

A13 (BY HAND)

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
Central Headquarters

4 Keeling Road,
New Delhi,
Dec. 16, 1952.

PB CIRCULAR No.22/52.

To All PCs

ON RAILWAY TRADE UNIONS

The Railway Fraction meeting called by the PB in accordance with Circular No.3/52 met in Delhi. The reports and resolutions of that meeting are sent herewith. All Party committees should make this available to all party members for information, study and implementation.

POLIT BUREAU.

REPORT OF THE RAILWAY CENTRAL FRACTION MEETING

HELD ON 8th, 9th, & 19th Dec.'52.

REPORT ON UNITY OF RAILWAY UNIONS.

Due to the re-grouping of the railways by the Government of India, the question of unifying the existing railway trade unions to fit in the pattern of zonalisation also came to the fore prominently. Since the All India Railwaymen's Federation in its present structure was mainly having a predominance of unions under the Socialist influence, the leadership did not, in the first instance, give sufficient attention, because it felt the Railway Trade Unions operating in a particular zone would automatically merge together and that the Socialist controlled unions being by far the major unions in each zone, they can still continue to dominate both in the unions and in the All India Railwaymen's Federation.

The Calcutta Convention which met in May, 1952, when the zonalisation plan of the railways was practically completed, took stock of the situation obtaining in the railway trade unions and came to certain conclusions. The main ^{conclusion was about our} attitude towards the AIRF, despite its organisational shortcomings, the reactionary dominating role of the Right-wing Socialist leadership and its pronounced anti-Communist bias, which denied admission to our unions and re-admission to the disaffiliated unions notwithstanding the dissolution of our 1949 All-India Union of Railway Workers in order to build a strong railway trade union movement under the AIRF. In the review at Calcutta it was agreed that due to governmental repression and our past errors, we had dislodged ourselves from the strong position, in which we were prior to 1949 in the railway movement and that disunity among railwaymen hampered any advance for a struggle on an all-India scale. It was also decided that generally the absence of recognition was acting as a real handicap for the development of our trade union work on railways. The exception was, of course, the South Indian Railway Labour Union, which was able to recover and re-organise itself. In spite of the fact that we were able to revive the work at certain centres, the sum total of such revival was not such that was capable of giving a swing either in any particular railway or on an all-India plane.

We therefore, decided to avail of the general existing urge for unity among railway workers and the new situation created by the zonalisation to work in the existing recognised and affiliated unions and also find a way to bring about, in the given context, as large a measure of unity as possible in order to have unified working of the trade unions on railways. Since the concrete situation obtaining in each zone was not uniform, it was necessary to adopt different tactics, keeping in view the following general guiding principles:

- a) We must organise fraction in all recognised and affiliated
.....unions so that unity

unions so that unity slogans are raised from within;

- b) Where more than one union exists (including INTUC Unions) with some amount of influence, we must campaign for unity for every issue. This unity must be worked both from above & below;
- c) Whether in a zone our union exists or not, we must concentrate on work inside departments and work-centres and build up united committees;
- d) Similarly, irrespective of the existence of our unions, we must see to it that popular leaders of railwaymen participate in all elections in railways such as credit cooperative societies, institutes, canteens, works committees, etc.;
- e) Where we have our unions independent mobilisation on behalf of such unions is also necessary.

Consistent with the above general principles, on the basis of available reports, certain general organisational tasks were outlined for each zone so that the problem of unity and future work could have a definite shape. If these tasks had been carried out in the six months that have followed Calcutta, we would have certainly made considerable headway towards our objective. It should be stated that, while grappling with the problems practically, the situations were not in the same manner as we had visualised, thus imposing the necessity to review and adopt suitable tactics. But, at the same time, it cannot be overlooked that in certain zones, we have let slip opportunities and took stand on the basis of the understanding that unity being urgent and necessary in the interests of the workers, our enemy could be effectively compelled to shift from its reactionary stand towards unity. The Socialist leadership and the other opportunist elements, who happen to be in controlling positions correctly scenting their ultimate exposure and relegation, if the movement is allowed to develop with Communists inside, reacted violently to the admission of Communists. Their main and stock arguments were:

- 1) The presence of Communists was undesirable as they are unreliable to stick to proper democratic trade unions functioning and they would carry out their Party dictates, irrespective of whether or not such actions conformed with the interests of the workers. Our 1949 stand was invariably quoted against us;
- 2) The admission of the Communists was tantamount to a violation of the "general policy" of the AIRF, which did not desire to disrupt the existing harmony inside the AIRF;
- 3) The railway administration will not relish the entry of Communists and in consequence, the recognition and other facilities hitherto enjoyed will be jeopardised;
- 4) Non-railway employee Communists, at any rate, are not desirable in their organisations as they are likely to tend more towards a Party line than the interests of workers.

Underlying all these arguments, are the anti-Communist hatred and the policy of isolating Communists in the railway mass organisations, so that the unions and the AIRF can be functioned without releasing any mass activity. The Right-wing Socialists, at the same time, studiously work for building up a front, excluding the Communists. This is mainly due to the isolation in which the Right-wing Socialists themselves find. Unable to command sufficient respect to their organisation from the mass of the workers, on the plea of unity, they want to exclude Communists as undesirables. Whenever negotiations were conducted for bringing about unity, if the Right-wing Socialists sensed that Communists are coming in, they have deliberately diverted and derailed the negotiations in such a manner as to achieve their objective of isolating the Communists. In situations, when it was difficult to do so, they have rejected unity point-blank in some flimsy pretext.

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In most of the negotiations which were conducted in the different zones, it should be noted that our comrades circumscribed themselves to top level talks and discussions in the Party Fractions over some points of dispute but did not carry unity campaign to the mass of workers in order to get a proper shape for unity. The discussions in some places got bogged into endless controversy as to whether or not, it was correct that due to growing swing to the Left as indicated in the elections and post-election period, we should stick to our existing positions in our own unions, notwithstanding the present shortcomings and continue to develop work in such a manner, which according to them was bound to produce sufficient strength to force the recalcitrant Socialists to accept unity on a proper basis. According to these comrades, the Socialists were talking impetuously due to our own weakness of organisation, which unfortunately is the true position. In some cases, the comrades could not act tactfully, when unity talks were consummating, with the result that the prospects of achieving unity, was deferred. The adamant and unwilling attitude of the Socialists, even provoked some comrades to think that a merger with the INTUC was preferable, because, after developing sufficient strength by working in the INTUC, we can eventually create enough sanctions to compel the Socialists to come to proper terms.

Assessing critically our efforts to achieve unity and penetrate into the recognised unions and the Federation, it will be correct to state that we have not accomplished anywhere the results we so much desired. Though it was agreed that the path for unity cannot be uniform and that we will be compelled to adopt "different and devious" methods, in practice the results are not satisfactory in the interests of pushing the movement forward. In the Northern Railways our comrades had carried out the tasks assigned to them quite correctly but they were unable to push the work at the desired speed for various reasons. We can discuss at a later stage the reasons for their inability to achieve the required results. Similarly, on the Central Railway, the prospects of unifying the unions receded partly due to our own actions and partly due to the provocative and unaccommodative attitude of the Right-wing Socialists, who today dominate the recognised union. Nowhere did we organise fraction work in the recognised and affiliated unions as indicated in the Calcutta decisions except in the Andhra Section, with the result that we were invariably confronted with the blunt refusal of the Socialists, because there was no one to bring pressure on the Right-wing leaders, "by raising the slogans from within." The unity talks progressed to some extent and then stagnated. In some cases, the comrades banked on certain persons who were involved in the squabbles and opportunist rivalry among the Right-wing leadership. It is not suggested that we must not forget that so far as the fight against Communists are concerned, they somehow or other find an equilibrium to become united. Their main quarrel in such cases was the apportionment of the loaves and fishes of official posts in the new set up that will evolve after zonalisation.

The only course now left open to us in order to achieve unity is not to evolve new slogans or a new line, but to actually study to what extent we were able to apply the Calcutta line, what are the difficulties experienced and how best to overcome them in the given circumstances. Considering the obstacles placed in our way and the international support which the Socialists are receiving for their anti-Communist game, through the International Transport Federation and International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, our tasks are not quite easy. Furthermore, the impress left in the minds of the workers, on account of the repression unleashed against the active comrades from 1949 onwards, has introduced considerable hesitation and fear, this also affected the expected mobilisation under our exclusive banner. The mass of workers still regard our organisers and activists with respect and devotion; nevertheless, we have not been able to cash on it organisationally. No doubt after the successes in the elections and the Party becoming the biggest and only effective opposition to the ruling party, and the Parliamentary struggles daily appearing in the papers, there is

..... a shift in the approach to

a shift in the approach to the Party among the mass of workers. Even the ruling party has perforce to tone down its open hostility towards the Party and its ranks. In spite of all this, we must realise and understand that trade unions and trade unionism can survive and develop only by building them as united mass organisations and drawing towards them the mass workers and making them regard their unions as their organs of struggle. United unions for united struggles have become absolutely essential and urgent in order to fight the inevitable capitalist crisis which is already showing its manifestations and beginning to shift the burdens on to the shoulders of the workers, through wage-cut, rationalisation and retrenchment. The Right-wing Socialists, who are not keen to run the movement seriously and who throw to winds even the minimum democratic functioning of unions to thwart the Communists coming inside the organisation, will not, of their own accord in today's situation, concede the right of the Communists to penetrate inside the recognised unions and in turn, inside the Federation. They will fight us tooth and nail and rather than give in, will even smash the Federation. Our duty as revolutionaries is to take full cognizance of this factor and continue to capture as much of vantage positions as possible inside the unions and not wait, in isolation, for an ideal position to walk in those unions. Achievement of unity is itself struggle. Through our dogged struggle against the reactionaries, with the workers on our side, will we be able to recapture that initiative which we have temporarily lost. As those having complete confidence in the course of the struggle, we should naturally have the faith that many of the unresolved issues will be decided during the course of the struggle only and not through mere negotiations.

The agents of the bourgeoisie are not blind to the developments and are certain that at the rate at which events are moving, the sands underneath their feet will definitely get washed. They are aware of the desperate position that is in store for them and they also know who alone are capable for forcing that situation on them. They are, therefore, erecting their forts to fight the incoming calamity for them. The Govt. of India, the Labour Minister Mr. Giri, the Transport Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and all their ilk, including the Socialists, are frantically trying to retrieve their lost prestige by paying compliments to each other, so that the INTUC organisation INRWF and the AIRF could work hand in hand with us, the Communists, and after their fusion appear before the public and workers at large as the strongest organisation of railway workers. Our duty will be to avoid the movement being stifled by these agents of the bourgeoisie.

The INRWF in its Bhavanagar Convention declared a three-point formula for collaboration with the AIRF and the main points were, exclusion of Communists and a 3-year truce with the Govt. by voluntarily abjuring all strikes and referring the unresolved issues always to an arbitration. Lal Bahadur Shastri pampered Jai Prakash in that meeting as a greater anti-Communist than himself. The bourgeois agents, one open and the other covert, despite unanimity about their programme of putting brakes to all struggles, are not, however, willing for an organisational merger. The unions of the INTUC in the railways, manned by opportunists and agents are not inclined to lose their privileged positions and there is a definite opposition to organisational fusion from the bottom. The Right-wing Socialists are aware of the political stigma that will arise out of such a fusion with the discredited INTUC and the ranks are resisting such an idea. Under the circumstances, there is every reason to expect that both these organisations, AIRF and INRWF may evolve a machinery by which they will appear together as a single negotiating body before the Railway Board. However, we should not under-estimate the danger of these bourgeois agents uniting organisationally, by exploiting the urge of the workers for growing unity and then write off all struggles in the name of patriotism.

Our tasks as evolved in the Calcutta meeting have become all the more urgent. We have now to decide on implementing the above tasks boldly and with confidence, with suitable variations to suit special circumstances and get down to the task of building up unity, which willbe possible through

be possible through democratising the functioning of the affiliated unions, which in turn will automatically reflect in the democratisation of the AIRF and transform it as the real representative fighting organisation of the Indian Railwaymen.

Due to the inability and indifference shown by the AIRF to tackle the demands of some sections of workers who belong to distinct categories certain sectional & craft-wise organisations have come to appear on the scene, functioning independently of the unions & the AIRF. Examples of such organisations are the All-India Ministerial Staff Association, All-India Train Examiners' Association, All-India Signallers' Association. Though these organisations have arisen out of frustration & lack of confidence in the AIRF to effectively solve their peculiar problems, yet the presence of such craft unions does to a certain extent disrupt the all-in unity of railwaymen. The INTUC has been also taking a new line of disruption by sponsoring such craft unions and we should, through our cadres, persuade such independent struggles to be canalised into the main struggle of railwaymen.

