving India in 1934 my political activity has covered a wide field. Working full time for the British Communist Party, and being in charge of the Party Colonial Department for many years, the Industrial Department for a short while, and the Central Literature Commission.

During the years 1934 onwards, I was a member of the Central Committee and Executive Committee of the Party.

Attended the 7th World Congress of the Communist International, special attention to India resulting in several documents and statements being published on the situation in India.

Empire Day 1940, I was arrested for making a speech in the market place, Walthamstow, and finally received 3 months hard labour. After release became National Organiser of the Peoples' Convention 1940-1942.

Became Circulation Manager of the Daily Worker in 1946, held position for seven years.

Returned to Colonial Department, Party Centre. Present occupation National Organiser of the Britain-China Friendship Association.

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# COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OFFICE

Grams : MARXBADI  
Phone : 25794

General Secretary : AJOY GHOSH

ASAF ALI ROAD,  
NEW DELHI

October 17, 1956

All PBMs

Dear Comrades,

Herewith please find enclosed copy of a telegram that we received from Comrade Dange on 16th and the reply that we sent to the same.

G r e e t i n g s ,

*Ajoy Ghosh*

( Ajoy Ghosh )

- (1) Copy of telegram from Comrade S.A.Dange addressed to Comrade Ajoy received on 16th October, 1956.

" I THINK P.B. SHOULD SERIOUSLY CONSIDER PATTON'S PROPOSAL OF THREE PARTIES MERGER STOP WE MAKE POSITIVE PROPOSALS JUST BECAUSE WE ARE STRONG IN THAT STATE STOP IN PRINCIPLE NOTHING WRONG TO MERGE WITH GOOD SOCIAL DEMOCRATS PROVIDED BASIC THINGS REMAIN VALID- DANGE"

- (2) Reply sent to Com.Dange's above telegram by Com.Ajoy Ghosh on 17th October, 1956:

" My dear Dange,

..... I received your telegram dated 16th. Your suggestion that the P.B. should "seriously consider Patton's proposal of three parties merger came to us as a surprise. We did not discuss the matter in the P.B. meeting which was held on 13th and 14th because no one of us even dreamt of such a thing. I think and Comrades Shupash and EMS who are here also think that your proposal is absolutely incorrect. Moreover, sending such a proposal by a telegram is very irregular and inauspicious. ....

G r e e t i n g s,

sd.Ajoy Ghosh

- (3) Extract from Shri Patton Thanu Pillai's statement referred to in Com.Dange's telegram:

On 3rd October, in Trivandrum, Sri Patton Thanu Pillai in an interview to the correspondent of the Kerala Kaumudi (Malayalam Daily) said:

"..... If the Communists and the RSPers give up their political parties, I am prepared to abandon the PSP to form a new democratic party against the Congress to safeguard the interests of Kerala....."

-----



MEMBER OF  
THE LOK SABHA



14/6, Gariahat Road  
Calcutta 19  
18. 10. 56.

Dear Comrade Dange,

By now you must have received the wire sent by me + Taber Hessman. We welcome you back home + I hope Tai is better.

It is very urgently necessary that you come at once for at least a couple of days to Kulti + Burdipur. You remember when you insisted on my accepting the Vice-Presidency, you said you would be there + that I need not worry. Immediately after that you were arrested + naturally could not come. Various developments have taken place + the workers are eagerly awaiting your advice. The demands for your coming is so overwhelming that it is no longer possible to delay it now you are back. Our enemies are <sup>also</sup> waiting to see if you come or not. I have been forced to go off + on + I am finding it very difficult with my constituency work

Worries are us. In any case you have got to  
come once + that soon.

I believe you are coming to Calcutta  
for C.C. meeting. If so, you must come ~~also~~ at least  
3/4 days in advance. You have to address a  
meeting at Kulti, another at Beroampur, meet the  
Working Committee + also some group meetings.  
This is essential. Please let us know when you  
are arriving so that we may make all  
arrangements. Even if C.C. meeting is not held in  
Calcutta, you must come by the end of this month.  
Please treat this as very urgent + send me a  
line in reply here as well as to Tiber Hossain,  
United Iron + Steel Workers Union, C/o Action Committee,  
Beroampur.

If you do not come now, things will  
be very difficult. So please do not delay to  
let us know when you are coming.

With greetings + best wishes to both  
Tas + yourself.

Yours sincerely

Renu (Chakravarty)



# COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

WEST BENGAL COMMITTEE

64A LOWER CIRCULAR ROAD : : CALCUTTA-16

Calcutta

18.10.56.

Dear Dange,

We are prepared to spare Com T. N. Sridhanta for W. F. T. U for one year. Please make arrangements for his going. He has got passport for 5 yrs.

You know West Bengal has been seriously affected by flood where nearly 50 lacs of people have been involved and 12 lacs rendered completely homeless and without any means <sup>livelihood</sup> of life. The local T. U. are trying to collect money. Workers are working overtime and handing over the money to P. R. C.

I think that you should appeal to W. F. T. U to send contribution to A. D. T. U. C for flood relief urgently. It is proper that you as vice president make this appeal to W. F. T. U.

Yours  
Ramesh



Dated, 18th October, 56

Dear Comrade Dange,

Your letter and cheque dated 13.10.56 has been received here this morning. Com. Sunil is not here, so I am writing in his place.

In response to your telegram from Bombay I cabled a message to the WFTU head quarters asking for aid on 15.10.56. This evening I have received a cable from Casadie, Secy, WFTU, expressing sympathy and solidarity for the victims of Burradhemmo disaster and their relations.

I have written a letter to the Genl. Secy. of our Ranigaunj branch to arrange a programme for distributing the money for relief, sent by the WFTU. I will hand him over the cheque ~~and~~ when the arrangement is completed. It is quite possible, that the distribution will take place after the coming meeting of the executive committee ~~AMWF~~. The meeting is scheduled to be held on 8th & 9th Nov, the notice of which has also been sent to your Delhi address.

Another meeting is being arranged to be held on 10th Nov with the representatives of the Bihar and Bengal PCs and those of Ranigunj, Hazaribagh and Dhanbad DCs at Dhanbad to discuss the problems of coal movement in these border dists. I hope, it will be a very useful meeting and your presence for a day or two will be most useful. Please consider over my suggestion and if you agree please let me know. In that case I will send the confirmed date by wire.

I have sent a report on the miness movement in this country in the last three months to WFTU head office this morning with a copy to AITUC, Delhi.

Expecting an early reply,

Yours fraternally,

Prosanta Basu

Received  
28/10/56

# THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

## WEST BENGAL COMMITTEE

64A LOWER CIRCULAR ROAD :: CALCUTTA-16

Telegrams : "COMMUNIST"

Telephone : 44-5999

9 Kohinor Road  
Bombay. 14

Calcutta  
22.10.56.

Dear Dange,

Yours of 17th instant

- 1) Sunil Mukherji has not written to us anything about relief of Bonna Dheem. I do not know if he has contacted the local people still outside J.M.T.
- 2) I will enquire about the cheque sent by you in Bijoy's name
- 3) Deben Sen probably has not been able to get anything out of Dr. Roy. He had to meet a retreat with some force and he had to live his life as he was the stronger force in the situation.
- 4) When you come for CC meeting in the last week of November in Calcutta you can have a local meeting of the A.S. one but I do not think that any meeting of the comrades are either possible or useful. All will be busy with election. Anyway we will see what can be done.



THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

WEST BENGAL COMMITTEE

6A LOWER BELUR ROAD, CALCUTTA 19

TELEPHONE : 44-5292

TELEGRAM : 44-5292

5) I think you shall have to visit Durgachip  
at that time for Election speeches. We are  
contesting four seats out of 5 in Durgachip &  
~~at~~ majority of electors are tea garden labour.

Yours

Ramen





The Burmese situation has again reached a stalemate. The Tribunals and Supreme Court did not help the workers. Company's offensive is growing in diverse forms. And the Union leadership is failing to mobilise the workers in a united action. A section of the leadership is seeking a short-cut and thus the slogan of "Kalkatta Chalo" or Calcutta March has been allowed to gain popularity. But, even then, the workers do feel the necessity of your presence at the critical hour of the movement.

It has been learnt from P.C. that the 1st week of Nov. will be best suitable for you. We are therefore proposing to a 6 days programme for you in Asansol for Burmese & Coal. The period may be from 3rd Nov. to 8th Nov. If you agree with us, please confirm at your earliest and write to Taher Sahib also. We are waiting anxiously for you.

Thanks for the cheque. Hope you and Mrs. Bang are O.K. We are L.L.S.  
Yours sincerely  
Sunit Kumar



13/50, Kursawan,  
Kanpur.

C.P. 76

My Dear Com. Dango,

Yesterday I learnt at Agra that you have come back. I was on my way to Delhi to Agra. The matters concerning the SRS and the Rationalisation Committee. Mr. B. B. Bhatnagar told me of your arrival and also that P.R. was ~~not~~ not there. So I abandoned the idea and am writing to you. Since your last letter alluded to the SRS the matters concerning our attitude were resolved within our group as well as the Sabha General Council for a temporary period. But now with the submission of the Report to the Government and its leakage in the press is having its own reaction. We have gone through the Report and also the Note of Dissent of Sri G.D. Bajpai. Find enclosed the summary of the Report and the Dissent as it has appeared in the press. The Hindi Edition of the National Herald has editorially commented on it. National Herald too has published two long articles, one by "Chronicle" and "Economicus" favouring the Sabha's dissent. The Committee has not gone back from what it was inclined to give them in the last meeting.

Since the submission of the Report the Government has actively tried to get into the affairs of the Sabha. Taking advantage of the delay in the elections of the Sabha they have gone in the press saying that the Sabha's office-bearers have ceased to be the members of the Sabha according to its own registered constitution. We have remedied this defect by an amendment. But the real plan of the Government seems to be to encourage a section of the Sabha to take initiative for building an anti-communist alliance within the Sabha and try to make Communists ineffective if not exclude them from the organisation. They are playing on the slogan that the Communists are very active and they will repeat 1938 & exclude everybody else and capture it. To some extent it has cut ice and the leadership minus G.D.B. and Arjun has been rallied on this point. G.D.B. too is not very active in defence of the Sabha and feels frustrated and demoralised over the results of the Committee. Under pressure from such developments we have decided to hold Sabha elections in the next month. Some elements are also demanding the shifting of the Sabha Office and they have openly stated that this step will convince the Government that the Sabha is not in Communists' hands. We opposed it and the Bureau has decided it. The matter is coming up for discussion in the next General Council meeting on Sunday next. The anti-communist moves such as these are also having adverse reaction on our



comrades working in the Sabha. They consider my attitude to be of "surrender" and they are too critical about it. In short the entire development demands once again an examination of the position and decision for the future course of action. I feel that your help will be of immense help to us at this stage. The General Elections and the candidatures for the same and the parties and individuals are further complicating the matters. There are too many candidates and only 6 seats including that of the Parliament. Two general secretaries of the Sabha, Sarva sri Arjun Arora and Vimal Mehrotra and four members of the Presidium of the Sabha, Sarvasri Yusuf, Rajaran Shastri, G.D. Bajpai and G.S. Chaubey are in the field and there are in fact only three seats for the Assembly that are considered to be "labour" seats. Rationalisation Committee Report as it is, Sabha's Elections and the General Elections all have come together in the <sup>background of</sup> already complicated and weak functioning of the Sabha.

Your coming to Kanpur from this point of view is essential if your as well as Tai's health permit. I hope you will be coming to Delhi to attend the CC meeting at Delhi and then you can find a day or two for us. If it is impossible for you <sup>to</sup> come this side then let us know the dates on which you will be available at Bombay.

With Greetings,

23/10/1956.

Yours Comradely,

RAJAY.

Ram Asrey

Sri S.A. Dange,  
9, Kohinoor Road,  
Dadar,  
Bombay, 14

24th October, 1956.

From:- Sri D. K. Ganguly,  
P 19, Hari Sabha Street,  
Kilderpore, Calcutta-23.

My dear Com. Dange,

I hope you will recollect our discussion at your residence sometime in July 1956 just on the day you left for Europe while I had been to Bombay to attend the conference of the All India Port & Dock Workers Federation. I am happy to let you know that the two unions of Calcutta Port, Calcutta Port Trust Employees' Association (where both C.P.I. & Bolshevik Party were working, we are a major force in this union) and Calcutta Port Mazdoor Panchayet (led by P.S.P. and our comrades were also working here) have merged and formed one union named Calcutta Port Granik Union. This amalgamated union has got the following of 30 thousand Port workers of Calcutta. Now in this union, as political force, C.P.I., P.S.P. & B.P.I. are working together. This is undoubtedly a very important step for working class unity and historical event for the Calcutta Port workers.

I hope you are keenly watching the development on the proposed strike of the Port & Dock workers of all over India under the leadership of All India Port & Dock Workers Federation. The scheduled date for the strike to begin with is 15th November, 1956. Discussions have taken place with the Govt. and the Govt. has sent a reply to the Federation in which they have refused to consider the question of enhancement of pay & D.A., the foremost demand of the strike. The Standing Committee ~~meeting~~ met in Bombay last week and the report has already been published in the newspaper.

The meeting of the General Council of the Federation will be held in Calcutta on 29th October, 1956 in order to discuss the present position and decide the future course.

The main purpose of my this letter is to bring it your notice that since the creation of the Federation our Comrades working in the unions of different Ports, ~~xxxx~~ save and except Calcutta do not take much interest in its functioning.

After a good deal of struggle we have been able to include Com. Iyyengar in the Standing Committee of the Federation but unfortunately Com. Iyyengar has not attended a single meeting of the Federation uptill now. I do not know what our comrades in the other Ports i.e. Cochin, Vizag are doing.

In view of the above may I request you to take some personal attention in writting to those comrades and unions in Madras, Cochin & Vizag and contact me, so that we can know each others position and decide our course of action. It would be very much helpful if they could come down Calcutta and attend the proposed council meeting to be held on 29th October, 1956.

I hope you will also agree that this is the most powerful Federation rather than only representative organisation in the Port and we should work here ~~xxxxxx~~ seriously.

Awaiting to hear from you,

With greetings,

Comradely yours,  
D.K. Ganguly



74.76  
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Dear Comrade,

In view of the fact that approaching elections and the common front that is being forged round the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, our Party ~~insists~~<sup>wishes</sup> to raise certain issues connected with that developments and discuss them with your Party. I am sure you will realise their importance to the success of the Samyukta Maharashtra movement and the election struggle that is ahead of us.

Our Party <sup>a</sup> warmly welcomes the understanding and unity that have ~~development~~ developed among the progressive political parties in Maharashtra who all have contributed greatly to the success of the movement. Thanks to <sup>this</sup> the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti has become an embodiment of popular aspirations and unity and we consider it the boundant duty of all to strengthen the authority and unity of the Samiti.

<sup>was</sup> The decision to evolve a common electoral programme on the basis of the fundamental principles adopted by the Convention which<sup>1</sup> held in Bombay on 30th of September marks a great step forward in the struggle for Samyukta Maharashtra and has immensely helped and <sup>ed</sup> strengthened popular unity and solidarity. It has laid the foundation of a big electoral victory against the Congress in the coming elections.

The common electoral program comprising as it does such fundamental questions as the question of land to the tiller, opposition to communalism and perspectives of socialism is surely wider in its social political objectives than the single united demand of Samyukta Maharashtra with which the movement began. Hence those who agreed to fight together for the demand of Samyukta Maharashtra have agreed to move further ahead on the ~~a~~ road to progress.

But just this very thing raises certain problems in the minds of the public before whom we are to appear on the electoral



platform with a common social political program, not only for Maharashtra or Mahagujrath but for the whole country. They see among us not only democratic progressive parties owing allegiance to socialism, but also organisations like the Janasangh & Hindu Mahasabha, who acknowledgedly preach a communal platform, and in their own programs are nowhere in agreement with the fundamentals that we have evolved in the Sanyukta Maharashtra Samiti, despite the fact that they have worked with us in the Sanyukta Maharashtra struggle and have given formal consent to the Samiti's electoral program also.

The democratic masses are bound to ask us as to how we can reconcile the fact that while the Samiti declares unequivocal opposition to communalism it makes an electoral alliance with the supporters of communalism namely the parties of Janasangh and Hindu Mahasabha.

The platform of the Communist Party, as is wellknown, is opposed to that of the communal organisations like the Janasangh and Hindu Mahasabha. And not only the Communist Party but others also hold the same position.

In such conditions, is it not necessary that those parties who hold anti-communal views make their standpoint clear to the masses, among whom there are large muslim minorities and also linguistic minorities, who look upon communalism as a reactionary platform inconsistent with the progressive interests of the people and the country as a whole ?

While there is no doubt that the Congress leadership, while speaking against communalism, makes opportunate alliances with whole groups and organisations of avowed reactionaries by simply changing their party labels, yet the question will remain for millions, among whom there are even congressmen who sympathise with us, as to how we can allow room for such a thing among

ourselves.

We think that those of us, who feel the necessity of clarifying our position before the masses ought to pay serious attention to this problem. We must find a way by which we shall be able to set at rest the doubts of the people, assure them that the fundamental broad democratic program that the Samiti has evolved is not an electoral smoke-screen but is meant for loyal fulfilment not only during the election, but even afterwards. At the same time, we must find the ways to such assurance in a manner that will not destroy the unity that has been achieved in the platform of the Samiti, which unity also is a mighty weapon to defeat our opponents, the Congress, in the elections and win not only Samyukta Maharashtra for Maharashtrians but also Maha Gujrath for the Gujrathis, pledged forward program of democracy and socialism for the whole country.

We therefore consider it necessary that we should meet to solve this problem while the electoral work of the Samiti is being organised, of course, without impairing the unity that has been built round the Samiti.

We hope we shall meet with understanding from all in the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, since we are raising this, not only in the interests of the Communist Party but of all progressive forces inside and outside the Samiti.



४१. अध्यक्ष

आखिल महाराष्ट्र सं. म. समिती  
मुंबई - पुणे

सप्रेम नमस्कार. विशेष. विल्पार्ले येथील समितीच्या कांही गोष्टी मी आपल्या नजरेसमोर आणू इच्छितो.

तपूर्वी विल्पार्ले समितीत तीन कम्युनिस्ट (त्यांतील एक विल्पार्ले सोडून गेले) व नऊ प्र. समाजवादी, चार स्वतंत्र व एक जनसंघाचा प्रतिनिधि इत्यादी या समावेश होतो हे लक्षांत असू शकते.

प्रारंभापासूनच प्रजासिमाजवादी पक्षांतील श्री गांधी व श्री धुरंधर यांची भूमिका सामुदायिक सत्याग्रह व संप आणि हुरताक यांना विरोध करणारी होती. तीन जूनचा सामुदायिक सत्याग्रह व संप याबाबत केल्या गेलेल्या चर्चेत श्री गांधी यांचा विशेष विरोध होता. दिल्ली सत्याग्रहाला पाठवावयाच्या सत्याग्रहासाठी जनतेजवळून पैसे गोळा करून नयेत कारण त्यामुळे लोक पुढे आपल्याला पेशाची मदत करणार नाहीत असा श्री धुरंधर व गांधी यांचा अंदाज होता. शिवाय दिल्लीला समितीने स्वस्वर्चाने तीनच सत्याग्रही पाठवले असा आग्रह हे लोक धरून लागले. तात्पर्य दिल्ली व तीन जूनचा सत्याग्रह याबाबत या लोकांची हे सत्याग्रह मोठे होऊ नयेत अशी व संपाला आणि निदर्शनाला विरोधक अशी भूमिका होती. पण मागाहून सर्वांच्या आग्रहामुळे व सत्याग्रहामुळेच्या उत्साहाने ती बदलली.

जरी काही झेड लावण्याच्या बाबतीत म्हणजे तर १६ फेब्रुवारीला श्री. धुरंधर यांनी स्वतःच्या घरावर काका जे जेही लावला नव्हता. सत्याग्रह सुरू असता मी माह न्यांत हे ग्रहस्थ विशेष उत्साहही दाखवित नव्हते.



आठ ऑगस्ट नंतर गुजराथी जनतेची द्विभाषिक विरोधी अधाडी निर्माण झाली. त्यावेळी गुजराथी भाषिक विद्यार्थी व जनता यांचे एकत्र येणे म्हणजे भांडणास आवाहन होईल असा लढ्याच्या रंगणात उतरलेल्या गुजराथी जनतेविषयी श्री गांधी यांनी आपला समज बोलून दाखविला आहे. द्विभाषिक आल्यामुळे मुंबईचा प्रश्न सुटला आहे. आता आपल्याला द्विभाषिक माध्य करायला हरकत नाही अशी भूमिका श्री गांधी व श्री. पातकर यांनी घेतलेली आहे. मात्राइन मात्र हे लोक बदलले. या सर्व भूमिकांना कम्युनिस्टांच्या विरोध झाल्यामुळेच समितीतील गोंधर्व व भांडणे निर्माण झाली आणि विघ्न पाळा गेले.

या सर्व गोष्टीवर ताण म्हणजे गेल्या महिन्यांत गणेशोत्सवाच्या दिवसांत, पुढे येणाऱ्या निवडणुकीकडे लक्ष देऊन उन्धेरी, पारल, मठ, वेसावा आणि जोगेश्वरी येथील विभाग समित्यांचे संयुक्त सभा घेण्याबाबतची घटना. आपण सं. म. समितीच्या तर्फे निवडणुका लढविणार तेव्हा वरील समितींच्या मिळून होत असलेल्या मतदारसंघ जागृत करणे व निवडणुका जिंकण्याचा प्रयत्न करणे आवश्यक आहे. या दोन गोष्टी ध्यानांत घेऊन combined संयुक्त समित्या ~~तर्फे~~ पुढे वरील मतदारसंघांतील सत्याग्रहीचे संमेलन व द्विभाषिक विरोधी मेळावा या गोष्टी समितीचे कम्युनिस्ट सदस्य श्री. देशपांडे व जेधूर यांनी मांडल्या. द्विभाषिक विरोधी मेळाव्यांत जास्त जास्त गुजराथी लोक सामील द्यावे या प्रयत्नालाही श्री नंददा पातकर, व श्री गांधी यांनी विरोध केला. त्यासाठी सूचविल्या जाणाऱ्या का. वजूभाई शुक्ला या नांवालाही त्यांनी विरोध केला. दुसऱ्या कोणत्याही



गुजराती नांवाला त्यांचा विरोध होता. गुजराती जनतेच्या पुढाऱ्यांची व त्या जनतेच्या लढकू सहकार्यांची पर्वा न करता आम्ही द्विभाषिकाला विरोध करू असा श्री गांधी व श्री पातकर यांचा समज आहे. त्यामुळे द्विभाषिक विरोधी विराट मेळावा व सत्याग्रह समेलने यास पाहिजे तसे जनतेचे (गुजराती) सहकार्य मिळाले नाही. हा एक मोठा तोंड आहे असे माझे मत आहे.

शिवाय सर्व मतदारसंघांतील संयुक्त समित्यांनी हा कार्यक्रम ठरविला होता तेव्हा सर्व समित्यांतर्फे त्यांचे details ठरवावे तर त्यालाही श्री. पातकर, श्री. गुप्ते, गांधी व श्री. धुरंधर यांचा विरोधच होता. त्यांनी विले पारले समितीने या गोष्टी ठरवल्या असा आग्रह धरून न त्याच जेव्हा श्री. देवधर व श्री. देशपांडे यांनी विरोध केला तेव्हा हे लोक कार्यात बाधा आणणारे आहेत असा प्रचार सुरू केला आहे. श्री. देवधर व श्री. देशपांडे यांचे म्हणणे असे की विराट मेळावाचा कार्यक्रम मतदारसंघांतील सर्व समित्यांनी एकत्र येऊन जसा ठरविला तसाच तो details मध्ये सर्व समित्यांनी एकत्र येऊन ठरवल्याप्रमाणे ठरवावा किंवा निश्चित करावा. पण त्याला श्री. गांधी, पातकर, धुरंधर आदि लोकांचा विरोध होता. या लोकांच्या संयुक्त समित्याच्या तर्फेच सर्व कार्य आपल्याकडे - म्हणजे पारले समितीकडे ओढवून वेण्याच्या कारवाईची खबर अन्धेरी येथील कार्यकर्ते श्री. गुडकरी यांना श्री. देशपांडे यांनी दिली. त्यामुळे कार्यक्रम स. म. समित्यांच्या संयुक्त सभेत ठरला.

पण श्री. गुडकरी यांना श्री. देशपांडे यांनी गैर-समज फैलावणारी बातमी दिली असा चमत्कारिक ग्रह निर्माण करून श्री. देशपांडे यांना समितीमधून काढून टाकण्यापर्यंत श्री. पातकर व श्री. गुप्ते यांनी आग्रह धरला. त्याचा परिणाम असा झाला आहे की



समितीत गैरसभज व असहकाराचें वातावरण निर्माण झाले आहे. पुढील काम जें महत्त्वाचें आहे-करता येत नाही.

मध्यंतरीच्या काळांत श्री पातकर यांनी समितीचे एक सेक्रेटरी श्री गुहे यांच्या अधिकाराचा उपयोग करून एक सभा बोलाविली. तिला समितीचे दुसरे सेक्रेटरी श्री देवधर यांनी हक्क घेतली. म्हणून ता. १९ ऑक्टोबरच्या सभेत समितीच्या कोणत्याही सभासदांला सभा ~~सभे~~ बोलावण्याचा अधिकार देण्यांत आलेला ठराव बहुमताने पास करून देण्यांत आला. एकमताने नवरे-आतापर्यंत समितीचे सर्व निर्णय एकमताने पास होत पण इल्ली गेल्या पंधरावड्यांत हे निर्णय बहुमताने पास करून देण्याचा सपाट सुरवा झाला आहे.

कोणत्याही सभासदांला (सेक्रेटरी खेरीजकरून) सभा बोलावण्याचा अधिकार देणे हा बहुमताने पास झालेला निर्णय आणि शिषाय समितीचे निर्णय बहुमताने घेतलेले ~~निर्णय~~ घेणे या गोष्टी एकजूटिस निष्ठातक आहेत. कोणत्याही परिस्थितीत ह्या गोष्टी सहन करता येणार नाहीत. शिषाय या गोष्टीमुळे समितीला प तडा जाईल. समितीची एकजूट टिकविण्यासाठी बहुमताने ~~घेतलेले~~ निर्णय निर्णय घेतले जाता कामा नयेत. ते एकमतानेच घेतले जावेत, असा आमचा आग्रह आहे.

आणखी एक गोष्ट. शहर व मध्यवर्ती समितीने संयुक्त महाराष्ट्रवादी राजबंध्यांच्या कुटुंबिया साठी मदतफंड गोळा करण्याचें ठरविले होते. श्री पातकर यांच्या त्याही गोष्टीला विरोध होऊ. कारण लोक पैसे देणार नाहीत हें एक व अशाच बंदीतील



राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघवाल्या सत्याग्रहींच्या कुटुंबियांना कोणी मदत दिली नव्हती. म्हणून सं. म. राजबंध्याच्या कुटुंबियांसाठी मदत गोळा करू नये.

हे मिथार आणि हे मत संयुक्त महाराष्ट्रवाद्याने फंगट करणां शोभत नाही. त्याचे म्हणणे पुढे समितीच्या मासिक फंडातून आवेत आणि गोळा करू नये. पण राजबंध्याच्या कुटुंबियांसाठी गोळा करावयाचा फंड जनतेतून गोळा करण्याबाबत असलेली राजकीय प्रचाराची भूमिका या ठिकाणी लक्षात घेतली गेली नाही. जर सं. म. वारी राजबंदी वहरसंस्थे कम्युनिस्ट असल्यामुळे त्यांच्याविरुद्ध म्हणून अशा भूमिका घेण्यात आली असो माझा ग्रह आहे.

विल्पाळे समितीतील श्री. गांधी व श्रीपातफा हे दोन गृहस्थ त्यांच्या सर्व कारवायांचा जोरिपोर्ट लावला आहे त्यावरून कम्युनिस्ट विरोधी अधिष्ठा निर्माण करण्याच्या मार्ग आहेत असे दिसते. हल्ली कम्युनिस्टांच्या कोणत्याही सुचवसे त्यांच्या विरोध असतो. यामुळे समितीचे संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र हे ध्येय दूरचे राखे त्याचे परिवर्तने *Communist alliance* मध्ये झाले आहे अशा काय असा दाट संशय येतो. अशा परिस्थितीत पुंढई-बळगांव कारवारसह संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र निर्माण करण्याचे ध्येय बाजूला पाडून कम्युनिस्ट विरोधाचे एवजुतीत खिंडार पाडण्याचे काय सुरू झाले आहे की काय असे वाटू लागले आहे.

पुंढईतील विभाग समित्यांत विल्पाळे अन्धेरी विभागांतली समित्यांनी फार महत्त्वाचे कार्य बजावले आहे. पण हल्ली त्या ठिकाणी बाध येऊ



- न भक्त्याच गोष्ठीना उमलीरूप देण्याचा  
 सुपाटा चालू आहे कदाचित Election आल्यामुळे  
 ही भावना उपस्थित झाली असेल. किंवा समितीच्या  
 बाहेरील संयुक्त पुराकाराच्यात फुट टाकणारे  
 लोक याका कारण असतील. आपण त्यांची  
 शहानिशा करून ही गोष्ट होणार नाही यासाठी  
 समितीच्या कार्यकर्त्यांत एकवाक्यता निर्माण  
 करावी एवढीच विनंती.

शिवाय समितीच्या कामाचे नियम जाळून  
 देऊन समितीचे सर्व निर्णय एक मताने घेवेत  
 हे स्पष्ट करावे. हे झाले नाही तर सर्वव्यापक  
 किंवा सर्वपक्षीय एकजूट या नावाच्या घटनेला  
 अर्थच राहणार नाही.

सबब

(१) बहुमताने निर्णय बद्ध पाडावेत  
 (२) एकमताने निर्णय घेणे सुरू आहे  
 ते पुढे चालू देण्यास आदेश द्यावा

(३) सेक्रेटरीच्या शिवाय इतर कोणा-  
 सही सभा बोलावण्याचा अधिकार नसावा

(४) समितीत स्वयंसेवक राहतील अशी त्यांची संस्था

या गोष्टीचा आदेश ताबडतोब द्यावा आणि  
 निकषपारक समितीच्या कामाची तपासणी करून  
 ती समिती योग्य वदणावर आणावी हा आदेश  
 आहे

निकषपारक

२०/१०/५६

आपला नम्र

शि. उ. देशपांडे

# United Iron & Steel Workers Union.

Head Office :- KULTI.

( PROF. BARI ZINDABAD. )

Office :-  
KULTI STATION ROAD,  
P. O. KULTI,  
( Burdwan )



Ref. No.....

Dated 27. 10. 1954.

Dear Comrade Dange,

We ~~had~~ sent you an urgent telegram from Burdwan just after we had seen in the newspaper the information of your landing in Bombay. Till the time I left Burdwan in connection with certain Personal Cases that taken up by the Supreme Court i.e. 22nd Oct. 54, we received no information for you. As you know, we are going to undertake an 02-foot march to Calcutta by the end of November and the preparations that that direction have already been started, your presence in our midst is highly required. The workers are also anxious to have you in their midst. Moreover, at this crucial stage of our struggle,



(2)

Your valued advice will be of great  
help to us. We fervently request you  
to fix up a date for Boulogne and  
to let us know the same as early as  
possible.

With Comradely greetings,

Comradely yours,  
Claude Skekel Murgie

'Party'

28th October, 1956.

COM. RENUCHAKRAVARTHY. M.P.;

Dear Comrade Renu,

Re: Your letter Dt. 18th October.

I shall be coming for the C.C. meeting, and we shall look into  
Bunpur etc., after the C.C. which will give us some time to get reports  
etc.

I hope you are doing well. Tai is in the hospital and I am  
also living there.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally

*S. R. Dange*

(S. R. DANGE)



Cashel Lodge, Civil Lines,  
Kanpur, November 1, 1956.

*Replied*  
*SAS*

Dear Comrade Dange,

*Recd.*  
*9/11/56*

When you were in Kanpur early in December I talked to you about the need of strengthening the U.P.T.U.C. and I offered my services for the same. You hoped that by the end of January 1956 things would so shape themselves in U.P. that revival of the U.P.T.U.C. may be an early possibility. That hope has not been fulfilled either because of your unfortunate detention or for any other reason. Things are moving everywhere except in the matter of revival and strengthening of the U.P.T.U.C. One result of my decision to work for the U.P.T.U.C. has been that I have remained unattached and I continue to exist ~~in the~~ precariously in the precarious Suti Mill Mazdoor Sabha of world-wide fame. I do feel that time has come when I should have an existence in the trade union movement in addition to my being the General Secretary of the Suti Mill Mazdoor Sabha. Certain other federations have been anxious to have me. I, however, want to be in the A.I.T.U.C. and have the privilege to be under your leadership. This cannot be done without having a strong U.P.T.U.C. I, therefore, emphatically request you to take proper steps to ensure the functioning of the U.P.T.U.C. at an early date.

I have repeatedly discussed this matter with friends in the U.P., but I am afraid they always find one good reason or another for postponing the work in the matter.

I trust Taiji and yourself are in good health.

Yours sincerely,

*Arjun Arora*  
(Arjun Arora)

Com. S.A. Dange,  
Communist Party of India,  
Asaf Ali Road,  
New Delhi - 1

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE PRIVATE Ltd.

6/4 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi

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November 15, 1956

Dear Comrade Dange,

I learn from Gujarati that you told him that the writings of Marx on 1857 are being printed in GDR.

We must get the stuff for publication by PPH in English and Hindi soon.

Please send me Ramkrishna M. Kerjee's address and also of some responsible comrade in the German leadership by writing to whom I may get the English MSS as early as possible.

Have you any idea how many pages Marx's writings would be and when do they plan to publish it?

Please write in detail . Give love to Tai,

G r e e t i n g s ,

P.C. Joshi  
( P.C. Joshi )



Bombay, 23rd November, 1

Dear PCJ,

Your letter dated 15th November.

I returned from Calcutta yesterday.

I have already written to Dr. Ramkrishna <sup>about</sup> <sub>the</sub>  
the matter. But no reply.

There is no English MSS as yet.

The address you want:

Dr. R. M.,

Stalinallee 284,

Berlin O-112.

Tai is better. Thanks for remembering <sup>her</sup> <sub>the</sub>

G r e e t i n g s ,

SAD

(S. A. D a n g e.)

CPI

Com. S. A. Ganga.

WEST BENGAL BRANCH,  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA,  
11A, Lower Circular Road,  
CALCUTTA-72.

Dear Comrad. I already I have sent  
you express letter and a wire. We  
are anxiously waiting for your  
kind acceptance. If you are engaged  
otherwise please try to pick up  
some other Comrades such as Com  
Comrad P. R. etc. to join this  
function. Hope you will not  
mind for this doubt.

With greetings  
Comradely yours  
Hrishikesh Dasg.

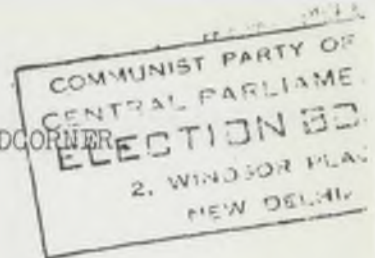
C.P.I.

Function relates to  
unveiling of the bust of  
late Com. Sukumar Banerjee



Phone: 45818

Gram: REDCORNER



COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Central Parliamentary Board

2 Windsor Place

New Delhi.

Circular No.4/56

November 23rd, 1956.

To

All P.Cs.

Report of the Second Consultative  
Conference of All-India (National)  
Political Parties held by the  
Chief Election Commissioner.

.....

A meeting of the representatives of the National Political Parties was held at the Election Commission Office on 13.11.56 to discuss many important questions concerning the next election plan. Our Party was represented by Comrades P.C.Joshi and M.N. Govindan Nair. H.V.Kamath was present on the side of the PSP and the Congress was represented by Sri Sreeman Narayan and Sri K.P.Madhavan Nair. Jan Sangh also was represented.

Though no decisions were taken, a number of problems connected with the coming general elections were discussed. On all the said points, the Election Commission had tried to get the views of the State Governments but it seems only one or two governments have replied yet. So, on all these questions final decision will be taken only after ascertaining the views of the Central and State Governments. Still, since on many points there was unanimity of opinion between the political parties, these discussions assume importance. The following were the points discussed.

TIME-TABLE FOR NEXT GENERAL ELECTIONS: Delimitation of constituencies and publication of electoral rolls for these constituencies are the precondition for finally deciding the timetable. The Commission was expecting that the delimitation work would all be over by the middle of November but now it is clear that it can be finished only by the end of November. Since all States have published the final rolls, it is easy to collate the electoral rolls for each new constituency. Anyway that would also take a minimum of two weeks. So much so the work of delimitation and constituency-wise publication of electoral rolls will all be over only by the middle of December and the stage will then be set for holding the general elections.

As far as the actual timings of the election, opinions of political parties varied. The Election Commission said they will be ready by the middle of February. The suggestions ranged from the beginning of February to middle of April. April was ruled out by the Commission on the ground that in Assam because of heavy rains it would be impossible to hold elections. Then February was considered too early and any two weeks from 2nd half of February to the end of March was considered suitable for polling.

Our view was to have it in the latter half of March or first half of April taking into consideration February/March are the harvesting period in most provinces. Anyway it did not get much support. Hence comrades should expect and be ready to face elections from the latter half of February and preparations are to be organised accordingly.

It has been.....

It has been promised by the Election Commission that the list of constituencies of those States where delimitation work is over, the political parties can have these as soon as they are ready and before publication. Publication can take place only after the work in all the States is over. It has been also informed that we can have them by the 20th. As soon as they are got, they shall be sent to the provinces concerned immediately. You may contact the State Electoral Offices on this matter.

CHECKING IMPERSONATION OF VOTERS: It is common knowledge that large-scale impersonation takes place during elections. How to minimise it - was discussed and it was agreed that the political parties or individual candidates should submit a list of voters in the final rolls who are (1) non-existent, (2) dead; (3) permanently absent - to the returning officer. If an agreement between political parties and contesting candidates can be had early in this matter, the Presiding Officers can be cautioned.

Secondly, the fee for challenging the vote has now been reduced from Rs.10 to Rs.2 which would help to challenge more than before. To reduce the amount further to one rupee did not get support from other parties or the Commission.

BALLOT BOXES: It is claimed by the Commission that those who had accepted the challenge thrown out by them for anyone to come and prove that boxes can be tampered had failed and that there is no reason to believe that the present boxes are defective. The present sealing arrangements is also the best possible. Further, on every ballot paper there will be the seal of booth this time. Also the starting number and closing number of the ballot papers will be written on the seal paper so that it can be checked whether any paper falling outside the number is in the box. With these additional measures, if there is any tampering, it can be easily detected.

But there is another difficulty which can be overcome only with the cooperation of the parties concerned. The agents should know clearly how the boxes are to be properly sealed. If it is sealed in the wrong way, all precaution may prove futile. Hence the Commission is planning polling rehearsals and film shows in which we should arrange as many comrades as possible to participate. This is very important. Then only we will be able to teach our agents about it.

BALLOT PAPERS: Papers for the Parliament constituency and Assembly Constituency will be different in colours. As far as possible, only new papers in which the year is also printed will be used. If there is any variation it will be intimated to the political parties and candidates concerned.

POLLING PROGRAMME: It has been agreed by all parties that the period should not spread over more than two weeks at any cost and in order to adjust the whole thing within this period, if it is found necessary in exceptional cases that polling in one constituency has to be staggered to more than one day, it has to be done.

HOURS OF POLLING: It has been unanimously agreed that there shall be no lunch interval and the polling should start at 8. On whether it should be eight hours or nine hours there was difference. Also whether the polling could not be started earlier by 7 or 7.30 there was no common agreement.

COUNTING PROGRAMME: It has been generally agreed that counting of votes in every constituency should take place as soon after the poll as is physically possible. But the idea of counting at the polling booth itself was turned down. Also that counting should wait till election in a State is completed did not get any support from any quarters.



NO COUNTING AGENTS: As far as possible, one agent for one counting table and never more than twelve in any case was unanimously accepted.

There are certain other important questions which came up for discussion but since there was no time, it is postponed to the next meeting.

An election handbook is coming out and comrades should get them as soon as it is out.

At the next meeting one of the major questions to be discussed is what type of Government employees should be banned from actively participating in election campaigning. The opinion of the Election Commission seems to be to ban all Government employees except casual labourers. This means not only the officials and employees of the Government civil and military departments, but even labourers employed in all Government concerns like Railway, public sector, industries, etc.

The other subject to be discussed - what discretion to be given to the polling officer fixing the candidate's booth in case of difference among candidates. When the candidate's booth is to be situated in private property, no problem arises and the owner of the property can give it to any candidate he likes. The real problem arises in case of Government property or public grounds.

---

Broom

Kedar Das

C/O. Sri S. B. L. Das

413 Pipal Road.

Jamshedpur-3

26/XI/56

Dear Comrade Dange,

I hope you have reached Bombay safely and got Tai letter.

I have given you words and have already accepted your proposal and there would be no going back - please be rest assured of it.

I would like you to be acquainted of the developments at Jamshedpur which would help you help you to tackle the problems amicably.

The Bihar party has decided to contest one general seat in Jamshedpur. In the last election I was a candidate. The security was forfeited. It was village cum town constituency. The Adbasis swept the polls, though we polled top votes in the town. This year the village area has been converted entirely into a separate



Constituency. The town area has been extended. This constituency has been limited to town alone with 72000 voters com. Senil Murugesu was the prospective candidate but he has now come to the conclusion that it is a losing seat. He does not want to stand a candidate now and he has been able to win over the comrades of Janshedpur and Bihar to allow him not to stand and it would be finally decided by the 20<sup>th</sup> Sec. P.C. meeting.

Now the S.C. and the constituency committee have decided that I should stand as a candidate as I was a candidate last time. I am a local man here for the last 20 years. I have told them in most clear words that in no case I am ready to stand and let the Bihar P.C. decide whatever it ~~is~~ chooses.

In Janshedpur we have got no living trade union - we function here as a political party alone - I have

explained to you of the party's organisational state of affairs. It is their opinion - not to ~~be~~ <sup>contest</sup> from Jamshedpur is to liquidate the party from here. My refusal to be a candidate is to seal off the party activities here once for all.

I did not disclose to them the proposals made by you but they are apprehensive I may go away often to Bumpur and have therefore taken resolution that I must not go away from Jamshedpur without the final sanction of the D.C. till the General Election.

you are well aware that at Barbil - Orissa - Iron & Manganese Ore - Mines - of Bird and Co. there was a lock-out - which lasted for  $5\frac{1}{2}$  months. The central Govt has referred the case to Industrial Tribunal. The judicial Enquiry on the firing too has been ordered. About 2000 workers have not



been employed by W. Co. Though this union is formally affiliated to INTUC even after vesting M. John of Jamshedpur we directly conducted the <sup>last</sup> struggle. This struggle gave us an opportunity to spread in other iron & steel areas as well.

The tribunal is to sit from today the 26<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1956 - the secretary of the union, who is a victimised worker - having no political attachment at present - pressed me too much to help him to conduct the proceedings <sup>of the tribunal</sup>, but I was not allowed by the D.C. in name of General Election.

Though I am responsible for the trade union activities of the whole district - I am not permitted to leave Jamshedpur and to look after the work at Gusa - of J.S. Co. in the Singhpur dist. Now they have imposed serious restrictions on my movements outside Jamshedpur.

5.

I fully agree with  
you of the importance of Bampur ad  
with your understandings. I have no  
two opinion on Jamkher<sup>too</sup> with you.

I hope you will be  
able to meet with Jogenra Sharma,  
Bihar Party Secretary  
on 5<sup>th</sup> Dec. at Delhi. I know he  
would never agree to your proposal  
for fear of Bihar and particulars  
of Jamkher comrades.

However, I have every  
hope that you will be able to  
convince him and I will be able  
to leave Jamkher sooner the  
possible or do what ever you like  
the best. In Jamkher I often  
feel myself unemployed in normal  
days and I do not see some bright  
prospect would be opened by the campaign



of general election was well.

Please write to me by the address given on the top as I may not get your advice in time, if you write to me by the old address.

I must speak to you lastly one thing clearly - that I have got some personal loans - which I had to incur while moving for trade union work in Bangalore and Barbil in course of this one year. My remaining outside was one of the main reason for the worsening economic conditions. I have not been able to repay them as I never remain here at the time of payments. <sup>A portion of</sup> these loans have been spent on purely part-time work also - but I had incurred them. If I be here for 6 months continuously I hope I shall be able to repay them.

If I go away from Jamshedpur for good - and do not pay them before leaving - I will have a bad name. Our comrades when informed in my absence by the creditors would denounce me specially when they are to face general criticism and I am absent from them.

At the same time it has become customary - to ask you to pay - however please do not worry. I shall try to convince them as the total amount is only 200/- and no one has advanced more than Rs 50/- I shall see how far I am able to repay them before I leave Jamshedpur.

Please do not get annoyed that I demand Rs 20/- from you as you have requisitioned my services for better work. I have



8  
told you everything so I did not  
like to keep this also as a secret  
to me alone.

Hope you will please  
excuse me for this long letter.

Jamrupur  
26/11/56

your comrde  
Kedar des.

P.S

Please let me know  
when you are coming to Burpur for  
class. I have a mind to send some  
workers from Jamrupur to attend the  
class. If you agree please let me know  
at your earliest. Burpur comrdes  
might have informed you of the date.  
com. S. Achariya of Calcutta  
has agreed to conduct BARBIZ-Orissa Tribunal  
please write to him to look to case.

NS  
26/11/56

Com. Dange.

Dear Comrade,

I am herewith enclosing the ~~draft~~ draft on organisational decision taken in the June ~~meeting~~ meeting of the railway comrades. You please make the necessary changes in it and finalise it.

I am also enclosing the summary of ~~conclusions~~ conclusions drawn by Com. P. R. in the meeting. This is to give you an idea of the general line as given by the P. R. then.

Full minutes, being long, will take some time to be typed. Their typing will begin from to-morrow morning.

With Greetings,

Yours fraternally,

*Mohandas K.*

28. 11. 1956.



SHRI. S.A. DANGE, MEMBER, POLIT BUREAU OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA HAS

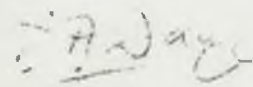
ISSUED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT FROM BOMBAY.

The resolution of the Praja Socialist Party Conference in Bangalore permitting electoral alliances among left parties will become a very significant development in Indian politics, if the translation of that resolution is not sabotaged by its opponents. This new policy, enunciated mainly by Com. Jayaprakash Narain, in order to halt the growth of totalitarianism in our country and to protect the masses from the growing attacks of the police State of the Congress Party under the guise of democracy and socialism, will help the toiling masses to forge a weapon of united action, in defence of their interests.

The resolution is a defeat of the secret understanding and pacts that Mr. Asoka<sup>Mehta</sup> has been having with the Congress High Command. His own success in the election last year in Bhandara and the defeat of Dr. Ambedkar, his ally in the same constituency, was due to this understanding with the Congress there - a fact which was wellknown to the people in that State. His pact with the Labour Minister, Khandubhai Desai, is also wellknown in the trade union circles. It is also known that<sup>some of</sup> his friends in Bombay have been doing their best to break the unity of the Sanyukta Maharashtra Samiti and the Mahagujrath Parishad. However, I would request Mr. Asoka Mehta to revise his policy based on subjective individual likes and dislikes and help to forge a united front of the Left to win the elections. He will help democracy and socialism better that way.

9, Kohinoor Road,  
B O M B A Y - 14.

29/11/56

  
S. A. Dange,

---

FOR FAVOUR OF PUBLICATION

To

The Editor,  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Party  
Burnpur

SECRETARY

DISTRICT COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY

JAMSHEDPUR

I HOPE YOU HAVE SENT KEDARDAS TO BURNPUR AND  
BARBIL AS PER MY REQUEST MADE TO COMRADE JOGEN  
PERSONALLY AT DELHI STOP HE ALONE  
CAN HELP THERE IN



Party

43 PIPAL Road.

SOLMURI

Jamshedpur-3.

Dear Comrade,

A telegram was received from Bumpur - that two months Profit Sharing Bonus was declared and according to your instructions I was called to be present there. The telegram was addressed to the party office but I came to know of it after 27 hours.

Secondly you know of the  $5\frac{1}{2}$  months heroic struggle of Iron & Mangane workers of Bardil (Orissa). Their case has been referred to the Tribunal. One of the representatives of that union is sitting here since last 4 days to take me there to finalise the necessary memorandum etc.

Thirdly the judicial

bagging in the Baril firing is to start soon. They have engaged com. Acharya of Calcutta for the case.

I consider that I must give some time to these workers of Bengal and Orissa - ~~which~~ <sup>with</sup> whom I have remained major time in their struggles of the last one year or more.

I have written you a letter to your Bombay address - Registered. I do not know whether you have received it as yet or not?

Our party committee has taken decision that I am not allowed to leave Jamshedpur at a cost. However the D.C. would allow me to go out if it considers necessary. The D.C. Secretary and the Constituent Committee Secretary - even do not care to inform me of the contents of the telegram in time and question of permission is too far.



3.

I am just in a fix  
what to do. At one side the  
w.c. movement is neglected and  
at another side the discipline of the  
party is hanging over my  
head.

Sometimes I feel  
that party-discipline stands  
in the way of the workers movement  
but I do not see the way out too.

I would therefore request  
you to let me know your  
instructions immediately and  
do not blame me that I betrayed  
you by absenting myself from  
Buenos Aires. Please write to the  
address given above.

4-XV. 56

Yours Comradely  
Kedardas  
Dandekar

11/10

7.

I am still convinced that my presence at Burspur may help them to consolidate the movement and I am ready to abide by the decision of the party. I am further convinced that my presence would not be able to make any significant change in the Jansu movement so soon.

Lately, I feel that I committed some what mistake in spending so much time at Burspur and Barbil otherwise I would not have been put to this confusion - but would have been here - though I often felt unemployed at Jansu.

Hope you will please help me to come out of the chaotic state of affairs.

Kedar



टेलिफोन : ७११८८

तार : एकभाषी

Tel. { Phone: 71188  
Gram: EKABHASHI

संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र निवडणुक समिति

SAMYUKTA MAHARASHTRA ELECTION COMMITTEE

आर. एल्. ट्रस्ट बिल्डिंग;  
५५, गिरगांव रोड, मुंबई ४.

Received from the Communist Party  
..... (Maharashtra) the sum of  
Rs. 50/- only (Rupees fifty only) towards their quota  
of the Election Committee Expenses.

Rs. 50/-

Shiv  
1/14/56  
OFFICE SECRETARY.

मिथ कं. अंगे. वि. वि.

गजाराभपुरी कोलहापुरी

१६-१-८७

आताप एक विवसनीय गृहस्थ संसारात्  
की 'मी उमा रतु शिविते' अरी तर आपणपुत्र  
कोलाकतुन तरी आली. मला पातक कोट्टीत पावठ  
पति माहेली नाही. तपसी मी युठ न कोला—  
माझा नवालाही विरय शाळा वर.  
काय ते कडावे — आपणा उमरापी उपेक्षा

३१

३१

Indira Ramlal



Dear com. Dange,

I returned to Indore on 19th inst, and took up the job of collecting the material asked by PPH. In a separate letter to PPH I have written to them about the material available at Indore and Dhar, which I have read myself at Dhar. Shri A.W. Wakankar, who is retired history of Dhar state knows you personally as a young student as he also was studying at Bombay in 1918-20. He has lot of material on the subject of 1857 mutiny. In my letter to PPH I have asked them to seek your advice as to the nature and scope of the material to be collected for the proposed publication. As I have informed that you are going to edit the publication, I would like to know what kind of material you need for the purpose.

~~xxx~~ I consulted one of my friend, who had gone to USSR with ISCUS delegation, as to the requirements necessary for travel abroad. According to him the necessary woolen clothing, cotton clothings and other necessaries would cost approximately Rs. 600/- or even more. I do not myself know how far it is correct. ~~xxx~~

we calculated on the current prices of the articles at Indore. I would like you to let me know in this matter at the earliest. I had posted you a letter from my cousin's village and was expecting a reply this week. Please reply also regarding other querries made in my last letter.

With greets,

Fraternally yours

Diwaker

Personal

## AJOY'S PRESS CONFERENCE.

### MENON - ALVARES CONTEST

Asked about Communist Party's stand in the election taking place in Bombay and the contest between Peter Alvares and Krishna Menon, Ajoy Ghosh stated "Communist Party is not supporting Krishna Menon, not because we do not approve the stand he has taken on international issues, but because elections are being fought on the basis of the policies of government as a whole. Elections are not being fought on the foreign policy alone.

"He is being put up by Congress Party as its candidate and we differ with many of the policies of Congress. So, there is no question of our support to a Congress candidate.

"Pandit Nehru might say that ~~xx~~ Menon's victory will be a victory for the foreign policy of the Government. But, our Party cannot take the foreign policy of the government, in isolation from all other policies it is adopting.

"So far as Peter Alvares is concerned, I have seen a statement this morning by Mr. Dandavate, PSP leader. I am waiting for an authoritative version of this statement.

Explaining the general policy of the Party, he said: "If, for example, there is a Congress and a Jan Sangh candidate contesting, we tell people to abstain from voting. But, what we will do in Bombay is a matter for Bombay comrades to decide.

Elaborating further, he said: "In Bombay, elections are being fought primarily on the issue of Samyukt Maharashtra. Samyukt Maharashtra consists of different parties who have got differences amongst themselves, but agreed on Samyukt Maharashtra issue. Seats have been allotted to all parties. It is for our party to decide whether it would support a particular candidate of the Samiti or not. It depends on the politics of that party and that candidate".

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## ANDHRA PRADESH COMMITTEE

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

HIMAYATNAGAR

HYDERABAD

Ref. No.

Date

Party  
Dear SA,

As I anticipated, I was asked questions re: Petis Alvarez & Krishna Dewan in my press conference at Hyderabad - with specific reference to the statement made by Dandawadi. I am sending verbatim report of the replies I gave - taken by Lion Koushika Rao. As you will see, I have tried to evade a straight reply so far as support to Alvarez is concerned. I am awaiting your reply to my resolution which I shall have to state our position categorically.

SAJ

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA  
Central Committee Office

Asaf Ali Road,  
New Delhi,  
December , 1956.

CC Meeting/December '56.

For CCMs Only.

Document No. 4(a)

Report on Election Position  
in the PUNJAB STATE.

1. The number of candidates to be set up by the Provincial Committee is round about 50 for the State Assembly and 5-6 for the Parliament.

2. No Election alliance or adjustments have been made so far. There is likelihood of coming to a some sort of understanding with the P.S.P. which is very very weak in the Province and exists in small patches here and there. The main allies are going to be independent candidates. There is the seceders' group of Jagat Narain. We are trying to influence him toward giving up communalism and anti-Punjabi attitudes. If we succeed in this we shall have that group in the Front. There is no other political party with which we can have an Election alliance.

We have been able to convene a very successful conference of various parties and groups amongst the Scheduled Caste people. About 250 representatives met in Jullundur in the middle of November. A good number of Congressmen who had been there for the last some 10-20 years announced that they would no longer remain members of the Congress and would fight to defeat Congress candidates along with other parties.

Another convention of different parties and groups in the Harijans Prant was held. It was also very successful and laid the basis for coming to some arrangement with other political groups including the Scheduled Caste people. It is hoped that it will bear fruit.

So far as the Jana Sangh is concerned, we have no truck with it. The Akalis have joined the Congress and any danger of deviation on that score is no longer there.

We have decided to hold another convention in the Punjabi-speaking region inviting all democratic groups and individuals including the P.S.P. Furthermore, another decision has been taken to fight all the Congress leaders, but concentrate only on the sure shots, and don't disperse the forces here and there.

Nothing can be said about the results. Some say that it will be good if we maintain our present position and win 10 seats. Some are pessimistic. Still others, very few comrades, who think that we can improve upon the present position.

The prospects for adjustment, etc., are not bad.

3. The Recommendations of the district Committees have been accepted by the PC with regard to the selection of the Candidates in almost all cases. The general practice has been to call the Cell meetings of a constituency, initiate discussion and let them choose a candidate whomsoever they want. It is the Cell members generally who have selected the candidates without any influence from the higher Committee members.

The Party . . . . .



The Party candidates are, therefore, going to be those who belong to their constituencies, have worked there and are known to be the leaders of their areas. Only a topmost leader of a constituency with a record of service and sacrifice has been selected. Exceptions are few and far between.

SHAN SINGH JOSHI

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### Election Position

#### In VIDARBH

The Vidarbha (Regional P.C.) in its meeting held on 3rd and 4th of December, decided the following guiding principles for deciding the election tactics in this region:

The Guiding principles are:

- 1) Form wider united front against the Congress under the auspices of Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti.
- 2) Get as many as possible the candidates of the United Front elected.
- 3) To see as many as Communist candidate get elected to State Assembly.

With these considerations, Party has decided to contest 7 to 8 seats for State Legislature, out of 50 general and 10 reserve seats. There is a demand that we should contest one Parliamentary seat, but it has not been decided as yet.

#### Election Alliances & Prospects

The alliances uptill now were not possible in view of the delimitation of constituencies was not as yet declared. However, preliminary talks with all left parties, Praja-Socialist Party, S.C.F. and I.W.F. were held. There is general agreement that many influential individual will have to be adjusted in the front. The adjustment is possible because all these parties are the constituents of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti. There are quite good prospect that election alliances will be reached on almost all the seats barring few.

Party decided to put up the candidates on the following basis:

- 1) Where Party has conducted mass movement and have good following.
- 2) The area which is supposed to be Party's traditional base.
- 3) Where Party leaders are popular and known to general people as outstanding fighters for their cause.

These are main considerations for deciding our candidates.

SUDAM DESHMUKH.

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lection position  
in RAJASTHAN

1. We have called for Reports from the Districts and have had some preliminary discussions in our Election Board. From the present discussions we will contest about 12 to 15 Assembly seats. We are not likely to contest any Parliamentary seat.

The basis of this decision is that wherever we have worked and good base and have some chance in these seats alone we are putting up candidates. The seats are dispersed all over; one here two there like that.

Final decision will be taken in the IC meeting on 17-18 of this month.

2. The above number does not include the seats that will be contested by the Kisan Sabha in three districts. We are discussing with them to achieve unity and give them Party symbol. But so far no final decisions have been taken.

3. We have had some talks with the ISI. They are agreeable to the idea of adjustments. Probably in majority of these seats except one or two there will be no difficulty. In any case their seats and our seats are not common. As for the SI there is no possibility of formal agreement, yet their areas and our areas are different and thus there may be no seat where they and we both contest.

4. But on the whole the main tactical problem that we will be faced with is what attitude to take where the fight is between the Congress and the combination of Ram Rajya-Jan Sangh-Hindu Sabha and the Jagirdars Bhooswami Sangh. It is necessary to note that all the above parties have formed a common front; they are enlisting the support of the Rajes, (the Jainpur Raja who was the Rajpramukh so far also is likely to come out with them). They also propose to start some attacks and create a terror situation. They are contesting all the seats. Our IC has adopted a resolution about it and sent to the CC. That matter has to be decided.

H.K.VYAS.

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Note on Electoral adjustment  
in WEST BENGAL

The West Bengal Committee CII has entered into electoral adjustment with the ISI, RSI, FB and Marxist FB. The CII is contesting about 104 seats, ISI 70, RSI 15, FB 25, Marxist FB 8 seats. There are also some independents who will be supported by us. In some of the other seats where the left has no candidate we are trying to find out candidates whom we can support.

In all there were 238 seats in West Bengal. Now 14 more seats have been increased due to inclusion of certain areas of Bihar. CII intends to put up one candidate in the new area. almost all the rest will be contested by Lok Sawk Sangh. We are trying to have some adjustment with this party.

Out of 36 Parliamentary seats CII wishes to contest about 14 seats. How many other parties will fight is not decided yet because discussions are still going on.

There are six . . . . .



There are six smaller parties (which usually work in different movements with us) who may together contest about 7 or 8 seats but as they have been asking for many more no adjustment can be reached with them. These parties are trying to form a front now.

The Hindu Maha Sabha, Jana Sangh, a few Congress individuals who had joined the struggle against merger are trying to form another front and wanted programmatic unity with us. But we have decided not to have any adjustment with them. So they will have their own front.

We could have no programmatic alliance because of the refusal of the ISI. But we are trying to discuss a common programme with the other parties and a formula whereby the ISI can be accommodated. We do not know about the outcome.

Our Party has brought out a draft programme of the alternate Government for the consideration of the other parties and the people.

JYOTI BASU

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E l e c t i o n    p o s i t i o n  
i n   T R I P U R A

First, Tripura Committee has thought to contest 22 seats of Electoral College and two seats of Lok Sabha. The rest 8 seats of Electoral College are kept open for Electoral adjustment with other parties like ISI, RSI, Nikhil Tripura Udbasthi Samity and Ganatantrik Sangha.

Electoral alliance was made with Ganatantrik Sangh (3 seats), Halam Sangh (tribal organisation) (1 seat). All these are of electoral college seats. From Halam Sangha organisation, our Communist Party members will be contesting with Halam Sangha ticket.

ISI, RSI and Udbasthi Samiti are not agreeable to have adjustment with us, only with 6 seats which are being offered to them. Their demand is 15 seats.

Party thinks to give 11 seats to this group (ISI, RSI and Udbasthi Samity), of the Electoral College, and one Rajya Sabha seat, that is to say, the only one seat of Rajya Sabha for U.D.F. and the only two seats of Lok Sabha for the Party.

If 11 seats to the above-mentioned group (ISI, RSI and Udbasthi) and 3 seats to Ganatantrik Sangha and 1 to Halam Sangha are offered, the rest 15 seats of Electoral College remain for the Party.

In order to ensure our victory of the Lok Sabha seats, we are thinking that we should make this concession to the three parties. (i.e. 11 seats should be offered). Minority group inside the ISI are opposing to give more than 6 seats to them.

It is expected that ISI and other two parties may agree to have Electoral adjustment with us, if 11 seats are offered. But if they insist for 15 seats, it will not be possible for the Party to go to that extent. Our estimation is that if these parties contest against C.I and the Congress candidates simultaneously, they may not get even a single seat. In that case, Congress may be gainer. No electoral alliance would be possible with ISI, RSI and Udbasthi Samity. Party position over the masses in general is hopeful.

Election Position  
in ASSAM

1. The Assam Provincial Committee of the CPI has decided to put up 16 party candidates and 3 or 4 party-supported candidates who are expected to remain in the Communist group under party discipline inside the assembly. There may be a few more candidates of this kind which we have not yet able to finally decide in view of our negotiation that is going on with other parties. The final meeting of the different parties will be held on 15th and 16th December.

Out of the above 16 seats which we are going to contest we shall concentrate on only 11 seats.

We have no party candidate for the Parliamentary constituencies but there will be 2 or 3 party supported candidate for the Lok Sabha.

2. No election alliance will come about because the ISI does not agree to come into some alliance. The other parties who are ready for programmatic alliance, are very small parties having no election prospect whatsoever except the R.C.I. (annular group) who might get one or 2 seats in case of an united opposition.

The prospects of electoral adjustments are there. So far as the ISI and RCI are concerned, we have already come to certain unwritten agreements on many seats. Out of our sixteen seats there is a conflict with ISI only in 3 seats, of course, these are our strong seats with better candidates than any other. We have no conflict with RCI and RSI in any seat. But the difficulties will arise because there are some seats where both ISI and RCI, RCI & RSI come in clash. We have been trying to bring ISI, RCI closer to us, so that ISI, CPI & RCI can give a united fight along with prominent individuals against the Congress. This we might achieve also. In that case, we all together will contest about 45 seats out of 105 seats in the assembly and 6 to 7 seats to the parliament.

3. Basis of selecting our candidates and constituencies are as follows:-

a) We have got to rely on the peasants, oil, coal, transport and railway workers and middle class employees and other middle class men whom we have done some work and have some organisation and carried on certain campaigns and also who are getting conscious about the necessity of strong opposition to the present rulers. They constitute majority in the district, town constituencies. So we have selected almost all the town constituencies of the valley.

b) We have taken into consideration the popularity and tradition of the party candidate while deciding to contest in a particular constituency. Because in Assam almost in all cases this factor will be considered very important because of the lack of such strong hold of the party in a particular area.

4. We have also considered the question of possibility of getting cadres and cash.

5. In certain cases we have considered the future of movement and organisation.

PHANI BORA

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ELECTION POSITION  
in ANDHRA PRADESH

In Andhra Pradesh, elections for assembly constituencies are taking place only in Telangana part while elections for parliamentary seats are being held for entire Andhra Pradesh according to the States Reorganisation Act. Therefore, IC is thinking of concentrating in Telangana while trying to get as many parliamentary seats as possible in the area of old Andhra State.

IC has not yet finally decided as to how many seats we have to contest either for parliament or for assembly. But during the discussions in September meeting it was found that we can contest from 40 to 60 assembly seats and about 15 parliamentary seats. There is a general opinion that this time we have to contest as less as possible and win as many as possible thus retaining more or less former position, i.e., 34 in Assembly. The Congress is contesting all the seats, ISI about 30, and SI about 10. There will be some groups and possibly a good number of individuals contesting.

We have conducted negotiations with Dr. Jaisooriya, ISI, SI and some important individuals. We had also a talk with L & T Party leadership.

Dr. Jaisooriya has indicated that he is retiring from politics and therefore he may not contest at all. We had a talk from the Secretary of ISI, that he would be in a position say something after Bangalore Conference. But no reply has yet been given. In our personal talks we gathered that provincial leadership is favouring adjustments and talks are going on for the constituency level also. In some of the industrial areas like Warrangal and Bodhan Towns the ISI has considerable influence. For SI no hope of even adjustment and they have not yet realised. Some individuals like Shri Rammurthi Naidu who had recently come out of ISI and also an important individual in Hyderabad City, also wants to contest with our support either independently or on behalf of IDF. We have not yet concluded our talks with him.

As for Workers and Peasants Party, they want to contest in alliance with us. We have not yet concluded our talks with them as to contest on behalf of IDF or any other thing. Though they have little influence in Telangana, but as individuals it may be fruitful to come to an agreement with them.