Now let us consider the situation zone-wise in respect of the unification and democratisation of the unions. The situation reported below is based on the available information submitted by the different PCs and the railway Fractions.

(1) NORTHERN RAILWAY

The main unions functioning in this zone are:

a) E.I.R. Employees Union (Northern Zone) comprising that portion of the original Socialist-dominated union left over in the Northern Zone after regrouping. Dr. D.P. Joshi is in control of this union which is influential in the Moradabad Division, but the recognition is limited to 31st December, 1952 subject to the union satisfying 10% membership qualification by that date.

b) E.P. Railwaymen's Union (Now Northern Railwaymen's Union) The original Socialist union in the Ex. E.P. Railway under the control of D.D. Vashist. The influence of this union is poor, but it is recognised and affiliated. The Socialists who control this union do not wish that in the new set up, Dr. Joshi should wield control. There is sharp rivalry between these two Socialist groups on this issue. This union is also given limited recognition.

c) Bikaner State Railway Employees' Union (Now Northern Railway Employees Union). This union has working understanding with our E.P. Railway Workers Union and is already functioning over the entire Northern Railway after the regrouping and is effective in Punjab section, Rewari Section and to some extent in Lucknow also. It has limited recognition till 31st December 1952, by which time, it will have to satisfy the railway administration of having a minimum of 10% membership to retain the recognition.

d) Jodhpur Railway United Labour Union, covering the ex-Jodhpur State Railway with a mixed leadership of pro-unity elements and pro-Socialist. This union is affiliated and recognised for a limited period. The Socialists who are in a minority in order to forestall the pro-unity moves, have challenged the basis of the elections of the existing office bearers by staging parallel elections. The dispute over the control of the Union is being decided by the Registrar of Trade Unions and the Government is reputed to be actively intervening in the dispute on behalf of the Socialists and against the real elected representatives.

e) E.P. Railway Workers Union. This union is not actively functioning independently for reasons stated above at (c).

The AIRF getting upset at the popular response to the Northern
.....Railways Employees Union

Railway Employees Union, which would be a serious challenge to their two unions and likely to culminate in the extinction of their influence in the entire Northern Zone, which again will jeopardise their hold inside the AIRF, took a decision at the Feroze Working Committee Meeting that the originally affiliated unions, should not extend their jurisdictions and should merge together within their respective zones, before 31st December 1952. Otherwise the violating unions are to be dis-affiliated. The Working Committee appointed Guruswamy to bring about a merger of the affiliated unions in the Northern Zone and a Conference was convened for this purpose in the third week of November 1952. Due to the rivalry between the Socialist factions of Punjab and UP, led by D.P. Joshi and D.D. Vashist respectively and mainly due to the fear of the possibility of Communists securing rights of working within the merged union, through the N.R. Employees Union, the Conference could not come to any specific decision.

Though in the initial deliberations, the prospect of unity was very bright and an agreement was reached to form a united committee with equal representation from the merging unions, and to draft a new constitution, etc. Yet in the last stages, the Socialist group disrupted the unity by raising technical objections about the rights of the N.R. Employees Union being considered on the status acquired after its extension of its jurisdiction and insisted that they should revert the union to the original Bikaner Railway and for the purposes of that meeting their representation should be reduced and also they hand over the membership beyond Bikaner to one of their unions.

This issue was referred back to the same reactionary Working Committee of AIRF and not even to the General Council, and without the house expressing any opinion on it; This lapse was inadvertent and attributable to the inexperience of the comrades who were guiding the pro-unity groups in the meeting.

The AIRF Working Committee which met on the 27 November 1952, did not take any positive decision on the issue, but shuttled it back to the representatives of the union, who were to meet again on 2nd December at Delhi. The Working Committee, in flagrant violation of its previous decision to defer any new affiliation till the question was solved, granted affiliation to E.I. Railway Employees Union (Northern Zone) headed by Dr. Joshi in order to placate this gentleman who is now a serious contender to the vacancy of the president of the AIRF after J.P.'s exit.

No result materialised out of the meeting on 2nd December and the D.P. Joshi group did not even attend the meeting more by deliberation than by accident as reported by the comrades.

The situation now poses the following problems and we have to take decisions on these in this meeting:

- (a) Whether it will be possible to maintain our present stand and to force the pace of the membership drive so that we can achieve the requisite minimum target within 31st December 1952, in order to retain the present recognition and also face the Federation even though it threatens to withdraw affiliation, in spite of our eagerness to have a united union with a guarantee of minimum democratic functioning and adequate safeguards, to maintain real unity.
- (b) Whether we should extend our activity in the Jodhpur jurisdiction, if the Registrar of Trade Unions gives an unjustified verdict and does not concede fresh elections on the basis of membership within a stipulated period, since our comrades have overall influence to win if such an election is ordered.
- (c) Whether we continue to restrain our known comrades becoming office bearers of the new union for sometime more in order not to complicate the issue of recognition by the administration.

2. CENTRAL RAILWAY

The main trade unions in the Central Railway are as follows:

a) Central Railway Mazdoor Panchayat. This Union was started after its break away from the united G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union in 1948. In spite of the entire Socialist section going away to form this union, the traditions of the original GIP Railwaymen's Union was so strongly rooted in the minds of the workers that this Socialist union could not make any headway, but with the vacuum created after 1949, they stepped up their work, having secured recognition from the administration. They have now more than 25 branches in almost all the important centres and claim a membership of 35,000. Their effective membership is computed to be about 9,000 and the recent addition of 9 branches of the GIP Labour Union should have increased the effective membership to about 11,000.

This Union is dominated at present by the right-wing Socialists. For the last 8 months, approaches for unity were made and negotiated. The Panchayat first insisted that Communists sympathisers shall be denied even primary membership. Then they modified their stand to the exclusion of such persons who were responsible for the policy of the union to defy the AIRF, which resulted in the expulsion of the union from the AIRF in 1949. The G.I.P. Railwaymen's agreed to dissolve and merge with the Panchayat provided that such cases of intended exclusion be subject to a common arbitration. When it was thought that they had agreed to this condition, they stated that they were not agreeable to any arbitration and denied membership to all non-employee-comrades and seven employees and that these persons would be admitted provided the AIRF has no objection to the entry of these persons, who may apply to the AIRF. The proposed dissolution was, therefore, deferred to enable further negotiations. In the meantime, nine of our branches are already functioning unitedly with the Panchayat. Of these nine branches, 8 branches which have merged with the Panchayat can be stated to be belonging to the Kale-Malagi group while one branch is under the exclusive control of Left-Socialists who have politically merged with the Party.

The Central Railway Mazdoor Panchayat is comparatively better organised than any other union and the two small unions of the Dholpur State Railway and Scindia State Railway having very close affinity with the Socialists, merged immediately after the railway regrouping in this zone.

b) G.I.P. Railway Labour Union, was a combination of the original G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union, the GIP unit of the AIRLO under the Kale-Malagi group of Independent Trade Unionists and ex-Royists, and the Left-Wing Socialist, who came out of the Socialist Party. This united combination came into effect in Oct. 1950 and despite this unity, the work did not acquire momentum and in fact deteriorated. The Kale-Malagi group who initiated the talks with the Panchayat for unity, had agreed to the elimination of some prominent Communists as one of the pre-conditions to the unity as desired by the Panchayat and were overzealous of joining the Panchayat. The branches mentioned in the preceding paragraph would have gone over to the Panchayat in any case. The branches which have not merged are our exclusive branches and this meeting will have to decide the issue, whether the rest of the branches should now merge, or should direct members to become members of the Panchayat and should also dissolved or not. The membership of the remaining branches is about 1,500 in all.

c) National Railway Workers Union, is the INTUC Union on this system, is run by railway employees with Prithviraj Kapoor as their nominal president. This union was started in 1948 and is recognised by the administration. This union claims a membership of over 35,000, but the effective membership is difficult to compute. It has its pockets of influence at 4 or 5 centres, but this influence is not considerable. Some comrades estimate its strength to be in the neighbourhood of 7,000.

.....d) Nizam Railway Employees

d) Nizam Railway Employees Union. This union operates in the original Nizam's Railway and is fairly well-stabilised with about 16,000 membership. There was no rival union in the Nizam's Railway, but rivalry inside the union has been very keen for the past five years. During the severe repression in the Telengana days and Razakar terror, our comrades who have considerable influence, were obliged to be safe, with the result the Trotskyites and opportunists managed to gain key positions. The Road Transport Dept. with whose strength we were in a sizable majority in the executive was separated from the railway management and this resulted in considerable weakening of our forces. We have in the recent elections to the delegates for the annual meeting turned the tide in our favour, but made some technical mistakes which were difficult to avoid since the main office was with the opportunists and opponents. The annual meeting was therefore adjourned for fresh elections in some centres. The latest report is that we could not get through with our panel in the Annual Elections and lost narrowly for gaining the important office bearers' posts. The Annual meeting has decided to merge with the Panchayat.

e) G.I.P. Railway Accounts Staff Union, is composed mainly of clerks from the Victoria, Terminus and other accounts offices in Bombay area and is a compact union with about 590 members. Kedgikar is the president of the Union. It is recognised but not affiliated. There are several good and reliable elements in the Union and the Union has decided to merge with the Panchayat by the third of December after they celebrate the Silver Jubilee of the Union in mid-December. When the Union is merged, it will have the status of a separate branch.

The issues which need decision at this meeting are outlined at the end of para (b). We will have to plan proper fraction work inside the Panchayat for its democratisation and in that case we may also be in a position to divert some of the branches of the INTUC union because in these branches especially at Dhond and Shelapur, some of our old active workers wield influence.

SOUTHERN RAILWAY

Southern Railway Labour Union is growing in strength and its recognition question is being effectively tackled both at the Railway Board level and through mass agitation. This union enjoys "de facto" recognition, though official replies are not sent to the Union. The position and relative strength of the union need not be elaborated, because comrades are well aware of the developments. Suffice it to say that the Union has well-organised branches at 33 centres, with a functioning head office, in its own spacious building with a press managed by the union. The registered members today is about 22,000 confined only to the original South Indian Railway Section. The audited fully-paid membership at the annual conference in September is 16,000 falling well over the minimum target now stipulated by the Railway Ministry for other railways. There is considerable wire-pulling activity by the Socialists as well as INTUC to deny recognition but ultimately the strength of the union will tell in its favour.

Besides the Southern Railway Labour Union there are also other unions in the zone.

a) Southern Railwaymen's Association. This is an INTUC combination of the two unions in the MSM and SI Railways, which was effected after the merger. The SI Railway counterpart in the combine was till about six months back was affiliated to the AIRF, but suddenly changed its affiliation to the INTUC. Both together have no pull and are nothing but a prop of the administration. The Union officials have utilised their position for lucrative means of intervening in some of the personal cases of railwaymen.

b) Loco Transport Association, with a membership of about 800 exclusively of Engine Drivers and Firemen out of a total strength of about 1,600 is also an organisation recognised by the administration.
.....This union is guided

This union is guided by leaders belonging to the Marxist Forward Bloc and is functioning on right trade union lines and ready to merge with our union on its being recognised.

c) S.I. Railway Ex-Servicemen's Association, which is yet another recognised organisation, run on genuine trade union principles, but composed of demobilised ex-servicemen who subsequent to their army service found jobs in the South Indian Railway. The members of this union have special grievances such as counting of their previous field service and grant of some special privileges.

d) The Station Masters' Council is an organisation whose name is heard occasionally and can be safely considered to be exercising little or no influence.

e) The South Indian Railway Workers Union, which was expressly started with the open backing of the administration, simultaneously with the great strike of 1946, in order to be the strike breaking body, has been enjoying extra recognition privileges from the administration for their anti-union activities directed under the name of a trade union. This union was for some time exploited by the Socialists also, but the Socialist Party having been a non-entity and a spent force in the south they are no serious challenge anywhere. This union is recognised and affiliated. The union made attempts to boost itself, during the period of the illegalisation of the labour union by all means not excluding recourse to official intimidation. All these attempts have failed. The real membership figure is not available, but they have a large paper membership. Guruswami is closely associated with this union.

f) Southern Railwaymen's Union is a new nuisance of an organisation started by Dravida Kazhagam just to spite our Party. This union does not have a following but about 2,000 followers of the Kazhagam do not pay subscription to us. To complete the affront, this upstart union has placed as its president a M.P. who was elected to Parliament in the Scheduled Caste reserved Seat. Our comrades have been able to bring realisation to these followers, that in the trade union field, such fissiparous tendencies are not healthy and our comrades are confident of overcoming this new nuisance.

g) The M.S.M. Railway Employees Union, controlled by Guruswami and Anandam, the General Secretary, is the only union known to the workers. We are absolutely weak in the Maharashtra and Karnatak areas. The Hubli branch which has the jurisdiction in these territories, is managed by anti-Communists but paradoxically one of the known Communist is appointed as the Office Secretary of this branch, just to fight the INTUC. This reflects that there is a dearth for active cadres on the other side and if the Karnatak and Maharashtra Provincial Committees devote special attention, we can gain considerable organisational force in these areas.