Our district and taluka units are discussing about selecting up candidates. IC has not yet sent any directives as to what criteria should be adopted to decide about a candidate.

Due to differences inside the IC, about IDF and election tactics, we could not discuss above problems and take decisions. We have to do it immediately after this C.C. meeting.

D. VENKATSWARA RAO.

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Election Position  
in TAMILNAD

1. Constituencies for Contest

In Tamilnad total number of seats for the State Assembly is 205 and for the Parliament 40.

At the last IC meeting held in September, in the examination of District reports, the IC decided to contest 23 Assembly constituencies (24 seats) and 3 Parliamentary constituencies (4 seats).

Further details were called for in respect of other constituencies proposed. These further reports are now available. The next IC meeting which commences on 18th December will finally settle the list. Inclusive of those already decided at the earlier meeting, the final proposal coming before the IC meeting are as follows:

Party Candidates for Assembly

1.

Party Candidates

Independents to be supported by Party (where Party has some influence)

1. Tirunelveli	3	6
2. Ramnad	2	3
3. Madura	4	2
4. Trichy	4	6
5. Coimbatore	6	6
6. Salem	7	2
7. North Arcot	3	1
8. South Arcot	1	1
9. Tanjore	7	5
10. Chingleput	2	1
11. Madras City	3	-
	<u>42</u>	<u>37</u>

The IC may decide to set up 40 Party candidates for Assembly seats and support 35 Independents for Assembly seats - on an estimate of the present position. (Travancore-Tamilnad - new Kanyakumari District - after delimitation - not likely to lead to any change in this account).

Parliamentary Constituencies:

The following have already been decided upon:

- 1) Nagapattinam (Tanjore Dt.) - General
- 2) " " - Reserved
- 3) Madura
- 4) Coimbatore.

The further proposals to be considered by the IC are:

- 5) Tirunelveli
- 6) Trichy
- 7) N. Madras.

All these further three are extremely weak constituencies for us.

2. Alliances . . . . .



## 2. Alliances:

There is no question of alliance with any other opposition party in Tamilnad. Party will have to fight mainly on its own. Congress is by and large the biggest party. Of the Opposition parties, besides the C.I., (i) Dravida Kazhagam - has lined up with the Congress - (ii) Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam - has announced a contest for 150 seats and wants a separate independent South State - will fight us in almost every district.

(iii) PSI: Strong only in Coimbatore District where the chances of electoral adjustment with them are good because of joint TU work, and even in other Districts will generally not clash with us: (iv) SI: Strong only in Mill area of Madras City and one or two other places in Coimbatore District. They have rejected our offer of a discussion and will fight us: We have to fight them too where we have a base. (v) Forward Bloc: On personal influence of Thevar - the leader of the Forward Bloc, in some constituencies of Madure and Ramnad Districts only. Adjustment with them is possible and likely. (vi) Tamilarasu Kazhagam: a small splinter group of Congress - likely to set up a few candidates. Likely to adjust with us and support us. Thus - our Election Front in Tamilnad will be -

C.I. with several independents, and candidates of the Tamilarasu Kazhagam and Forward Bloc in a few constituencies but not on any common electoral programme or election agreement except adjustments.

The Congress Party - there are divisions no doubt, but are likely to be resolved by offering seats to opposition groups.

Mirasdars want to contest - attack on Congress from the Right.

Re: Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam: Our TC meeting in June passed a resolution which after reiterating the Palghat Resolution re. our outlook on elections contained the following paragraphs in relation to the D.M.K.:

"... The Communist Party will strive its utmost to form a United Front of all democratic parties and individuals on the basis of such a democratic programme and thus strengthen and unite the democratic forces in our country.

"However, the Tamilnad Committee of the C.I. wants to make it clear that it does not consider that every kind of opposition to the Congress is of a democratic nature. There are parties and organisations in this country whose activities are based on communal and separatist slogans.

"For instance, in Tamilnad there are certain organisations whose main aim is to bring about a sovereign and independent Dravidian State.

"This separatist slogan will disrupt the unity of the democratic forces in the country; it will foment enmity and division between people of different States in our country and constitute a serious danger to the country as a whole.

(Then follows a reference to the unity built up in the struggle against the British and that linguistic provinces and a separate State have been the demand and reality).

"There is no doubt that a big sections of the followers of these parties in Tamilnad are democratically minded and desire

the democratic .

the democratic development of our country. Only when they give up the disruptive separatist slogan, only when they adopt a democratic programme and conduct their activities on that basis will they be able to play a positive role in the democratic movement of our country. The Tamilnad Committee of the CPI hopes that the leaders and members of these parties will learn these lessons and evolve a policy that will help to strengthen the democratic forces and unite them against the anti-democratic policies of the Government and reverse them."

The DMK is trying its best to use the anti-Congress discontent. But it has no quarrel with the economic policies of the Congress. It only stresses North India domination and separate State. All its criticism of the II Plan is only that more money is not allowed to the South. They may not win many seats but in view of their province-wide contest our next IC meeting has to reiterate the above resolution and concretise it further. No question arises of any election agreement or adjustment with them.

### 3. Basis of Party Contest

Generally on the basis of party work, organisation and influence and a rough estimate of likely votes in the constituencies.

In July our IC directed the holding of Dt. plenums in which our own independent strength constituencies were discussed and decided. In September - our IC in view of the situation in Tamilnad, decided about democratic independents being sponsored - supported and further DC Meetings have also been held and reports sent up.

### Election Campaign

Initial round of general agitation has gone on. In the further rounds party leaders from other provinces must also undertake short tours and help us.

We published 3 campaign pamphlets: Suez (5000 copies); Congress and Communist Party (10,000); Is North Flourishing and South Decaying (10,000).

Daily JANASHAKTI - fluctuates 5000 to 6000 copies.

Party Fund Collections - nearly Rs. 10,000 so far.

Election Committees - formed in one District Only.

A continuous run of TU work in this period in Textile belts Coimbatore and Madurai, after plantation Tribunal award, Handloom weavers struggle, Harbour strike, Municipal workers provincial strike, beedi workers struggles in many places.

Some local anti-eviction struggles in Tanjore, Tirunelveli and Trichy districts.

Demonstrations in some districts against private levels.

Political meetings for release of our comrades, Egypt, New Tamil State.

M.R.VENKATARAMAN

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### Election Position in KARNATAKA

1. We have not yet decided on the exact number of seats to contest as the delimitation report is not yet published and

rumours are . . . . .



rumours are current that the constituencies have been radically changed. But we discussed in the IC in a general way and intend to contest about 20 assembly seats. We have no plans to contest any parliamentary seat.

2. So far there have been no talk of alliances with anybody. The chances for the same are meagre. The ISI has been in favour of adjustment. But no official negotiation between us has taken place so far on this issue. There is a possibility for adjustment with ISI and SCF.

3. No hard and fast basis has been laid down for setting up of candidates by the Party. But it will contest only in places where it has considerable influence. In the beginning we want to limit the number of candidates to the minimum with a view to conserve our strength and resources. But after further consideration we have modified our stand a little. We feel that in a province like ours where we are very weak and the chances of alliance is non-existent it will help the growth of the Party and the movement if we contest in places where we have some work done even though we are not very strong. With this new understanding we may contest in about 5 additional seats. Care will be taken to see that this is not stretched too far.

M.L.ULADHYA..

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA  
Central Committee Office

Asaf Ali Road,  
New Delhi  
December 5, 1956

Central Committee Meeting

For CCs only

Document No. 1

LETTER OF APPEAL AGAINST ANDHRA  
PC'S DECISIONS & ITS FUNCTIONING

(P. Sundaraya)

18.11.1956

To

The C.C.  
of the CPI

Dear Comrades,

Before I left for China, I had conveyed my strong opposition to Andhra PC's decision taken in its meeting of September first week to contest the coming elections in the name of the PDF and on its symbol and not in the name of the party and its symbol. I wrote to P.C. that I will be appealing against that decision to the C.C. and also informed Com. General Secretary and other members of the PC available at Delhi and asked them to fix up the C.C. meeting to attend which I would be returning from China.

After my return, in the Andhra PC meeting held from 9th to 14th November, I have to submit my resignation from the secretaryship of the Andhra PC as it has become impossible for me to continue to function in it with wrong policies and decisions which it has been carrying on in violation of the Palghat resolution of the Party, as well as the decisions of the Visalandhra Conference of Communist Party. (Both of my letters to the PC written in September as well as in November are attached herewith).

As you will see from these letters, the main points of controversy are:

1) In contradiction to Palghat resolution and the C.C. decisions, the Andhra PC and its Secretary has been working out election tactics in Andhra of characterising Sanjiva Reddy and his group as progressive and coming in support of this group and seeking electoral adjustments with them.

To contest on PDF ticket and symbol or whether P.M.s, while being part of the PDF to contest in the name of Communist Party on its symbol in Telengana area? Whether for the coming five years we have to function in the assembly as Communist Party or only in the name of the PDF?

2) The way Visalandhra daily is being run; uncritical support to Government Five Year Plans of agrarian reforms, industrialisation, community projects, etc.; support to so-called progressive groups in the Congress; the way the people's issues are not given prominent or sufficient place, while the so-called national and international news as served by PTI are featured.

3) The question...



3) The question of whole-timers and cadre and the financial implications of the Party functioning.

I do not know how far the C.C. will be able to go into all these questions and give its verdict. At least I want the C.C. to take immediately a decision on the question of election tactics to be adopted in Andhrapradash and the symbol on which to contest and how the Communist Party is to function in Andhra Legislative Assembly and its relation to the PDF.

Comrades M. Hanumantha Rao and M. Basavaiah have also submitted their resignations to the Secretariat of Andhra PC even in September itself. Com. Rajeshwar Rao submitted his resignation of his Secretaryship in that meeting.

The Andhrapradash PC has discussed all these issues. After 5 days discussions, we tried for some working agreement in connection with electoral adjustments, running the Party organ and maintaining whole-timers but no agreement could be arrived at in connection with the question of Communist Party and PDF relations.

In connection with electoral adjustments, we proposed that they must be based on the following considerations:

\* TO get as large a number of seats as possible for the Party in the first instance.

\* TO get as large a number of seats as possible for our democratic allies.

\* TO utilise the contradictions between the Congress groups so as to achieve success for ourselves and for our allies. Whatever adjustments we may try with individual Congress candidates, should not be such as to affect our general campaign against the Congress in the coming elections, especially they must not affect the tactics, propaganda and electoral alliance which the democratic opposition adopt.

They agreed for this general statement. But we do not know how in practice this would have worked when we began to apply these generalities to each constituency. But meanwhile since no agreement is reached on the question of PDF we did not pursue the matter.

I agreed that I would be prepared to compromise my stand that the Communist Party members must contest on their Party symbol and we may allow PDF symbol to be adopted by the Party in the elections in the present situation of serious inner-Party differences provided -

1) That in the election we go to the people and tell them that we are Communist Party candidates with its own programme and discipline, though we are part of the PDF and take its symbol.

2) In Andhrapradash Asserblly, the Communist Party members function as Communist Legislature Party, while having coordinating committee with non-Party members either organised as a separate group with their own legislative leader or whether they are prepared to join the Communist group attending their general body meetings and begin even in its Legislative Executive.

This they were not prepared to accept.

Then we proposed that let the bloc be called PDF and Communist Bloc as members elected from Andhra are on Party ticket and members

lected in Telangana are on PDF ticket and they are going to work together in the coming session as one united Opposition. This arrangement to continue till the elections and pending the decision of the C.C. Even this too was not agreed to by the PC and finally the PC passed a resolution the gist of which is as follows (copy is not with me to give the full text):

Communist Party members must function in the Assembly as part of PDF while organising their own separate legislative Communist Party with its leader and its executive and clarifying and speaking on Party point of view whenever necessary. This decision will stay till the elections are over in Telangana.

This was passed by 17 to 12, six or seven keeping neutral.

This decision is very vague and in actual conditions existing in Andhrapradesh difficult to implement.

Out of 48 members of the PDF and Communists in Andhrapradesh Assembly, 34 are Communists and 14 non-Party PDF at present. If the 34 Communist members elect a leader and an executive and apply to the Speaker asking him to recognise them as a party, the Speaker is bound to recognise them as such. But after that he cannot recognise these 34 and the remaining 14 combined as PDF party. He may be prepared to recognise the remaining 14 as a separate group PDF or some other name working in alliance with the Communist Party but not 48 as PDF. If he recognises 48 as PDF, he cannot recognise 34 of them as a separate Communist Party as far as his Legislative Assembly is concerned. So in practice it will be either function in the name of the PDF or of the CPI. I am afraid this ambiguous resolution is going to lead to a serious conflict in the functioning of the Assembly immediately.

So I want the C.C. to take a decision immediately that -

1) IN the coming elections, Communist Party members must stand on Party platform and on its ticket even in Telangana.

2) THAT in the Assembly our Party must function in its own name while having United Front with individuals, groups and parties and for this purpose have necessary coordinating committees or other suitable organisational structure or consultative committees. These forms to be evolved after discussing with the non-Party elements in the Assembly.

Our resignations were accepted but they were rejected by the PC by 23 against 7. An amendment that myself, Basavpunniah and Hanumantha Rao be exempted from attending the Secretariat meetings till after the elections when those resignations can be considered in emergent Party Conference was also rejected. This decision of the PC with regard to our resignation from Sectt. is also wrong. When we say that it is impossible for us to be in the Sectt. and carry out a political line and tactics which we consider to be in opposition to the Palghat Resolution and with which we are in total disagreement.

I want the C.C. to take necessary political decision on the questions raised by us and take appropriate organisational steps to carry out the Party work in Andhrapradesh.

With greetings,

P. Sundarayya



Letter from Com. Prasad Rao to the G.S.

21st November, 1956

The General Secretary,  
C.P.I.

Dear Comrade,

Yesterday evening, from an announcement in Visalandhra, I came to know that the Andhrapradesh PC Secty. is going to meet from November 30 to discuss about matters connected with the functioning in the Assembly. (The Andhrapradesh Assembly is meeting for a short session of 3 days from December 3 for discharging some formal functions such as swearing-in of members, election of the Speaker and Dy. Speaker). In view of the present grave inner-Party situation in Andhrapradesh, I was a little perturbed at this meeting being held before the C.C. meeting for discussing the most controversial issue. By that time, Comrades P. and R.N. have left and so I am placing the following before you for immediate consideration and intervention by the PB.

You know the decisions taken in the August-September meeting of the Andhrapradesh PC. Very serious differences were found on several issues, particularly on the question of our tactics in the coming general elections and on the question of functioning of the Party inside the Assembly in the name of the PDF. Five CCs, besides some leading PCMs vehemently opposed the decisions but they were passed by a majority. Immediately Com.P.S. informed the PC (he did not attend the meeting as he was convalescing at that time) still in session that he is appealing to the C.C. on both the issues. You know the later developments. Coms. M.B. and M.H. and later on Com.P.S. tendered their resignations from the P.C. Secretariat. This gulf widened still further by the campaign led by the Party for the election of Sanjiva Reddi as leader of the Congress Legislature Party, by the manner in which Visalandhra paper is being run and the matters connected therewith. The recent meeting of the PC could not settle anything except that all these things are talked and found that each stands in his own position.

Under such circumstances, the PC Secty. is meeting. Naturally, the PC decision about formation of PDF will be implemented. This means that Andhra Communist Legislature Party will merge with the PDF and there will be no Communist Bloc inside the Andhrapradesh Assembly. Election of Leader also will come up. Naturally, any Andhra would expect Com.P.S. to be elected but so far as I understand, Com.P.S. is neither willing to act as the Leader of the PDF nor even act as a PDF member losing Communist Party identity. This will create a grave situation and still further worsen the situation. Hence I suggest that the PB should immediately intervene in either of the following methods:

1) SEND a directive to the Andhrapradesh PC asking it not to implement the decision on PDF inside the Assembly so long as the C.C. fully considers the question and decides one way or the other.

2) ASK the Andhrapradesh PC to see that in this formal session of the Assembly, the PDF of Telengana and Communist Legislature Party of Andhra function separately. The question of electing a Leader also can be postponed as this is only a short session of 3 days for doing certain formal things.

The whole...

-The whole question of how to function in the Legislature can be discussed later on.

If a common Opposition Leader and common Opposition is necessary for recognition, the two parties - PDF and Andhra Communist Legislature Party can jointly send to the Speaker that, for purposes of formal functioning, they should be treated as one and propose a leader for both the parties.

3) IMMEDIATELY convene a joint meeting of the Andhrapradesh CCMs and PB before November 30 for the purpose of exploring avenues to avoid any crisis and reach agreement on this particular question.

I hope the PB will understand the utmost gravity of the situation and take necessary steps to intervene in time.

Yours fraternally,

N. Prasad Rao

(contd. ....)



III

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ANDHRA PRADESH COMMUNIST COMMITTEE OFFICE  
Hyderabad, 7-9-56.

(Translation)

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By Hand  
For PCMs Only

Comrades,

We are herewith sending the following resolutions passed in the PC meeting held from August 25th to September 4th. Other resolutions will be sent separately.

Greetings,  
Sd /  
Secretary,  
Andhra Pradesh Communist Committee.

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POLITICAL PARTIES AND GROUPS IN TELANGANA  
OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THEM IN THE GENERAL  
ELECTIONS

Of the political parties in Telangana Congress and the Communist Parties are the strong and major parties. Besides these two, there are the PSP and S.P.(Lohia) but these two are weak. Even when the two were united, they were weak in Telangana but now, when they are split into two and formed into separate parties, both became weak and in some places remained as few individuals. However, the Socialist Party in Nirmal Taluq and the PSP in Chumar Taluq of Adilabad district have got considerable influence among the peasantry. The Socialist Party has got influence among the peasantry in Aranoor and Nizamabad Taluqs of Nizamabad District. Both these parties have got some influence among the working class and to a certain extent among the middle class in Warangal town, Bellampalli, Shakkarnagar and Hyderabad and Secunderabad cities. Besides the progressive groups and individuals who are inside the PDF together with the Communist Party, there are unattached groups and individuals who are outside the PDF.

Rao & Reddy Groups in the Congress

Today Telangana Congress is split into "Rao" group and "Reddy" group. Both these groups are the components of the Congress. They are mainly dependent on the landlords and the leadership are of opportunist, reactionary and communal elements. However, in their politics and composition there are considerable differences.

Some workers and a few of the leaders belonging to "Rao" group have participated in the anti-imperialist "Quit Goa" movement, cooperating with the Communist Party. On issues like food scarcity and unemployment also, they cooperated in the work with the Communist Party. On some local issues, even though very limited, they cooperated with the Communist Party in some places. In the agitation for Visalbandhra, "Rao" group as a whole carried on virulent propaganda; on this issue, they cooperated with the Communist Party. People of Reddy group cooperated locally in certain places on certain occasions. But on the whole these groups not only refused to work with the Communist Party but were trying to isolate it. Rao group was exhibiting an

attitude of introducing land reforms at least to a certain extent. Reddy group, though not opposing it openly, had tried hard to water them down still further and were successful to a certain extent. In respect of seeing that the peasants actually get the benefits of the land reform laws, nothing has been done by either of these two groups. But Reddy group was more aggressive in defeating the purpose of the reforms. In several places persons belonging to Reddy group resorted to terrorisation in order to force the people into submission. Not only not refusing to work unitedly on such issues as Goa, peace, etc., Reddy group even by themselves has done nothing on the issues. Hence it is difficult to say what their attitude is towards these issues.

The landlords who are found in the Reddy group are mostly those big, despotic, reactionary landlords proved as such by history (Visnour Ramachandra Reddy, Nukala family, Jannareddi Pratap Reddi family, etc.). Landlords with liberal views and economically weakened landlords are largely found in Rao group. Generally the urban people support this group. Even though this group has not much influence among the peasantry, they have got considerable influence on other classes. Overwhelming majority of the businessmen are in support of Rao group.

The patils, deshmukhs, Muslim Razakar leaders and other reactionary leaders who were so long behind the Nizam are today mostly behind Reddy group. Those who for a long time have worked either in one or another mass movement or in Andhra Mahasabha movement, or in the Congress movement and are still remaining in the Congress are mostly siding with the Rao group.

While campaigning among these two groups, it is necessary to bear another thing in mind. The Rao group has little strength in Telangana Congress. High Command had decided to keep Telangana Congress separate for some time more. Therefore, Provincial Congress machinery will remain in the hands of Reddi group. Great majority of DCCs and TCCs are held by the Reddi group. Taking advantage of this, the Reddy group is carrying on an offensive against the Rao group in order to weaken it and beat it into submission. That is why today Rao group is carrying on a defensive fight and is trying hard to keep its existence. This understanding of the groups is broadly correct. But keeping in view our connections with Reddy group in Khammam Taluq and in some other places, we should try for adjustment with them also if possible.

It would be wrong to conclude from this that there are no good persons at all in the Reddi group. Similarly, it would be wrong to think that all persons in Rao group are progressives.

Keeping the above in view, Communist Party should utilise the splits and differences between these two groups for strengthening the mass movement.

But we should not forget one thing. There will be attempts by the central leaders for effecting compromise between these two groups. The local considerations of both the groups may prevail and so it would be wrong to think that these groups would not come to compromise anywhere as a result of these attempts of the central leadership and local pressures.

#### P.S.P. and the Socialist Party

Both these parties have got considerable influence among the industrial labour. Here and there in the districts they have got some influence in the peasantry. But in Telangana as a whole it should be said that these parties are small. Even though the parties are small, it would not be correct to completely ignore them. From experience we learn that when a contest is going on between the two parties, it is these small parties that play



Considering all these matters, this Committee resolves that the Communist Party should follow the following line in the coming general elections.

- 1) PDF should be strengthened by attracting more progressive into it.
- 2) Attempts should be made for electoral adjustments with PSP and SP wherever they are locally strong.
- 3) Talks should be opened and continued wherever possible locally with Rao group in the Congress. Talks should be initiated but no final agreement should be reached. So long as the Congress does not finally decide upon candidates and constituencies, the Party, in the present situation, cannot make any commitment on this issue. If such commitments are made, they are not only incorrect but would also lead later on, to several troubles. More or less there are no possibilities of electoral adjustments with Reddy group. But however, in some constituencies, here and there, some Reddy group people may be ready for some adjustment. Party should be ready for such adjustments also.

However, we should not determine our election strategy on the basis of these group rivalries. We should mainly depend upon the masses behind the Party, upon the democratic forces that align with us and upon winning over the democratic-minded people within the Congress also. Similarly, we should avoid the danger of involving ourselves in the factional politics of these groups in our daily work.

#### Political Parties in Andhra - Our Tactics

In Andhra area, together with the Congress and Communist Parties there are the PSP, SP and Praja Parties.

Socialist Party has got strength in Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam Districts, especially in the Vizianagaram estate. This is so mainly because of the personal influence of the Vizianagaram Raja. They have also got some workers. In some centres in Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts, this Party has got some strength. In other areas in the Province, it has got some individuals. In the immediate past, the activities of this party has slowed down a bit. In the Assembly, this Party has 13 members.

PSP has strength in the labour centres in Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam districts, in Tenali and Guntur towns and in some centres in Nellore District. Apart from these centres, it has got some individuals in some other towns also.

Since 1955 elections, the Praja Party is remaining as a part of the United Congress Legislature Party. This Party has got one seat in the Ministry. Politically it had no differences with the Congress. But still it is maintaining its identity without merging with the Congress. This party has got some strength in East Godavary and Vijayawada town. In other places, it has got some individuals. There are some landlords also in this party. It has no separate programme.

Even though the SCF exists, it exists in name only without any programme or activity. However, it has got some influence among Scheduled Caste intellectuals and in areas where the agricultural labour movement is weak.

Congress and Communist Parties remain as the main, province-wide political parties.

. . . . . Groups in the Congress : Our

## Groups in the Congress : Our Attitude

Since Ranga group joined the Congress, the old group rivalries are still continuing. Ranga-Gopalareddy group is one and Sanjiva Reddy group is the other. Since 1955 elections, the rivalry between these two groups is increasing. With the decision to form Andhrapradesh, the question of Chief Ministership has assumed great significance. Ranga group made attempts to seize it bypassing the Gopala Reddy group. But they later on gave up that attempt, after realising that they had not got enough support. At the present moment, Ranga-Gopala Reddy group on one side and Sanjiva Reddy group on the other are making serious efforts. Factional rivalries have assumed a serious form. DCCs and PCCs are controlled by Sanjiva Reddy. It is said that Ranga-Gopala Reddy group have got majority inside the Congress Legislature Party.

There is no doubt that landlords are in both groups but there are some differences. Those sections like the Zamindar of Mallapalli, Adusunvilli and Kuppaswami groups, Harischandraprasad, Dommeli Rangarao who are economically the most powerful in the Province and who were the backbone of the Justice Party previously, are now in Ranga group. The big landlord sections in Nellore district and the Tamballapalli Reddys in Chittoor are in Gopala Reddy group. Similarly, the Pamulurthi Reddys of Anantapur district are behind Ranga-Gopala Reddy group. In Sanjiva Reddy group also landlords of Kayalaseema, the group of A.C. Subba Reddy in Nellore Dt., Zamindar of Kapileswarapuram in East Godavary, the powerful Kshatriya landlords of Visakh Dt. are found. However, the big landlord sections in Ranga-Gopala Reddy group are very powerful.

There is no doubt that these rivalries between these groups originated as factional rivalries for power. But in recent times, these differences are being exhibited even on some people's issues.

While the United Congress Legislature Party decided to hold elections to the District Boards by indirect elections, the PCC controlled by Sanjiva Reddy demanded elections on the basis of adult suffrage. Similarly, Sanjiva Reddy group demanded exemption from land revenue to all poor peasants paying less than Rs.10. On the issue of land reform also, whereas Ranga-Gopala Reddy group follow one line, Sanjiva Reddy group follow another. Gopala Reddy-Ranga group is openly carrying on propaganda against ceiling. Besides the PCC in its general body deciding upon imposition of ceilings, the PCC President, A.S. Raju and Sanjiva Reddy issued statements that land reforms are very necessary. While the Executive of the United Congress Legislature Party decided upon postponing ceilings issue until formation of Andhra Pradesh, the Kurnool DCC and some other Congress Committees under the control of Sanjiva Reddy group demanded legislation for ceiling even before the formation of Andhrapradesh. Similarly public condemnation by Alluri Satyanarayana Raju of the report of Lakkaraja Subbarao Committee which was raised by the Governor in his speech is well known.

It is not correct to brush aside as unimportant all these disputes between these groups, viewing them as only factional. At the same time, it would be incorrect to say that Sanjiva Reddy group as a whole is progressive and that Ranga-Gopala Reddy group as a whole is reactionary. There is significance to these contradictions in view of the mass consciousness in Andhra today and in view of some progressive policies of the Central Government which it has adopted for the Second Five Year Plan.

Taking into view these contradictions, we have to see how we can utilise these for developing mass movements. We should



adopt a policy of discretion so that we can make use of all the statements and resolutions which are in favour of people's welfare and can utilise the differences that are arising within the Congress itself on certain issues so that they can be intensified and the democratic forces strengthened. We have to see as to where we have to join hands with one group so as to fight against the worst reactionaries, despots and big landlords. At the same time, we should be careful not to get involved in factional policies.

#### Parliamentary Election & Our Tactics

In the coming elections to the Parliament, our Party should adopt correct tactics so that we can mobilise the democratic parties and forces and individuals. We should see that the democratic opposition is strengthened.

On a province-wide scale, we should examine the possibilities for electoral adjustments or agreements with the PSP, SP and Praja Party. We should carry on negotiations with leaders of various parties.

We should explore the possibilities of electoral agreements with the Socialist Party in Srikakulam and Visakha Dts.; with the Praja Party in East Godavary District; and with the PSP in Guntur and Nellore Districts. Similarly, the DCs should carefully examine the possibilities for agreements with progressive individuals and independents and take necessary steps.

Similarly, we should take advantage of the rivalries between the two Congress groups and, if necessary, should come into agreement in each place with the candidate of either group.

Thus, in the coming Parliamentary elections, we should follow very flexible tactics. In our strong constituencies, we should set up our Party candidates and in other constituencies, we should come to agreement with democratic parties and individuals. By following such tactics, we can enhance our strength and the strength of the democratic forces.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA  
Central Committee Office

Asaf Ali Road,  
New Delhi,  
December 5, 1956.

Central Committee Meeting

For CCMs Only

Document No. 2.

ON INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

1. Developments of tremendous significance have taken place in October and November. They have produced diverse reactions among the people.
2. Imperialist aggression in Egypt should not be looked upon as reckless gamble by mad men who had not realised the opposition which their adventure would encounter and who have now been forced to retreat. Such an estimation will breed complacency. The aggression was the imperialist way of solving the deep crisis which they face because of the disintegration of the colonial system.
3. The process which has gone forward with increasing momentum in the colonial and semi-colonial world manifests itself in -
  - i) Increasing assertion of freedom by the countries of Asia and Africa;
  - ii) Independent foreign policy, stand against military pacts, resolute defence of peace;
  - iii) Path of independent economic development and weakening of imperialist economic grip over these countries;
  - iv) The building of unity among Asian and African countries in defence of freedom and peace;
  - v) Growing bond of friendship between the USSR and Socialist countries on one hand and the countries of the East on the other;
  - vi) Growth of freedom upsurge in the remaining colonies.
4. All these developments are a serious menace to imperialism. They threaten it with eventual elimination. The action by the British and French in Egypt was an attempt to reverse this process, to initiate a new process - the process of reimposition of "effective control" on countries of Asia and Africa, the process of alteration of their foreign policies, the process of transforming them into military bases. Egypt was chosen as target of attack because she is the strongest country in the Middle East where imperialist has vast stakes and because Egypt's action in nationalising the Suez Canal was having a galvanising influence over the whole East. Danger not only to Egypt but also to other countries, to India's independent foreign policy and to world peace.
5. Imperialists knew that their action would rouse world-wide indignation. Also it would be opposed by the USSR. Hence, the uprising in Hungary timed to take place a few days before the Egyptian adventure. The object was to divert world attention to Eastern Europe and also to paralyse the USSR.

6. American policy . . .



6. American policy in the crisis - a double-faced policy. Object of the policy - weaken its imperialist rivals and establish its own control in the Middle East by trying to appear as "peace-maker". Hence indulgence in platitudes, condemnation but no firm action, opposition to measures proposed by USSR.
7. The Egyptian gamble has not succeeded - due to Egyptian resistance, due to world-wide opposition, due to the mounting protest in Britain itself and above all, due to Soviet warning which was of decisive significance. But the menace is not over. The tension that continues is not the mere aftermath of the armed conflict but due to a deeper reason. The crisis that confronted imperialism, the crisis that they wanted to solve by their aggression in Egypt - that crisis has deepened. Nasser's position has grown stronger. The freedom upsurge in the countries of Asia and Africa has gathered more momentum. Asian solidarity has stood the test and Asian unity further fortified. The Baghdad Pact has weakened. The friendship between the countries of East and the USSR has strengthened. In every respect, the result of the Egyptian adventure has been the reverse of what the imperialists had hoped.
8. Imperialists are making desperate efforts to cover up the fiasco and also prepare for new adventures. America's big bid for winning the support of Afro-Asian countries by "anti-colonial" declarations. Simultaneously imperialist attempt to delay withdrawal of foreign forces from Egypt, to retain foothold on Egyptian soil by various pretexts, efforts of provocation in relation to Syria. The propaganda carried on by the Pakistan Premier against India, the vehemence with which the Kashmir issue is being brought up, acquire big significance in this context. Coming period will be critical and will need utmost vigilance and action against new attempts threatening freedom of countries of East and world peace.
9. The Egyptian crisis shows clearly how mechanical and utopian was the concept that had gained ground among some people - the concept that the struggle for peace could be won by a process of continuous retreat of imperialism from one position after another, without sharp and swift developments, without desperate efforts by imperialists to make a stand which would again and again confront the world with the menace of war. The thesis that war is not inevitable retains its full validity and must continue to guide our activities. The strength that forces of peace have attained has been sharply revealed in the recent crisis itself. Nevertheless, victory against the forces of war would not be won smoothly but through sharp struggle and the overcoming of the crisis that would manifest themselves repeatedly.
10. It is in this world background that events in Hungary must be viewed. Deep discontent developed in the country due to serious mistakes committed by the Party and the Government in respect of legality, certain aspects of economic policy and also disregard of national sentiment on several issues. Even after the 20th Congress, the Party leadership failed to wage a firm struggle for correction of these mistakes. It also failed to exercise necessary vigilance against reactionaries.

The discontent created by these mistakes led to the mass movement for democratisation which imperialists and reactionaries succeeded in diverting into channels of counter-revolution. In this they were aided by the capitulatory policies of Imre Nagy. The common frontier which Hungary has with Austria facilitated infiltration, smuggling in of arms, etc. The rebellion had been well-planned and prepared for a long time.

11. After the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Budapest on 31st October, reaction showed its real face and attempted restoration of capitalism and landlordism in Hungary under a fascist regime and reverse Hungary's foreign policy in such a way that Hungary would become an imperialist base. In such a situation the action of the Soviet Government which came to the aid of Kadar Government was fully justified. The use of the troops of one country on the soil of another country always creates an abnormal situation and rouses national indignation. As such, it can never be a desirable thing. But one must remember that the issues at stake were momentous. On the action of the USSR depended - (1) the fate of socialism and the working class in Hungary; (2) the fate of world peace; (3) the fate of freedom of the peoples of Asia and Africa. To permit the triumph of the reaction in Hungary would have been absolutely fatal to all these. Whatever temporary confusion may be created today, history would have blamed the USSR if it did not act as it did after the 31st of October. But for that action, with which was inseparably linked the bold intervention of the USSR in defence of Egypt's freedom, the cause of socialism, freedom and peace would have been gravely endangered.

12. That a situation arose after 11 years of People's Democracy is a matter of deep regret. But when it did arise, the USSR was faced with sharp alternatives. It had to act in such a way that socialism could be saved in Hungary, imperialist effort to create a war base projecting deep into the socialist world could be defeated and the cause of world peace and of freedom of the countries of Asia and Africa defended.

13. At the same time, it is quite possible that several mistakes have been committed even after 4th November in concretely dealing with the situation.

14. The world situation remains extremely grave. The far-reaching proposals of the USSR made on 17th November require tremendous significance in this world context. They must be made basis of big campaign - meeting of Great Powers together with India, destruction of atomic weapons and reduction of armed forces, scrapping of military pacts, liquidation of military bases, withdrawal of foreign forces from all countries, etc.

Afr-Asian unity which has emerged stronger from the crisis has to be further strengthened and carried forward - meeting of Bandung Powers, withdrawal of foreign forces from Egypt, unconditional acceptance of nationalisation of the Suez Canal.

The slogan of "Quit Commonwealth" has acquired a new urgency and tremendous import in the present situation. It has to be vigorously propagated.

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(December 5).



COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Central Committee Office

New Delhi,  
December 7, 1956

CC MEETING/DEC.56

Document No.1-A

For CCs Only

ANDHRA DOCUMENTS  
CONTINUATION

COPY of Com.Sunlarayya's letter to  
The Andhra Pradesh PC  
dated 8.11.56

Comrades,

I was unable to attend the last meeting of the PC. But having read the drafts placed before the PC, I have written a letter explaining my differences with them. In that letter, I have said that the suggestion and decision that we should contest in the elections on the PDF symbol and that even when the Party members are set up, the Party should not contest independently with its own symbol, are nothing but liquidating the Party and that if such a decision is made, I would be appealing against it to the CC.

Besides this, I have also written in that letter opposing the suggestions made in respect of the finances and wholetime work.

Soon after the PC decided upon contesting the elections in the name of PDF and with PDF symbol, I left for China and on my way I met the General Secretary and Com.E.M.S.Namboodiripad and asked them to include this item on the agenda for the CC meeting. Having learnt the time of the meeting of the CC, I left for China.

Meanwhile, even before the CC had given its final decision on this issue, the PC Secretariat had given this decision for publicity in the press and had taken some steps for implementation.

Not only that; even without taking any decision either in the Visalandhra Party Conference or later, in the PC meeting, it was announced in the press as a PC decision that Communist Assembly members elected from Andhra would join the PDF and function as PDF inside the Assembly. Thus steps were taken to make the PDF as the Opposition inside the assembly and to liquidate the Communist Party permanently.

Also, in contravention of the resolution of the Palghat Congress, characterisation is being made that one group in the Congress is progressive and that in the coming elections, we should come to adjustments and agreements with them and even work is being done on that basis.

Regarding our daily also, for the last four months, a number of articles and editorials have appeared in it, uncritically supporting the Second Five Year Plan and the land reforms. Also a number of news items, articles and notes have been written supporting Sanjiva Reddi group, characterising it as progressive. Thus it cannot but be said that it had lost its character of a Communist Party paper.

. . . . If we examine from all this

If we examine from all this, it will become plain that the majority in the PC Sectt and the present Provincial leadership is working in line with their alternative resolution to the Palghat resolution but not in accordance with the Party resolution. The present majority in the PC and the PC Sectt is not even functioning in line to the majority view expressed in the District, Provincial and Visalandhra Conferences held before.

Hence, when the activities of the majority group are such as would liquidate the Party and transform the Party into tailing behind the Congress, the situation has arisen to seriously consider my task.

Also the problem has today arisen whether we, the Legislators elected on behalf of the Communist Party and under its symbol should continue the Communist Party work as Communist Party members or bow down to this liquidationist resolution and join the PDF.

Under these circumstances, I consider that until the CC discusses all these matters and takes a decision, until the majority group in the Andhra Pradesh PC discards the anti-Party liquidationist trends and gives guarantee necessary for the implementation of Party programme, my stay in the PC Sectt would mean nothing else but becoming a party to this liquidationist line and hence I am tendering my resignation to my membership of the Sectt.

The PC should discuss all these matters and reject this liquidationist line. Or immediate steps should be taken to place all of them before the CC for its discussion and decisions. I want to say that my future programme would depend upon the decisions that the PC will take now.

Yours fraternally,  
Sd./ P.Sundarayya.

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FROM COM.SUNDARAYYA'S LETTER dated 10.11.56.  
To PC Members, Andhra Pradesh PC.

When there was ban on our Party in 1952, we contested in the elections in the name of the PDF in alliance with some democratic groups and individuals. Even though the ban on the Party was later on lifted, we continued to function in the name of the PDF as we thought that it is not good to function inside the Assembly in the name of the Communist Party instead of the PDF for the reasons that we had stood before the people and won the seats in the name of the PDF and that other groups and individuals have accepted the programme of the Party and was working under the leadership of the Party. The Party did not agree with the groups of Shri Jaisoorya and Shri Govinddas Shroff when they insisted that the Communist Party should function outside the Legislature also only through the PDF and that PDF should be formed in all places as a party. So they have left the PDF; only those who are nearer to the Party have remained in the PDF. PDF had remained as the pseudonym to the Communist Party. Within the Party, there was serious discussion on this matter. Wherever the members who want to function as PDF are in big majority, there there was no attempt to build the Party and to go before the people in the name of the Party and its programme. Party was not extended among the people. Party building was taken as only in those areas where the cadre who insisted upon the individuality and independent role of the Communist Party are in majority.



That is why today, when there is no ban on the Party and it is working legally, at a time of a very big campaign as the general elections to the Parliament and the Assembly, on an issue where the people will decide through vote as to which parties and which classes should wield power there is every necessity for the Party to go before the people in its own name. If it does not do so, especially so in such areas where the Party is strong and conducted a number of struggles, it will result in nothing but preparing ourselves to dissolve the Party by our own volition.

The members of the Communist Party should stand in the election with the Party symbol. At the same time, we have to make an appeal and also carry on propaganda declaring that we are ready to form and work in a United Front together with those individuals and groups who come forward to work in the Assembly on the basis of a minimum programme. We will also appeal that others also should such a United Front. We have to explain that there will be no infringement of the identity and independence of any group or party joining the United Front and that each can express and also work for implementation of its own programme under its own leader, inside and outside also of the Legislature and that the policy of the United Front will confine to implementing jointly to the extent agreed upon by all.

Only when the members from Telangana are elected in the name of the Communist Party can they and the members elected from the Andhra area in the name of the Communist Bloc function in the manner in which they have given word to the people.

We should be beware of the mistakes we have committed in the last Andhra elections. In those elections we committed the mistake of the serious miscalculation that Communist Bloc alone can defeat the Congress in the majority of seats. Even though they were making up the splits within the ruling party and were uniting the KLP and Praja Party against the Communist Party, we failed to adopt appropriate tactics to see that they do not join hands or to utilise their mutual differences.

Today, in Andhrapradesh, the ruling parties are not found as groups outside the Congress, split among themselves. They remain in the Congress and are carrying on their rivalries. As no election would be held in Andhra area and as the Congress has already got absolute majority in Andhrapradesh Assembly, the Congress would remain in power for another five years. Therefore, no party is in a position to come out of the Congress and is prepared to clash with the Congress by forming into a separate party as to work for their self interests. Particularly, the conflicts that are going on within the Congress have not yet assumed the character of a conflict among different groups on political and economic policies. Those who are demanding progressive reforms have not yet developed such critical outlook and organisation. Even though the present conflicts are mainly factional for power, even these we should utilise so that through mass agitation and mass pressure and struggle it is easy to win some reforms in the interests of the people. When we want some concessions in the interests of the people, we should work for their implementation and at the same time should not forget our task to proceed further. Instead, it would be wrong to characterise a group as having a different class basis and as progressive simply because it has passed some reforms. Therefore, our alliances and agreements should be with democratic parties, groups and individuals outside the Congress and it would lead to nothing except watering down the programme and isolation from other left parties if we try to see who is a progressive among Congressmen and to argue that since a particular Congressman is more progressive than the other, we should support him in the elections.

From  
VISHALANDHRA Daily, 21.10.56

### GROUP RIVALRIES IN THE CONGRESS CAMP

On 21st October, the election will be held in Kurnool to elect the leader of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Legislature Party. The contest for the Chief Ministership has turned into a fight in the Congress Party. Together with the Congress legislators, the Congress press is also divided into two groups and are carrying on serious propaganda. This has lost the character of an election within a party and assumed the serious character of a conflict between two camps. Abuses, vicious propaganda, challenges between the two are going on a large scale.

The story that ANDHRA PATRIKA circulates is that the groups say that among the Andhra legislators 78 are for supporting Gopala Reddi and 76 Sanjeeva Reddi. But this figure is more by 7 than the actual 147 members of the Congress legislature Party. VAHINI, the Ranga group paper, came out with a banner headline saying that "Gopala Reddi's success is sure since he is supported by 115." This paper's estimate is that 94 in Andhra and 21 in Telangana would support its champion. It prophesies that Sanjeeva Reddi can get only 53 in Andhra and 30 in Telangana and is sure to lose!

ANDHRA PRABHA, which champions the Sanjeeva Reddi cause in this contest, is saying that its champion would win by getting 120 votes - 80 in Andhra and 40 in Telangana. ANDHRA PATRIKA says that 'Praja Party', a component of the United Congress Legislature Party, could not decide as to whom it should vote. ANDHRA PRABHA says that out of 10 Praja Party members, 8 have decided to support Sanjeeva Reddi. Both the Telugu papers from Telangana are now supporting Sanjeeva Reddi. VAHINI, the paper of the Lok Party, abuses SWATANTRA, as the paper of the "Patwaris". It wailed that the editor of ANDHRA PRABHA had lost his "integrity".

As the day of election is approaching, mutual abuses, challenges and counter-challenges are increasing in the propaganda of both the groups. They do not point out the difference in the political stand of the two.

### TASK OF THE CONGRESSMEN

There is greater importance to the issue as to who follows a policy which helps the development of the country and the welfare of the people than the issue as to who gets elected as the leader. Congress has declared as its aim the building up of a socialistic pattern of society and social welfare. Amritsar Congress has resolved to implement land reforms. Who will implement these aims? And who will obstruct the implementation of such aims? Congressmen should see the election of leader from this angle.

Gopala Reddi is obstructing the implementation of land reforms accepted by the Amritsar Congress, even to the extent recommended by the Second Five Year Plan. Range has given a call for organising a volunteer corps to oppose land reforms. Hence there is no doubt to call this group as the bitterest enemy of land reforms.

The Andhra Provincial Congress Committee passed a resolution for the implementation of land reforms proposed by the Second Five Year Plan. Sri Sanjeeva Reddi also, in his speech at Cuddapah, declared that he would implement land reforms. But the nature of the Bills introduced by the Ministry in the present session of the Assembly is contrary to the aims of land reforms. We have to find out what attitude Sanjeeva Reddi group adopts towards them.

Therefore, the Congress legislators must carefully examine all these matters. They should elect as leader such a person who follows a democratic policy which helps the development of Andhra and the welfare of the people.



COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA  
Central Committee Office

Risef Ali Road,  
New Delhi,  
December 7, 1956.

C.C. MEETING/DEC. 1956

For CCMs Only

DOCUMENT NO. 1(B)

A FEW FACTS REGARDING THE CONTROVERSY OF P.D.F.

(by C.Rajeswara Rao)

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I want to put a few facts before the CC, regarding the P.D.F. controversy in Andhra with a view to help the discussion.

1. The IDF in Telangana consists of Communist Party, a group confined to Hyderabad and Secunderabad Cities called Democratic People's Party (DIP), having influence among the middle class, and some individuals throughout Telangana. A IDF Council was elected at the convention in the beginning of 1956 for the whole of former Hyderabad State. But after it is disintegrated, the IDF is split up into three parts, serving the three regions - Telangana, Marathwada and Karnataka. The Telangana IDF Council consists of 15 members of whom 6 are Communists, 4 DIP and 5 independents.

The IDF Assembly Unit consists of 34 MLAs of whom 21 are Communists, 2 are DIP and the rest are independents.

There are good number of IDF Municipal and Panchayat Committees run under the name of IDF or Citizen's Committees.

2. After the declaration of the Government of India for the formation of Vishalandhra was made, our Party was faced with the problem of what to do with the IDF, whether to extend it to the Andhra area also, or to keep it as it is or to abolish it altogether. There were sharp differences on this matter. A resolution on organisation was placed before the Vishalandhra Communist Conference, held in the first week of July 1956 at Hyderabad, by the Coordination Committee consisting of the secretariats of the Andhra and Telangana Committees, in which the following unanimously agreed formula was put before the Conference: "Our Party contested in the Hyderabad State in the previous general elections as a part of the IDF. The MLAs who were elected on behalf of the IDF, had been functioning as a IDF unit of the Hyderabad State Assembly.

"There is a IDF Council also outside the Assembly.

"There are no such IDF units either inside the Assembly or outside, in the Andhra area.

"We have to decide about the role of the Party in the IDF after the matter is fully discussed later.

"Meanwhile, the assembly members of the Communist bloc of Andhra area would join the Telangana IDF MLA Unit and function as IDF unit in Andhra Pradesh Assembly."

"In the same way, Party members in IDF outside would function as usual."

I want the comrades to note the last three paras underlined. In short it means, until the coming general elections the Communist MLAs also join IDF and function as IDF unit in the

Andhra Pradesh Assembly, and the question of elections and IDF and post-election set-up in the Andhra Pradesh Assembly could be discussed and decided later by the Andhra IC, in view of the All-India experience.

Since there was general agreement on this formula and nobody raised any objection in the conference when the presidium announced it as a unanimous opinion of the two Secretariats, no formal vote was taken on this and discussion took place on other points in the resolution. After the conference, this formula was communicated to the IDF Council as the opinion of our Party regarding IDF.

3. Subsequently a meeting of the Andhra Pradesh Committee took place in the 1st week of September 1956 in which the question of the IDF and general elections was discussed along with other election issues. In that meeting three resolutions concerning elections were passed - first on elections organisation, second, appeal to the people on elections, third on IDF and elections. The translations of these resolutions are in the possession of the CC Office.

At first some comrades objected to contesting under the name of IDF in Telangana, but later they changed their mind and proposed that the Party should have a separate symbol. Then the controversy raged on the question of symbol. Finally, the resolution which wanted the general elections to be contested in Telangana area on behalf of the IDF with a common symbol was passed. Com. Ajay attended the meeting of the IC and after hearing the discussions, he too agreed for the contesting on the common symbol.

The voting in the IC on the resolution is as follows:

For the proposal of D. Venkateswara Rao, for the CI contesting on its own symbol, 8 for, 21 against and 4 neutral and hence it was lost.

For the final resolution the voting is as follows: 24 for, 4 against and 4 neutral.

The resolution for contesting in Telangana with a common symbol was passed with an overwhelming majority. The IC decided to release the resolution to the press immediately as the others in the IDF have been eagerly awaiting for our decision and it appointed a Committee to brush it and release it to the press. Nobody in the IC including the comrades who opposed it, either raised any objection for the releasing of the resolution to the press or intimated that they would appeal to the CC against it. Only Com. Sunderayya who could not attend the IC meeting due to ill-health, wrote a letter in which he mentioned that he would appeal to the CC against it. Even there he did not ask the IC to stop the resolution from publication. The IC sub-committee finalised and given it for publication.

Here another fact has to be brought to the notice of the CCs. Even in this meeting of the IC, no comrade wanted the earlier decision of Andhra Communist MLAs joining the IDF and functioning as IDF in the Andhra Pradesh Assembly until the elections, to be revised. Only Com. Sunderayya wanted this to be revised and the IC did not think it necessary to do it.

4. Again the issues of IDF and elections, and IDF in the Andhra Pradesh Assembly till the elections were discussed along with other things which, lead to resignations in the meeting of the IC which took place in the 2nd week of November 1956. The



entire IC felt that, if the differences were stretched too far and no signatons accepted, there would be confusion in the party and people which the enemies would utilise to the full, leading to a serious set-back for the party in the coming general elections. In the end a compromise formula which would help the IC to work unitedly till after the elections was arrived at, except on one point concerning the IDF in the Assembly till the elections.

Hardly the points in the formula are the following:

i) We can come to adjustments with individual Congressmen in certain places, without prejudice to the General line of the party in the elections. We can think in a practical way when we take the considerations of the constituencies.

ii) We can contest the elections in Telangana under the name of the IDF with a common symbol. But we must put our programme also before the people, along with the IDF programme.

iii) With regard to the journal, we have to bring our propaganda clearly why we are contesting the Congress. But we can also say the good things Congress had done. In order that the journal may be run effectively, one or two more ICMS to be put in the editorial board. (As a matter of fact the IC had been asking Com. Hanumantha Rao, CCM, to work in the editorial board but he has been refusing for his own reasons).

iv) Since nobody is wanting to dispense with all the whole-timers or keep the top-heavy mechanism as it is, we should make this as a matter of principle.

We can take each district and decide on a practical place how many whole-timers we can retain in each district.

But since Com. Sunderayya and some others could not agree with the earlier decision regarding the IDF in the Assembly till the elections, discussion took place on that issue and vote was taken on the different proposals. There were four proposals.

i) The Communist MLAs from Andhra area and IDF MLAs from Telangana area, should form a IDF in the Andhra Pradesh Assembly, and work as the main opposition party. It must elect a leader, deputy leaders and a Working Committee.

The Communist MLAs of both the areas would form a legislature Communist party and function as a part of the IDF. It has also to elect a leader and a working Committee. This decision would remain until the elections."

ii) This is the proposal of Com. Sunderayya.

"It must be called a IDF-Communist bloc, till the general elections in Telangana are finished, since the MLAs in Andhra area were elected on Communist symbol and MLAs in Telangana were elected on IDF symbol."

iii) The following was the resolution proposed by Com. G. Radhakrishnamoorthy:

"The MLAs of Andhra area to remain as separate bloc and cooperate with IDF, in the Andhra Pradesh Assembly."

iv) Pillalamarri's proposal. This proposal was agreed to unanimsously, by a meeting of the Communist MLAs held previously. In all 25 out of 32 from both areas attended the meeting. Comrade

Sunderayya could not attend the meeting, because he was in China at that time.

"To maintain the independent role of the Communist Party in the legislature, the following form is to be observed by the Communist members in the legislature:

"i) They will be members of the IDF and the leader of the IDF shall be one from among the members of the Communist Party.

"ii) The Communist members will form a fraction of the IDF and the Communist members of the IDF executive shall be the fraction Committee.

Whenever necessary the leader of the IDF will speak and clarify the stand taken by the Communist Party, as the leader of the Communist Party.

The following is the voting figures on the above-mentioned proposals.

i) Nagi Reddy's	23 for	2 against	8 neutral
ii) Sunderayya's	6 "	19 "	7 "
iii) Redhakrishnamoorthy	5 "	18 "	6 "
iv) Lillalamarri	12 "	16 "	5 "

The point to be noted in the above voting figures is that, Nagi Reddy's proposal carried an overwhelming majority of the IC and Comrades Basavapunniah and Hanumantha Rao also voted for this, because it was a compromise resolution. Com. Sunderayya also did not vote against it, but remained neutral. The two who voted against it were Comrades Yella Reddy and Maqdoom, who wanted the resolution to be taken the other way, i.e., the proposal of the MLAs meeting. Some like Narayana Reddy who held the above view also remained neutral.

The IC asked the Secretariat to implement the decision and the proposal of the leader of the IDF be decided in consultation with the Legislature Party Unit. The IC also rejected the resignations of P.S., M.B., Hanumantha Rao and Rajeswara Rao.

5. The above-mentioned resolution was communicated to the IB immediately. The 5 I.B.M.s who were present at the Centre wrote letter to the IC not to implement the IC decision and instead to function the Communist bloc of Andhra area and IDF of Telangana area separately for the time being till after the CC decides one way or the other. The same proposal was put by a comrade in the IC meeting and it was rejected.

The meetings of the IC Secretariat and Communist MLAs meetings were fixed for 30th November 1956. The IC Secretariat could not take any decision, because there was no quorum (quorum is 9 out of 13). Coms. Sunderayya and Basavapunniah did not attend the Secretariat meeting though they were there. Hence the matter was left for the Communist MLAs to take decisions and move forward.

On seeing IBMs letter the MLAs and sect. members present, wanted Com. Ajoy to come over to Hyderabad to deal with the matter. I contacted him on the phone and appraised him of the situation. But he pleaded that he could not come to Hyderabad, because of urgent work and asked us to implement the advice of the IBMs. I told him that I cannot accept the advice in the circumstances



prevailing. Next day a telegram came from Ajay, confirming the earlier letter. The MLAs meeting, in which the IC Sect. members present also attended, rejected the advice of the 5 iBMs and refused to implement the IC decisions on the matter.

At the meeting at first Com. Sunderayya criticised the iBMs advice as harmful and put his original proposal for implementation. In the end he supported 5 iBMs proposal as a lesser evil.

The voting figures is as follows, only MLAs voting.

5 iBMs proposal	1 for	14 against	4 neutral
IC's proposal	17 "	"	1

Com. Sunderayya said that he would stick to 5 iBMs advice, which considers to be a iB decision and defy the IC resolution and he walked out of the meeting. Later proposal for IDF leader and deputy leader was decided upon and communicated to the IDF Council. The proposals of MLAs for leader was Com. Magdum. Com. Yelamandareddy was elected as the leader of the Communist group.

By now we received a telegram from Com. Ajay that he was coming to Hyderabad. Hearing this we stayed the implementation of the IC decision. Ajay came by plane on 3rd night. MLAs and iCMs present attended the meeting that night. After Com. Ajay took votes to elicit opinion on the two proposals, i.e., the IC resolution and Com. IS's proposal of IDF-Communist bloc. Only MLAs participated. The voting figures are as follows. In all 27 out of 32 MLAs attended.

IC's Decision	22 for	1 against	4 neutral
Sunderayya's	1 "	24 "	2 "

Afterwards the meeting of the CCs present was held. 5 including Sunderayya attended. Com. Ajay agreed that 5 iBMs advice could not be implemented under those circumstances. He also wanted the IC decision also to be put off. It was agreed. We found out a way to get out of the situations. It is that nothing should be communicated to the Speaker, but all MLAs sit together. We requested Com. Sunderayya to conduct the newly elected Speaker to the Chair as the leader of Opposition along with the Chief Minister, the only important item that day, to avoid confusion outside. But since he did not agree, it was decided that Com. V.L. Leshjande the leader of IDF previously to act as the leader of the opposition and Com. Sunderayya to absent from the Assembly. This procedure was followed. Though some things came in press, we have somehow saved our face for the present.

But this state of affairs cannot go on for long. The CC has to decide. Since general elections are on our heels, the differences among the IC comrades have to be put off till after the elections, if we have to avoid a serious set-back in the General elections in Andhra and implement the above-stated agreement unitedly by the IC, along with the compromise resolutions of the IC regarding the IDF in the Andhra Pradesh Assembly till the elections. I request the CC to consider the matter, and help the Andhra IC to come out of the present difficult situation.

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C O M M U N I S T P A R T Y O F I N D I A

Central Committee Office

C.C. MEETING/DEC. 56  
Document No. 1-C.

New Delhi,  
December 8, 1956

For CCs Only

ANDHRA DOCUMENTS  
CONTINUATION

COPY OF LETTER  
from COM. M. BASAVAPUNNIAM  
to ANDHRA PRADESH P.C.  
dated 2.9.56.

Comrades,

I am extremely sorry to let you know that a situation has arisen when I am compelled to resign my membership in the Secretariat of the PC. I briefly narrate the reasons below. I request you all to sympathetically examine my resignation and hope that you would accept the same.

Before I set out the political-organisational causes for my resignation, I wish to make one point clear. In the main, I try to confine myself to events after Palghat Party Congress, except in a casual way of reference to certain things of the earlier period; this I do because I am afraid that the letter becomes too lengthy and brings under discussion several issues connected with the long history of our Party activities.

I am of the opinion, that the majority in the PC as well as the Secretariat, there are comrades whose political views are in disagreement with the understanding given in the Political Resolution of Palghat Party Congress. Even after the alternative Resolution is pressed for vote and then lost in the Party Congress, Comrade Joshi on behalf of the sponsors of the said Resolution made it clear that they still believe that their resolution was correct and yet they vote for the resolution for which the Congress majority has voted and would implement it. Then alone I had my own apprehensions about those comrades who had deep faith in their alternative political line whether they can do justice to the Party Congress resolution and that too to get it implemented from the leading organisational positions they were holding. But I reconciled saying that it is a matter to be decided after attempting to put the line in practice. The history of the last four months has completely shattered my hopes and proved them to be nothing beyond any illusions. I am now of the opinion that in some respects the practice is in a way contrary to the Political line adopted at Palghat, and on the whole it is being interpreted and implemented with the understanding current in the alternative resolution.

In Palghat itself, during the discussions in the delegate camp, Comrade Rajeswara Rao had asserted that the majority which voted and stood for the Palghat Congress resolution consist of "birds of different feathers", i.e., from those who maintain that the bourgeois-democratic tasks in the main cannot be completed under the leadership of the bourgeoisie to those who argue that have entered the Socialist stage of the Revolution and hence hold and comrades belonging to his point of view alone were more fit to correctly interpret the Palghat Resolution and carry it out.



Subsequently, while it was being discussed as how to organise reporting on Palghat Congress resolutions (in the delegates camp of Andhra) I suggested that points for a common and united understanding could be laid out after discussion. But this suggestion of mine was rejected on the plea that every comrade who has to undertake such reporting could decide for his own what was necessary and correct. That meant nothing else than to leave the Congress resolution without a rudder and allow the majority of delegates that doggedly fought for the alternative line, to have the full freedom to report the decisions according to their own understanding and interpretation.

Even now, after four months, the reporting of the Political Resolution to the Party ranks is not complete. Besides that, neither PC nor PC Secretariat has cared to discuss and decide how comrades holding divergent opinions and views on the Resolution should work with a unified understanding. It appears that the very effort in this direction is totally absent. I am convinced that the majority in the Secretariat is seriously attempting to push along its own defective understanding as the correct interpretation of Palghat Resolution.

On several occasions whenever any question of interpretation of Palghat decisions arose, it has become almost a habit with the Secretary of the Andhra PC to remark that the Palghat Resolution can be given a number of interpretations, that he has got his own interpretation to it, that it is not a 'final word' and that it is, after all, a statement of broad outlines.

It is after a fairly long discussion on the Political Resolution at Palghat Congress that a definite attitude towards the Second Five Year Plan has been adopted. The Secretary and the majority of the Secretariat members, as I understand, disagree with the attitude stated above. In practice they are underplaying the critical part of it, and putting the Plan for propaganda amongst the masses, with some more touches to make it appear better. A number of articles, editorials and statements in our Daily VISALANDHRA go to corroborate the same.

I would like to bring to your attention to the fact that the Secretary and the majority members of the Secretariat had upheld certain views on the Agrarian question and the majority in the Visalandhra Party Conference has rejected them. The viewpoint that was defeated there does not correspond, and go against the line of Palghat. Com.K.Gopala Rao (PCM) in his critical note to PC on the 'Daily and the Agrarian Question' has attempted to point it out about the mistaken line pursued.

In Palghat Congress it is made clear that India has won political independence and the present-day national and international conditions are conducive to consolidate it and achieve economic independence. As regards the problem whether it is possible that the tasks of the democratic revolution (in complete independence political economic, agrarian reforms and industrialisation of the country, etc.) can be completed or not under the present bourgeois-landlord leadership of the Congress, it is positively stated that a united democratic government including the bourgeoisie under the leadership of the working class alone would be able to fulfil those tasks. That is to say the Party Congress has not accepted the thesis that the present Congress Party and its Government would be able to complete the bourgeois-democratic tasks of the revolution. When such is the position, how am I to understand the publication of an article by one Soviet writer with an approving editorial note in VISALANDHRA - article which suggests that the present Government with its Five Year Plan etc., is laying foundations for Socialism and India like China is

following the same socialist path though the tempo and speed differ between them? Is it not against the accepted Party policy? It may be argued that whether it is wrong to put it for discussion. If CC decides so it can be done like that. But what will be the outcome of such endless discussions?

It is decided that Party members too have to contest in the elections with PDF's symbol, as the contest with Party symbol would get less votes. The clear implication that lies beneath this decision is that it expresses a tendency which believes that generally a contest on non-Party symbol is better than one with the Party symbol. Arguments have been advanced to the effect that on the Parliamentary front, the Communist Party need not come before the people independently as a Party, and that does not harm the independent role of the Party. This decision, I am firmly convinced is wrong and the past experience in Telangana as well as the world Communist movement elsewhere corroborate my apprehension.

I am in broad agreement with the decisions on tactics to be followed in the coming elections. But, I am of the view that the theorisations made and the class basis analysed regarding groups in the Congress Party are totally wrong. It is so with regards to the groups in the Congress both in Andhra and Telangana and more so particularly with Telangana. For the present, we should factually state how the inner-Party contradictions are expressed in the Andhra Congress and indicate how far they can be utilised by our Party in the coming elections. Beyond that to go into a type of thesis-making on the nature and class composition of these Congress groups is not only premature, but also very harmful. But in the resolution that our PC has adopted it sums up the position saying that there are some bad elements in Burgula's group and some good elements still remain in Reddy group. Despite a word here and there which is thrown as a guard, the general sense it gives is that Rao group is progressive and Reddy group is reactionary. Com. Rajeswara Rao has made the position more clear, during the discussion on the subject. He has stated that preliminary steps have been already taken for united front with Rao group. I cannot agree with this position.

There have been inner-Party discussions during the last three to four years on the problem of United Front tactics and the work amongst the basic classes such as workers, agricultural labour and toiling peasantry. I am of the view that the independent mass base of our Party and the united front of parties, groups and forces are the two inseparable aspects of the one and the same problem. But as I see our practice in Andhra, I find that there is a under-stress on the rectification of the mistakes with regards to PDF tactics, while the minimum necessary self-critical attitude is absent as regards the work amongst the basic classes. Not merely this. In practice, there is no drive to rectify even the accepted shortcomings in the said mass work. There goes on a tirade on this criticism, to make one shudder to open his mouth. Charges are levelled that in the name of "basic classes" and "independent mass following", repeating them as Mantras to D.F. work is neglected or sidetracked. I seriously differ with this attitude of comrades.

Similarly on the question of slogans: I am of the opinion that there should be slogans for agitation and day-to-day work as well as slogans to propagate the long-term aims and demands of the movement. Day-to-day struggles are to be conducted on the basis of existing level of mass consciousness while attempting constantly to raise the level of mass consciousness. But these suggestions also are dubbed as either "thesis-making" or "Repetition of fundamentals". As for my part, I am not one who maintain that an immediate demand for 'gruel' is useless and in its place 'land to the tiller' slogan substituted. On the other hand, I am of the opinion that the



majority in the PC Sectt do hold the view that day-to-day demands like for gruel, employment doles, minimum wage, etc., if put forth would gradually but automatically make the masses conscious of 'land to the tiller' and socialism. The failure to consciously and constantly propagare amongst the masses the aims and objects of the revolutionary movement, in my opinion, is sufficiently harmful. As I see it, this is one of the lessons that the history of our own movement teaches us.

All the issues I have narrated above are essentially of theoretical and political nature and I believe that my views are correct. Similarly the majority members of the Secretariat also might feel that their viewpoint is correct. The controversy can be resolved through proper and patient discussions and the balanced lessons drawn in the course of our practical work and experience. Meanwhile the majority decisions can be implemented. For this process there should be an organisational method and line. Such organisational method and line is absent in the past. After the Palghat Congress it has deteriorated further. The method and manner in which the Secretary of the Committee and some members of the Secretariat who hold the same point of view pursue is not conducive where comrades with differing ideas and viewpoints can work together in the Secretariat and unify.

Neither the Secretary nor the majority members of the Secretariat are in a state of mind to give a patient hearing of views and take them to consideration. A number of examples can be cited in support of my contention.

The Secretary is in the habit of putting across the views on several occasions which he thinks correct, but which are not collectively discussed and definite decisions arrived at. He comes to his own decisions and tries to implement them in piecemeal doses. For example, he states that Palghat Congress resolution has a number of interpretations, that Party organisational principles are in need of a radical change, that there need be no aversion to the principles of bourgeois-democracy and some of them are more correct than ours, that four members in the Andhra PC have grown like banyan trees to the detriment of other's growth, that wholetimers are to be rehabilitated and so on and so forth. Whether the above-narrated points and similar other points are correct or incorrect can be properly discussed and decided separately. Whatever it might be, I am of the opinion that it is extremely harmful to put them across in such light-hearted a manner and attempt to implement them without first thrashing them out in the Committee and taking definite decisions on them.