In the Andhra areas where we were once powerful, we have to face government's repression and the hostility of the combined manoeuvres and the machinations of Guruswami and Anandam, who in order to shut us out of the organisation, have either abandoned the Scheduled election in the branches or refuse to hold the election, knowing full well what the outcome will be in an open election. Notwithstanding all the obstacles by the official Guruswami-cum-Anandam clique, we were able to clinch issues at Rajamundry and Vijayawada, where the Branches are under our influence. At the important running shed and engineering staff centre at Bitragunta, the elections are deliberately not sanctioned, with a view to keep us out. Nevertheless, Party has taken the railway trade union work through the railway comrades. In Andhra area our victimised comrades are looking after the work, guided by the Party and the co-ordinating committee of South Indian Railway and MSM Railway comrades.

In the branches at Madras open line, Madras administrative offices and Jalarpet in the Tamil areas we are regaining initiative. But the Arkonam Engineering Workshop is an exclusive monopoly of Guruswami.

.....The S.I. Railway comrades

The S.I. Railway comrades decided in conjunction with the Andhra comrades that the S.I. Railway Union should not for the present extend its jurisdiction in the entire Southern Railway and that our Andhra comrades should work within Guruswami's union to revive the union branches and function them democratically. A co-ordinating committee with Com. Kalyana Sundaram is functioning at Madras to work up the pro-unity urge among the workers, by convening joint open meetings on issues affecting railwaymen. A sub office of the C.E.C. is also will be opened shortly in Madras City.

The affiliated unions in the Federation have not yet merged together and Guruswami is making promises to our comrades, that he would exert to bring about a total merger after the affiliated unions unite. But Guruswami's professions should not be taken seriously.

b) Mysore State Railway Employees Association is affiliated to AIRF and was till lately recognised. This union has a membership of about 3,000 from about 11,000 men. This organisation is guided by Guruswami and except in one Branch where one of our comrades is Asst. Secretary, we have developed no hold in this union. The union leaders and organisers are from that upper strata of railwaymen and are not disposed towards any serious movement. They are, however, keen on keeping out of Communists and about 12 comrades who were victimised in a strike about 12 years ago, are not able to function inside the Union. The Karnatak Committee has not paid adequate attention for the development of work inside this union, however, our comrades at Mysore, Bangalore and Chamarajanagar have been working inside this union with enthusiasm and taking guidance from the Party.

Summing up our work in the Southern Zone, the activities in the Andhra section and South Indian Railway section is satisfactory. There are prospects of opening branches at the Pakala Junction and Guntakal and thus add to our influence in the MSM Section. The main weakness is in the Karnatak area and if this is covered then there will be sufficient strength within the MSM Union. Since the Railway Administrations have decided to grant only limited recognition to the hitherto recognised union and to grant permanent recognition after the unions satisfy its credentials of 10% of the total strength membership, the smaller unions will naturally fall in for any kind of merger. The unions in the Mysore State Railway and the S.I. Railway which are affiliated to the Federation will certainly merge on any condition. Therefore, the focal point in the Southern Railway will be the new set up with Guruswami's Union and also of course our South Indian Railway Union.

The work in this zone is progressing correctly and there is no necessity to give any special directive from this meeting. We have still to develop our work properly at the important workshop centre of Perambur especially in the Carriage Shop, which is to be soon converted as the All-India Coach-building workshop and also in the Tamil speaking areas from Arkonan onwards to Jalarpet, etc. The co-ordinating Committee which is now confined to the Andhra and South Indian Railway areas, having its main emphasis in the Madras areas, has already contacted the comrades in Mysore areas and will very soon co-ordinate work in the entire Southern Railway zone. There is persistent demand from the areas outside the original South Indian Railway, that our union should open branches beyond their present jurisdiction. For tactical reasons, this question is shelved for the present, but if the attitude of the Federation remains unchanged, to take in the Southern Railway Labour Union and make out unity in the entire Southern zone, we may be compelled to review the situation at the later stage.

WESTERN RAILWAY

In the Western Railway Zone, the following are the main unions.

1) Western Railway Employees Union, is a combine of the Socialists and ex-Revists. It has branches in several of the important centres. The work of this union is uninspiring to the workers and so far as anti-Communist fire is concerned, they are always active. This is recognised and affiliated. The aim of the Federation leadership is to build

up around this organisation, so that it can reliably count on its backing. This union claims about 20,000 members but its effective membership is not more than 5,000.

2) Western Railway Employees Association, started by late Vallabhai Patel is the INTUC Organisation on this railway. Its main backing is from the middle class employees but its influence is not negligible. This union is recognised. Its membership is about 8,000, which includes about 4,000 in ex. Sourashtra Railway, and 500 in ex-Cutch Railway. In the Sourashtra area, the class IV employees also are members in large numbers.

3) Western Railway Workers Union, is the extended organisation of the original Gaikwad Baroda State Railway. The union was recognised and affiliated. After the regrouping in November last year, the provisional "status quo" recognition which was continued, was withdrawn as the requisite 10% membership was not there. However, the administration agreed to reconsider the recognition, on the union achieving the target. The withdrawal of the recognition imposed organisational handicaps in respect of meetings in railway areas and other facilities. This union, notwithstanding handicaps has developed work on the Ex-BB & CI and Sourashtra sections and has enrolled nearly 5,000 new members, making a total of 8,000 till 1st Dec. 1952. Dearth of cadres combined with a tactical aloofness which our popular comrades have imposed on themselves with a view to be secure in the matter of impending recognition, has no doubt handicapped the work, but ways to overcome this have been denied and contact with workers kept.

In the recent fraction meeting new quotas were taken for fulfilment within two months and they hope thereby to fill up the deficiency for the minimum target required for securing recognition rights.

The Socialists and the Congressmen alike through their propaganda, are sowing fear in the minds of the workers of the likely victimisation that may result by association with a Communist body like the Workers' Union. This is being countenanced vigorously.

Our comrades feel that taking the composition of the Western Railway Workers Union, some of the non-Party elements may defect to the Employees Union in the absence of recognition. Some comrades felt that under the circumstances it would be better to merge now the original Railwaymen's union with the Worker Union, to obviate any future isolation and also to generate that energy inside the union which will be capable of sustaining such a contingency.

The recent fraction meeting referred to previously decided to make out all-out effort to reach the target minimum. The union will also convene a Recognition Conference by the 10th January 1953 and elect a new Central Committee on the basis of the changed membership and to modify the present constitution to accord with the Model Constitution of the Railway Board. It was also decided to extend the work in the Bombay City area, in spite of the existence of the original Men's Union, in order to facilitate the target being reached within the stipulated date.

In the Western Railway the situation appears to be handled correctly but in view of the complication arising out of the inadvertent commitments made by union representatives that the original G.B.S. Union was 'dissolved', the right-wing Socialists took the opportunity of disaffiliating the Union and demanding that the Western Railway workers Union should seek fresh affiliation. The Union has however addressed a communication to the AIRF pointing out that the decision taken at Poona was not in conformity with the facts of the situation as the union had only changed its name. Now technically the Workers Union stands disaffiliated unless AIRF accepts the contention that no dissolution was effected. We have to evolve a line to be pursued in the Western Railway in the new circumstances.

EASTERN RAILWAY

This railway passes through the jurisdiction of six PCs, viz. W.Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, M.P., U.P. and Andhra and employs nearly 2,00,000 men. The railway was constituted by amalgamating the original B.N.Railway and the four railway divisions of ex-E.I.Railway and extends upto Moglasarai. The main unions operating in this railway are as under:-

(a) B.N.R.INDIAN LABOUR UNION, which claims a membership of 30,000 but the effective membership is not more than 5,000. The Union carries with it a tradition of struggles and its popularity still continues. The leadership of the Union has been in the hands of arch-reactionaries, who have been stifling militant movement and have worked hand in glove with the Police to jail the militant trade unionists. There has been a tussle between two wings of leadership for the division of important posts of office in the Union and in the recent election the Raghavan group nominees did not come up but still Raghavan is a figure to be counted. Organisationally the Union is weak because Trade Union work is badly neglected by the leadership. It is to be seen how the new President and General Secretary will conduct the Union, which is recognised and affiliated to the AIRF. Three branches of the Union in which some of our comrades are working are functioning with lack of co-ordination between themselves and the Employees Union cadres.

(b) B.N.R.EMPLOYEES UNION. This Union has a mixed leadership and lately the Union work has been considerably activised compared to its past inactivity. There are 19 branches of which three are defunct, nevertheless, these branches send representatives to the Executive meetings for balancing voting position, 12 branches are partially or totally controlled by us and the remaining four branches are not under our control. The relative position in the Central Executive is 54 ours, 9 FB Marxist and 41 others. In the Central Office we hold two posts of office bearers, viz. Vice President and Asst.Secy. The constitution of the Union was lately amended suitably for democratic working and it was done through our initiative. The decision with regard to this and the extension of the jurisdiction of the Union in the name of Eastern Railway Employees Union, were adopted unanimously, but later this decision and the shifting of the Head Office to Calcutta, have been deferred in view of the pressure and directive of the AIRF, to the Eastern Zone affiliated unions to merge together and not to extend their jurisdictions. Enrolment of new members is going on vigourously in the BNR Section.

(c) EASTERN RAILWAY CONGRESS. With the regrouping of railways in the Eastern Zone, the two INTUC organisations, E.I.Railwaymen's Congress and B.N.Railwaymen's Congress merged together under the name of Eastern Railway Congress with one Shri A.P.Sharma (Moghalsarai) as President and Shri J.N.Basu (Bomdel) as General Secretary. The BNR Section of this Union is not popular on account of its adherence to INTUC, but in the EIR section they seem to cash on the weakness of the Employees Union (AIRF) and started working in some centres. The actual membership is not known but is small, running to a few thousands only. This Union is of course recognised and affiliated to INREU.

(d) E.I.Ry.EMPLOYEES UNION, which was formed in 1948 by amalgamating three Unions, Employees Association (P.C.Das Gupta), Railwaymen's Union (Socialists) and B.N.Railwaymen's Association (Kiron Chowdhary). There is a sharp inner-union rivalry and the Socialists have been practically ousted from the union by the Das Gupta group, but however one D.P.Joshi (Socialist) of Lucknow has been accommodated as President, in order to exploit the inter-provincial Socialist rivalry between Bengal and U.P. The Das Gupta Group which dominates the Union, expelled two Bengal Socialists, who have filed cases in the High Court and with the Registrar. They have been able to get some temporary injunction and the Registrar is scrutinising the membership of the Union. This rivalry is still raging and it is possible to utilise this to some advantage. It was revealed during Oct.52 Annual Conference, we would command the votes of 50 to 60 delegates, but though these comrades are now working in the Branches, there has been neither co-ordination nor guidance to them.

The Union claims a membership of 1,20,000 and the genuine membership may not exceed 15,000.

..... (e) E.I.RAILROAD WORKERS UNION

(e) E.I. RAILROAD WORKERS UNION. This Union has a membership of about 2,700 limited mostly to Calcutta areas and is influential in the Sealdah Division, which has compelled the administration to attend to the grievances represented by the Union. It almost enjoys "de facto" recognition in this area. In the ex-EIR section, i.e. from Howrah to Moghalsarai, our influence has been negligible except some work at the four branches Lillooah, Asansol, Ondal and Jamalpur. The membership at these places is not encouraging which is about 300 in all as against 30,000 employees. In accordance with the Calcutta decisions, the Fraction decided to do mass campaign for unity all over the Eastern Railway, conduct negotiations for unity. The comrades were not able to implement the mass campaign programme except issuing a press statement and some occasional speeches. But contacts were made with the different AIRF Unions for evolving an Central as well as Branchwise merger of the unions and also to ultimately to dissolve our union.