The method and manner of discussions of the Secretary and some comrades who subscribe to the same political trend is something similar to a cock-fight. They give a thrust to the opponent. If, on that occasion, either the comrade that get the thrust or some other comrade present there start hitting back, the discussions came to a close. If one wishes to keep silent, the offensive goes on amounting unchecked. The stage where the Committee discussions are conducted in a fearless and peaceful manner is fast going. Without going back to the distant past, I would like to give two or three examples in this very PC meeting. Comrade S.V.K.Prasad has given some amendments to the resolution on Congress groups in Telangana while it is being discussed. The amendments may be correct or totally incorrect. But Comrade Secretary has intervened and hurled a challenge on him saying that those amendments are wrong and let him come forth with an alternative resolution if he so wants. During the discussion on the PDF resolution, Com.R.Narayana Reddy made an agitational speech saying that PDF was defended and saved while the anti-Party forces from outside and the inner-Party forces from within attempted to disrupt and destroy it. If a fitting reply to these remarks is attempted it leads

breeding of bad blood. If such reply is not given he does not look back to the past with some circumspection. When I wanted to stand up for a reply, I am reminded of the appeals that PC comrades have that sharp polemics of 'top PC leaders' are spoiling the proper discussions in the PC. Similar examples are there during the discussions in the Secretariat meetings. The method and manner of these discussions, is in the form of rubbing the sores rather than helping to heal the wounds caused as a result of serious inner-party differences and intense discussions.

Then coming to the subject of criticism and self-criticism it has become quite a novel method. Proper criticism and self-criticism demand of us assessing and examining the work of the Committee as a whole and each individual member of it and then decide the mistakes, shortcomings and achievements. Thus it becomes clear who accepts it and who does not accept it. But what is happening is contrary to this; without proper discussions and decision, some comrades pass on to be self-critical; others like me who plead that they cannot jump to such a length are depicted as comrades refusing to be self-critical.

In this connection, I would very much like to make one point clear. During the last twenty-two years, all of us have worked amongst the Andhra people and rallied them behind our Party on average 30% of them and in some areas even upto 40 to 45% of them. The Party is certainly proud of it. I, as one amongst you, all share it. But what is taking place during the discussions in our PC in the name of self-criticism is something totally different. I very often hear trends and tendencies of outright denunciations saying that all of us are nothing but people making mistakes, that we are without self-criticism, that we are a set of totally useless people and that leadership is particularly rotten, etc. This tendency that is expressing in our Committee discussions, which leads to shatter the self-respect and self-confidence of any revolutionary, according to me, is neither helpful for the revolutionary movement in general nor to the concerned individual therein. If the pride in the mass revolutionary movement, the pride in the Party, and satisfaction for each member of the Party as according to the role he or she has played in it is extinct, I feel that it is impossible for any one to aspire the membership of such a Party even for a day more after that.

Comrades, it is by now full twenty-one years that I have been a member of the Communist Party. For nearly more than fourteen years, I am continuing as a member of the PC Sectt. So far in the past the youth in me and the short-temper that is likely to follow in most cases has never driven me to such a decision as this. If on occasions such reactions were there, they were short-lived and subsided in the very next minute. But during the recent past this thought is constantly persisting in me. Finally, after a serious consideration of all the possible consequences of this step, I gather all the courage at my command to arrive at this decision. This I want to convey it to you. I have come to the conclusion that I should continue only as a PCM and work in one of the mass fronts: as a member of the CC, I submit to it about the nature of our Committee discussions and my opinions on it. If CC after discussions decides that my political-organisational understanding is wrong, then I realise my unfitness to continue as a CCM and request the CC to relieve me from such a responsibility.

If I ask to relieve me from the PC Sectt, some might remark that 'is it a threat'; if I say that I continue, some others might remark that 'are you not clinging to positions'; this fear and hesitation on one side and the identity, attachment and affection to the revolutionary movement and our Party on the other are telling on my nerves shattering me physically as well as mentally.

Keeping all this in view, I request you to accept my resi-



FOR FAVOUR OF PUBLICATION:

Com. S.A. Dange has sent the following Telegram to  
Shri Asoka Mehta on 25th December 1956.

" REPORTS IN ~~XX~~ SOME NEWSPAPERS ABOUT MY CONTESTING AGAINST  
YOU IN BHANDARE UNFOUNDED. I HOPE YOUR NATIONAL EXECUTIVE WILL  
DECIDE TO ENABLE US ALL TO FIGHT UNITEDLY THE ELECTIONS FOR COMMON  
OBJECTIVES THRU THE SAMITI IN BOMBAY STATE. "

Dange.

To

The Editor,

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B O M B A Y.,

*S.A. Dange*  
*B'ly 14*

Grams: MARXBADI  
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Phone: 25794  
\*\*\*\*\*

C O M M U N I S T P A R T Y O F I N D I A

Central Committee Office

Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi

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P.B.CIRCULAR No.23/56  
To All PCs.

December 18, 1956

PARTY LEADERS FOR  
ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Hardly two months are left for polling to start in the second general elections which is going to be one of the biggest political campaigns in our history.

Most of our top-ranking leaders are standing as candidates in the election and very few would remain at the Party Centre. Therefore we shall not have a team of agitators available to the Party Centre whose tours in the States we can directly organise.

At the same time it is essential that well-known Party leaders of one State, especially those who are known to the mass of the people visit the constituencies of other States to whip up the election campaign. Experience shows that the election campaign in every State and in the country as a whole requires great momentum through the visit of leaders from outside. This is true of all States. But such help is particularly needed by the PCs in States where our movement is relatively weak. This fact must be kept in mind by all PCs and by well-known Party leaders.

I learn that some PCs have decided that Party leaders of their State should devote themselves exclusively to the campaign in the State and should not go outside. This reveals a totally wrong and parochial attitude and fails to take into account the simple fact that the election campaign is a national campaign and the collective effort of all is needed to conduct it successfully. It is imperative that such parochial tendencies are combated.

Keeping in view these factors, the PCs are requested to contact directly the comrades whom they need for the election campaign in their province as well as the PCs concerned and fix up their programme. A copy of the letter sent to the PC and the comrade concerned may be sent to us also so that we may give whatever help we can.

Ajoy Ghosh



दगडोपंत झुमोगी निक्के,

दिनांक २१ डिसेंबर १९५६.

माजी अध्यक्ष, शेड्युलड कास्ट फेडरेशन,

आणि सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता, जिल्हा विजापूर,

राहणार पी०एन० देशपांडे यांचे घरीं, हवालदार बिल्डिंग,

विजापूर, यांजकून,

माननीय श्री० राजेंद्रप्रसाद,

अध्यक्ष, इंडियन यूनियन गव्हर्नमेंट,

न्यू दिल्ली, यांस विनंती अर्ज कीं,

डॉ० बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर, हे हिंदुस्थानांतील महान नेता, दलित जनतेचा पिता आणि जागतिक धर्म सुधारक शांती दूत हरपल्यामुळे दुःख न मानून घेणारा मनुष्य विरळाच असेल. अशा महापुरुषांचे निधन कसे झाले हे जनतेला माहित होणे अत्यंत जरूरीचे आहे. मी सुद्धा बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांच्या जातीचा असल्यामुळे, माझ्या स्वतःच्या वडिलांच्या मृत्युमुळे जे दुःख झाले नाही त्याच्या दसपट किंबहुना शंभरपट दुःखाचे डोंगर आदळून पडले आहेत. माझे वडील वारल्यानंतर माझी आई, वहीण व मी जगाचा राहाटगाडगा चालू शकतो. परंतु, माझ्या दलित वर्गीय बांधवांचा पिता निवर्तल्यामुळे मी अंध झालो आहे. व माझ्या प्रमाणे हजारो व किंबहुना लाखो दलित व पददलित जनसमुदाय अक्षरशः ओक्सा बोवशीं अश्रु टाळीत बसला असेल. त्या त्यांच्या दुःखाचे समाधान करणे हे आद्य कर्तव्य आहे. आणि म्हणूनच खालील गोष्ट लक्षांत घेणे जरूरीचे आहे.

सुमारे ३० ते ३५ वर्षांपासून बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर दलित वर्गाची तद्दत्तच देशाची सेवा करित होते. सुरवातीपासून बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांच्या सहवासांत दलित वर्गीय लोक असत. विशेषतः महार जमातींतील कडवे शूर वीर समाज सेवक बोवीस तास बरोबर असत. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर सभेत जावोत, कोर्टात जावोत, घरीं जावोत, किंवा आणखी कोठेही जावोत, त्यांच्या पाठीमागे त्यांच्या जीवित संरक्षणासाठी किंवा त्यांच्या सेवे साठी नेहेमीं दर मिनिटागणिक महार जमातीचे सेवक हजर असत. असा एकही क्षण बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांना त्या समाज सेवकांनी मोकळा सोडलेला नाही, हे मला संपूर्ण माहित आहे. परंतु, सुमारे १९४७ किंवा ४८ मध्ये बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांच्या दुसऱ्या लग्नानंतर मात्र ह्या बाबतींत अत्यंत फरक पडलेला दिसून येत होता. लग्नानंतर श्रीपती माईसाहेब आंबेडकर ह्यांनी हळूहळू बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांच्या शेजारीं त्यांच्याजवळ असलेले नातेवाईक, यांना प्रथम दूर केले. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांच्या पत्नीपासून झालेला त्यांचा आवडता पुत्र श्री० यशवंतराव आंबेडकर यांना दूर केले. पुतणे, श्री० मुकुंदराव आंबेडकर यांना दूर केले. असेही सांगण्यांत येते कीं, माईच्या नियोजनाचे श्री० मुकुंदराव यांच्याकडून कॉलेजचे कॅन्टीन काढून घेण्यांत आले. आणि श्री० यशवंतराव यांच्याकडून

किंवा कारभार काढण्यांत आला व माईना शरण जाणाऱ्या आणि माईच्या उपयोगी दुसऱ्या लोकांना जवळ करण्यांत आले असेही सांगण्यांत येते कीं, ज्या ज्या लोकांनीं बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांची निस्सीम सेवा केली अशा लोकांना भेट सुधदां होवूंद देत नसत. याचें कारण हेच होतें कीं माईसाहेब आंबेडकर यांना आपल्या पुढ्यांतील लोकांकडून बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांचेवर त्यांच्या भोळेपणाचा फायदा घेऊन आपला असणें घेण्याचा लग्नांतर प्रयत्न श्रीमती माईसाहेबांनीं वाखलेला होता.

श्रीमती माईसाहेब व डॉ० मावळणकर यांची ओळख कशी झाली अगर ह्या दोघांचा संबंध कसा आला व कशासाठीं आला व लग्नाअगोदर हे दोघे काय करीत होते ह्या गोष्टींची चौकशी होणेही जरूरीचें आहे. कारण बाबासाहेबांची इच्छा दुसऱ्या डॉक्टरांकडून आपले शरीर तपासून घ्यावें अशी होती. परंतु ह्या दोघांनीं कोणत्याही प्रकारचें औषध दिले किंवा कोणत्या प्रकारची ट्रीटमेंट दिली हे ह्या दोघांनीं न सांगितल्यामुळे व ती त्यांना ठाऊक न पडल्यामुळे ह्या दोघांना सावरून उघडपणे बाबासाहेब सांगू शकले नाहींत. म्हणून मि० डि०जी० जाधव यांच्या घरीं दलित वर्गीय बाबासाहेब यांच्यांची एक खासगी मीटिंग होवून बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांची उत्तम डाक्टरांकडून तपासणी होण्याचा ठराव पास झाला. ह्या ठरावाचा वास श्रीमती माईसाहेबांना मगल्याबरोबर बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांना बाहेर गांवीं पसार केलें. ह्याचा हेतु काय होता? माईनीं व डाक्टर मावळणकर यांनीं जर उत्तम मेडिकल ट्रीटमेंट दिली असती तर इतर डाक्टरना घाबरावयाचें काय कारण होतें? बाबासाहेबांची आर्थिक परिस्थिति कांहीं वाईट नव्हती. माईची जर खरोखर बाबासाहेबांवरच निस्सीम भक्ती व प्रीति असती तर त्यांनीं डॉ०मावळणकरांसहित १० ते १२ किंवा १०० डाक्टरांकडून बाबासाहेबांची तडव्येत तपासून घेतली असती किंबहुना ते घटनाकार असल्यामुळे दुःख आमचे देशाचे आवडते मंत्री नेहरूजी आणि आपण स्वतः यांच्या संमतीने सरकार मार्फत तज्ञ डॉक्टरांकडून तपासणी केली असती. निदान लग्नाचे अगोदर जे जे डॉक्टर होते त्यांना बोलावून तपासणी केली असती व करूं दिली असती, निदान मुलाचे संमतीने त्या डॉक्टर साहेबांच्या संमतीने वैद्यकीय तपासणी केली असती तर बरे झाले असतें. तसे कां केलें नाहीं? त्यामुळे आपल्या समाजांत एक मोठा संशय निर्माण झाला आहे. बाबासाहेबांना प्रिय असलेल्या सर्व माणसाना माईसाहेबांनीं दूर केलें होतें. माणसानाच नव्हे तर फिटर नांवाच्या कुत्र्यालाही दूर केलें होतें असे म्हणतात. तो कुत्रा कसा पोसा ह्या बदलची शंका निर्माण झाली आहे.

बाबासाहेबांना ह्या दोघांविषयीं एक प्रकारची भीति निर्माण झाला होती. ह्या दोघांनीं दिलेली ट्रीटमेंट कांहीं तरी वाईट असली पाहिजे. ही गोष्ट त्यांच्या



त्क्षांत आलेली होती व अमेरिकेला गेले असताना तेथे त्यांनी आपली प्रकृति दाखविली होती असे म्हणतात हे खरे खोटे पाहणे जरूरीचे आहे. व तेथे पूर्वी काय औषध दिले याची माहिती नसल्यामुळे बाबासाहेबांना सर्व अमेरिकेभर फिराव्याचे असताना देखील तांबडतोब परत येणे भाग पडले होते. या वरून माईसाहेब आणि डॉ० मावळणकर यांनी काही तरी संशय येणारी अशी औषधे दिलीं असावी असे वाटते.

शेवटीं शेवटीं तर बाबासाहेब ह्या दोघांना पाहून भयंकर रागावत असत. एक प्रकारे ह्या दोघांचा त्यांना तिरस्कार आलेला दिसून येत असे. डॉ० मावळणकर यांना कुलाब्यामध्ये इतके रागावले होते कीं, डॉ० मावळणकरना घर सोडून जावे लागले. अशा प्रसंगीं एकाद्या माणसाने डॉ० बाबासाहेब यांचे दर्शन देविल घेतले नसते. परंतु माईसाहेबांनी पुन्हां डॉ० मावळणकराना आपले बाबासाहेबांनी ओढले होते कीं त्यांच्या ट्रीटमेंटमुळे अधिक दिवस जगणे कठीण होते. ह्या ट्रीटमेंटशिवाय, अधिक दिवस टिकणेही नसल्यामुळे आपण धर्मातराचा कार्यक्रम उरकून घ्यावा म्हणून त्यांनी आपले दुःख व मनाची यातना संताप बाजूला टाकून डॉ० मावळणकरांना जवळ केले व धर्मातराचा कार्यक्रम संपवला व माई साहेबांना त्यांच्या स्वतःची व सार्वजनिक संस्थेची मालमता आपल्या स्वाधीन व्हावी अशी इच्छा असावी असे वाटते. बाबासाहेबांना या सर्व संपतीचा द्रष्ट करायचा होता असे म्हणतात, तो तसा द्रष्ट झाल्यास माईचे नुकसान होणार होते. म्हणूनच आपली इच्छा तृप्त करण्यासाठीं एकना अनेक कारणे काढून बाबासाहेबांच्या जवळील असलेल्या सर्व माणसाना माईने कोणत्याना कोणत्या कारणामुळे दूर लोटले. त्यांना आमिषे दाखवून त्यांच्यांत भांडणे लाविलीं असे म्हणतात. ह्याचा सर्व हेतु समाजाचे नुकसान करून माईना मुख्य व्हावयाचे होते. व डॉक्टर मावळणकरानाही त्यांत सहभागी व्हावयाचे असावे असे वाटते. बुद्ध जन समितीला खूप पैसे मिळतील म्हणून माईने आपल्याच पुढ्यातील माणसे नेमलीं. व त्यांत डॉ० मावळणकर आहेत असे म्हणतात. त्यांची पुरी चौकशी होणे जरूरीचे आहे.

शेवटीं शेवटीं माईने तर कमालच केली असे मला वाटते. बाबासाहेबांच्या मुलाची ताटातूट केली. ज्या मेहुण्यांनी बाबासाहेबांचे पाय अगर अंग आणि अंगाला मालीश करून अंग झिजविले त्यांना बाबासाहेबांच्या घराचे दार माईने बंद केले.

यशवंत किंवा मुकुंदराव यांच्या पत्नी अगर त्यांचीं लहान मुले बाबासाहेबांकडे जाणे अगदींच अशक्य झाले. माईसाहेब निःपक्षपाती असल्या तरी त्यांनी त्यांच्या स्वतःच्या बहीण भावंडाना व वडिलांना यशवंत व मुकुंद यांच्या कुटुंबाप्रमाणे त्यांनाही बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांचे घर व दार बंद केले असते. परंतु तसे न करता बाबासाहेबांकून आपल्या भावाला मोठी नोकरी दिली व कालेजच्या कारभारामध्ये आपल्या पुढ्यातील लोक

लेविले. व बाबासाहेबांच्याकडे आपला भाऊ व आपले वडिल व इतर त्यांच्या नातेवाईकांना बुशाल प्रवेश देवून त्यांना बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांच्या घरी संपूर्ण स्थान दिले असे म्हणतात. माईसाहेबांचे वडील दिल्लीला पडून राहावयाचे व त्यांचा सर्व खर्च बाबासाहेबांनी करावयाचा व माईचा भाऊ मुंबईमध्ये आणि दिल्ली मध्ये मेजवाऱ्या करीत असात व विचारे मुक्ता व यशवंत यांच्या पुलावाळाना उपाशी रहावे लागत होते. याचीसुद्धा माईसाहेबांनी तिळमात्रही काळजी केली नाही. ह्याचे कारण काय असावे हे माझाला कळत नाही म्हणून याची चौकशी करणे जरूरीचे आहे.

माईसाहेबांकडे कोणकोणते नवीन मनुष्य येत असत व त्यांचा काय संबंध असे ह्याचीही चौकशी करणे जरूरीचे वाटते. कोणी म्हणतात साधु येत असे, कोणी म्हणतात सुनीलाल नांवाचा मनुष्य येत असे. आणखी कोणीतरी म्हणतात नवीन नवीन मनुष्य येत असत. तीं मनुष्ये कांहीं सामाजिक कार्ये करणारी नव्हतीं असे म्हणतात. असे जर असेल तर तीं येणारीं मनुष्ये कोणतीं असावीं व त्यांचा काय संबंध असावा व त्यांच्यामुळे बाबासाहेबांच्या प्रकृतिवर व मनावर काय परिणाम झाला असावा की काय ह्याचाही विचार करणे अत्यंत जरूरीचे आहे. माईसाहेब आल्याबरोबर बाबासाहेबांच्या जवळच्या मनुष्यांना काढून टाकले असे म्हणतात. पी असे फेरेल आहे कीं पिले या नांवाचे दलित संपाजाचे सरकारी नोकर बाबासाहेबांची भयंकर सेवा करीत होते पण डॉ० माचळणकर व माईसाहेब यांच्यामुळे त्यांना नोकरी सोडावी लागली असे म्हणतात. या बाबतींत कदाचित मिस्टर मेसी यांना कांहीं तरी माहिती असण्याचा संभव आहे. तसेच श्री० टी०वी० भासले इंजिनियर, न्यू दिल्ली, श्री० शंकरानंदशास्त्री असिस्टंट डायरेक्टर, न्यू दिल्ली वगैरे लोकानासुद्धा कांहीं तरी माहिती असली पाहिजे असे दिसते.

नागपूरच्या धर्मातराच्या नंतर बाबासाहेब काटमांडूयथे गेले होते ते मृत्यूचे अगोदर दोन दिवस राज्यसभेत सुद्धां हजर होते. त्यावेळीं माईचे वडील त्यांचे भाऊ हे तेथे होते. डॉ० माचळणकर पण होते. माचळणकर एक दोन दिवस अगोदर मुंबईस आले. व बाबासाहेबांची तळब्येत अतिशय उत्तम आहे म्हणून सांगत फिरले. माईचे वडिलांना बाबासाहेबांनी जा जा म्हणून सांगत असताना देखील ते गेले नाहीत असे म्हणतात. पण मृत्यूच्याच दिवशीं किंबहुना एक दिवस अगोदरच दिल्ली कोसोडतात व विमान तळावर प्रेताचे ठिकाणीं हजर वसे राहतात? ह्या बदल आश्चर्य वाटते.

खरोगोटे देवास ठाकूर. पण मृत्यूचे अगोदर बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांचे व माईसाहेबांचे कडाडून भांडण झाले होते. ही गोष्ट खरी काय? खरी असल्यास ह्याचे कारण काय असावे?



माईसाहेबांनीं बाबासाहेबाना इन्जेक्शन दिलीं तीं कसली दिलीं असावीं. त्यांना कांहीं लोक म्हणतात कीं कांहीं दिवस झोप येण्यासाठीं कांहीं झोपेचें इन्जेक्शन देत असत. ते कसले असावे याचीही चौकशी होणे अगत्याचें आहे. ज्या दिवशीं वारले त्या दिवशीं इन्जेक्शन दिले होते असे म्हणतात ते कसले दिले असावे?

पत्नी या नात्यानें पतीजवळ असणें जरूरीचें होतें व पतीचो तब्ब्येत बरी आहे किंवा नाहीं हें पाहणे जरूरीचें होतें. बाबासाहेब झोपीं गेले ते बियारे झोपेतच राहिले. त्यांचा बाला नोकर जातो पण माईना मात्र त्याची शुद्ध सुध्दां नसावी ह्या बदल किती वाईट व आश्चर्य वाटते. बियारे डॉक्टर असतील पण एक दोन वेळां तरी ते ओरडले असतील. तो आवाज माईसाहेबांना ऐकूं गेला नसेल का? माईना निदान झोपेनंतर एक वेळ तरी पाहिले नसेल काय? का पाहिले असलें तर डॉक्टर साहेब आजारी होते हे कळले नसेल का? आणि पाहिले नसेल तर का पाहिले नसावे. नोकर विचारा वृत्तपत्राला सांगतो पण माईसाहेब मात्र प्रताजवळ गेल्याच नसतील ना? वाजत्याच्या अगोदर केव्हां मृत्यु झाला असेल हें कोणालाही सांगतां येवूं नये हें आश्चर्य नाहीं का? आणि त्याच क्षणीं धर्म पत्नी जवळ नसावी ही दुर्भाग्याची गोष्ट त्याबद्दल माईसाहेब काय सांगतात बरे? याकडे सर्वांचे लक्ष लागले आहे. बाबासाहेब निवर्तल्या नंतर माईनीं काय केले हेंही पाहणे जरूरीचें आहे. माईसाहेब म्हणतात, बाबासाहेबांचे प्रेत मुंबईला आणण्याइतकाही दमडा मजजवळ नाहीं. बियारे श्री० भोसले, श्री० शास्त्री यांनीं प्रेताला मुंबईस आणावे व श्री० जगजीवनराम यांनीं अर्ध्या कन्सेशनने विमान घावे ही दुर्भाग्याची गोष्ट नव्हे काय? बियारे पंडितजी प्रेता जवळ आले. बसले अश्रू टाळीत, निघून गेले. पण परवां भेटले व राज्य सभेत आलेले डा० बाबासाहेब एकाएकीं कसे निवर्तले याचें आश्चर्य करीतगेलें. तसेच आश्चर्य जनतेला झालेले आहे. मृत्युशाहीचा खर्च सुध्दां माईनीं सोसूं नये. बाबासाहेबांच्या मरणानंतर पीपल्स एज्युकेशन सोसायटी व बुध्द समिति इतर पैशांच्या ठिकाणीं अध्यक्ष अगर वेअरमन होण्याची लाळूच दाखवावी व त्याप्रमाणे प्रयत्न करावा ही गोष्ट आश्चर्याची आहे. बाबासाहेबांची स्वतंत्र मालमता किती असेल व ती कशी वापरली गेली हा प्रश्न त्यांच्या मुलांचा आहे पण त्याचीही चौकशी होणे जरूरीचें आहे.

ह्या सर्व गोष्टींचा विचार केल्यानंतर व या सर्व गोष्टींकडे संपूर्ण अभ्यास पूर्वक लक्ष दिल्यानंतर बाबासाहेबांचा अकालीं मृत्यु म्हणजे एक प्रकारचें गूढ निर्माण झालेले आहे. व हे तर्क शक्तीच्या बाहेरचें आहेत. एक मोठा जबरदस्त संशय निर्माण झालेला आहे म्हणून त्याची ओपन पब्लिक चौकशी झालीच पाहिजे असे मला वाटते. म्हणून माझी नम्र विनंति आहे कीं सरकार मा फात या मृत्युची चौकशी कमिटी नेमून करावी व अज्ञानी जनतेला न्यायमिळवून द्यावा अशी नम्र विनंति आहे. घटनाकार आधुनिक मनुस्मृतिकार बाबासाहेब

आंबेडकर यांच्या मृत्युविषयी जर चौकशी झाली नाही तर बिना या खेड्यापाड्यांतील  
 जपूच्या लोकांना जर कोणी ठार पारले तरी त्याची विनकल चौकशी होणार नाही.  
 पंडितजींच्या राज्यामध्ये हरिजन लोकांना न्याय मिळेल व यांचा आधार म्हणून देण्या  
 साठी वावासाहेब आंबेडकरांच्या मृत्युची चौकशी सरकार करील व आम्हां हरिजन  
 लोकांना आधार देतील अशी मंत्र विनंति आहे.

आपला विश्वास,  
*D. A. Wipkande*

या विनंति अर्जाची डुप्लिकेट केली एक एक  
 प्रत्येक पालीक आमदारांस व अधिकारी लोकांना पाठविली  
 आहे.

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४. श्री० एन० राजभोज, एम०पी० न्यू दिल्ली. ५. नारायणराव काजरोळकर, एम०पी०, न्यू  
 दिल्ली. ६. श्री० कन्यालाल वाल्मीकी, एम०पी०, न्यू दिल्ली. ७. श्री० प्यारेलाल  
 कुंभार, एम०पी० न्यू दिल्ली. ८. श्री० संकरराव मोरे, एम०पी० न्यू दिल्ली. ९. श्री०  
 पाटसकर, डे मिनिस्टर, न्यू दिल्ली. १०. श्री० एन० व्ही० गाडगीळ, एम०पी०, न्यू  
 दिल्ली. ११. श्री० सेक्रेटरी, अखिल भारतीय युव लोसायटी, कल्कता. १२. श्री० बी०के०  
 मायकावडे, महाराष्ट्र प्रांतिक शे०का० फेडरेशन, अध्यक्ष, किन्नत बाग, नाशिक. १३. श्री०  
 प्रोफेसर एम०व्ही० दोडे, एम०एल०सी० कौन्सिल हॉल, मुंबई. १४. श्री० नामदार तपासे, मुंबई.
१५. आचार्य पी० के० अत्रे, शिवाजी पार्क, चौपाटी मुंबई. १६. श्री० आर०डी० भांडारे,  
 अध्यक्ष, शहर शे०का०फे० मुंबई. १७. श्री० एम०बी० शमरत पीपल एज्युकेशन सोसायटी सिध्दार्थ  
 कॉलेज, मुंबई. १८. श्री० हिरजीभाई पटेल पोसिडेन्सी मॅजिस्ट्रेट, किल्ला कोर्ट, मुंबई.
१९. श्री० आर० आर० भोटे, जज, धुळे, जिल्हा पश्चिम तानदेश, २०. श्री० बी०सी०  
 कांबळे, एम०एल०ए० कौन्सिल हॉल, मुंबई, २१. श्री० पी०टी० डोराने, अडव्होकेट, हायकोर्ट,  
 मुंबई. २२. श्री० एस०आर० खरात, अडव्होकेट, पुणे, २३. जनरल सेक्रेटरी, मा०प्रा०  
 प्रोफेसर व्ही०जी० राव, सिध्दार्थ कॉलेज, मुंबई. २४. श्री० प्रिन्सिपल कर्णिक, सिध्दार्थ  
 कॉलेज, मुंबई. २५. श्री० रावबहादुर बोले, सिध्दार्थ कॉलेज, मुंबई. २६. श्री० मोहिते,  
 आंबेडकर कॉलेजी, खार, मुंबई. २७. श्री० गोवीजी परमार, मास्टर, आंब्रेली, वनकरवाडा,  
 गुजराथ, २८. श्री० राव बहादुर, एन०शिवराज, मद्रास, २९. श्री० सुबय्या सिक्ंदराबाद,  
 हैदराबाद स्टेट. ३०. वें० खोबरा गोडे, आल इंडिया जनरल सेक्रेटरी, शे०का०फे० ३१.  
 श्री० मि० आवळे, नागपूर शहर, ३२. मि० एम०बी० मोरचे, एम०ए० व्याप देवळाली, जिल्हा  
 नाशिक, डावा गट शे०का०फे० ३३. मि० टी०जी० जाधव, लेबर कमिशनर, न्यूदिल्ली०  
 ३४. श्री० टी०बी० भोसले, इंजिनियर, पी०डब्ल्यू० डी० न्यू दिल्ली. ३५. श्री० शंकरानंद  
 शास्त्री, असिस्टंट डायरेक्टर, एम्प्लायमेंट एक्स्पेंज, न्यू दिल्ली. ३६. श्री० वराळे, पीपल



एज्युकेशन सोसायटी, औरंगाबाद शहर, ३७. श्री० डी०ए० कट्टी, प्रेसिडेंट कर्नाटक प्रांतिक  
 शे०का०फे० ३८. श्री० रूपवटे वकील, अहमदनगर, ३९. सेक्रेटरी, महार पंचायत, नाना  
 बिल्डिंग परेल, मुंबई. ४०. श्री० डी०बी० कांबळे, डायरेक्टर बँकवर्ड क्लास, डिपार्टमेंट, पुणे.  
 ४१. श्री० रणपिसे, अहिल्या आश्रम, नानापेठ पुणे, ४२. श्री० डॉ० नरवणे, शिवाजी पार्क,  
 मुंबई. ४३. श्री० नवशेर भस्त्रा, एम०एल०ए० कौन्सिल हॉल, मुंबई. ४४. श्री० डांगे  
 कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी, मुंबई. ४५. श्री० एस०एम० जोशी, सोशालिस्ट पार्टी, मुंबई. ४६. श्री०  
 भाऊसाहेब राऊत, कोठीवाडा, फणसवाडी, मुंबई. ४७. श्री० काकासाहेब वाघ, नाशिक,  
 ४८. श्री० भाऊसाहेब हिरे, कौन्सिल हॉल, मुंबई.

००० ०००

या अर्जाच्या प्रति खालील अधिकारी वर्गालाही खास पाठविल्या  
 आहेत...

१. गृहमंत्री, गव्हर्नमेंट ऑफ इंडिया, न्यू दिल्ली.
२. प्राइम मिनिस्टर पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू, न्यू दिल्ली.
३. श्री० जगजीवनराम, मिनिस्टर, न्यू दिल्ली.
४. सेक्रेटरी, होम डिपार्टमेंट, गव्हर्नमेंट ऑफ इंडिया, न्यू दिल्ली
५. श्री०:- डांगे कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी मुंबई

~~Part~~ Gauhati  
2/1/57

Ref. your letter of 27/12/54  
Citing information about  
Platation bonus: -

Dear Com. Mahendran

As regards the above,  
subject I have written on  
the matter to Com Barin  
Choudhury Secy. APTVC who  
will let you soon know their  
opinion. Neither Com. Barin  
nor Com P. Borra is here  
at present. As far as I  
know our stand is that  
the workers under no circumstances  
can be forced to invest any  
portion of the bonus in N.E.  
The matter should be voluntary.  
Recently - saw Rayappa  
The Union at Rangapara




of which Com. Solomon  
 is the secretary has  
 passed a resolution  
 to that effect. They  
 only say that no compul-  
 sions should be exercised  
 on the workers. The worker  
 should be free to choose  
 if he will receive the bonus  
 in cash or invest it in  
 N.C. That is all I know

Yours fraternally  
 Hemanta Ganguly  
 Copies of your  
 communication  
 have been sent to all  
 who are  
 concerned

PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE,  
 COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA,  
 H.Q. CALCUTTA.

31

पोस्ट ऑफिस  
 5 JAN 1951  
 RECEIVED  
 REPLIED



नाम Com. Mahendra Sen  
 पता All India Trade Union Congress  
 R.L. Trust Building  
 55 Girgaon Road  
 डाकस्थान Po Bombay 4  
 जिला

Asansol Sub-Div. Committee.

G. T. Road, ASANSOL

Dated, the 4th. Jan.

Com.S.A.Dange,  
Bombay.

429

A. I. T. U. C.	
Received.....	7/1/57
Rephed.....	

Dear Com,

The present situation in Kulti is now better. Inspite of the terrorist activities of the local INTUC leaders our Unions in Sen-Raleigh, H/Pilkington and Kulti are marching ahead. Recently, the H/Pilkington workers have concluded a 2-years agreement with the company on wage, incentive bonus, and norm etc. A central rally on TU Rights will be held on the 6th. inst.