Though the Employees Union leadership at first agreed but later it retracted. We also negotiated with the two groups in the Employees Union, PB Marxists and another. In view of our strength inside the Union, we were able to induce the two groups to agree unanimously in the CEC to rename the Union as "Eastern Railway Employees Union" and extend the jurisdiction over the entire zone, so that at a later stage we can turn our membership in the E.I. Rail Road Union to this union. There was also an agreement over the proportion of office bearers. Due to the pressure of the AIRF and the fact the membership is not equivalent to 10% of the total employees to get recognition, the leadership for reasons of safeguarding their own position, came to an agreement in a Conference held on 5.10.52 to amalgamate with the other AIRF Unions.

It appears that the Eastern Railway Administration has issued a letter to all recognised unions limiting their recognition to the pre-grouping jurisdiction, pending decisions of the AIRF regarding merger of Unions. The BMR Employees Union in its C.E.C. decided on 9.11.52 to reject the Poona decision of the AIRF working committee but agreed to amalgamate with the other AIRF Unions and also to proceed cautiously in the matter. A sub-committee has been formed with 2 representatives of each of the prospective amalgamating unions to draft an agreed constitution, but from the preliminaries talked about between the representatives, the exclusion of communists from the uniting union seems to be a clear game. The amalgamation has to be done by 31st Dec. 1952 as per AIRF directive and the constitution is still in the drafting stage. In all the negotiations for unity, the arch-reactionary character of the hitherto leadership, prevented us from any approach, but with the changed leadership, the prospects may be better.

N.E. RAILWAY

The N.E. Railway comprises of the ex-Assam Railway, ex-O.T. Railway, ex-D.H. Railway and the link portion of the Assam rly. connecting Assam with Bihar. It extends over Assam, two districts of Bengal, Northern part of Bihar and U.P. It is entirely a metre gauge railway. The total number of employees in this zone is about 1,20,000. In the Assam Section there are three Unions:

(a) THE ASSAM RAILWAY EMPLOYEES UNION, an organisation affiliated to the INTUC, is led by the notorious deserter K.P. Das the rabidly chauvinist Congress leader N. Phooman. It is the continuation of the Assam Rly Employees Association a chauvinist organisation started by Ambikagiri Rai Chowdhury and whose membership was open to the Assamese employees only. With the entry of K.P. Das into this organisation in 1949, it began to function as a TU on INTUC lines. Since then its membership is open to all railwaymen. Its real membership is only 2000 but the official membership of 11,000. Almost all the members of this organisation and all other employees who are adhering to it for the sake of security of their jobs are our old members. Its middle leadership is the old middle leadership of our Union. Its ranks want us either to work in their Union or to consolidate our Union and win recognition, in which event they are prepared to join our Union en-block. The Union is being maintained by using police-terror and official favour (from the administration). Inside this organisation are all the spies of the I.B. and the administration. Hence, the workers are afraid of leaving this organisation in groups, or of taking initiative of fighting the administration from inside their organisation. But they are prepared at the opportune moment to leave this organisation en masse.

(b) The ASSAM RAILWAY LABOUR ASSOCIATION, an organisation led by the Socialists, has a real membership of 2,500, the official membership being 14,000.

..... Besides the Socialists

Besides the Socialists there are other smaller groups inside it, mostly the agents of the administration. It is in AIRF and recognised. Very recently the toadies brought a resolution in the C.E.C. for a merger with the INTUC, but was defeated. One section of the Socialist middle leadership inside this union favours a merger with us. Due to the bankrupt policy of the Socialists and also due to paucity of effective cadres, its membership is falling and its activity is getting stagnated.

c) THE ASSAM RAILROAD WORKERS UNION: It has very good traditions and enjoys a prestige among all Railwaymen and other sections of the people of Assam. Since May 1948 a terrific repression was let loose on this union which was very intense in 1949 and 1950. After the strike in the Dibrugarh zone in January 1949 on the issue of rations, the Union was not allowed to function legally. After the release of railway comrades in May 1951, the branches started functioning. The Central co-ordination of these branches is not effective. In 1951 and during the last general elections when the Union gathered new vigour and momentum, a period of stagnation has again set in. We have not been able to launch any effective campaign for the reinstatement of the victimised railwaymen whose number is about 400. The number of persons affected by the National Security Rules is 27. The major part of the victimised railwaymen are those involved in what is known as the Naliapool case, all of whom have lost their jobs. Some of them were re-employed and the rest were discharged. The High Court for Assam declared the Special Court which tried the Naliapool cases to be illegal and set aside the convictions and sentences. They are being re-tried again, and taking advantage of this re-trial they are not being re-instated by the administration.

The Calcutta decision had not been implemented fully in the sense that a full fledged unity campaign was not launched throughout the province. There are two trends inside the PC regarding the Unity move. One trend seeks to strengthen our own Union under our own leadership and to force others to merge on our terms. The arguments advanced are: (1) The Party must lead the TUs under its own flag; (2) Our uniting or merging with other unions without first consolidating our positions will disorganise and scatter our forces amongst the railwaymen.

The other trend is of building unity locally, i.e. branchwise and if possible also centrally even at the cost of losing offices of the Union. For this purpose, it was suggested united campaign for housing, re-instatement of victimised railwaymen, jungle allowance, could be launched and organisational unity built up. In Jauing a joint campaign was launched but was not organisationally followed up.

At a joint discussion on personal level with the General Secretary of the Socialist-led Union, it was agreed that the following unity formula would be acceptable to all, including the Bolsheviks:

- 1). To be independent of the INTUC for the time being.
- 2). All Unions and railway leaders (both Assam and O.T. Sections) should convene a Congress of N.E. Railwaymen, preferably in the latter part of January 1953, where an agreed constitution and a charter of demands should be adopted.
- 3). The United Union will have the red flag and the cross section of the locomotive and the rail as an emblem.
- 4). No outsiders in the Central executive.
- 5). Outsiders may advise through an Advisory Committee to be set up.

Details of the ex-O.T.Rly section are not known. There are four organisations there:

- a): OT RAILWAYMEN'S UNION - an INTUC Union led by Bholanata Chowdhury. It has now following outside Gorakhpur.
- b). O.T. RAILWAY EMPLOYEES UNION, led by the Socialists, has some following. It was discredited in Gorakhpur after the Gorakhpur firing. It is affiliated to the AIRF and is recognised.
- c). O.T. RLY EMPLOYEES ASSOCIATION is led by some Royists and a motely group. It is in the AIRF and recognised.

.....(d) Staff Welfare Association

d). STAFF WELFARE ASSOCIATION. It has split up into two. One group is led by Prof. Shibbanlal Saxena and the other by P.K. Sen. P.K. Sen's group is active. It was formerly recognised. But now after the split recognition was extended to one group only which was also withdrawn subsequently.

None of these Unions have a mass basis. In the new set up, one small union has amalgamated over the entire zone. This is the merger of the Shibbanlal's group with the AIRLO group (Bolshevik) in the Assam section which has only a small following, at one railway centre only. There is every likelihood of the Socialist unions and the INTUC Unions of both the sections merging together, inspite of the factional quarrels of the leaders for office.

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On the question of unity of Railway Unions, Com.S.A. Dange said:

The questions that you have to ask yourself first are -

- (1) With what perspectives does the Government, the State, which is your employer, wish to run the industry in which you are working?
- (2) Within the framework of its Plan, in what direction does the Government plan to work the industry?
- (3) How does it affect the working class and the people in general?
- (4) Does the Government, as instrument of the bourgeoisie, work the transport industry in a way to help the trade and industry of our country?
- (5) What is the position of the working class and trade unions?

Unless we as the leadership wishing to develop the TU movement for the defence of the interests of the working class and the people, understand the situation in all its aspects, any piecemeal, sectional approach to the problem will not help us.

The imperialist financiers and manufacturers who are the main suppliers of the heavy and key goods in transport want the industry to develop in such a way as to supply them the raw materials exported to them at cheap prices. Secondly, they want to develop it to suit their war strategy. Thirdly, to keep it as a safe market to them.

All these manoeuvres would be defeated if the TU movement were to develop under our leadership and if working class unity are achieved. Hence the imperialists do not tolerate us in the transport industry particularly.

You must carefully study the place of transport in the Five-Year Plan. The Plan wants to save the big bourgeoisie from the crisis of its system. But the crisis is already on us. When the crisis affects circulation of goods, transport industry is also hit by the crisis. And that recoils on the transport workers, as it happened in 1930.

Twentyfive per cent of the textiles are already closed and unable to move their goods. Coal is also affected. Tea, leather and many other commodities are visibly in crisis.

How will the big bourgeoisie act in such a situation? If its economy is geared to war markets directly or indirectly, it hopes to get an impetus for its goods and solve its crisis, just as the imperialists are hoping to do. In the name of national economy, salvation and the Plan, it hopes to be successful in depressing the workers' living standards and increasing the profits of the State and the bourgeoisie.

Hence we must look at the question of unity and the TU Movement from the national and international perspectives.

In our unity talks on Railways, we have missed this factor and made it a purely organisational question, a question of posts, persons and terms of agreements, etc.

The Government and the big bourgeoisie will never willingly permit you to unite or get recognition for your unity. Defence, Govt. employees and Railways

..... are the departments where they do

are the departments where they do not want any democratic trade union movement. They will want to bar us from TUs in these branches under various pretexts and if need be even by law. We have, therefore, to evolve very careful methods of organisation. It is not at all necessary to shout our identity everywhere. The workers will recognise us by our work and not by mere emblems.

Unity of railway workers is the foremost task and it must be achieved. Disunited working class cannot fight the enemies of the working class. To pose the question whether certain Communists will be taken in the uniting Unions or not as the main question, is a sectarian understanding, placing the Party above the Class. Such of those comrades who feel this way think that they cannot develop work unless they have the label of office-bearer. They are not aware of our old history in the movement, when we could be effective though being in a minority without any office posts. Now the Party is not small as at that time. We are now big enough. The interests posed in the unity talks have many times been factional or personal.

Some consider unity to be sort of a technical job. The Party and the mass leaders should gear up the campaign for unity. We should understand how to make others work along with us in order to achieve unity and maintain it.

There is a suggestion that we work our own Unions independently and still more vigorously. This suggestion, in other words, means working back to the old position of an alternate-All-India organisation. Development of such a slogan will be the worst kind of disruption which we can think of. It will divide the workers further, massacre the militant leadership of the workers and facilitate the attack of the Government and the bourgeoisie, for which they are waiting. This slogan should be rejected. It should be understood that even if a blanket ban is imposed against us, we shall not follow a line of building up a rival organisation, not today nor for a long time to come. This, of course, does not mean for all time to come. There may be a time for it. But then it will mean that the AIRF has totally ceased to command the support of the workers, the Governmental machinery has been in great crisis and a mass upheaval is on the eve, with the Party at the head. But such a situation does not exist today. Comrades should not work with reservations. Any lurking attachment to such a line will be disastrous.

Some comrades use the SIR and Andhra traditions as an argument for an independent organisation. With your present strength in other places and your approach in this manner, you will only jeopardise all unity tactics. When you build up the traditions of SIR, with a base like them, you can entitle yourself to use those tactics. The SIR traditions are that they have a base in the entire agrarian movement of South with an ability to mobilise a hundred thousand people on a Union membership of 16,000. You cannot talk in that vein unless you create similar conditions. Even the SIR is trying its best for unity and merger. Therefore, my advice is "merge at all costs."

Get a merger at any cost, even at the cost of sacrificing some posts of office-bearers for some of our trusted comrades. There are various ways by which we can work for a Union without ourselves being officially in it. Do not desert mass work on the ground that we are not "officially" responsible for it. Even for a merger mass work is essential. Mass work is important and essential both inside the Union and outside it, but not against the Union. We should release the workers' initiative, in such a manner as to promote criticism inside the Union itself. Our method of criticism and propaganda should be orientated to the new approach. We have to learn to talk in terms of "we" and to exclude the term "they" when we talk of unity in our meetings. The language we are used to acts many a time as a terrific obstruction and we have to transform ourselves in the new make up.

Wherever branch-wise merger is possible, get it done without, of course, upsetting any possible merger at the top. Do not think that collection of subscriptions, representation of grievances and working for a strike alone constitute trade union functioning. Housing, social insurance, education, culture are also part of our TU work. We must widen our approach and our conceptions of TU and mass work. We can make headway only if we work on this understanding and defend the workers.

Comrade Dange before concluding also brought to the notice of the meeting
..... an instance in the

an instance in the Central Railway Union.

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A responsible comrade goes to the length of suggesting that if we are compelled to dissolve the Union by a decision of the General Body of the Union in the process of the unity negotiations, we should not hand over the Union premises to the Socialist Union whose leaders are very anti-Communist, but make it over to the landlord. This attitude of preferring the landlord to the AIRF Union deserves censure and I am surprised that both the Provincial Committee and the Fraction, instead of sharply criticising the comrade sent the papers and proposals to the PB for guidance.

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Comrade Ajoy Kumar Ghosh, when requested to speak on the subject said that Com. Dange had covered all that was necessary. However, he drew the attention of the comrades that an offensive was coming due to the economic situation and so we should work our way to stem the offensive by working through the AIRF. We have in the past worked together in the AIRF and also worked in isolation from it. Now we are trying to go in and work. Our concrete achievements are all right. Nevertheless, there is the current of sectarianism which was present in some form or other all through the entire past period of our Party work which always ^{counterposes} reformism of some form or other.

In our understanding of mass work, we really mean the question of working with non-Party people in such a manner that will take the movement ahead. We will have to root out sectarianism from our working. We will neither fall a victim to the provocation of the disruptors nor are we going to split the TU movement. Maintenance of working class unity with non-Party people and even reformists and unity in the Class organisation with them, should be adhered in the present circumstances irrespective of the tactics of others. Unless of course, the entire political situation is surcharged with a revolutionary situation, in such a situation those reformists who place obstacles in the way of unity will automatically stand exposed and isolated. There should be no transfer of cadres from the railway front and the comrades should work in the railway front only, to achieve our objective of unity. It is therefore necessary to give up all forms of sectarianism, because the Party has acquired an important position in the country though it is far from being a leading force in the nation. We have to strive to occupy the same position, the Party occupies in countries like China, Viet Nam and France. Even in these countries, the general warning always is "Give Up Sectarianism". Then only we can unite the working class and take the nation ahead. Otherwise, when the offensive is directed against us, we are reduced to a Party of victimised workers. The past example in Germany is before us and the Party became predominantly composed of unemployed workers. In a period of crisis, our emphasis should shift more towards employed workers in the industry. We should remember that our fight can progress and advance only through the organised workers employed in the industry.

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The following decisions were taken finally after discussion with regard to each Zone:

- 1). SOUTHERN RAILWAY - The existing position was considered to be progressing satisfactory and should be pursued.
- 2). NORTHERN RAILWAY - (a) We continue to develop work in the Northern Railway Employees Union and reach the target membership for recognition of our Union by 31st December 1952.
(b) We campaign at the same time for uniting the existing affiliated unions and also fight against the imposition of undemocratic conditions.
(c) We do not open any new branches in the UP section of the railway except that we continue to expand our work at Lucknow.
(d) On the EPR Section we develop our work more vigorously and open branches wherever possible.

..... (e) On the Jodhpur section, in view of

e) On the Jodhpur section, in view of the Registrar's verdict invalidating both the elections recently held both by the union and the Socialists our immediate task is to win the impending elections to be held under the supervision of the Registrar's nominee and to expand the membership to the maximum. After the elections we should merge with the N.R. Employees Union.

f) All our leading functionaries in EPR Workers' Union should work vigorously amongst the masses of railwaymen with the aim of strengthening the NR Employees Union and general unity. Mass leaders should evolve suitable methods of work for carrying out this activity but should not formally be inside the NR Employees Union for the present.

g) All the above activities should be pursued till the AIRF convention, when the situation can be reviewed.

WESTERN RAILWAY. a) We continue to strengthen the Western Railway Workers Union and reach the target membership for gaining recognition.

b) Railwaymen's Union should not be functioning anywhere and the membership diverted to the Workers Union and the Railwaymen's union need not be dissolved for the present formally. Railwaymen's Union should not be merged with Workers Union to avoid complication in recognition and affiliation.

c) We should immediately organise fraction work inside the Employees Union also.

d) The entire situation to be reviewed at the time of AIRF convention.

CENTRAL RAILWAY. a) The remaining branches of the Labour union should be merged immediately with the Panchayat notwithstanding the attitude of the Panchayat.

b) If regular merger is not possible, members of the Labour Union should be diverted to the Panchayat.

c) Labour Union should be dissolved formally and legal advice should be sought regarding the office premises since the office is also shared by three of our unions in other industries.

EASTERN RAILWAY. a) We work to further strengthen the BNR Employees Union, by increasing membership in the BNR section except at three centres where the BNR Labour Union is functioning satisfactorily. At these three centres of Labour Union we work inside the Labour union and strengthen the work.

b) In the Ex. E.I.R. Section, excepting in Sealdah Division, we should enter the Employees Union and co-ordinate the work in a proper manner.

c) The four branches in the Howrah Moghalsarai Section should attempt branchwise merger and if negotiation fail, should divert the members to the Employees Union. This should be done immediately.

d) In Sealdah Division, we continue to develop our work in the E.I. Rail Road Workers Union till the AIRF Session and after which we should decide to finally dissolve the Rail Road Workers Union.

e) If however the situation in the AIRF gives us an opportunity to extend the jurisdiction to extend the BNR Employees Union throughout Eastern Railway, then amalgamation of our branches in the E.I. Railway Section can be carried out.

NORTH EASTERN RAILWAY. a) We immediately start negotiation with the Assam Railway Labour Association with a view to merge the Assam Rail Road Workers Union both brancheswise and centrally.

b) Even if negotiations for a Central merger fail, we should utilise the existing possibility of branchwise merger at about 8 or 9 Centres of the Rail Road Workers Union.

c) The campaign for unity which at present is unplanned, should be started vigorously in a co-ordinated manner without any delay. In the absence of proper reports regarding O.T. Section, it was decided that generally we should favour the merger of the affiliated unions of the AIRF and make every effort to work through them.

CHITTAGANJAN LOCO. WORKS. The West Bengal P.C. should immediately take up this question.

2. ON PARTY ORGANISATION IN THE RAILWAY FRONT.

A Draft on the Party Organisation in the Railway Front was placed before the Fraction meeting and the following form of organisation was adopted unanimously after discussion.

a) Railway Central Fraction: It should consist of 7 members. Each of the six Railway zones will be represented by the Convener of the Co-ordination Committee of that Zone and the 7th member will be the P.B.M in charge of Railways.

b) Zonal Co-ordination Committee: For this Committee each provincial unit within a Zone will send its Railway Fraction Secretary. If the PCM in charge of Railway Front is not the Secretary of the Provincial Railway Fraction, then the Provincial Unit can also send the PCM in charge of Railways as an ex-officio member. If more than one Railway covers a provincial jurisdiction, then the provincial unit may form separate fractions for each Railway. The function of the Zonal Co-ordination Committees is co-ordination of the work of the Railway Front of a particular zone through the provincial units and their respective Fraction Secretaries.

It was decided unanimously that by the end of January, 1953, the Zonal Co-ordination Committees should be constituted and the names of the conveners of each Zone should be communicated to the PB.

During the intervening period, a provisional Railway Central Fraction was formed with the following members:--

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|-----------------------|----|------------------|
| 1. Com. Jyoti Basu | -- | C.C.M. in charge |
| 2. Com. Mahendra Sen | -- | Northern Zone |
| 3. Com. N. Barthakur | -- | N.E. Zone |
| 4. Com. P.D. Roy | -- | Eastern Zone |
| 5. Com. K.A. Nambiar | -- | Southern Zone |
| 6. Com. Fernandes | -- | Central Zone |
| 7. Com. K.S. Nadkarni | -- | Western Zone |

These Zonal representatives will be replaced as and when communications are received by the PB of the election of conveners of Zonal Co-ordination Committees.

3. PARLIAMENTARY FRONT.

After considering the Draft Report on the work of the Railway Front in the Parliament, Com. Nambiar was requested to make a report as to how our MPs helped the Trade Unions and workers through their Parliamentary work. Com. S.A. Dange during the course of discussion, remarked that the expectations of the workers who returned our nominees

.....to the Parliament remain

to the Parliament remain to be fulfilled. But at the same time, the Unions in their part are not helping our MPs in their work as they should. Most of the representations are sent directly by the aggrieved persons and a number of persons approach our MPs at Delhi with their grievances without the knowledge of the Unions or without their advice. The Unions should, in future, see that such representations are sent through their offices. There is a tendency to make the MPs and the Parliamentary Office as a substitute for the Trade Union but should be used as a lever to encourage the growth of Trade unions.

The following resolution was passed unanimously:

"In view of the presence of several of our Members in the Parliament and in view of their close association with the working class, the Central Govt. employees in general and Railwaymen in particular, look to the Parliament as an effective avenue of ventilating and seeking settlement of their grievances, which in the past was closed due to the absence of popular representatives. Though our Parliamentary sub-committee is making efforts to attend to this demand of the people through its Labour Sub-committee, yet it has not been possible for them as yet to cope with the work efficiently for various reasons, including technical difficulties. This meeting of the fraction recommends to the PB and the Parliamentary Fraction to look into the matter in order to overcome the difficulties as early as possible, because accumulation of work and consequent delay will hamper considerably our TU Movement, as also prestige in the Working Class.

"It is the opinion of this fraction meeting that due to unplanned nature of this work from the Union end, and the workers approaching our Members of Parliament direct, over the head of the Unions, the growth of our Trade Unions is hampered. Further, it handicaps our MPs in functioning efficiently. However, this meeting is of considered opinion that the Labour Sub-committees should be re-inforced by an additional Secretary conversant with the Railway problems to look after the Railway front, and necessary technical arrangements should be made to tackle Railway problems."

4. ON VICTIMISATION OF RAILWAYMEN.

The victimisation of Railwaymen which took a virulent form after 9th March 1949, was deliberately unleashed by the Government of India, in order to liquidate the militant trade union movement in the country. The fire of victimisation was directed against militant workers of political parties whose influence among the working class was considered a challenge to the Government by the ruling party. Unable to dislodge the militant trade unionists through their agents of disruption, the Government under the plea of National Security, promulgated a set of Rules whereby on grounds of alleged subversive activities or association with persons engaged in subversive activities, the services of the Govt. employees could be terminated, without the normal process of disciplinary enquiries by the department which enjoined the administration to establish the charges through evidence, which could be subjected to examination and cross examination by the defence. This elimination covered all servants attached to civil Services under the Government. In fact these rules, were meant to arm the authorities with powers to prevent employees whom they considered inconvenient, without having to establish any charges, somewhat similar to the provisions of Preventive Detention Acts in order to incarcerate political opponents, while the difference was the one sought to physically restrain the person from the movement and the other to starve the active workers out of the movement.

In the instructions issued by the Government the following political parties were listed whose members and sympathisers were to be kept out of work.

..... 1) The Communist Party

1. The Communist Party
2. The Revolutionary Socialist Party of India
3. The Revolutionary Communist Party
4. Marxist Section of the Forward Bloc
5. R.S.S. (was subsequently deleted as a result of Vallabai Patel's agreement with Golwalker)
6. Muslim National Guards
7. Khatsars.

At a later stage, the IPTA, FSU, AIPC and PWA were also included in the list. The instructions were specific that any direct or indirect association with any of the organisations if reported by the Intelligence Department should be considered as sufficient to establish the guilt of subversive activities. It is the Police and the Home Department who were the final arbiters in these cases, though formally the President's approval had to be obtained.

This kind of victimisation is distinctly different from the usual victimisations practiced on Trade Union workers during strike and other struggles. This was an obvious political elimination done arbitrarily, throwing to winds all established principles of natural justice conventions and rules of Government. This was a legalised Fascist terror unleashed against unions organised by the Communists and those holding views similar to the communists to dislodge the place which the party had in the working class movement of the country.

Since the movement had its own shortcomings, with the mass organisations more or less paralysed under the impact of repression and also the working class being split up it was not possible to release that much of mass agitation to bring pressure upon the authorities. However there were some apparent legal defects which the comrades in Bombay wanted to exploit. A legal defence committee was formed and in order to give this a wider basis, representatives from other unions were also invited to form the committee.

Cases were instituted in the Wages Court in Bombay and as a result thereof full pay to the affected workers was sanctioned. The matter was disputed by the railway administration till a division of bench of the Bombay High Court and our rights for full pay was established there also. A couple of test cases in the form of writs were also filed which however did not sustain due to technical grounds.

Victimised comrades from other centres were contacted and similar legal defence arrangements through committees, were organised either independently by the unions or through wider committees at Bombay, Nagpur, Golden Rock, Calcutta, Delhi and Jamalpur. Subscriptions were raised to finance the cases in the courts.

The South Indian Railway comrades were able to secure in the Madras High Court, an order to quash the dismissal of Smahandham on the ground that a second opportunity was not given according to the rules and a point already upheld by a prior Privy Council judgement. At Nagpur the judgement was adverse to us and an appeal is pending before the Supreme Court. Even if we succeed on the technical point of second opportunity, yet the Security Rules will continue to have validity and victimisation on the discriminatory political grounds could not be checked.