I think you have recieved all our letters. The other day Com Nittish had a phone-talk with you. Ix learnt from Com. ~~Takar~~ Misirji that you may come after 11th. I suggest you to come on 17th. if it suits you. In any case, your presence over here is very necessary at the present moment.

I have heard something about

Contd.



Asansol Sub-Div. Committee.

Contd. G. T. Road, ASANSOL P.2.

the proposal of discontinuing the grant to Burnpur by the C.C. I would like to request you to please maintain the status-quo till the election is over. Moreover, Com. Babban of Burnpur who is being at the present maintained with the CC allowance would face a serious situation if the grant is discontinued, especially so because his wife is now ill.

The election campaign is gaining tempo.

Hope, your health is now sound.

Greetings.

Yours comradely,

Bijoy Paul



दोने दिवस आठवांस  
 आणगे आपठ्या हजराणि  
 किंमि समगिणिमि कळक धोरठ्यास  
 हमास याही हरठ्यास उशारे  
 मोगणार नाही:

~~विशेश कांही क.~~  
 भाशा मुठ्यामि सध्या  
 अयाठपुवारां जाहे: इभेप  
 कांही कळ विप्यामि मुठ्या  
 कळ्या

आपण गड  
 सुनाम होउक:

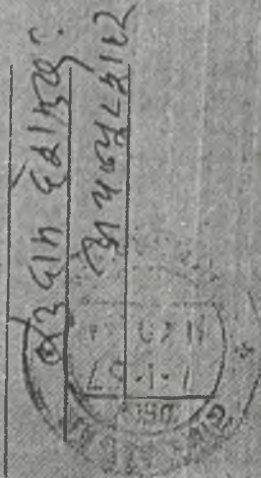
अन्तर्देशीय पत्र

इस पत्र के अन्दर कुछ न रलिये



Com. S. A. Dange  
 Kothinor Building  
 Vincent Road  
 Dadar  
 Bombay 10

भेजने वाले का नाम और पता :-



→



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Nos. 6 and 8  
not published.

7 and 9 ~~not published~~  
dispatched

150  
A. I. T. U. C.  
25/1/57

पोस्ट कार्ड

केवल पता



The Secretary,

नाम

All-India Trade Union  
Congress,

पता

55 Girgaum Road,

डाकखाना

BOMBAY-4

जिला



MUNIST PARTY OF INDIA  
Central Committee Library,  
7/4 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi.

Jan. 23, 1956

Dear Comrade,

We have not received the T.U.RECORD Nos. 6, 7, 8 and 9 of Vol. XIII. The only issue we received after the office shifted to Bombay was No. 10 in December 1956. Please arrange to send us the above back numbers as well as copies of publications brought out if any during this period, at your earliest.

We would also like to have a copy of the WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT of June 1956 if you could spare for our Library files.

With greetings,

Fraternally yours,

*K. K. K.*

Librarian.

Bombay, 25th Jan. 1957.

Dear Comrade,

Yours of 23rd inst.

Two combined Numbers of TUR Nos. 7 & 9 were published to cover numbers 6 & 7 and 8 & 9 respectively.

These are being sent to you separately together with a copy of the June Number of the WFTU Review.

Greetings,

Yours fraternally,

  
~~For Secretariat~~



Page 1

GIRGAUM-FORT REGIONAL COMMITTEE OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA.

REPUBLIC DAY PROGRAMME.

To celebrate the Republic Day on Saturday the 26th January 1957, Girgaum Regional Committee of the Communist Party of India, has arranged a programme of interesting film shows and a social get-together, at 3 P.M. to 5 P.M. in Red Flag Hall, Arab Building, Khetwadi Main Road. Com. Dilshad Chari has kindly consented to preside over the function and the veteran Communist leader Com. Ghate will be the chief guest of the day. All are requested to attend the programme with family and friends.

Greetings for the Republic Day,

Girgaum, January 24, 1957.

Tara Reddy,  
S E C R E T A R Y.

-----  
हिंदी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी

गिरगांव फोर्ट विभाग कमिटी

प्रजासत्ताक दिनाचा कार्यक्रम

मित्र हो १

दि० २६ जानेवारी १९५७ रोजी प्रजासत्ताक दिन साजरा करण्यासाठी हिंदी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टीच्या गिरगांव फोर्ट विभाग कमिटीच्या वतीने मनोरंजक आणि सुव्यवस्थित चित्रपटाना व स्नेहसम्मेलनाचा कार्यक्रम होणार आहे. कार्यक्रम रेड फॅला हॉल वर विलिंग खेतवाडी येथे दुपारी ३ ते ५ पर्यंत होईल. कार्यक्रमाच्या अध्यक्ष म्हणून कॉ० दिलशाद चारी यांना नियुक्त केले असून कम्युनिस्ट पक्षाचे वयोवृद्ध नेते कॉ० घाटे यांना समारंभाचे मुख्य पाहुणे म्हणून बोलावण्यांत आले आहे. तरी जापण आपल्या कुटुंबियांसह व हष्टमित्रांसह कार्यक्रमास यावे अशी विनंती आहे. गिरगांव फोर्ट विभाग कमिटी आपणा सर्वांना प्रजासत्ताक दिनाच्या शुभेच्छा व्यक्त करीत आहे.

तारा रेड्डी

सेक्रेटरी

गिरगांव फोर्ट विभाग कमिटी

हिंदी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी

# श्री. दत्ता देशमुख यांना जाहीर विनंति-पत्रक

संगमनेर अकोला मतदार संघातून तुम्हाला सन १९४६ चे निवडणुकीत काँग्रेसतर्फे व पुढे झालेल्या पोटनिवडणुकीत व १९५२ च्या जनरल निवडणुकीत कम्युनिस्ट पक्ष व तुमचा पक्ष वा गट यांच्या संयुक्त आघाडीतर्फे जनतेने निवडून दिले. मागील दोन निवडणुकीत कम्युनिस्ट पक्षाची भागीदारीच तुमच्या यशास कारणीभूत आहे हे मतदार संघातील सर्व जनता जाणते. एवढेच नव्हे तर १९५२ च्या निवडणुकीत तुमच्या गटाने कम्युनिस्ट पार्टीच्या जाहीरनाम्यास मान्यता देऊन आपण दोघांनी मतदारसंघातील जनतेपुढे कम्युनिस्ट पार्टीचा जाहीरनामा ठेवूनच संयुक्तपणे निवडणूक लढविली या गोष्टीची तुम्हास जाणीव असेलच. १९५२ च्या निवडणुकीत एका बाजूला काँग्रेस व दुसऱ्या बाजूला प्रजासमाजवादी पक्ष व शे.का.फे. यांचा विरोध सोसूनहि आपल्या दोघांच्या एकजुटीमुळे जनतेने तुम्हास निवडून देऊन यशस्वी केले.

संयुक्त महाराष्ट्राच्या प्रस्तावर व इतर मुद्दामत किमान कार्यक्रमावर या भागांतील कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी, प्रजासमाजवादी पक्ष, शे. का. फे., तुमचा छाल निशाण कार्यकर्त्यांचा गट व इतर प्रमुख व्यक्ति, संस्था, पक्ष, आज एकत्र आहेत. या सर्वांचा संयुक्त आघाडी बनवावी, चळवळ व्हावी, वाढावी व कायम टिकावी अशी या भागांतील कम्युनिस्ट कार्यकर्त्यांची इच्छा होती, आहे व पुढेहि कायम राहणार आहे. आजपर्यंत कम्युनिस्ट कार्यकर्त्यांनी तसे प्रयत्न केलेले आहेत व त्याकरिता वेळोवेळी त्यागही केलेला आहे याची जाणीव तुम्हास असेल असे आम्हास वाटते. उदाहरणादाखल खालील दोन गोष्टींची ताजी आठवण तुम्हास करून दिव्यास अनाटार्या होणार नाही असे आम्हास वाटते.

१९५२ चे जनरल निवडणुकीचेवेळी या भागांतून कम्युनिस्ट पक्षाचा उमेदवार विधानसभेसाठी उभे करण्याचे ठरलेले असतांना व तशी परिस्थिति असतांनासुद्धा संयुक्त आघाडीसाठी कम्युनिस्टांनी आपला उमेदवार उभा न करतां तुमचे उमेदवारीस पाठिंबा व तुम्हास निवडून आणले. लोकल बोर्डांमध्येसुद्धा कम्युनिस्ट पक्षाचे संभासद वहुसंख्य असतांना व कम्युनिस्ट पार्टीने काँ. पाटुरंग भांगरे यांना प्रेसिडेंट म्हणून ठरविले असतांनासुद्धा संयुक्त आघाडी टिकविण्यासाठी ती जागा तुमचे गटाने दिली व स्कूलबोर्डचे अरमनशिपची जागा शे. का. फे. पक्षास दिली.

संयुक्त महाराष्ट्राच्या चळवळीसाठी जनतेच्या इतरवेळच्या चळवळीप्रमाणे या भागांतील कम्युनिस्ट पक्ष नेहमीच आघाडीवर राहिलेला आहे व संयुक्त आघाडीसाठी झटलेला आहे याची जाणीव या मतदारसंघातील सर्व जनतेला आहे. तुम्हासहि ही जाणीव असेल असे आम्हास वाटते.

चालू निवडणुकीमध्ये या मतदार संघातून संयुक्त आघाडीतर्फे काँ. राम नागरे यांना विधानसभेसाठी उभे करावे व तुम्ही लोकसभेसाठी उभे राहावे अशी या भागांतील सर्व जनतेची व कार्यकर्त्यांची इच्छा होती व आजही आहे. सन १९५२ चे निवडणुकीचे वेळी 'मी या मतदार संघात पुढील वेळी विधान सभेसाठी उभा राहणार नाही, त्या जागी आपण काँ. राम नागरे यांनाच उभे करू' असे आश्वासनही आपण दिलेले होते याची



आठवण आपणांस असेल असे आम्हांस वाटतं. या मतदार संघांतून जनतेने तुम्हांस तीन वेळेस विधान सभेसाठी निवडून दिले, पण ती तुमची मक्तेदारी होऊ नये असेही या मतदार संघातील सर्व जनतेस व कार्यकर्त्यांना वाटतं. या मतदार संघांत दैनंदिन जनतेवरोबर काम करणारा पुढारी कार्यकर्ता यासच निवडून द्यावं, अशा जनतेची प्रामाणिक इच्छा आहे.

या सर्व गोष्टींची दखल घेऊन तुम्ही या वेळेस विधान सभेसाठी या मतदार संघांतून उभे न राहतां कां. राम नागरे यांनाच जनरल जागेसाठी संयुक्त आघाडीतर्फे उभे करण्याचा आग्रह धरावयास पाहिजे होता. तें तुमचें कर्तव्य होतें. परंतु या मतदार संघातील बहुसंख्य जनतेची व कार्यकर्त्यांची इच्छा डावलून तुम्ही लोकसभेसाठी उभे न राहतां विधान सभेसाठी उभे राहण्याचें ठरविलेलें दिसतें. यासाठी तुम्ही अनेक सववीसुद्धा सांगण्याचा प्रयत्न कराळ. तुमच्या निर्णयानळें या मतदार संघांत तिरंगी सामन्याचा पंचप्रसंग निर्माण झाला आहे. तिरंगी सामना होऊ नये, संयुक्त आघाडीत फूट पडू नये अशी आमची व या मतदार संघातील जनतेची व इतरही प्रमुख जबाबदार व्यक्तींची ती इच्छा आहे. संयुक्त आघाडीतील या भागातील तुमच्यासुद्धा इतर सर्व घटकांचा सुद्धा तशीच इच्छा असणार व असावयान पाहिजे. तिरंगी सामना टाळावा म्हणून तुम्हा या मतदार-संघांतून विधानसभेसाठी उभे राहूं नये व कां. राम नागरे यांना उभे करावे म्हणून आमच्या पुढाऱ्याप्रमाणेच व संयुक्त-घटकांतील शे. का. फे. चे एक नेते श्री. दा. ता. रुपवते यांनाहि तुम्हांस वेळोवेळीं विनवून मांगितलेले आहे.

अजूनहि तिरंगी सामना टाळता येईल. संयुक्त आघाडीतील फाटाफूट टाळतां येईल, याकरितां या मतदार संघातील संयुक्त आघाडीतील पक्षप्रतिनिधि, इतर प्रमुख व्यक्ति व कार्यकर्ते यांची एकत्र बैठक वेळोच घेऊन व त्यांची इच्छा जाणून हा पंचप्रसंग टाळावा व फाटाफुटीस व तिरंगी सामन्यास तुम्ही कारणीभूत होऊ नये अशी आमची तुम्हांस आग्रहाची नम्र किंमती आहे.

आमची न्याय्य भूमिका समजावून घ्या. जनतेची व कार्यकर्त्यांची इच्छा डावलून नका. स्वतःच्या व्यक्तिगत प्रतिष्ठेस वळी पडू नका. तिरंगी सामना होऊ देऊ नका. संयुक्त आघाडीची फाटाफूट टाळा. तुमचा या मतदार संघांतून विधान सभेस राहण्याचा निर्णय ताबडतोब बदला. कां. राम नागरे यांच्या उमेदवारीस विनशत पाठींबा द्यावा, संयुक्त आघाडी वळकट करण्यास हातभार द्यावा, अशी आमची तुम्हांस पुन्हां पुन्हां नम्र विनंती आहे. शांतपणे विचार करून निर्णय घ्याल अशी आशा वाटते.

हें जाहीर विनंती पत्र अकोला-संगमनेर भागातील ३०० कार्यकर्त्यांच्या बैठकींत निवडलेल्या निवडणूक मंडळानें या मतदार संघातील जनतेची, कार्यकर्त्यांची व प्रमुख व्यक्तींची इच्छा जाणून प्रसिद्ध केलें आहे.

आपले नम्र.

निवडणूक मंडळ कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी संगमनेर-अकोला मतदार संघ.

कां. नारायण ठकसेन वडदे (सभासद)

कां. बुवा नवल (अध्यक्ष)

कां. दामू गजावा ताजणे (सभासद)

कां. तवा कानवडे (उपाध्यक्ष)

कां. गवरास नामदेव आवरे (सभासद)

कां. रभा भाऊ राजत (संकेटरी)

कां. चिहृल मंडकमाले

कां. मुरलीधर राणू नवल ..

कां. भाऊसाहेब धुमाल वकील (खजिनदार)

शिवाजी प्रिंटर्स, २१४८, संगमनेर.

# Communist Party of India

Party

MADHYA PRADESH COMMITTEE

भारतीय साम्यवादी दल

मध्यप्रदेश शाखा

ITWARA ROAD,  
BHOPAL

Date 6.2.46. 195

प्रिय काभरेड, सांगे.

आपका ~~पुस्तक~~ ~~लिखत~~ ~~की~~ ~~उप~~ ~~द्वारा~~ ~~दया~~  
 कृपया की खबरिया या जानें वारन जाहे -  
 जो पास ला. कां शाही र उली रवां उनी जाहेन -  
 राजधानी की गिर. आस. पा. मुळे. रवाशा. के. क. प.  
 तमान. ने. लो. कां. य. (कां. ग्रे. रा.) मो. ठे. लि. ड. र. मे. र्. य. ने. त.  
 जाहेन. व. आपका. ने. लो. की. र. वा. की. वा. प. जाहे  
 कि. य. र्. मे. र्. को. ग. र्. र. वा. य. जाहे. हे. सांगे. लो. पे. न. ग. ही.  
 कां. आज. प. र्. प्र. ग. र्. के. क. जाहे. परे. तु. हे. र्. र्.  
 लां. का. का. र्. क. र्. म. के. व्हा. पूर्. व. हो. र्. क. र्. र्. हे. सांगे. लो. पे. न.  
 ग. ही. - . र. वा. व. आपका. एक. दि. व. ला. क. र. ला. -  
 जो. पास. ला. प. ला. के. नी. या. र्. कां. आ. र्. की. आपका.  
 प. ला. के. नी. पे. र्. व. वा. रे. ड. . . व. कै. डी. वा. ग. र.  
 क. र. ला. - जर. शाही. र. शा. की. ज. र. व. र. न. ज. र. ले. य. न. र.  
 दो. न. दि. व. ला. क. र. ला. दो. र्. य. य. - पा. ठ. व. श. र्. र्. र्.  
 पां. तु. आपका. ज. र. व. र. या. र्. व. ज. र. शा. के. क. र. दा. -  
 मो. व. ज. पा. के. क. र. दा. र्. र्. र्. र्. व. ग. र. ला. य. दो. र. सां. र्. र्. र्.



होई। म.प. म.स. (२२६) Government M.A. ११३)

द्वारा की र. री। ह्या. व. री। ज. र. र. वि. व. र. र. र. र.

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आपकी

म. र. र. र. र. र. र. र. र. र. र. र. र.

Grams: VISALANDRA

Party Phone: 39

# Andhra Communist Committee

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

BUCKINGHAMPET P. O. :: VIJAYAWADA

6th February, 1957

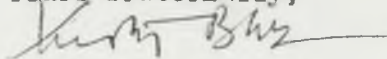
COM. S.A.DANGE,  
9 KOHINOOR ROAD,  
DADAR, BOMBAY.14.

Dear Comrade,

Please find enclosed a Demand Draft  
for Rs.1,000-0-0 which we are sending under instruc-  
tions from Com. P.S.

Kindly acknowledge receipt.

Yours fraternally,



( G. RADHAKRISHNA MURTI )

Enc: DD No. 55/109791 P/COM. 547 dated 6.2.57

RKP-



Udyog Bhawan,  
15/268 Civil Lines,  
Kanpur.

Dated: February 7, 1957

Dear Comrade Dange,

I am here for the last one week in connection with the Election of Sri S.M. Banerjee for the Parliamentary Seat from the City Constituency. Originally we had planned <sup>here</sup> to fight only Assembly Seat but the circumstances have forced us to come out for the Parliamentary Seat. The main thing was the weakness of the Congress candidate Sri Suraj Prasad Awasthi (INTUC) whose <sup>anti-</sup>community working class role in the last general strike is not yet forgotten. Had it been <sup>for</sup> Bal Krishan Sharma, Tandon etc. we would not have dared. Another consideration was that sitting congress MLA Sri Vasdev Misra has resigned from the Congress and he is contesting as Independent for the Parliamentary seat. He is backed by Lala Ram Rattan Gupta. He resigned from the Congress a few hours before the nomination time and is notorious for some cases of fraud in Educational Institution etc. in <sup>the</sup> recent past. In one way if he remains standing with his notorious past he will be able to influence only those votes which could have gone to the congress. There are three more nominal candidates who might withdraw 10/1 days before the election.

2. Besides Banerjee's past among the Defence and Textile Workers in the City there is general feeling that he is the best among all the candidates, from all aspects. He is supported by C.P.I., P.S.P., and scheduled caste Federation who have not put up any candidate against him and <sup>are</sup> ~~much~~ campaigning for him. Maulana Yusuf is contesting for the Assembly seat <sup>of the Assembly</sup> from 3 seats which P.S.P. Candidates, G.D. Bajpai, Varendra Bahadur, and Shakuntla Brivastava (widow of Late Hari Har Nath Chastri), <sup>out of</sup> the five Assembly seats which comprises <sup>the</sup> ~~in~~ the Parliamentary Constituency. is a bit hatch-patch with a number of candidates.

3. The party had originally decided to contest only one seat and therefore, there was and is full <sup>consideration</sup> ~~consideration~~ on Maulana Yusuf's Constituency. For Finance we are mainly dependent on Defence and other workers ~~the~~ contributions from Kanpur and other centres in India ~~it~~ <sup>is</sup> coming but I cannot say if it will be sufficient. For Cadre also we have mostly to depend <sup>on</sup> non-party people in Kanpur, but the <sup>response</sup> ~~residents~~ of independents ~~and~~ student organisation etc <sup>a</sup> ~~is~~ encouraging.

4. Comrade Ajay Ghosh addressed a public meeting here on 3rd in Maulana's constituency and declared support to Banerjee's candidature as Independent candidate.

5. I learnt that you are ~~not~~ going to Burnpore for a meeting. I do ~~not~~ realise that you will be over busy with your work in Maharashtra and Bombay itself. I do not know if it will be possible for you to return back via Kanpur. Any day will ~~not~~ suit us. Only prior intimation is needed. I feel this will be very helpful because a contest here is also virtually being taken as between INTUC and AITUC candidates. A line in reply is solicited.

6. Hope you are ~~keeping~~ keeping well.

With ~~best~~ regards.

Yours sincerely,  
*K.G. Srivastava*  
9/12  
( K.G. Srivastava)

To

Sri J. B. Dange,  
9 Kohinoor Road,  
Dadar, (Bombay)



Party

Udyog Bhawan,  
15/268 Civil Lines,  
Kanpur.

Dated: February 7, 1957

Dear Bani,

Did not hear from you all this time. I met Rosa when she was at Delhi last. I hope Election campaign in Bombay will be in full swing. I won't have any time. Will you please drop me few lines as to how things are going there.

Give enclosed letter to D.

Hope Tai is keeping well.

With greetings.

Yours sincerely,

*K.G. Srivastava*

( K.G. Srivastava )

CASH MEMO

No. 634

*Party*

PHOENIX TRADERS

SANDHURST ROAD,

BOMBAY 4, 9-2-1957

M/s.

*Cash*

Qty.	Description	Rate	Amount		
			Rs.	As.	Ps.
<i>2</i>	<i>100 Buret Rubber</i>		<i>1-00</i>	<i>00</i>	
	<i>100 Buret Rubber</i>		<i>1-00</i>	<i>00</i>	
	<i>Thank You.</i>				

NOTE :-Goods once sold will not be accepted back.  
Payment must be made on demand.

TOTAL

E. & O. E.



पुंजार

2592-0-0

33 फूल टाइमिंगा दिक्का.

प्रवाल

688-98-0

प्रभार

9020-90-3

इतर दिक्का

1087-0-0

→ शान्ती

9203-2-8

6998-99-0

Party

EXPRESS

DOCTOR AHMAD  
COMMUNIST PARTY  
LUCKNOW

WIRE ME HOW MUCH PER TON OR ACRE OR  
LUMP SUM SUGAR OWNERS PAYING CONGRESS FOR ELECTIONS  
STOP PAPERS REPORTED IT BUT NOT CLEARLY

= DANGE

Thakur  
11/2/57



संगमनेर  
दिनांक १२/२/५७

काँग्रेस

भाऊी डांगे यांना

ठिकाळ व्यक्तता.

भाऊी

आपण संगमनेर अकोले लाडुक्यांतीळ कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी कार्यकर्त्यांवर वागणूके दिसता. मात्र जगतवर तुम्ही रागवणार नाही हे निश्चित आम्ही जाणतो. जगतच्या अध्याप आपले पुढारीपणावर विश्वास आहे. आपण तो अखंड राहणार आहे.

निवडणुकीत जगतच्या अकिरीत प्रश्नांवर आमच्यापैकी व-याच समासदांनी पार्टी त्याग केला. आणि आमचे हि पुढे हीच निकट समस्या उभी होणे. पण आपण केलेला खुळासा कां० मिरजकर यांचे पत्रक आम्हां आमच्या वर्ग आमनिशस साठा आणि समितीच्या बाजूनेच कोही साळे तरी काम केले पाहिजे. असे निश्चित ठरविले. "उरलेल्या पार्टी समासदांनी पार्टीची इशान राखली पाहिजे" हेच आपले उद्धार आम्ही पुढे घेऊन जात आहोत.

~~आज~~ आज मीच कोण केला होतो. त्यांतीळ आपण केलेला खुळासा राग्याचा वाटला. कां कोण जाणे संगमनेर लाडुक्यांचा नेवडा रागा केला. आमची इच्छा हीच होती. शे.का.के तर्फे वावसाहेब आंबडेकरांची शोकसमा निमोण येथे ता. १२/२/५७ रोजी पण वगण असल्याने श्री.

वा. म. दातीर मोने सोगिते, म्हणून आम्ही म्हटले  
संगमनेर पासून १० मेलांवर जर आपण येत अहाल तर  
आपला वेळून दवडता संगमनेरला वात्री एवजलां व्हा  
देवतां येईले. आणि ववर सांगायप म्हणे जवलेची  
आशी इच्छा आहे की सध्या अस जेम जोशी हे  
येऊन गेले. तुम्ही खुर्चा येकदा येऊन जा. फावतर गिरच  
कार्मिक आम्हाला द्या. किमान मात व्हापी दो-सांग आम्हाला  
हक्क असू द्या हीच आम्हाची विनंती आहे.

आपणापुढे कम्युनिस्टपक्ष नेते म्हणून आणि संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र  
समितिये अध्यक्ष म्हणून आमच्या मातदार संघांवावर स्पष्ट  
कल्पना देणं जरूर आहे.

गेल्या दोन महिन्यांपासून संगमनेर अकोला कम्युनिस्टपक्षी  
म्हणून संबंध महाराष्ट्रांत अज केव पकारे गाजली आहे. आमचे  
सुववातीपासून हे म्हणणे होते की या मातदार संघांत इतर  
पक्षांपेक्षा आपल्यापक्षाचं काम अधिक आहे म्हणून दोन्ही हि  
जागा कम्युनिस्टपक्षाला दिल्या पाहिजेत. हा अग्रह होता. ते  
आम्ही विस्तारीत डी. सी. व तालुका कमिटींत हि कॉ. स. ना.  
प्रादेशक व कॉ. सी. टी. वगैरे योना सांगितले. मात याच  
बरोबर या मातोपुत्र नेहमीच निवडणुन दिलेले लालनिशाण गराचे  
कॉ. दत्ता दंडापुरव योचं व्यक्तिगत वजगहि मोठे आहे. व  
प्र. सां. पार्टीचे ही. थोडे फार काळ आहे हे जाणवून याठणारनाही.  
या शिवाय राजूर सर्वोदय आणि ववजदार कावडे वगैरे मरही  
प्रमुख मंडळींचा या मातोपुत्र - पभाव आहे. (सोनी इतिहि  
कमी करवून घ्यावतायेत नाही.



पान  
3

असे असतांना आपले पैकी काहीं विभागाचे विरोधता श्री. रामनागरे श्री भाऊसाहेब धुमाळ आणि श्री मुखर्जीधर नवले या मेडकीने आघाडी विरुद्ध करून घेऊन आपला हक्क पुढे पाहू केली. आणि समितीवर दबाव आणण्याचे जोरात प्रयत्न करू केले. ही गोष्ट आपल्या आवडली नाही.

कों. नांदे उकर यांनी व पुणे येथे जे झोपमंडळ आपणाला मेरेले. ~~काय~~ प्रणिगीत स्वकाळ वृत्तपत्रांत ज्या बाबत्या प्रसिद्ध झाल्या त्याबाबत उनापणालाहि ह्या घटनेबद्दल आश्चर्य वाटले. असेल. राजपूर येथे ३०० व आकोला येथे ७०० कार्यकर्त्यांनी समासाठी ही विधानेच मुकी चुकीची आहेत. कम्युनिस्टांचे अंतरगत कार्य पाहिले हे पहाण्यासाठी कामगार शेतकरी व विद्यार्थी मध्यवर्गी यांची समितीसमा होली. आणि मदतीने जे आकेडे प्रसिद्ध झाले ते ठरावीक राजपूर नवलेवाडी, राजपूर या विभागांतून मिळालेले आहेत. ~~काय~~ मात्र या ह्याबाबत कोणीही विरोध केला नाही. विरोध झाला असता पण प्रांतीय समिती व संयुक्त आघाडी यांचे निश्चित निर्णय बाहेर पडले नव्हते.

आज संयुक्तनेत्र अकोले लाहुर्यातील परिस्थितीचे चित्रण खालील प्रमाणे आहे. प्रत्येक पक्षाचे व ठाबळ छेडांग घेता. आज संयुक्त आघाडीने उभे केलेले उमेदवारांची निश्चित स्वसत्ताची खात्री आहे. काँग्रेसने उभे केलेले उमेदवार काहीं ठरावीक मागातून व ~~काय~~ मक्ष म्हणून व्याक्ति म्हणून मते निश्चित जातील. श्री. नागरे विभाग ह्याबाबत मंचार स्थिती जोरात पाहू आहे. मात्र झोपकरी समाजात त्यांना स्थान नाही ही वस्तुस्थिती आहे. कम्युनिस्ट पक्षांतून बाहेर पडलेले अकोले केडव यांचे वजना खाली असलेले झोपकरी विभाग व विडी कामगारांचा दोन्ही लाहुर्यातील १/३ विभाग अद्याप श्री नागरे व श्री नांगरे यांचे वजना खाली आहे. मात्र निवडणूक येण्याची आशा नाही.

संयुक्त आघाडीच्या सभा सर्व भागांत झाल्या असून  
 शे. का. फे. लोकनिडालगट्ट, प्र.सो.पार्टी, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी  
 यांचे कार्यकर्ते सर्व भागांत धुमधडाक्याने फिरताहेत. आणि  
 गावे-ची गावे आपला पाठींवा समितीच्या मागे उभे आहेत.  
 असे आजचे चित्र आहे. रवासदार कागवेड यांच्यासारख्या  
 काँग्रेसच्या उमेदवाराच्या लोच्याच भागांत संयुक्त आघाडीच्या  
 बी.सी काळे यांचे उमेदवारीस बळपूर पाठींवा आहे. हे  
 गुप्तल्या सभेवरूनच नाही तर प्रत्येक भागांतले कार्यकर्ते  
 कुडव बोलले जात. मात्र मतदानांत थोडाफार बदल होईल  
 निर्वाचन.

पान.  
 २

श्री. नागरे विभागाचे असे प्रयत्न चालू आहेत की  
 संबंध पार्टी सभासदांनी राजीनामे घ्यावेत. त्याच बरोबर  
 प्र.सो. पार्टीचे असे प्रयत्न चालू आहेत की कम्युनिस्ट यादोही  
 ताळक्यांनुन बदनाम झाले पाहिजेत. म्हणून आम्ही उरलेल्या  
 लोकांनी हे उतव हाणून पाडण्यासाठी मेक पत्रक काढून  
 कम्युनिस्ट पक्षाचे आस्तेलवाची जाणीव करव दिली आहे. त्याच  
 मागे आघाडीचे प्रचारक साठी दत्ता देसायुख यांचे बरोबर  
 का. विष्णुषुवा हासे यांना निवडणुक होऊपर्यंत ठेवले आहे  
 ते सध्या प्रचारांवर आहेत. तसेच कम्युनिस्ट पक्षाचे ताळुका  
 सभेदरी व इतर सभासद व सहानुभूतिदार आघाडीचे प्रचार  
 साठी फिरत आहे. आणि त्यामुळे प्र.सो. पार्टीचा विरोधी  
 प्रचार तर थोबळाय पण पोषक असे वागावण  
 निर्माण झाले आहे.



५१५

आम्हाला दुःख होते ते अकाय गोष्टीचे खांद्याला खांदी  
 लावून लढणाऱ्या कम्युनिस्ट पार्टीचा वक्तव्य मोठा विभाग आम्हें पुन  
 बाहेर पडला. त्यामुळे पार्टीची हाता साठी ज्या कम्युनिस्ट पार्टीची  
 आघाडी निर्माण केली, ती रिकविण्याचा आरोकांद प्रयत्न केला  
 जामें बावन संबंध महाराष्ट्रांत कोठेच वाद निर्माण केला  
 नाही त्यांच कम्युनिस्ट पार्टीच्या संगमनेर अकांशे इाखेने  
 पहाला काळेक लावला. ह्य आमचे दुःख आहे. आयुगीर  
 आही उरलेले काँग्रेस पार्टी बळ द्वाली करण्यासाठी  
 आरोकार प्रयत्न करणार. आम्हास प्रांतीय कमिटीने जकर  
 त्यावेळी मदत करावी हीच आम्ही इच्छा आहे.

मी पुन. अकांशे फोगची आठवण करवण देणे. आणि  
 वा० रा० पुन. ये ओत आपण आपण सारी भेद दिवस घाल  
~~आही~~ आही आही। व्यतन करणे. हा कार्यालय संयुक्त आघाडी  
 मार्गितय आही संघटीत करव. मुंबईत आणि महाराष्ट्रांत  
 पक्ष म्हणून आणि आघाडी म्हणून रूप कामें आपणाला आहण  
 याची आम्हाला जाणीव आहे. म्हणून आपण जकर कां.  
 गणा पालीठ मोगा पाठवाय आही इच्छा.

इवटी प्रणाम—

आपला.  
पण्टरीगय सहाय

पत्ता —  
रामचंद्र पांडुरंग लंडन

संगमनेर —

सेक्रेटरी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी  
संगमनेर तालुका.

दु॥ पो. जवळे कडळग  
ता० संगमनेर जि. अहमदनगर

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA  
KARNATAKA PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE

Phone : 3810

Secretary : N. L. UPADHYAYA

K. V. TEMPLE STREET,  
BANGALORE - 2

14. 2. '57

Dear Comrade,

We want you to go to Bijapur and Gulbarga to address public meetings <sup>in</sup> each place. You may go to Bijapur when visiting Sholapur. Similarly you will be able to cover Gulbarga within a few hours.