So it was decided to approach the problem politically and a deputation was arranged to meet the Prime Minister last year in November. The idea was deferred due to the possibility of the issue not capable of focussing public attention as the Govt., the people, and the parties were all pre-occupied with the General Election. Subsequent to the

.....elections S.I.Rly comrades

elections S.I.Rly comrades wanted to lead a deputation to Govt. which was later co-ordinated with the different committees, taking advantage of our position in the Parliament. We succeeded in leading a deputation of the leaders of opposition parties in Parliament and discussed the issues with the Ministers. Two persons, one from Calcutta and one from Bombay have been subsequently reinstated leaving 53 men under suspension and 209 men already discharged.

The victimisation which was direct under the normal disciplinary rules and for convictions in the so-called conspiracy cases, are being tackled. Com.Nambiar is constantly pressing the ministers who have assured that the changed political conditions in the country would be given due consideration in deciding the cases which are being reviewed by two members of the Railway Board.

The Transport T.U.I. of W.F.T.U., having heard of the situation regarding Victimised Workers from the Calcutta Committee, sent strong protests to the Prime Minister Nehru. They also sent £ 350/- for the Victimised Workers. Similar protests were sent by Italian Transport Workers, Hungarian Transport Workers, British Locomotive Engineers and Fireman.

The contribution received from the TUC is intact and we have to decide an arrangement for the proper and judicious disbursement of such funds. The Calcutta comrades have requested that the agitation for the reinstatement of the already victimised railwaymen, and the railwaymen threatened with Victimisation should be stepped up and co-ordinated. It must be stated that the prolonged suspension of these tried trade unionists and threatened loss of jobs are acting as a deterrent for mobilisation of workers around us, who think that a similar fate will also await them. Since the Govt's action is completely illegal, and workers are discharged without an inquiry, results can be obtained by pursuing the agitation vigorously. For this activity it is essential to remember that such an agitation cannot go independent of the general T.U. work and the mobility which we are able to command at present in the movement. The S.I.Rly. workers with their revived organisation have been moving more vigorously and this does not mean that we tie our hands and wait for the precondition of establishing a strong movement. There are possibilities of working up more agitation on this very vital issue and we have to consider plans for the same.

The cases under the Security Rules are being tackled in the manner indicated above. The discharges effected under the normal disciplinary rules on chargesheets issued based on a political bias and the discharges effected on the ground of conviction in a court, present some complications for solution, through the basis of these victimisations were also direct with the same political bias and anti-trade union angle. It may be possible to put the employees back to work, once the political approach of the Government could be toned down. Comrade Nambiar has been making some probes in the direction in official circles and his reactions are that the issue is capable of negotiation. The reinstatement of these employees also should be seriously considered and the issue is also essentially political rather than a technical interpretation of the rules of the railway.

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During the discussion on the draft report it was disclosed that the original list and the supplementary list of victimised railway workers submitted by the Parliamentary Group to the Transport Minister in connection with the victimisation under the safeguarding of National Security Rules is not complete. It was agreed that comrades present from the different railways should scrutinise the lists and add names, which are omitted with the necessary details. Com.Nambiar agreed to submit a further list of the new names.

.....It was decided after a good

It was decided after a good deal of discussion that

- 1) The Parliamentary group should challenge the validity of the Security Rules in the Parliament. Com.K.A.Nambiar was entrusted with this work.
- 2) A second deputation of the opposition parties should be arranged early. Com.K.A.Nambiar was entrusted with this job also.
- 3) Propaganda and campaign should be worked vigorously for the coming two months; the effect of such propaganda will be useful as a public pressure when the Railway Budget session will commence in the first week of February 1953. The coming two months are therefore crucial. Therefore the victimised workers and the unions should campaign jointly as far as possible in co-operation with other union. Each Zonal Committee, should allot one comrade particularly for this job. All victimised workers should take part in these and other union activities vigorously.
- 4) This issue should also be taken to the AIRF meeting at Mysore and also in their working Committee if possible through the non-party Bengal comrades.
- 5) The idea of forming an All India Body of Victimised workers was not considered necessary and therefore the suggestion to call an All-India Convention was dropped.
- 6) The disbursement of the relief received from the WFTU be undertaken by the INTUC and the moneys will be distributed on the merits of the demands.

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5. REPORT ON THE DEMANDS OF RAILWAYMEN

It is no doubt admitted by everyone including the AIRF leadership and the Government, that the major and important demands of railwaymen are unfulfilled. The most important demand of all workers is living wage and also equitable wages commensurate with the nature of work performed. The wages of the vast majority railwaymen inclusive of dearness allowance is far below the living wage.

The Central Pay Commission, which was instituted by the Britishers under the impact of the rising trade union struggles, though improved the wage structure to some extent, had left the initiative with the Government, to adopt suitable scales of pay for the different categories of staff, giving enough latitude to deprive adequate wages to employees. The All India Railwaymen's Federation has been attempting to resolve the anomalies with the Ministry of Railways by talking and arguing across the table and even went to the extent of tickling the Government by claiming to be over-patriotic and writing off all agitation leading to real struggles. Even the INTUC has been forced to make a demand for the establishment of a new pay commission, because the existing wage structure is out of proportion and does not correspond to the needs of keeping the movement under check.

The Dearness Allowance question was compromised by appointing the Gadgil Commission so that the issues could be staved off by granting some increases in the retirement of provident fund benefits, without granting any immediate relief. The Planning Commission has categorically stated that the wages should be frozen at the prevailing level as they hope to build up prosperity, by starving the workers for five years or more till their so-called plan consummates. Therefore, the real issue before the railway trade union workers, how best and quick are we to realise a living wage to the vast majority of Railway workers, who have been forced to tighten the belt more and more, as the cost of living is increasing.

.....The All-India Railwaymen's

The All-India Railwaymen's Federation leadership has been negotiating "Ad naseum" and the climax was reached in November last, when the Ministry of Railways itself put a restriction to this talking show, by limiting the representatives of the Federation who may sit and argue with them. The demands which were formulated by the Working Committee of the Federation is appended herewith. Though the list covers two pages with demands which have been under discussion for over two years, it will be seen that none of them pertain to issues of a general and All-India character affecting the large mass of railway workers.

Though it cannot be overlooked that with the present stage of the railway trade union movement and our position in it, it will not be possible to effectively campaign and force the issues with the Railway Board, but yet it is possible and necessary that we should select and study some of the important demands capable of mobilisation. On these demands our propaganda should be more or less uniform and the campaigning also should reflect co-ordination while at the same time, our line of approach, should be clear and specific so that we will not only mobilise the workers but also will compel such leadership which is indifferent about solving them.

The Railway Board's attitude in curtly showing the door to the leadership of the Federation and refusing to even discuss with them, with a few more representatives, indicates to what extent they regard the Federation as to its strength and capacities. It also shows to us that in spite of the Socialist leadership, sitting as if on a throne in their official position, is hollow so far as keeping reliance on mass activity. Therefore, unity alone inside the Federation can make the railway movement advance with dignity. The AIRF leadership, dominated by the Socialists simply returned the representatives who assembled on the 26th November, without even issuing a proper protest and giving any directives to go to the workers and agitate. Through our consistent propaganda we can focus the attention of the workers for the need for unity and compel the Federation leadership to take the correct steps.

We have now therefore to decide the issues to be taken, the nature of propaganda and campaigning, the lines on which it should be done and the time, so that there can be uniformity and concerted activity.

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LIST OF SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE A.I.R.F. and Railway Board, with Guruswamy's Note dated 18th November, 1952 to the affiliated Unions.

The following is the list of subjects to be discussed with the Railway Board on 26th inst.

In view of the fact that the discussion of some 26 items for reference to a Tribunal is likely to take all the time available, the other subjects may not be fully reached.

Any relevant information from the Affiliated Unions on the subjects for discussion may be kindly sent to my New Delhi address.

Yours fraternally,
sd. S. Guruswamy,
General Secretary.

I. Subjects for reference to a Tribunal.

Appeals against decisions on JAC report.

1. Running staff scales of pay and allowances as demanded by the special Conference of AIRF in 1950.
2. Weightage for service on all Railways including ex-State Railways and ex-Darjeeling Himalayan Railway.

.....3. Percentage of Posts in

3. Percentage of Posts in the lowest category of Class III posts not to exceed 35% as demanded in 1948.
4. Rs. 35/-,--40/- for Heavy Manual Workers.
5. Supervisors pay should be above the maximum of the pay of the supervised.
6. a) Rates of T.A. for persons drawing same pay should be same.
b) Revision of T.A. and relieving allowances of T.T.E's and other Class III Staff, for Engineering Artisan staff etc.
7. Compensatory allowance for apprentices and probationers.
8. Local allowance for "St. Thomas Mount Railway Station, Salem Jn, Bally, Nilgiri etc."
9. Classification of Delhi as 'A' area.
10. Allotment of at least 25% of supervisors grades to the highly skilled category and gradation of highly skilled posts.
11. Provision of Rs.60-75 grade for higher semi-skilled and Rs.40-60 grade for unskilled staff.
12. Minimum grade of junior chagemen and allied category to be 150-225 and also for Post Apprentice Tran Examiners.
13. Special allowance for Class IV Staff who have passed Trade Tests.
14. Scales allotted for Road Van Porters, S.M's and A.S.M's signallers, Staff Benefit Fund Staff and Health Visitors, Stores Mazdoors, Crane Jamadars, Store Serangs, Ward Keepers, Assistant Ward Keepers, Cash and Pay staff, Compounders, Dressers, Watch & Ward Staff, Assistant Surgeon's Scale, Refreshment Stall-Keepers, Marine Staff, Store Van Clerks, Commercial Clerks, non-matriculate literate staff, accounts Staff including Stock verifiers, Engine Examiners and other Shed Staff; Typists and other staff covered by JAC Report.
15. Disability of ex-States Railwaymen on Promotion.
16. Restoration of Pass Privileges.
17. Confirmation of temporary Staff with retrospective effect.
18. Adjudication of Accounts Staff demands.
19. Wrongful discharges - dismissals - exercise of para 148 of the Railway Establishment Code.
20. Application and option of Revised scales with retrospective effect.
21. Debiting of half pay leave for short leave period for working staff.
22. Officiating pay in merged scale before merger should be basis of fixation.
23. Casual Labour question - substitutes pay.
24. Running Shed staff - Overtime payment.
25. Payment in the higher grades from the date of acting.
26. Compensation for taxes levied by local bodies affecting accepted level of emoluments.

OTHER SUBJECTS

- II. 1)(a) Classification of Poona as 'B' area as its population exceeds another B City by 32,000.

.....(b) Terai or Jungle allowance

- (b) Terai or Jungle allowance for staff stationed in Siliguri Sub-Division.
 - (c) Classification of 'Tatanagar' as Jamshedpur for purposes of local allowance and the cases of Towns like Tinnevely, Ernakulam etc. where the total population of two or more contiguous municipal areas exceeds one lakh but no house rent allowance is given require to be reconsidered.
 - (d) Classification of Madras, Delhi, Cawnpore as 'A' towns.
 - (e) Extension of Hill Allowance and local allowance to Lonavala, Khandala.
2. Removal of Rs.50/- from the basic pay of Motormen on the Western Railway for the purpose of fixation of the prescribed scales.
 3. Graduate Clerks on ex-Jodhpur Railway.
 4. Extending to ex-Company staff the benefits given to ex-States Railway employees in the matter of qualifying examination for Railway Accounts staff.
 5. Overtime allowance rules for Running Staff.
 6. The cases of employees who are required to appear before the Railway Service Commission in spite of rendering more than six months service and holding requisite education qualifications.
 7. Running Rooms for Class IV employees.
 8. Recognition of Casual leave for workshop and Artisan Staff.
 9. Condonation of service for ex-Darjeeling-Himalayan Railwaymen for fixation of pay and seniority.
 10. Forfeiture of gratuity money of Shri P.N.Banerjee of ex-BN Rly.

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6. DEMANDS OF RAILWAYMEN

On the demands of railwaymen, it was decided that a campaign should be launched at all the zones in the coming two months on a few selected demands of a general character concerning all railwaymen, and this campaign should be linked up with unity and strengthening of the AIRF.