Our comrades in those places are completely isolated as no leader has been able to go there. Even Ajay who comes here only for a day, will be unable to visit those parts which are bordering Maharashtra. Hence I earnestly suggest you to go to those two places without fail.

Also please arrange to send Atrre to Bijapur ~~and~~ Gulbarga and oblige.

With greetings,  
N. L. Upadhyaya



Part I

XXXXXX  
71188

XXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXX  
XXXXXXXXXXXX  
XXXXXXXXXXXX

February 15, 1957.

Dear Prasanta,

Your letter to Com. Dange of 13th inst.

Com. Dange was to have addressed a meeting at Burnpur on  
17th inst.

He has however cancelled it owing to sudden relapse of  
his wife's illness.

With Greetings,

Yours,



# भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी

धनबाद जिला कमेटी

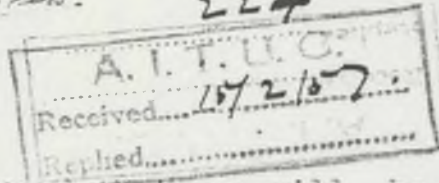
पत्र संख्या .....

Express.

दिथि 13.2.57

22/2

To  
Com. S.A. Dange.



Dear Com.

I have heard that you will be coming to Asansol to address a meeting in the steel area in support of the candidate, Tahir Hossen. The proposed meeting is about to be held shortly, but I do not know the exact date.

If the report is true then I see no reason why you ~~will~~ should not come for a few hours and address one meeting here also in support of Lalit and Chinoo, both of whom are candidates for the assembly seats. I don't want to start an argument about the comparative importance of the localities and the degree of need ~~experienced~~ by the steel and coal areas, and all that. I have simply to request you that if you ~~can~~ come to Asansol, then please make a bit of extra effort to come upto Dhanbad to address a meeting. To help you we will arrange for your conveyance by a car from Asansol to Dhanbad and back. The whole programme will not take more than half a day. The meeting should, on a Sunday, preferably on 24th inst. It can be held either in the morning or afternoon. With a car you will be able to address two meetings one in Asansol and another at Dhanbad. I hope you will consider the proposal a bit patiently, before rejecting it summarily.

If it is difficult to come here on a Sunday or 24th we can be satisfied with a meeting on any week day, but ~~not~~ not later than 24th inst.

Yours etc.

P. Banta Dhanbad

13/2

*[Handwritten signature]*



Part I

Surat, 16.2.57.

Dear Com. Dange,

I hope you will now be able to finalize your program. We want one day for Ahmedabad and one for Surat - Navsari.

Tentatively I suggest any dates between 21st & 27th of February. If you could give 23rd for Surat - Navsari and 24th for Ahmedabad, ~~or~~ that would be suitable; or you could give separate days, <sup>from</sup> ~~after~~ 21st (exclusive of 25th & 26th which are booked here for Shri Indulal Yagnik)

Please let me know when you would finalize the dates. A friend in Bombay will also ring you

up on 17th - 18th. The discussion in Ahmedabad will take place on 6th March in Surat on 11th March. I shall also try to ring you up to-morrow night at your residence.

Please write to me at the following two addresses.

Greetings.

Addresses:-

of Amrit K. Desai,  
House No. 3/141,  
Navapur,  
Parsi Seris,  
Surat.

Communist Party Office,  
Prarthana Sanaj  
Parkhad,  
Ahmedabad.

Yours,  
Srinivas

P.T.O



Surat, 16-2-56

Dear Com. Dange,

I have not been  
to see you, nor been able  
to write to you, for a pretty  
long interval.

Wish you grand  
success in your election  
Hope to see you soon in  
Surat.

Greetings

Amunt

अन्तर्देशीय पत्र

इस पत्र के अन्दर कुछ न लिखें



EXPRESS DELIVERY

Com. S. A. DANGE,

528

% All-India Trade Union Congress  
R. L. Trust Building  
Near Opera House,  
Surat,  
BOMBAY-4

↑  
पत्र  
↓

↑  
पत्र  
↓

← सीमा मोट →

भेजने वाले का नाम और पता :-





Party I

February 18, 1957.

Dear Com. N.L.,

Your letter to Com. Dange.

Owing to preoccupations here, his slightly indifferent health and wife's illness Com. Dange will not virtually be able to undertake any election tours this time.

I have already written to Com. Upadhyaya of Bijapur to that effect.

About Atre - we can not approach him unless we know whether you can reimburse him of his expenses, and to what extent! The best way would be to write to him direct for this. His address is: "Arod", Cadell Rd., Bombay 28.

With Greetings,

Yours fraternally,



~~Office Secretary.~~

Party

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA  
**ASSAM PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE**  
H. Q. GAUHATI.

Ref No... ..

Date... 18/2/57

Dear Comrade Lunge,

The Indian Tea Planters' Association (in a letter published in Chai-Ki-Vat and reproduced in the New Age under the signature of Mr. Sankar Indian Tea Planters of Assam and Bengal) has directed its members to donate to the Congress Election Fund Rs 1/8/- per acre.

Hope everything is going well with you. We hope to win a few seats this time with the party. Comrade Manantengas



तारोस २०।२।५७ च्या या संविधानाच्या ठरावाच्या अर्थास बाधा न आणता कम्युनिस्ट पार्टीची संविधान सभेच्या विविधा कमीटो असा ठराव करते की:---

ठराव:--- श्री. ल्हो. डो. देशमुख यांनी संविधान सभेच्या समितीचे आदेश पाळताचर असून मुंबईचे विधान सभे वरिष्ठा व दिल्ली लोकसभे वरिष्ठा स्वतंत्र बुध्दवार म्हणून अर्ज करते। स्वतंत्र बुध्दवाराने आपले अर्ज परत व्यथित हो विनंती असा जे. जे. जोशी, विठ्ठल स. म. समिती यांनी केले। तसेच निवडणूक समितीचे अध्यक्ष कां. नाना पाटील यांनी श्री. डो. देशमुख यांनी आपला अर्ज परत व्यथित असा बाब येथून जाहीर विनंती केले।

तारोस २०।२।५७ रोजी म. कि. पन्हाळे विठ्ठल स. म. र. के. शांतिदास यांनी देशमुख यांनी अर्ज परत व्यथित असे जाहीर अर्ज आवाहन केले।

या सर्व घडामोडी नंतर श्री. देशमुख यांनी अर्ज परत न येण्या मी सं. म. समिती व म. कि. पन्हाळे यांच्यावर बसविले हे स्पष्ट आहे।

असा परिस्थिती मी श्री. देशमुख यांच्या घरीही समितीच्या दोन्ही सदस्य लक्षात घेतल्या आहेत व तथा त-हेचे पत्र कां. नाना पाटील यांनी मुंबई मी श्री. टी. आर. यांचे आणी

परिषद कोषाळी परिस्थितीत तिसरी लक्षा होता कामाने या भूमिके वरून, जर श्री. डो. देशमुख यांनी आपला पाल्मिन्टचा अर्ज परत घेतला नाही तर स्वतः कां. नाना पाटील आपला अर्ज परत येणार असा कां. नाना पाटील यांनी भूमिका घेतली।

श्री. विठ्ठलराय देशमुख यांनी लोक सभेचा अर्ज काढून येण्या संविधान सभेच्या समितीला याची तात्का रीत्या कळली आहे। कां. गुड्डार पवार यांनी बुध्दवारो परत घेतली तरच ते पाल्मिन्टची जागा परत येणार आहेत।

श्री. देशमुख यांनी ही भूमिका संविधान सभेच्या समितीला आणून देणारी आहे तसेच संविधान सभेच्या समितीवर अयोग्य बहसण आणणारी आहे हे या विविधा कमीटोचे मत आहे।

आजही परिस्थितीत ~~कम्युनिस्ट~~ कां. नाना पाटील यांची मागासक आवश्यक व मनीभूमिका लक्षात घेऊन कां. गुड्डार पवार यांनी जर विधान सभेची

-----त र ओ----- दिनाकर राय देशमुख आपलो भुमिद्वारी परत घेतोल असा अंदाज पार्टी कागरेडना आहे व आ अंदाजा प्रमाणे ओ. देशमुखांनी भुमिद्वारी परत घेतल्यास कागरेड नाना पाटील हे नियतपूर लढयिणगाची साथी वाटते. कागरेड नाना पाटील यांनी भुमिद्वारी लढाईने हे कम्युनिस्ट पार्टीच्या व संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र च्या वळोच्या दृष्टीने विताचे असल्याने या असाधारण परिस्थितीत कागरेड नाना पाटील यांची फनीपूरी फला लक्षात घेऊन कागरेड तुभार पवार यांनी आपलो भुमिद्वारी परत घेण्याचा मार्ग मसुदा करून घेतला. तारीख २१ १२ १९५७ गोजी पार्टी वडे द्यावा असा त्यांना या द.ओ. (जिल्हा कमिटी) सोचा वादेल आहे।

कागरेड तुभार पवार यांची भुमिद्वारी परत कां घेतली या संबंधी---  
 --संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र समितीस जरूर तो माहितो पुरविणयाची जबाबदारी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टीची जिल्हा कमिटी व प्रान्तिक कमिटीवर आहे आणि पार्टी हो जबाबदारी पार पाडेल।

(रामजी पाटील)  
 सेक्रेटरी, संयुक्त मातारा जिल्हा कमिटी,  
 हिन्दी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी।  
 तारीख:-२१ १२ १९५७ सातारा।

या जिल्हा कमिटीने मजकूर ओ.डी.आय. देव दाले.

कों. डी.ओ. यात --

- १) या परिस्थितीबद्दल आपले नेट देण्याकरता, निर्माण झालेल्या परिस्थितीने याने करणयाकरता व परिश्रितकरता काय व २२/२/५७ गोजी मायकाची ओगा पत्र, आपले नेट लेखु याने माहित करून देणे.
- २) Reliving या फॉर्मवर काय याने करण द्यावे. कायफे काय रिपोर्ट द्यावे याने. या सर्व परिस्थितीची पावेपुढे ओ. देशमुख यांना सांगण्यात येऊन पार्टीला जाणवता येईल.
- ३) या बसवावर भाषावृत्त ही निवेदन जाहीर करित आहे.
- ४) ओ. देशमुख यांना सोपेपणे पुरवणया देण्याकरता नियुक्त. कोणत्याही परिस्थितीत देशमुखांना यानेपणे पुरवणया करण काय येवे. याने ओ. देशमुख यांना म. श्री. देशमुखांचेद्वारे (पुढी विधाना) Campaign करण या याने याबद्दलचे आदेश पार्टीच्या व क.म. समितीकडून जाणे पाहिजे आहे. याने. याने काय याने तट करून पार्टी भेड्यावर, फोर्डे जसा येऊन आहे. या सर्वकडे दृष्टीपावत घेतून याने करण याने याने नु नु ये जाते याने



Party

प्रिय को. डी. माना —

सातारा जिल्हा क. पार्टीची बैठक ता. २२ रोजी  
सातारा येथे झाली. त्या बैठकीचे नमूने B.T.R. होत.

श्री. सी. व्ही. B.T.R. नी either Banno Patil should withdraw  
or Tushar should withdraw.

अशा रितीत अंमल सारितली  
रिपोर्टिंग

करीब ३० दिवस मागविलेले वेळापत्रक तयार करणे बाबत  
उत्तम उपाययोजना घ्याव्यात असा निर्णय झाला आहे.

तसेच २२ मे आधीच नया जागे जाणवत आहे परंतु  
३० दिवस वेळ आसल्यास सहाय्यकारण होईल आहे.

अशा ५-३० ते ६ मे पर्यंत वेळापत्रक तयार करावे.

मा.  
२२-५-७७  
सातारा ५-३० क.

श्री.  
[Signature]

Dear S.H.D

I had a phone call

~~from Sangamer about the~~  
from Sangamer enquiring about the  
final decision re the reserved seat.  
Of course comrades there are very insistent  
that the seat should be given to us - if the  
Comm unless its done the remaining  
members will also walk out - this is what I  
was told.

I was tried to tell them that Bhargava  
had issued a leaflet etc. But the Comrat  
did not understand me. Anyway I  
had promised that the result will be known to  
them by tomorrow morning. So please send it to  
the press tonight so that they can withdraw  
Bhargava's name if they choose to do so. We should  
not give them any excuse for bringing another  
troubling fight - B.P.K.



my dear Dange

I am returning herewith

the material in Sangamner sent by you.

You are wrong when you think that any one had advised pressure tactics against Datta. On the other hand it was made abundantly clear that we would not back on this issue and that it was awkward to demand Datta's seat. However as a concession to the strong feeling existing we had agreed to put Pannu Nagarkar's name on the list - and see if Datta could go to the Senate.

The copy of the statement dated 25/1/57 which we are seeing now puts the party's representation in the wrong way. You should have shown the courtesy of consulting us before going on record like this. As far as it is - it makes it appear as if the party made no effort whatsoever to negotiate Datta's seat - and would only exacerbate feelings in Ahmednagar. Sangamner Datta has been negotiating this for an hour. The party



It is agreed to concede Dalta's seat only when  
 in Nagpur. The representative of Dal Nisthan - Bhaskar G. W.  
 Hingekar has now said that there could be no negotiations unless Dalta's  
 seat was conceded. Your bold statement makes it appear  
 as if the Party - ~~was~~ ~~impressed~~ - ~~have~~ did not want the  
 seat for itself. Points in the Samiti meeting - Dalta  
 himself had proposed that he would shift - from Akola and  
 go to Solapur; he had ~~had~~ ~~proposed~~ a list which I know  
 SSM had accepted and which was not - accepted of <sup>at</sup> ~~the~~  
 It is not therefore correct to state that in the Samiti no  
 one claimed the seat.

The responsibility for the riots is entirely of Dalta's  
 making. He is extremely arrogant towards our Council and  
 belittles our party. The DSP case there has the same complexion  
 against him till recently - It is what I was told - and  
 the SCF also knows that he has had any basis there. If he  
 had been polite towards our Councils as it might have solved  
 our problem.

Now that we have to take action against our own fellow  
 we should at least see that the least damage is done to our  
 party. The "Councils" who have resigned were very much  
 worked up and it was a false hope that they would see sense.



I knew that action before the 4th would mean losing the  
 and make triangular center inevitable.  
 The lot of them, as that is why I wonder & proceed content  
 of these people remain in revolt. Delta, I am afraid, will be  
 defeated. If your letter does the miracle of returning them  
 back that will be very good. There is a faint hope that they  
 might withdraw at the eleventh hour. So far as I  
 could gather they were thinking that Delta would withdraw  
 by 4th. But now I think they have burnt their boats -  
 and the worst may happen. I realize the difficulty -  
 about Bhargava - I knew he was an active supporter of the  
 earlier leader - but had no idea that he would  
 now associate with these people as his name was not -  
 away then who had resigned. Paul

Bob





उत्तराखण्ड का आरम्भ एक अशुभ दिन, काना बरवा  
शामना महाराष्ट्रान्त गया लोहिल.

उन्हो कलम नमान देहांगरेर दो पान्ने  
माभिकेनन दिव्य लोने विदित 2 दिवक को प्रुष्टी  
काहे शोडुपार गहो के ? अनेक का मगार, अमंरक  
गोके प्रुष्टीको दो-भा खरु. व प्रुष्टीको मारवाने .  
गोता अमिही काय लोमाननाने ?

उतः एकदा मगिना के प्रुष्टीको दो भा  
. रीम. न विदित 2 को दो जेकी प्रुष्टी लोपार गहो  
मोको प्रुष्टी विपार करिसा . विदित . मार देहांगरेर  
प्रुष्टीको मारिसा अमंरक न 2 दिवक दू ग.  
इत, कोको अने दुष्टीको विदित को  
महिमी नमन कही अहे ? को मारिसा मगार  
मंगल

अमरक  
एक मारिसा



चुनाव चिन्ह

वेदी: { फोन ~~३३३३~~ & 3947  
{ ग्राम "DISPLAY"

केन्द्रीय चुनाव कार्यालय  
श्री एस० एस० बनर्जी (स्वतन्त्र)  
उम्मीदवार लोक सभा (दिल्ली)

१८/१०२ माल रोड,

कानपुर 27th Feb. १९५७

Dear Com. Dango,

Your letter of 23rd instt. Thanke.

2. We had started with the hope of fighting in a few pockets here but the situation at present is that enormous volume of non-party cadre has come round us and our meetings - by far the biggest in the areas, breaking all records - have become the rallying point of anti-congress feeling here. Newspapers, Congress party and even communist party which had not taken us seriously in the beginning are considering us winning candidate. This has brought us money too but not to the extent we have the good will and support. All opposition parties except the Lohia group is supporting us. For Nehru and congress in Kanpur we remain the main opposition.

Our weakness is that we are independent and so our organizers & workers. Secondly we had not anticipated the expenditure and so are tight with money.

The congress here has become so panicky that now they have requested Pt. Nehru to visit this city and he is likely to come here on 4th March. Polling is on 6th March. Meetings are permitted here till 5th and we have permission for the meeting on that day. People here say that election results might be announced anyday, you have to perform the duty of opposition leader by addressing a meeting here on 5th march to neutralise the effect of Nehru. That would be helpful for all opposition candidates. Party contacted others but could not



fix up anything body.

I donot know your programme there. Obviously it must be awfully busy. So I donot suggest that you must. But the chances are that your visit at this moment may prove to be a decisive one.

When will be your election over ?

Maulana's seat is also this time fairly good, though the congress has given the slogan 'anybody but Maulana'.

Arjun Arora has rejoined the congress actively and is speaking in public against the opposition. Yet he is the gen. Secy. of SMS and also of the recently reorganized UPTMO (still defunct). But the signs are that unity in the SMS will be difficult to maintain unless we emerge from this electoral battle as decisively victorious. While GEB has our support, Bimal has been cornered mostly on account of his manoeuvrings and the party is not in a position to support him openly. He and GEB are making efforts to bring in SMS in the elections through leafleting, against which efforts have been successful upto now.

I hope to be back in Delhi by 10th March.

With greetings.

Yours fraternally,

*K.G. Srivastava*  
(K.G. Srivastava)

R.S.  
Alternating 32 March  
can also do food.

DANGE

REACH 3rd MARCH FOR KANPUR WIRE

YUSUF

YUSUF  
MAZDOOR SABHA GWALTOLI  
KANPUR

EXPRESS

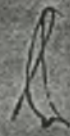
REGRET

HEAVILY

ENGAGED

HERE

DANGE

  
28/2/57



Part ~~Personal~~

SION  
9/3/57

Dear Sir

Re. Nomination for the Presidency  
of the Republic of India

Following soon upon the termination of the current series of elections to the State and Central legislatures the question of the election of the next President of India will come up. A novel idea suggested to me and I transmit the same to you. I believe that with your tremendous influence and organization of publicity you are in one person, eminently capable, not only of objective appreciation of the worth of any suggestion of the Western world, but also of canvassing the idea with might and main, in the face of insurmountable obstacles to the final fulfilment.

My suggestion is that to extricate us from the tortuous international and legal quibbles and imperialist conspiracies, on the subject of Kashmir's accession to India, the young Sardar - E. Riyasat of Kashmir be proposed for the Presidency of India.

This will mean the final seal of union of Kashmir with India and confuse our enemies. This will mean a greater sense

of oneness of the Kashmiris with us. This will mean that the high office of the President of India will be adorned by a fit person. This will stand as a token of appreciation of the good behavior of the ex-prince & heirs of India by the people at large. This will be acclaimed by the mass of this country, who in spite of the all the clamorous-mouths which is modern history, all all long regal pomp and splendor began this will also help to avoid unwholesome and post bellum semi-impression for occupying this office of dignity.

The powers of the President of India being highly restricted, merely to open exhibitions and receive foreign visitors, is useless and there is no risk involved to the country in choosing the present Sardar E. Riyasat for the job.

So will you kindly start on this grand job.

Finally as I do not wish to fall victim possibly to some self appointed person I am constrained to hide my identity which I hope you will excuse.

I might however state that  
P.T.O



Had the rare privilege of travelling  
with the same Comptroller with you  
in July 54 by Punjab Mail. You departed  
at New Delhi and I went on to Rishikesh.

Yours sincerely  
P.N.

अन्तर्देशीय पत्र

इस पत्र के अन्दर कुछ न रखिये



Shri. Shripad Anant Dange

President, The Sampada Mahasabha  
Sainik

BOMBAY

भेजने वाले का नाम और पता :-

P.N.

Bombay





Part I

फोन नं.: ४५६३८.

टेलिग्राम : रेडकॉपी

२ विंसेर प्लेस नवी दिल्ली: हिंदी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी

११ मार्च १९५७

संक्युलर नं.: ७ १५७ मध्यवर्ती निवहणूक मंडळ

सर्व प्रांतिक कमिट्यासाठी

निवहणूक सचीचा हिशोब

१९५१ च्या रिप्रेझेंटेशन ऑफ पीपल या कायद्याच्या ७७ व ७८ कलमाप्रमाणे निवहणूकीतील प्रत्येक जुमेदवाराने स्वतः अगर त्याच्या अर्जटाने निवहणूका जाहीर झाल्याच्या दिवसापासून निवहणूकाच्या निकालापर्यंत दिवसांपयान्तच्या दोन दिवस धरून स्वतः केलेल्या अगर अर्जटाकडून अभिप्रेतपणे केलेल्या सचीचा स्वतंत्र व अचूक हिशोब ठेवला पाहिजे. आणि निकाल जाहीर झाल्या पासून ३० दिवसांच्या आत निवहणूक लढावणारया प्रत्येक जुमेदवाराने निवहणूक सचीचा हिशोब रिट रिटानिंग ऑफिसला द्यावा पाहिजे. हा हिशोब त्याने अगर त्याच्या अर्जटाने ठेवलेल्या हिशोबाची असली पाहिजे. या हिशोबात पुढील माहिती दिलेली पाहिजे.

(अ) ज्या दिवशी सची केला अगर त्याला घेऊन दिली ती तारीख. (ब) सचीचे स्वरूप जुदाहरणार्थ प्रवास टपाल छापी वगैरे. (क) सचीची रक्कम.

(१) सची केलेली रक्कम. (२) मराठ्याची शिल्लक राहिलेली रक्कम. (३) सची केल्याची तारीख (४) त्याला पैसे दिले त्याचे नांव व पत्ता (अफ) केलेल्या सची पावत्यांचे क्रमांक (जी) धावयाच्या रक्कमेच्या बिलांचे क्रमांक (अच) ज्याला रक्कम धावयाची आहे त्याचे नांव व पत्ता पोस्टेज व रेल्वे तिकीटाचा सची वजा करता इतर रक्कमेच्या सची पावत्या व बिले हिशोबा बरोबर सादर केला पाहिजेत.

मुदतीच्या आत हिशोब न देणे हा कायदानुसार गुन्हा असून तो करणारा जुमेदवाराचे पार्लिमेंट अगर असेंब्लीचे समासदत्व रद्द करण्यात येते. विशेषतः निवहून आलेल्या जुमेदवारांच्या बाबतीत हे फार महत्वाचे आहे. कारण नाहीतर त्यांच्या पार्लिमेंट मधील अगर असेंब्लीतील जागा जातील. म्हणून ह्या बाबीकडे विशेष लक्ष देवून सर्व निवहणूक लढावणारया जुमेदवारांना यशस्वी व अयशस्वी दोन्ही नियमाप्रमाणे हिशोब देण्याबद्दल सुचना घाव्या अशी विनंती आहे.

आपला:

सेक्रेटरी.

हिंदी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी



C-3



4246

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

No.

Received here at \_\_\_\_\_ H. \_\_\_\_\_ M.

O NG KANPUR 13 9 DANGE CARE AITUCCONG BOMBAY -

BANERJI ELECTED PARLIAMENT - SRIVASTAVA

The sequence of entries at the beginning of this telegram is—class of telegram, time handed in, serial number (in the case of foreign telegrams only), office of origin, date, service instructions (if any) and number of words.

This form must accompany any enquiry respecting this telegram.

MGIFPAh.—597—20.8.50—84,083 Bks.



*Party*

*14/3/57*

EXPRESS

S M BANNERJEE  
CARE DEFENCE FEDERATION  
KANPUR

CONGRATULATIONS FOR YOUR VICTORY

DANGE

20-5  
 Communist Party of India,

KERALA STATE COMMITTEE

ERNAKULAM

Ref.

Date 15th March, 1957.

To

All PEs

Dear Comrade,

You must have read from the papers that we have already emerged as the biggest single party in the Kerala legislature: The number of seats won by us is, at the time of writing this letter 54 (49 Communists officially declared to have been elected, 4 independents, and one Communist, in whose case, the official declaration of election will be made only in a day or two). The results for 20 more seats are yet to come; if we get 10 out of these, we will get an absolute majority (64 out of 126). Even if we fail to get this number and thus be returned in an absolute majority, we may have to be called upon by the Government to see if we can form a Government as we are the single biggest party.

It is, therefore, necessary that we carefully work out the lines on which we should pursue our work in the matter of ministry formation. Problems will arise in either case. We, therefore, are very anxious that the advice of the PB is available to the Provincial Committee.

We have, therefore, contacted Comrade Ajoy and Comrade Bhupesh and asked them to make it convenient for the PB to meet at ERNAKULAM at the time of the next meeting of the PC. They have agreed to it. We are, therefore, fixing 22nd and 23rd as the dates and ERNAKULAM as the venue for the PB meeting. Comrade Ajoy has agreed to come here a day or two earlier, so that the PC Secretariat can have more time with him. Since it is absolutely impossible to make any postponement of these discussions, I request all PEs to make it convenient for them to reach Ernakulam on 22nd morning (The Cochin Express which leaves Madras on the 21st evening and reaches Ernakulam on the 22nd noon is the most convenient train for reaching here).

I am told that letters are being written to you from Delhi. I am, however, adding my own letter in case the letter from Delhi does not reach you.

Greetings,

E.M.S. Namboodiripad

(E.M.S. Namboodiripad)





Communist Party of India

हिंदी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी,

बेळगांव जिल्हा कमिटी, ऑफीस,

६०४, मेणसीगर्हा, बेळगांव.

ता. २६-११-१९७७

*[Faint, illegible handwritten text in Hindi, likely a letter or document.]*



Communist Party of India

हिंदी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी,

वेळगांव जिल्हा कार्यालय, ऑफीस,

८०४, मेणसीगल्ली, वेळगांव  
ता. \_\_\_\_\_

*[Faint, illegible handwritten text in Hindi]*

*[Faint, illegible handwritten text in Hindi]*

*[Faint, illegible handwritten text in Hindi]*



प्र.क.सक्युलर अजेंट

महाराष्ट्र प्रांतिक कमिटी

राजसुवन द्दिगांव मुंबई ४

हिंदी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी

ता. २४ मार्च १९५७

निवडणुक लक्षांच्या हिशोबा संबंधी.

प्रिय काँग्रेस

आतां निवडणुका संपलेल्या आहेत आणि निवडणुकानंतर पहिले काम म्हणजे निवडणुकीचा योग्य अधिकार्यांकडे उराविक सुदतीच्या आंत हिशोबाचा तक्रा सादर करणे हे होय. हे काम फक्त निवडणुकीतील यशस्वी उमेदवारांनीच करावयाचे नसून कायद्याप्रमाणे यशस्वी व अयशस्वी अशा दोन्ही प्रकारच्या उमेदवारांनी आपले हिशोबा सादर केले पाहिजेत. त्यासंबंधी आपल्या मध्यवर्ती पार्लियेन्टरी बोर्डाकडून जे सक्युलर आले आहे ते जसेच्यातसे भाषांतर करून सोबत जोडले आहे. विजयी उमेदवारांनी वेळोवेळ हिशोब सादर केले नाहीत तर त्यांचे जागा जाते व शिवाय डिस्क्वालीफिकेशनही होते. तरी सर्व यशस्वी व अयशस्वी पार्टी उमेदवारांनी आपल्या हिशोबाचे तसे ताबडतोब सादर करावे असा प्रांतिकचा आदेश आहे.

जिल्हा कमिट्यांनी या गोष्टीकडे लक्ष पुरवून आपापल्या जिल्हांतील पार्टीचे निवडणूक जालेले व अयशस्वी झालेले उमेदवार हिशोबा सुदतीत सादर करतात कीं नाही हे पाहिले पाहिजे ही फार महत्वाची तांत्रिक बाब आहे याकडे प्रांतिक कमिटी आपले सुट्टाम लक्ष वेधित आहे. लालसलाम

आपला.

जे.जे. मिर्जकर

सेक्रेटरी.

SINGHBHUM DISTRICT COMMITTEE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

C.P.I.  
33 Sarkar Bldg,  
Sakchi, Jamshedpore

To  
Com.S.A.Dange  
Bombay.

SAD

30.3.52  
From Ali Anwar

Dear Comrade,

Please accept the heartiest congratulations of the Jamshedpore comrades and the workers on your grand Victory over the INTUC Leader Shri Ambekar. You must have already seen in the Press the Results of Jamshedpore along with those of Burnpore and Kulti. Of the four seats in the two Steel Towns, the Congress has been able to secure only one - that of Jugslai and that also with a very slender margin of about 700 votes. Com. Kedar Das defeated the General Secretary of the Behar INTUC, a sitting MLA by a margin of more than two thousand votes. These results are indicative of a wide dissatisfaction among the workers against the INTUC leadership and the Labour Policies of the Govt. of India. As Com. Ismail remarked in our Victory Rally, Dange in the Parliament and Kedar in the Behar Assembly along with the AITUC leaders representing the workers in most other assemblies, the real fight shall begin to change this policy of the Govt. - this is how the workers look upon the Election Results.

The Election results have however presented us with an immediate problem - that of working out a line and building an organization which may lead this dissatisfaction of the workers along the right channels. I am not exaggerating when I tell you that the first question workers have started asking us, after Victory is - how and when you are going to capture the Union and get rid of the INTUC Leadership.

To be very frank, the Singhbhum Party Unit is not in a position organisationally or politically to lead this great upsurge which has come about and at the head of which we find ourselves. Therefore the positive and immediate help of the PB and yourself personally is absolutely necessary, if we are not to allow this opportunity to slip away from our hands.

I will now give you some salient features of the situation here.

After the spurt of elemental upsurge in 1952-53, which found its expression in our great signature campaign and the movement of Tinsplate Workers for a No-Confidence motion, led by C.G. Vyas, along with the movement of the Burnpore workers, had spent itself towards 1954, the workers of Tatas and those of other industries became sullen for some time. They started getting restive again towards the middle of 1956 when the Tata John agreement was signed. We conducted a campaign against this agreement on the basis of the pamphlet, which you must have seen. A somewhat more energetic campaign was run by Munshi Ahmad Din, the PSP leader. But Munshi Ahmad Din got panicky when some attempt at Goondism was made against him by the INTUC and he suddenly left the field. Vyas had already left the field both in Jamshedpore and Burnpore



In the Elections, our main basis of campaign was the issue of Trade Union democracy and the rejection of Tata-John agreement, along with the general Labour Policy of the Govt. On the basis of this campaign and whatever previous work we had put up, we emerged as the only champion of the worker's cause. The P.S.P which contested us in both the areas - the Jamshedpore and Jugslai constituency - received ~~it~~ less than 1000 votes and forfeited its deposits.

However two or three months before the Elections, another factor emerged on the scene and that was the TISCO WORKER'S ASSOCIATION - an organisation which put forward as its aim the reformation of the Union and a change in the leadership of the INTUC Union. They started their work by taking up the grievances of the Town Deptt. workers and spread their influence among them, particularly among the Conservancy Staff of the Town Deptt. In the elections, they first thought of setting up their own candidate in one of the constituencies, but later withdrew their candidate and more or less supported us, though not publicly.

These people of the TISCO Worker's ASSOCIATION are actually led by the old and discredited leader Homi and to some extent by W.V.R Naidu Gopal Naidu, the son of W.V.R Naidu is one of the leaders of the Association. They are conducting at the present moment, a signature campaign expressing a lack of confidence in the present INTUC leadership and are telling the workers that they are being supported by us. But in actual fact, they are not yet ready to work shoulder to shoulder with us. One of their lines of propaganda is that the workers should stand on their own legs and not get mixed up in Party politics. They also played with the idea of leading a demonstration to the INTUC Union Office and forcing a situation when the Union office shall be locked up. However they gave up the idea after some persuasion and some threats by the Police.

In this situation, we had our first Victory Rally on the 24th which was attended by about fifteen thousand workers. It was difficult for us to give any clear cut and positive line of action. We appealed to the Tisco worker's Association not to do things separately but join us in a common effort to solve the problem of the workers. We appealed to the workers not to be led astray by the seemingly easy way of leading a demonstration or fall a prey to the provocations sought to be engineered by the INTUC people. We appealed to the workers to hold meetings in the Departments, select their representatives and send them to us. We promised to hold a conference of the representatives drawn from the various Depts of the various factories and of various political opinion. We also gave a call for mass demonstration in the next Pay Day for this movement. We are holding a meeting of the leading workers to decide to form a Preparatory Committee to hold a Conference of Jamshedpore workers in the first week of May. This is what we have provisionally decided. Some comrades are of the opinion that we should start an enrollment drive of the Jamshedpore Mazdoor Union immediately - as the situation is extremely favourable for this. *But we have decided not to do it yet.*

your

I would request you ~~to~~ to help us, despite ~~our~~ pre-occupations and give us at least a week's time, along with Eurnpore to work out a workable line. Please let us know at an early date whether you approve of the idea of an All Jamshedpore Worker's Convention and when it should be held to ensure your presence and the lines along ~~with~~ which we should move.

Com. Kedar and Sunil have gone through this letter and they

-3-

agree with me.

Hope to receive your reply at your earliest.

With Greetings,

W. H. H. H.



xxx 2943.

# COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

KERALA STATE COMMITTEE

Rel. No. 262/57

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

TRIVANDRUM,

9-4-1957.

Com. Dange.

Dear Comrade,

May I remind you of your promise when we met at Ernakulam to come to this State in the 3rd week of April to preside over the Annual meeting of the Private Motor and Mechanical Workers' Union. They have fixed the date as 21st April. Will you kindly let us know whether it would suit your convenience to be here on that date and oblige. Hope you will stay at least for a couple of days and attend a few more functions.

Yours fraternally,

*M. N. Govindan Nair*

M. N. Govindan Nair

Secretary.

तसेच सं. म. स. त जे पक्ष  
 सामील झाले आहेत तिचे त्या  
 सर्व पक्षाचे विसर्जन करून एक  
 पक्ष (सर्व पक्षांचा मिळून) का  
 स्थापन करित नाही? तसेच  
 केवळ मधील कम्युनिष्ट मंत्री -  
 मंडळीच्या भावी कार्यकर्त्यांक आप-  
 णांस काय वाटते? याबद्दल कुठ्या  
 पत्राने स्पष्ट  
 खुलासा करणे दुरु विनंती आहे.  
 शिवाय कुंदनमठ उत्तमचंद्र लुणिया.

पोस्ट कार्ड  
 2-PM  
 1958  
 केवळ मंत्रा



To स्वाभदार  
 नाम श्रीमान. अश्वमेध रास. दा. उंगे.  
 पत्ता जे नरेश्वरी निवडणूक मंडळ सं. म. स.  
 डाकखाना गिरगांव (मुंबई).

जिला

(गिरगांव मुंबई)



पता- कुंदनमठ उत्तमचंद्र लुणिया श्री. उवाखो (सुवा)  
मु.पो. - अश्वी, तो. - संगमनेर. जि. - अ. नार.  
दोनोमानः - आसदारः - रास. रा. डोंगे अर्धदक्ष निवड-  
पूक मंडळ संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र समिती, Part 1

गिरगांव मुंबई.

असमत्त्व (तुमच्या कम्प्युनिष्ट तत्वाची सं. म. स. च्या कार्या-  
शी फक्त मुंबईचा संयुक्त महाराष्ट्रापुरतीच मिल्तनी शकते  
उगते काय? नि पुढे तिचे व्यापक स्वरूप कसे राहिले?  
संगीत -

RANIGUNJ COAL BELT:

Approximately, little over a lakh of workers are employed in coal mines in Ranigunj belt. They are distributed among nearly 270 collieries. Detailed information was published in the New Age Monthly, March issue, 1957.

From the organisational point of view, we have to divide the Collieries according to their sizes and companies and production.

As I pointed out in the March Issue of the New Age Monthly, nearly 60,000 workers are employed by two companies, Bengal Coal Co. (Andrew Yule & Co.) and Equitable Coal Co. (MacNeill Barry Coal Co.). Together, they own 26 collieries and Two Workshops. They have also huge properties under lease. Moreover, they twothird of the entire production of the Bengal Belt. They produce best metallurgical coal.

These collieries are big and concentrated in two zones: (1) Jamuria Area which is between Asansol and Ranigunj and (2) Disergarh Area which is between Asansol and Bihar Border. A few collieries are in Kultu Zone. The Collieries are big, employing a thousand to two thousand and five workers.

This is the cream of the Bengal Coal Belt and KEY Area. These two Companies set the pattern of labour relations in the entire coal fields and dominate the entire scene and employers look to these two companies for guidance in labour matters. The policy of the Indian Mining Association is also shaped by these two companies. It is interesting to note that practically all Presidents of the I.M.A. are from these two Companies.

Now what was the situation before and after the Great September Strike? Here we shall deal the Two Companies separately, because they have got different history.

In the Bengal Coal Group of Collieries, there was a big strike in 1953 in Bankimulia Collieries (Jamuria), led by Indrodeo Singh, which resulted in Police Firing. But the whole thing was over in a short time. There was a great deal of enthusiasm among workers. But it was betrayed by Singh and Deben Sen. Workers got nothing but lost Bonus and some workers were dismissed. The Great enthusiasm was turned into great frustration and demoralisation. Miners saw that they had been betrayed and fell back into their dhowrahe in a defeated mood. Deben Sen got extremely discredited and left the Bengal Coal workers where they were, without any organisation. Indrodeo Singh shone for a while and then he also went



After the setting up of the Majumdar Tribunal, we first attempted to enter in the Bengal Coal group of Collieries in Banksimulia area, making Banksimulia 2 & 4 as our target. We faced severe opposition but we got entrenched. There were about 1,200 workers in the Colliery. From there, we spread to another colliery, also subsidiary to Bengal Coal Co., The Adjoy Second Colliery (700 workers.)

In the Disergarh Group, a Forward Block leader, Madhu Banerjee, using my name and the name of our organisation Colliery Mazdur Sabha also captured another Bengal Coal Colliery, Chinakuri 1 & 2 pit.

Deben Babu (Colliery Mazdur Congress) did not exist at all in the Bengal Coal Collieries, except in two workshops Sibpur Workshop and Sodepur Workshop.

ii) In the MacNeill Barry Group of Collieries, Both at Disergarh area and at Jamuria Area, Sri Sen had an organisation and was slowly throwing Jadesh Pandey, a notorious goonda and racketeer, out. Sri Sen had good organisation at Main Dhemo and Jamuria A & B pit which fought for workers. The Management put up stiff obstacles against him but he had good men who foiled employers' attempt.

Main Dhemo is key to group of collieries round about Burmpur, and Jamuria A & B pit is key to collieries near about Jamuria Bazar Area.

We had nothing in the Macneill Barry. Nor did we make any attempt.

#### After the Publication of the Mazdumdar Tribunal's Award

The situation became rather complicated and confused after the publication of the Mazdumdar Award on the 26th May, 1956.

We held a conference at Jamuria Bazar and brought out a demonstration upto the Conciliation Officer for the proper implementation of the Award. We also put the APPEAL before workers. But although my name was known throughout the field, our strength was little and localised in a few collieries. We were developing some contacts here and there. We in our little way said that all parties fought in the Tribunal.

Deben Sen by this time had left the I.N.T.U.C. and the Bengal Coal and MacNeill Barry tried hard to bring Kanti Mehta in Ranigunj field. Sri Mehta and Mayetree Bose held some meetings. The I.M.A. completely ignoring Sen discussed with Mehta in order to improve upon the Award and give some additional benefit to those sections of workers who were not benefited by the Award and they were the skilled, highly skilled and Mining Staff.

Sen saw the danger. If the upper strata of workers get anything from the Company through Kanti Mehta's agreement with the I.M.A., he sensed that Mehta's influence would grow. On the other hand, he would have to fall in our line.

So he thought that he would do something new, something remarkable. He turned down the suggestion of Mahesh Desai of Jharia to appeal. He thought and perhaps rightly so that as the INTUC had not filed an Appeal, there is no hope in Appeal and it would also take long time. But he also felt that he would have to give more to workers than what Kanti Mahta has agreed.

From the spontaneous pay strikes, he felt the pulse of workers and gave the slogan of 40% rise in wages and STRIKE SLOGAN. He used all tactics to create an atmosphere of a strike and the situation became hot. Miners caught the slogan led by the skilled staff. And as he had contacts everywhere, unions grew overnight on the basis of this Slogan only.

He painted a rosy picture before workers and said nothing about dangers. That the strike would be declared illegal, that the workers would lose bonus, that it was not possible to modify an Award by a strike in one field only, he concealed completely from workers. And there had been a case when one of our leading comrades referred to the fact that the strike might be declared illegal, workers abused him as "Dalal." Such was the picture put before the workers by Deben Sen.

In the meantime I and S.K.Acharya persuaded Mahesh Desai to file an Appeal. Thus at least two out of three main parties became parties to the Appeal. Still the attitude of the L.A.T. was most hostile and we became convinced that nothing would come out of the Appeal, except perhaps some minor adjustments.

We approached Deben Babu for a united move and jointly lead the strike. He was in no mood to do that. At first, his stand was that there was no union in the Bengal coal fields except his and we should cease our activities. On the other hand, he was using Madhu Banerjee, Forward Bloc Leader of Chinakuri Collieries, as a representative of our organisation and playing a double game with us. Madhu had no organisational link with us but I had one advantage over him that in building up his union, he popularised me in his area and could not prevent me from going there to address his executive members. And Madhu also gave the simultaneous strike notice with Sen without informing us.

We also decided to strike and approached Sen again and again but he did nothing. He told us lies that it would not be acceptable to his Committee where he did not raise the matter even.

As the Strike Day approached, Sen wanted to avoid it, knowing fully well the inevitable doom, but his workers would not listen to him and the ~~strike~~ strike started. There was no unity whatsoever and even the proposal to bring a joint leaflet was sabotaged by his two lieutenants, S. Rudra and B.P.Jha.



So the strike started, and a fraternisation started between his and our members. I played a very important role to bring about strikes in many collieries and throughout the strike, workers in general thought that now Sen was arrested, I would lead them. Before my arrest, I toured around all the collieries and for the first time, I got invitation from all collieries.

After our arrest, while our comrades outside did their best, in the jail we come to know some of Sen's leading followers deeply and slowly they became our good supporters and after their release helped further to polarize our name among Sen's people.

Even during the strike, Sen made no attempt to build up unity and reports from his own followers tell us that there was specific instruction not to use my name or demand my release or come to us closely.

The strike was called off. It was an abject surrender. He did not consult anybody and told the workers to be peaceful and go back to work. He again did not inform even his ~~xxx~~ closest followers what has actually happened and declared that everything would all right soon.

But the employers as soon as the collieries opened took an offensive. All the leading workers were dismissed, relations with the union was cut off and tried to strike terror among workers. When the union leaders wanted to fight it, the leadership used to say that there must be peace and restrained them. As a result of which, slowly in many collieries union activities ceased and doubts began to arise in minds of leaders and workers.

Not only the central leadership did nothing to improve the situation, but they actually prevented workers to do anything. The managements refused to have any talks with the Sen's people and his group leaders started to whisper against the Central Leadership.

In the meantime, I and Benrasi Tewarni were moving in the collieries and asking the workers to fight back as the company would give nothing without a struggle. And then the workers came to know that the strike was illegal and other difficulties, which were concealed from them before the strike.

The Award of the L.A.T. came and immediately I brought about pamphlets which were distributed throughout the field. This also very much amazed Sen's field leaders. Because they were told that there was no Appellate Tribunal. They started to come to me group by group and I took up their cases for filing under Section 23 in the LAT, in relations to their dismissal. But we made it clear that

There was also unity in the election. And I moved up and down all the collieries and spread the Appeal, Tribunal's Award. I and Sen's immediate followers came further close and we started to discuss various things which for the first time they heard.

After the election, this unity with Sen's group leaders further deepened. And they started to come to me for all sorts of things. Our office became their office and I sat with their various committees and gradually became their good friend. Whenever meetings were called, they used to call me and I became more familiar with their workers. This is particularly ~~xxx~~ true of Main Dhemo, Jemuria A & B pit, Mithani, Girmint, Akhalpur etc.

There were gheraos and workers got some demands. Management saw this development and immediately changed their policy. Instead of refusing to talk with Sen or Rudra, they called them and pointed to us. Sen started to call individually one or two group leaders and slandered against me but they used to come to me and told everything. It was very difficult for Sen to attack us directly because we never attacked him or his union anywhere, rather we all along gave the slogan that his unions, where they are, should be strengthened. And I am carrying their union work in their own pad.

The climax came on the 14th May when he called the executive committee meeting. He did not invite all and carefully ~~xxx~~ excluded some who are our close friends. He put before them two suggestions. One is to sign a note of regret and go back to work. Now his group leaders did not like this at all and they rejected it. Then Sen spoke against me violently. This created a pandemonium and the meeting broke up in confusion and hot words were exchanged between Sen and his followers.

They submitted to him a petition asking him to unite with me.

Now this is the situation:

One thing should be noted that coal belt is a backward area. Here the workers are not aware of the name of the union. They know the names of their leaders and leaders have also deliberately popularised their names. Sen is a master of this.

So they look to me not as just leader of C.M.S. (AITUC) but also of their own. They come to me personally and personal factors are the most important. Because even in collieries, the union is controlled by one or two men. The workers first see the man and then join his union. This is the psychology here.



So one or two leaflets have been issued, financed by Sen's union, in my name but not in the name of any organisation.

Even there has been a growing whispering among them that I should be elected the General Secretary of their union or the two of us should merge, having a common office bearers.

In the meantime, I am setting up C.M.C (Sen's Union) Committees in various collieries of Bengal Coal and Equitable Coal companies, which became defunct after the strike and reshaping committees where they are already existing. All the work is done in the name of C.M.C.

One thing should be noted that one of the factors leading to my close association with Sen's group leaders and their dependance on me is because of utter inefficiency of their Central Office and lack of ~~intelligent~~ intelligent handling of their problems. Moreover, Sri Kudra and Jha are corrupt and this is known to workers.

So I think that this unity from the bottom should be expanded and strengthened and nothing should be done to push those workers who have come to us to our camp. Let it grow voluntarily as it is growing and we should be very careful not to be partisan in any way.

Now there is a possibility that on different issues, we might issue joint leaflets or hold demonstrations etc. Joint does not necessarily mean that the two organisations ours and Sen's would bring out joint leaflets. This would not be acceptable to Sen. Rather secretaries of various colliery unions jointly would bring them. This would help us more. Similarly, fund for the Supreme Court etc. also would be collected by a committee elected by secretaries of various collieries.

Joint conventions may also be called by secretaries of various collieries on common issues.

In this way, I am trying and partly has become to some extent successful to break the grip of Centre on their group leaders. Now the group leaders are demanding that instead of negotiating with the top, local colliery problems must be discussed at the colliery level with the local union leaders, Sen etc. is trying to oppose it. But they will have to accept it and this would be further strengthen our unity and we would be able to ~~help~~ help the local leaders to raise disputes and turn their unions into militant unions.

Now this is the position.

Now this unity should be preserved and strengthened.

But Com. B. Paul does not agree. He thinks that we are "By Passing" C.M.C. leadership. I do not understand the meaning of this because this is also what Sen is saying. Shall we cease our activities in the C.M.C.? Shall I refuse to go to the C.M.C. collieries, or draft their memorandums, or write their charge sheets, or help them in any matter? Shall we not present the true picture before him? Or shall we repeat the same lies which Sen tells them? And he tells him to go to him.

The whole trouble is Com. Paul is ignorant of the situation. Perhaps he would have understood it better if he would know these C.M.C. leaders to certain extent or move with me 24 hours in the collieries or sit with their committees to discuss problems. It is also not possible for me to take Paul along with me. Because he is known as a Communist and this is the only name he has got. And so long the workers and their leaders have been fed with anti-Communist lies and Sen is continuously telling them that Communist Party is going to capture them. So these C.M.C. leaders do not like to discuss things before him. And if I take him along with me, then immediately the communist bogey would be created and these leaders would be suspicious about our motive. Moreover, Paul, except in our own collieries, is not known. Nor does he carry on any trade union activities.

Secondly, the other difference arose over holding a conference of our own organisation C.W.S. I am not opposed to the idea of holding a conference of our delegates. But I am opposed to the idea of open convention and things like that. Because, mainly this would affect our unity.

Our present actual strength in these two companies is about 600 and together with collieries outside these two companies, roughly 2,000. While I am working among nearly 50,000 workers. So any attempt to hold such open convention etc. would betray our actual strength and would actually confirm what Sen is telling to his workers for unity that we have nothing in the collieries and there is no necessity for a unity with a union of 2,000.

Moreover, our strength would also give propaganda materials to the company officials, who are trying their best to break the unity, and anti-unity elements in the C.M.C.



Rather, we should try and I am discussing with Sen's followers to hold joint meetings and even conventions on common issues.

Conference is held with the idea to expand our ideas and organisation. It is not an end in itself.

I firmly think that if we can develop this unity from the bottom, then in near future we can turn the C.M.C. unions in MacNeill Barry and Bengal Coal as real, honest, good fighting unions and even can be elected their office bearers. Because one thing should not be forgotten, that the C.M.C. group leaders in Bengal Coal and MacNeill Barry companies have gone through a strike and are facing company's opposition and not dalals but good and honest people. They have firm grip over mass of workers, they collect money and are militant. The reason they are disillusioned with Sen is because his central leaders are corrupt, ignorant of trade union activities and anti-struggle. It is to us they are turning despite pressure from the Company, despite temptations and despite anti-communist slanders of Sen.

So if we suddenly shout too much about C.M.C. in these collieries, then we will be throwing these people back in to the camp of Sen again. So here I have to move to a certain extent individually.

But the situation is completely different in collieries other than Bengal Coal and MacNeill Barry companies.

There the group leaders are of old INTUC type, taking money from employers and following a policy of do nothing. Here we are not pursuing the same policy applicable to Bengal and MacNeill Barry. Here when overwhelming number of workers call us, then we also set up unions in our name. I can give the example of Khas Jhaangary where entire workers in a meeting decided to join our union and we accepted it and a committee was set up.

We are also trying to organise unorganised collieries under our banner and set up our unions when demanded by 90% percent of workers in a colliery, belonging to Indian Concerns. So there are two main policies in the Belt. However, tactic differs from colliery to colliery.

One of the main reasons why workers are coming to us is because of my success in various cases under Section 23 and victory in the L.A.T. and also because skilled, highly skilled and mining staff are drawn into trade unions. And it is they who are gradually becoming leaders of all unions and we have seen that they are interested in trade union activities. The Indian National Overmen,

Mining Sirdan and Shot Firers' Association approached me to become their president. While I declined to become their President, I am practically controlling their union which maintains a big office at Barkar. And one who knows the collieries, is aware of the tremendous influence of these category of workers. And it is they who are props of Sen's and Kanti Mehta's organisation; so if I can maintain my control over this organisation and gradually put our men in the key posts and develop good fighters from them, then our position in collieries will be unshakable.

Now these people who are literate, read papers and are intelligent, are spreading propaganda about me and bringing people from all collieries to me. And this is another reason why I am greeted by workers and staff of those collieries where I have not gone.

The work of the Asansol office our organisation has grown so heavy that an office clerk has to be maintained. This money is also coming from the field together with my expenses and monthly expenses run to near about Rs.200/- I have been forced to take a room in the Pravat Hotel near the office.

A great silent Transition is taking place in the field. A backward area where men look to Big Figures, Dazzling Personalities, and Names. Unions become associated with names. We have to change this mentality, change their way-of-looking at-things. But we have to be cautious and take the reality into consideration and then mould it. What we have not been able to do in last ten years, has been achieved in last two years.

Before I left for Delhi, I met Devan Sen at his Calcutta Office on the 16th May. Sen told me that it is I who has built up the C.M.S. union using my name in the Raniganj field in spite of the fact that he has got unions in all the collieries of Bengal. And this is encroachment and antiunity step.

He said that I should leave the colliery field to him and we should not bother ourselves with collieries. We should restrict ourselves with Sen Kaliah, Glass factory etc.

He said that I should not do any work of his people and stop going to his collieries. I should refuse to accept the invitation of his group leaders and if they come to me for any work, I should ask them to go to ~~their~~ his office.



TRUE - Copy

No. MY-LA/10/57/1708.

Election Commission, India.

1. Aurangzeb Road  
New Delhi - 2.

Dated the 3<sup>rd</sup> June, 1957.

From: The Secretary  
Election Commission, India.

To: Shri Narayan Nair,  
Secretary  
NEM Labour Union  
Hutti (Mysore)

Subject: Accounts of Election Expenses.

Sir,  
I am directed to forward herewith a copy of the Commission's Notification No. MY-LA/10/57/(37) dated the 25 May 57, issued under sub-rule (4) of the Rule 134 of the Representation of the People (Conduct of Elections and Election Petitions) Rules, 1956, and to say that the disqualification incurred by you under Section 7(c) of the Representation of the People Act, 1951, will take effect from 25<sup>th</sup> July, 1957, unless it has been removed earlier by the Commission.

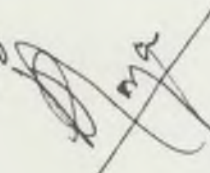
The ground (s) for which you have been disqualified <sup>is</sup> ~~are~~ stated on the reverse.

yours faithfully

(Sd. V.S. Rajarupalan)

(A.S. NADHARNI)

Under Secretary.

True Copy 

From Prepage.

Grounds.


1. Your account of Election expenses was lodged with the Recruiting officer on the ... 4<sup>th</sup> ... day of April 1957 which was ... one ... days after the last date therefore (Please see Section 78 of the Representation of the People Act, 1951.)
2. You failed to lodge any account of your Election expenses with the Recruiting officer.
3. You failed to lodge an account of Election expenses in the Manner required by or under the Representation of the People Act 1951. The account lodged by you is defective in the following respects:

(A)

(B)

(C)

(Please see Section 77 of the Representation of the People Act, 1951, and rule 131 of the Representation of the People (Conduct of Elections and Election Petitions) Rules, 1956.)

True Copy 



# Election Commission India.

No: MY-LA/70/51 (31)

1. Aurangzeb Road  
New Delhi - 2.

Dated the 25<sup>th</sup> May, 1957.

## NOTIFICATION.

In Pursuance of Sub-rule (4) of rule 134 of the Representation of the People (Conduct of Elections and Election Petitions) Rules, 1956, the Election Commission hereby Notifies the name of the person shown in column 1 of the Schedule below who having been a contesting candidate for election to the Mysore Legislative Assembly from the constituency specified in column 2 thereof, at the general election held in 1957 has in accordance with the decision given by the Election Commission under sub-rule (3) of the said rule, failed to lodge his account of election expenses within the time ~~and in the manner~~ required by law and has thereby incurred the disqualification under clause (c) of Section 7 of the Representation of the People Act 1951, Act 43 of 1951.

### SCHEDULE.

Name of Contesting Candidate	Name of Constituency
1	2
Shri Narayan Nair, Secretary HGM Labour Union H.H. (Mysore)	MANVI.

By Order

(A. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar)  
Secretary to the Election Commission



सक्यील नं.

महाराष्ट्र प्रांतिक कमिटी,  
हिंदी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी,

राजमुबने, गिरगांव, मुंबई, नं. ४  
ता. ४ जून १९५७

सर्व प्रांतिक कमिटीच्या समासदांना

प्रिय कॉंग्रेस,

प्रांतिक कमिटीच्या विस्तारित बैठकीच्या कार्यक्रमाविषयी ता. २८ मे १९५७ या तारखेचे जे परिपत्रक तेमच्याकडे पाठविण्यांत आले होते त्यांत मुंबईतील इंप्लूजेन्टाच्या सांथीपुढे कांहीं फेरफार करणे आवश्यक झाले आहे. सांथीच्या परिस्थितीत विस्तारित बैठक बोलावून ३० - ४० कॉंग्रेसना तापाच्या घोक्यांत आणणे हे योग्य नाही. रहाण्याच्या प्रत्येक ठिकाणी आज लोक तापाने आचारी आहे तेव्हां इतक्या लोकांची रहाण्याची सुरक्षित व्यवस्था करणे ही शक्य नाही. म्हणून या वेळेस प्रांतिकची विस्तारित बैठक न घेता फक्त प्रांतिकचीच बैठक घेणे प्राप्त आहे त्याचप्रमाणे अजेंहा मोठा असल्या कारणाने प्रांतिकची बैठक जूनच्या १३ तारखेच्या जेवजी जूनच्या १२ तारखेला सकाळी ९ - ३० वाजतां सुरू करण्याचे ठरविले आहे. प्रांतिक कमिटी व पार्टीचे आमदार यांची संयुक्त बैठक जून १५ तारखेला घेतली जाईल. सेक्रेटॅरिअेटची बैठक जून ११ तारखेला सकाळी सुरू होणार आहे. तेव्हां सेक्रेटॅरिअेटच्या समासदांना जून १० तारखेला रात्रीच मुंबईत यावे प्रांतिकच्या समासदांनी जून ११ तारखेला रात्रीपर्यंत मुंबईत यावे व पार्टी आमदार यांनी जून १४ तारखेला रात्री मुंबईत यावे.

नवे वेळापत्रक खालीलप्रमाणे आहे.

- : मंगळवार ता. ११ जून सकाळी ९ - ३० प्रांतिक सेक्रेटॅरिअेटची बैठक.
- : बुधवार ता. १२ जून सकाळी ९ - ३० प्रांतिक कमिटीची बैठक.
- : गुरुवार ता. १३ जून सकाळी ९ - ३० प्रांतिक कमिटीची बैठक.
- : शुक्रवार ता. १४ जून सकाळी ९ - ३० प्रांतिक कमिटीची बैठक.
- : शनिवार ता. १५ जून सकाळी ९ - ३० प्रांतिक कमिटी व आमदार यांची संयुक्त बैठक.

अजेंहयांत कांहीं फेरक नाही. विधानसभेतील कामे व त्याची संघटना, म्युनिसिपालिट्या, लोकल बोर्ड वगैरे चालविण्याचा प्रश्न तसेच जन्मधान्याचा प्रश्न व त्या बाबोविरुद्ध मोहीम हे तीन प्रश्न १५ जून रोजीच्या प्रांतिक कमिटी व आमदार यांच्या संयुक्त बैठकींत घेतले जातील.

जेस. जेस. मिरजकर,  
सेक्रेटरी,  
महाराष्ट्र प्रांतिक कमिटी,  
हिंदी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी,



**COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA**  
**Parliamentary Office**

2, WINDSOR PLACE, NEW DELHI.

3th April, 1957.

Comrade Danga.

Dear Comrade,

I am enclosing herewith for your information, the copy of a circular sent by the office to the newly elected MPs.

Yours,

*K.P. Subramanian*

P.S. I am also enclosing a copy of a non-official resolution. Please sign and return it to us.

Party

Calcutta  
12.6.57.

Dear Comrade,

Received your telegram on 5<sup>th</sup> morning. Necessary intimation was immediately sent to all concerned in these areas, even though earlier receipt of your wire would have been much more convenient in this respect.

In your letter dated 28.5.57, you mentioned about sending Rs 100/- by m.o. Yet, no m.o. has reached me upto now. Please arrange to send the same to me c/o the P.C. office address (64A, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta) <sup>immediately</sup> ~~early~~ since I have to start within a week or ~~so~~ even less.

Greetings,

Yours fraternally,  
P. Dutta Roy.



The Hyderabad Cold Mines Labour Union,  
Regd No 159. Hulti Post. Raichur District.

No CPI/EL/1/18/57.

UNDER POSTAL CERT.

Dated 17<sup>th</sup> June. 57.

To, The Communist Party of India  
New Delhi.

Dear Comrades,

*P. Narayan*  
I herewith forward a copy of the notification of the Election Commission India, and request you to persevere the Election Commission and remove the disqualification. The reason of delay in submitting the accounts was due to my ill health.

Thanking you.

Yours Comradely

*(Sd. P. Narayan)*  
General Secretary.

Copy to the Communist Party - Bangalore.

June 17, 1957.

Dear Bhupesh,

I have sent you the following telegram in reply to your letter re. the P.B. meeting.

"YOUR DATES NOT SUITABLE AS PARLIAMENT STARTS SEVENTEENTH AND TRAVEL FROM TRIVANDRUM WILL REQUIRE FOUR DAYS STOP KEEP IT FIFTH TO TENTH STOP I MUST ATTEND AND HENCE SUGGEST CHANGES - DAKKE"

I think when people there think of C.C. and P.B. meetings they look only to their own conveniences. It is known that Parliament meets on 17th. If P.B. starts on 10th or 13th and lasts for four days how can Gopalan or me reach Delhi on 17th from Trivandrum?

There is the 14th Indian Labour Conference in Delhi on 10th and 11th July. But I am prepared to give it up, if I have to attend the P.B.

And I must attend P.B. because it is absolutely necessary for many reasons.

We had fixed the General Council of the AITUC on 4th to 5th July at Waltair. But due to the epidemic everywhere, including our offices we are unable to hold it. I have postponed it to August.

Hence I have suggested 5th to 10th July for Trivandrum, so that we can take our time for return to Delhi and I can provide for a halt in Bombay while returning.

Yours,



Party  
S

BHUPESHGUPTA

MARXBADI

NEW DELHI

YOUR DATES NOT SUITABLE AS PARLIAMENT STARTS SEVENTEENTH AND  
TRAVEL FROM TRIVANDRUM WILL REQUIRE FOUR DAYS STOP KEEP IT  
FIFTH TO TENTH STOP I MUST ATTEND AND HENCE SUGGEST CHANGES  
DANCE

17/6/57

Parby

June 18, 1957.

Dear Com. Bhupesh Gupta,

The Fifteenth Session of the Indian Labour Conference is meeting at New Delhi on July 11th & 12th 1957.

The following is the agenda:-

1. Report of the Study Group on Workers' participation in Management;
2. Report on Workers' Education;
3. Training within Industry (T.W.I.);
4. A model agreement to guide employers in regard to rationalisation;
5. Steps necessary to popularise the Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme among employees and cooperatives;
6. Wage policy during the Second Five Year Plan;
7. Workers' discipline.

The agenda as you would see carries important items. In view of this I had decided to attend the session.

Now if I have to attend the PB meeting at Trivandrum on dates specified by you (July ) I obviously can not attend the Session, and I will have to nominate somebody else to attend it.

Or in the alternative I can not attend the PB meeting.

I should like to know your views on this.

Greetings,

Yours sincerely,

S. D. Singh



Party I

Bombay, June 21, 1957.

My Dear Ajoy,

Please arrange the P.B. meeting dates as they may suit you and the other comrades, as I shall not be able to attend it. I have too many things on hand in Delhi in the second week of July and onwards.

I am visiting Trivandrum on 4th and 5th July in connection with T.U. work.

I have the Indian Labour Conference in Delhi on 10th and 11th July.

The Central Advisory Council of Industries of which I am a member, is meeting on July 13th. The agenda includes, among others, the following two items:

- i) General discussion on the economic situation in relation to industrial development:-
  - (a) Production Trends,
  - (b) Price Trends,
  - (c) Foreign Exchange Scarcity

- Note by L. Shri Ram on the working of the Engineering Industry.
- ii) Note on productivity activities.

There will also be a meeting of the Estimates Committee of the Parliament. The Parliament meets from 17th onwards.

I have had to postpone the Working Committee and the General Council of the A.I.T.U.C. which was called to meet at Waltair on 4th ~~and~~ to 7th July. That is due to the 'flu which has seized all our office cadres and others, making it impossible to get ready any material for the meetings.

I propose to call the Working Committee only in Delhi on 14th and 15th July.

You may also note that the Executive of the WPIU is asked to meet in Moscow from 23rd July to 26th July.

I understand your difficulties <sup>at</sup> and the time-table. *Hence this letter*

Greetings,

Yours,

*S. A. J. [Signature]*

# COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

## Parliamentary Office

2, WINDSOR PLACE, NEW DELHI.

CIRCULAR.

March 29, 1957.

To

All newly elected MPs.

Dear Comrade,

You will be getting some 'form' from the Parliament Secretariat regarding your housing accommodation in New Delhi. They will ask you to choose one of the different types of flats or Bungalows and let them know about it.

I do not know what are going to be your exact requirements. If you propose to live in separate flats or houses of your own, it will be comparatively more expensive. However, in such case you will have to get the allotment of a house in your name. The Flats of North Avenue (of different types) are more convenient from the point of view of location. Bungalows are difficult to get, but you can nonetheless try for a bungalow also. In consultation with our Parliamentary Office, you can make your selection. Our Office will advise you in the matters as soon as they hear from you. Please do not apply for the flats or bungalows without consulting the office.

We are also running a common establishment in 2 Windsor Place. It is a kind of common Mess where generally South Indian food is served. We have got at our disposal two houses which can accommodate about 6 members, if they would share rooms. If you wish to join this common Mess and live in Windsor Place, please let us know. They will then let you know if it is possible to allot you accommodation here. Some are already staying here.

There is also another arrangement. Some comrades share flats and bungalows on their own. Our office does not come into the picture.

But here too we can help you in getting suitable type of flats or bungalow provided we get the names of comrades belonging to Lok Sabha who want to live under such mutual arrangement. Formal application will have to be of course made by the MPs concerned.

On receipt of this letter, please intimate to our office immediately what kind of housing accommodation you would like to have.

Party supported Independents may be consulted by you in case they require any help.

Greetings,

Sd/-  
Bhupesh Gupta.



The Secretary  
Lok Sabha  
New Delhi.

Dear Sir,

I hereby give notice of the following  
Non-Official Resolution to be moved at a sitting of  
the house on \_\_\_\_\_

" This house is of the opinion that a  
Second Pay Commission should be appointed to go into  
the question of the pay structure and service condition  
of the Union Government Employees to bring them in  
conformity with the Country's ideal of socialist pattern  
of society and remove the existing anomalies that exist  
in the pay structure and service conditions."

Yours faithfully

signature  
division No.