The following demands were listed after discussion

- 1) Increase in Dearness Allowance in accordance with the C.P.C. Scales.
- 2) Merging of the entire cash Dearness Allowance with the basic pay of railwaymen.
- 3) Protection against any reduction in the total net earnings as a result of the implementation of Gadgil Committee's recommendations.
- 4) Grant of Privileges such as enhanced D.A. etc. arising out of the implementation of the Gadgil Committee's recommendations.
- 5) Removal of all outstanding anomalies arising out of the implementation of the C.P.C. report, as raised by the unions and the AIRF.
- 6) No increase in workload in any form.
- 7) Immediate reclassifications of towns and cities based on the last population census for the grant of compensatory and House Rent Allowances.
- 8) Supply of adequate uniform clothing. Restoration of cuts made before and cancellation of proposed cuts.
- 9) Full restoration of favourable pass and P.T.O. privileges.
- 10) Immediate abolition of contract labour.
- 11) Casual labour to be treated as temporary employees in the matter of pay and privileges.
- 12) Immediate re-application of the provisions of Factory Act to Running Sheds.
- 13) Seniority of staff in the regrouped railway to be determined on an equitable basis.
- 14) Early grant of the demands as formulated by the AIRF and submitted to Railway Board.
- 15) Abolition of Trade Tests for promotion
- 16) Abolition of Efficiency Bar tests
- 17) Selection Boards to be abolished and promotions regulated on security
- 18) Adequate facilities regarding quarters, medical and educational arrangements.

24
PB CIRCULAR No.12/51.

TO ALL PARTY UNITS
June 30, 1951.

Dear Comrades,

Re: UNAUTHORISED AND INACCURATE REPORTS OF COM.DANGE'S TALKS

In reply to a query from comrades whether the so-called 'report' of a talk that Com.Dange gave to the AITUC comrades is authorised, the following reply is being sent. It appears that a number of unauthorised reports have been set into circulation by some comrades. Hence, this circular.

Com. Dange and Com.Yusuf met some of the comrades who had come for the meeting of the working committee of the AITUC in pursuance of the demand of these comrades that they wished to meet them.

As the Draft Programme had been just out, conversation centred on the Programme along with other subjects.

It is now found that a number of versions of notes of the talk that Comrade Dange had with these comrades are being circulated.

No notes of the talk were shown to Com.Dange by any of those comrades who chose to circulate such notes of speak on the basis of such notes. Com.Dange has not checked up or authorised circulation of any notes of the talk, and they should be treated as such. It has been found that many of these notes are inaccurate and in some parts based on misunderstanding of what was said. As the Programme and the CC resolutions are before the comrades, they should be guided by these and not by unauthorised notes.

Comrades may note that since recently circulation of unauthorised notes of talks has become very common in the Party and has caused some damage. It is an accepted practice everywhere that whenever any notes are taken of a talk, these are first shown to the speaker and checked and verified before being used. The failure to observe this very healthy practice has led to many unnecessary controversies in the Party. We hope comrades will cease being guided by such things and rely on what is there before them in the form of resolutions or authorised drafts or notes which are checked and verified.

With greetings,
Sectt of CC of CPI

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
Central Headquarters

P.B.CIRCULAR No.2/53.

4, Keeling Road, New Delhi
January 19, 1953.

To All PCs.

Re. ALL INDIA T.U. FRACTION MEETING
AND ALLIED MATTERS

1. The Comrades working on the TU front, who were at the Plenum, met under the advice from the PB and decided to hold a meeting of a provisional all-India TU fraction in the middle of April.
2. The representatives to this meeting will be sent by the PCs according to the quota attached below. The agenda for the meeting will be sent later.
3. The PCs are expected to get ready their reports on TU questions and industrial matters from now on, so that a more detailed and factual discussion can take place than could be possible at Calcutta last year.
4. All PCs should see that the Calcutta reports of last year, which have been printed in booklet form (entitled: "Report on TU Movement" by S.A.Dango) are made available to the members as far as possible in language translations. A Hindi translation is already out. A Tamil translation was published long ago and is going in second edition. A Telugu translation of two of the five reports is out.
5. All PCs should also see that the TU Record is sold and circulated in their States and the material therein used for propaganda and other purposes.
6. The World Federation of Trade Unions complains to the AITUC that the Conference for Social Security to be held in March in Vienna has not been taken seriously by the Unions in India.

It is found that the circulars of the AITUC on this and other questions are not being taken seriously and acted upon even by very responsible members in their respective areas. This is a very serious failure to which the attention of all members be drawn.

7. It is also found that Provincial Committees and Unions of the AITUC do not send reports of their work and struggles to the AITUC; nor do they pay affiliation fees or purchase published literature. The PCs must investigate into this matter and take action to correct the failures.

TU Fraction Meeting - Quotas of Delegates.

POLIT BUREAU

ANDHRA	-	2	MAHARASHTRA	-	4
ASSAM	-	2	MADHYA BHARAT	-	2
BENGAL	-	10	MALABAR	-	4
BIHAR	-	4	MADHYA PRADESH	-	2
BOMBAY	-	4	PUNJAB	-	2
DELHI	-	2	RAJASTHAN	-	1
GUJARAT	-	3	TAMIL NAD	-	7
HYDERABAD	-	4	TRAVANCORE-COCHIN	-	4
KARNATAK	-	2	UTTAR PRADESH	-	4

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
Central Headquarters,

4 Keeling Road,
New Delhi
Jan. 28th, '53.

P.B.CIRCULAR No.4/53

To All PCs.

ON TEXTILE FRACTION MEETING

During discussions with comrades who had come to the last CC Plenum meeting it was decided to hold a meeting of comrades working on the Textile Front with a view to set up an All-India Textile Fraction and to consider the situation in the Textile industry.

The PB has decided to call the meeting on the 14, 15 and 16th of February at NAGPUR. Please communicate regarding comrades attending the fraction meeting to:

Com. Bardhan,
C/o. Madhya Pradesh Communist Party,
Near Tilak Statue,
Mahal,
NAGPUR.

The situation in the Textile industry is fast deteriorating. Already closure of mills are being reported. A big offensive of rationalisation and retrenchment is in the offing as part of the ruling circles' plan of transferring the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the workers. It is, therefore, necessary that our work on the Textile Front should be immediately geared up to meet this offensive.

PCs are therefore requested to send their best comrades to this meeting. The handloom Weavers' question is intimately linked up with the struggle of the Textile Mill workers and the whole issue must be considered as a whole. It is therefore essential that delegates from those provinces where there is a large Handloom industry should also be those who work among the Handloom workers. The PCs must send reports through the delegates to the meeting which will show:

- i) the offensive that is already there in the industry in the provinces;
- ii) the struggles that have been waged in the recent past, particularly since the last general elections;
- iii) the state of organisation - membership and organised strength of our Unions, the position of Unions belonging to the H.M.S. and INTUC, struggles for unity that have been so far waged and their results.

The quota of delegates for various provinces will be as follows:

Andhra	... 1
Assam	... 1
Bengal	... 2
Bihar	... 1
Bombay	... 4
Delhi	... 1
Gujerat	... 2
Hyderabad	... 1
Karnatak	... 1
Maharashtra	... 2
Madhya Bharat	... 2
Malabar	... 2
Madhya Pradesh	... 2
Orissa	... 1
Punjab	... 2
Rajasthan	... 1
Tamilnad	... 2
Travancore Cochin	... 2
Uttar Pradesh	... 2

POLIT BUREAU.

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15

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
Central Headquarters

B

4 Keeling Road,
New Delhi,
27th Jan, '52

PB CIRCULAR No. 3/53
To All Provincial Committees

Attached herewith a circular on the formation of the Provisional Fraction of Unions in Tea Industry.

In a meeting of comrades on the 30th Dec. for the setting up of a Provisional fraction for the Tea Industry the following names were suggested. These names should be approved by the respective P.Cs. West Bengal, Tamilnad and Kerala PC's should send their nominations for the fraction.

Assam - Com.Moni Bhowmick; Com.Dwijen Das Gupta.
West Bengal - Two names to be sent by the P.C.
Tripura - Com.Gopal Dutta.
Travancore Cochin- Com.P.A, Solomon.
Kerala - One name should be sent by the P.C.
Tamilnad - One name should be sent by the P.C.
Parliament - Com.Satyen Majumder
West Bengal - Com.Monoranjan Roy.

Comrade Monoranjan Roy has been elected as Convenor of the Fraction.

Please send the name for the fraction and all reports on the condition and movement and organisation of the Tea workers to the following address:

Com. Manoranjan Roy,
C/o. Communist Party of India,
64 A, Lower Circular Road,
Calcutta - 16, (West Bengal)

POLIT BUREAU

Central H.Q.,
4, Keeling Road,
NEW DELHI.

Dear Comrades,

Since the Tripartite Conference on Tea held at Calcutta on 19th and 20th December, 1952, more gardens in West Bengal and Assam have been closed, throwing thousands of workers out of employment. The West Bengal Govt. has increased the price of rice for Darjeeling workers from Rs.8/- per md. to Rs.17/8/-. This constitutes a wage-cut of more than 25% for the employed workers. Assam Govt. too has followed the same policy. It is evident that unless workers move and campaign against the cut on the basis of the joint agreed resolution of the Tripartite, there is no hope of the implementation of the Tripartite agreed resolution.

To discuss the unemployment and wage-cut among the Tea workers of West Bengal, Tripura and Assam in particular where the attack lies heaviest on the workers, a meeting was called by the PB on the 30th December '52, where comrades from Tripura, Assam, West Bengal and Travancore Cochin were present.

.....A report on the last

A report on the last Tripartite Conference was made by the AITUC representative. After a short discussion on the organisational position of the trade unions in Assam, W. Bengal, Tripura and Travancore Cochin and the present problem of unemployment, it was decided to print some leaflets immediately acquainting the workers with the Tripartite resolution and the demands of the workers. A copy of the leaflet is attached herewith. This leaflet including the joint resolution of the Tripartite agreed to by the Tea owners and the unions of the AITUC, HMS, UTUC and INTUC together should form the basis of our approach to the problem.

A Provisional all-India Fraction of Unions in the Tea Industry has been appointed by the PB. The names of the members of the Fraction are being sent to the respective Provincial Committees for their approval.

POLIT BUREAU,

TEA LEAFLET

To

ALL TEA GARDEN WORKERS:

UNITE AND STRUGGLE

The tea garden owners and Government have increased the price of rice supplied to us in Darjeeling and are going to do it elsewhere also. It means cutting our wages and forcing starvation on us. Many planters are closing down the garden and stopping all sources of living for us.

They say they are making losses because tea prices have fallen. Hence, they say they want to shut down the gardens and cut our wages, our rice and all other things that we have won so far.

We do not believe in their general cry of losses. But if any of them are really in losses, let them first get reduction in taxes and duties from government and cut their luxury expenses. We workers refuse to suffer for their losses.

They are making a pretext of the fall in prices to cut our wages and make high profits as before. When prices were high, they made crores of rupees but never gave us full living wages. Now with a little change in prices they want to attack our wages.

And the Government of India, Government of Bengal, Assam etc. are supporting the planters in this policy.

When the trade union opposed the wage-cuts and price-rise of rice, the Government called a Tripartite Committee in which employers, trade unions and Government met. It was agreed there that if Government gave some relief in taxes, the planters will not close down or cut wages. All trade unions that is of the All India Trade Union Congress, the INTUC and Hind Mazdoor Sabha, and all planters, Indian and other jointly passed this resolution:

"This Committee is of the view that the report of the official Team is unsatisfactory and that it has failed to furnish adequate statistical data, relating to industry and labour and that no decision can be taken on the basis of this report. The Committee, therefore, suggests that a Tripartite Commission with Regional Sub-Committees be appointed by the Central Government immediately to investigate into the cost structure of the industry. Pending the report of the Tripartite Commission, the Committee recommends as an emergency measure that the relief by way of refund of the duty collected by the Central Government may be given as follows:

..... Cachar, Darjeeling

Cachar, Darjeeling and Tripura	...	3 annas per lb
Doors, Terrañ and Central Travancore (low Grown Areas)	...	2 " " "
Assam and Madras States	...	1 " " "

The Committee is of the opinion that the refund should be granted on Tea despatched from the gardens in the above said areas with effect from the 1st April, 1952, until further notice, provided that no such refund shall be made to the gardens which have closed down and do not reopen immediately after announcement of the relief by the Central Govt. The gardens which have suffered loss during the year 1951 and 1952 should be granted loan relief by way of long loans on puisny mortgages on the block assets to the extent of the short-fall which they had during the said period. Where the Government is satisfied that any of the gardens had not suffered loss during the financial year 1952-53, the Government may direct that the amount refunded shall be spend on labour welfare such as Housing, Health, Education etc. Should relief be granted by the Government, producers feel that there will be no further closure of retrenchment or reduction in the earnings of labour till the Tripartite Commission as mentioned above reports, and the refund shall be contingent upon the working of the gardens without retrenchment or reduction in the earnings of the labourers pending the reports of the Tripartite Commission. Producers shall also endeavour to reopen the gardens which were closed down in 1952.

No revision by any state Government Committee of the Minimum Wages Act Awards shall be made to the detriment of labour after the acceptance by the Government of this proposal during the pendency of the enquiry by the Tripartite Commission."

But the Government of Bengal immediately after the conference raised the price of rice from Rs.8/- to Rs.17/8/- thus forcing starvation on us, instead of giving relief from its budget or taxes.

Brothers and sisters, our united struggle alone can force the employers to stop their attacks. Our united demand alone can force the Government to give relief to the unemployed and accept the Tripartite Conference resolution.

We, therefore, appeal to all workers and their organisations, whatever their political differences to move unitedly, like at the last Tripartite conference. We also appeal to all sections of the public to come forward to the aid of the workers, as upon their work and living, depends living of lakhs of people in various sections of the population in many states.

Hold meetings, demonstrations and lead deputations to officials.
For immediate acceptance of Tripartite resolution.

- immediate relief to workers of closed gardens;
- 6 days a week work.
- full trade union rights including rights to enter workers bustees.
- Organise United movement:-

Against increased workload;

- reduction in total earnings;
- revision of Minimum Wages Act to the detriment of labour.
- cash conversion of ration.

VICTORY TO WORKERS' STRUGGLE !
LONG LIVE UNITY !!

Darjeeling District Chai Kaman Mazdoor Union
Jalpaiguri Zilla Chabagan Mazdoor Union
Cha- Mazdoor Union, Assam (Dibrugarh)
Tripura Raya Tea Workers Union.
(Affiliated to A.I.T.U.C.)

Dated.
28.12.52.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
Central Headquarters

4, Keeling Road,
NEW DELHI.

P.B. CIRCULAR No. 14/53.

March 2, 1953.

TO ALL PCs

QUESTIONNAIRE

ON T. U. FRONT.

The decision of the PB to hold a meeting of a provisional All-India T.U. Fraction in the middle of April has already been communicated in PB Circular No. 2/53 dated 19-1-53.

In order to conduct the meeting effectively it is necessary that the PB should have factual informations and suggestions from the Provinces and Districts on the T.U. situation and problems.

To this end you are requested to send your detailed report on the T.U. Front. The report should help us to get a clear picture on the TU movement in the Province as a whole and also of different industries in each important locality. There is no need to strictly adhere to the questionnaire in its order. The questionnaire is to help you to cover various points connected with the movement in your report.

The report on industry-wise will be more helpful. Thus, for instance, from Tamilnad on Textiles the report could give a general picture of the industry and the TU movement on this front and also give detailed information on important centres like Madurai, Coimbatore, Madras, etc. This will help to provide us with a clear picture.

The report should also deal as to how far the revival of our TU movement has been there since the Party Conference, our general approach, major struggles fought with what results, position of other parties, etc.

The report should reach us not later than by the end of March, 1953.

POLIT BUREAU.

QUESTIONNAIRE.

Industries and Workers.

1. What are the important industries in the region.
2. Total number of workers in each industry (men, women, children).
3. National composition of workers.
4. State of industry (doing well, facing crisis, etc.)
5. Invested capital, profits, etc. (whatever information available).

Condition of the workers.

6. Wages, D.A., Bonus, etc., in each industry, centre, etc. (if possible, give comparative figures for 1939, 1944 & 1953).
7. What are immediate burning issues and demands of the workers?
8. What is the situation regarding housing condition of the workers?
9. How far rationalisation, increase of work-load, retrenchment, unemployment, etc. in progress?
10. What are the struggles (all forms) conducted by the workers and with what results?

T.U. Organisation.

11. How many functioning Trade Unions in the Province? (Regd & Unregistered).
12. How many are recognised by the employers?
13. Membership of each Union (exact or even approximate) and percentage to total number of workers.
14. To which of the Central TU Organisations are they affiliated?
15. What is the pattern of organisation and work of INTUC and HMS, UTUC, etc.? (office, executive committees, provincial or district councils, general bodies, etc.)
16. How many of your Unions function regularly? (Office, executive meetings, General Body meetings, factory or departmental committees, representation of day-to-day grievances, negotiations, adjudications, etc.)
17. Do the Unions regularly take up such activities as co-operative societies, education, recreation, reading rooms and other social activities?
18. How many Unions at present not affiliated to AITUC but could be affiliated if we seriously take up the issue?
19. How many Unions maintain whole-time comrades for conducting the day-to-day work of the Union?
20. What is the financial position of the Unions?

Provincial and Regional Centres

21. What are the Provincial or Regional or Local centres of T.U.s.?
22. What is the position of the Provincial or Regional centres of the AITUC? (Is there regularly functioning office, how many cadres, what are the regular jobs undertaken, relations with the affiliated Unions, etc.?)
23. Do the Unions pay affiliation fees to the Provincial TU and the AITUC?
24. Is there any Provincial, District, Local Trade Federations, such as Textile Federation, etc., and how far helpful, what possibilities for organising different trade centres in the near future?
25. What is the financial position of the Provincial and Regional centres?
26. Who are the main cadres entrusted with Provincial and Regional TU work?
27. Which are the TU journals published by the Provincial, Regional or affiliated Unions, their circulations, etc.?
28. Do you regularly get "World Trade Union Movement" for the provincial, regional and affiliated Union offices?
29. Do you get "Trade Union Record", what are your suggestions for improving the TUR, what should be the character of the TUR?
30. Do you regularly popularise AITUC, WFTU, etc., and explain important decisions of these bodies? What further help do you require in this respect?
31. How is the Peace campaign conducted by the TUs, what are your suggestions for strengthening Peace movement among the workers?
32. What are the Labour legislations enforced in the State?
33. Do you get "Indian Labour Gazette" and is there a State Labour Gazette, and do you get it regularly? Are these materials fully used?
34. What are your suggestions for strengthening All-India, Provincial and regional centres?

U n i t y.

35. How far united action between AITUC, HMS, INTUC Provincial, Regional, Local centres and Unions possible on important issues?
36. What are the difficulties in conducting united actions? Is common action Committees on specific issues between different Unions possible? What do the workers feel on this issue? What are your suggestions in this respect?

..... Right of representation

Right of representation:

37. How far the right of representation on various State Governmental Committees given to the AITUC?
38. Do the State Government regularly keep you informed regarding Labour matters?
39. Have we taken any initiative in this respect with the State Government and what results?
40. What has been and is our attitude towards Works Committees?
Do the Unions take the work of the Works Committees seriously?
What are your experiences in this connection?

Party.

41. How is the Party's independent influence among the workers?
42. What is the pattern of taking the Party to the mass of workers?
43. Is there a provincial TU Fraction, any Fraction for particular industries, how does the Fraction function, how far helpful?
44. How many Party members among the workers of each industry?
45. How should the Central TU Fraction function, what all help you need from the Central Fraction.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
Central Headquarters

4, Keeling Road, New Delhi
April 21, 1953.

P.B. CIRCULAR No. 28/53.

To All PCs.

Sub: ALL INDIA T.U. FRACTION MEETING
on 23rd May at Bombay.

I

1. Following the CC Plenum in Calcutta, it was decided, in consultation with Comrades working in the trade unions and who were at the Plenum, to call an all-India T.U. Fraction meeting in the middle of April.
2. The meeting of the Executive Bureau of the WFTU and the World Conference on Social Security led to the postponement of the proposed Fraction meeting.
3. It will now meet on 23rd May, 1953. The meeting is expected to last for one week.
4. The place of the meeting will be Bombay - or at Nasik which is 110 miles from Bombay.
5. The quota of delegates to the Fraction accepted at the above consultation is already known to the PCs.
6. Delegates or PCs sending them will pay their fares and lodging and boarding charges. Lodging and boarding will not be very dear at Nasik.

II

Delegates should come prepared to discuss the following subjects:

- i) Review of industrial situation since the Calcutta Conference of the AITUC.
- ii) Unemployment, rationalisation and wages.
- iii) Industrial struggles, agreements and awards, gains and failures.
- iv) General political struggles of the workers on non-industrial matters, viz. re: food subsidy, taxes, etc.
- v) Police actions, prosecutions and imprisonments.
- vi) General demands and trade demands. Changes since Calcutta.
- vii) Housing situation.
- viii) Social Insurance measures.
- ix) Industrial relations Law and changes.
T.U. rights: Recognition and Bargaining.
- x) Questions of unity, mergers, united actions and problems arising from them.
- xi) Trade Union functioning and organisation. Strength of AITUC.
Non-affiliated friends, neutrals - Trade-wise situation. Slogans re: unity.
Perspectives and stages.
- xii) T.U. Conferences.
- xiii) The International - WFTU.
- xiv) Report on AITUC Office and finances.

III

Decisions to take:

- 1) To prepare for the full session of the AITUC.
- 2) To hold a Conference preparatory to the full Congress session.
- 3) To consider measures to hold All India Trade Conferences of Textiles, Engineering, Transport and Mines.
- 4) To consider measures to hold a Conference on Social Security measures.
- 5) To hold a Conference to consider Industrial Relation Laws.
- 6) To adopt measures to build a T.B. Sanitorium for T.U. Cadres.
- 7) To organise the publication of the WFTU journal in Indian languages.
- 8) On resolutions and documents of the WFTU.
- 9) On reports, discussions and criticisms at the Fraction meeting.
- 10) On formation of a Fraction Committee.

Further detailed instructions and advice will follow in another circular.

S. A. DANGE,
For P.B.

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
Central Headquarters

P.B. Cir. No. 34/53
To All PCs

4, Keeling Road,
New Delhi.
9th May, 1953.

ALL-INDIA TU FRACTION MEETING

1. The TU Fraction meeting will be in Poona.
2. The meeting begins on 21st morning.
3. Comrades should arrive in Poona on 20th morning, so that they spend the day in reading the reports that will be given to them.
4. The arrangements for meeting, living and eating will be in the same place.
5. Comrades will be given two meals and two teas. The charges for food, lodging etc. all inclusive will be Rs.2/- per head per day.
6. The dues for whole period will be taken in two instalments. On arrival all comrades should pay the Organiser Rs.10/-. As the meeting is expected to last seven days, the second instalment will be taken later.
7. All those who come will have to use our food arrangements, as we have to enter into a contract arrangement for the same.
8. No comrade from any State should undertake engagements of public or private meetings during the period of the fraction meeting. Meetings thereafter should not be undertaken without consultation with the PBM.
9. The address of the meeting place is Ahitagni Rajwade Hall, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2. Guides will attend station on 20th for all trains.
10. There is an address of the Poona Committee of the CPI - Com. Purandare, Communist Party, 2 455, Shaniwarpath, Poona 2 - which also is given for sending telegrams etc.
11. Each delegation should have someone who can translate to his group.

POLITBUREAU

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
Central Headquarters

4 Keeling Road,
New Delhi
May 11, 1953

P.B.CIRCULAR NO. 36/53

To: All PCs

A number of bye-elections have taken place to the State Assemblies and to the Parliament. The results of these elections, as well as the alignment of forces during these elections, are such that it is necessary for us to make a careful study of them in order to find out what changes, if any, are taking place in the alignment of political forces in the country since the general elections.

Important are also the developments with regard to the Municipal, District Board and Panchayat Elections. For, these too indicate the general trend of political development in the country.

PCs are, therefore, requested to send the following information as soon as possible:

1. How many bye-elections took place in your Province since the general elections,
2. How many of them to the House of the People and how many to the State Legislature,
3. Who were the contestants in each constituency during the general election and who the contestants in the bye-elections,
4. How many of these bye-elections did the Party contest and where; in which of them the Party supported other candidates, in which did it remain neutral,
5. Chart showing votes polled by each contestant:
 - i) in the general elections;
 - ii) in the bye-elections.Percentage of total polling in both cases,
6. What changes in the strength of parties in the Legislature came about as the result of the elections,
7. Any other facts you consider necessary to state in relation to the elections, e.g. methods adopted by Congress and other parties, manner in which election result was viewed by masses, etc.
8. When did the municipal, district board or panchayat elections take place,
9. In how many we contested - either on our own or as part of a Joint Front,
10. What was our Manifesto and Programme - send copies of the major manifesto with translation, if possible.
11. Result of the election. Votes polled, as compared with general elections, by us and the Joint Front.
12. In which municipalities or district boards has the Joint Front secured majority,
13. Where it has secured majority, what its programme is and what it has actually done, whether the PC has helped in the formulation of a programme,

POLITBUREAU

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
Central Headquarters

4 Keeling Road,
New Delhi, May 11, 1953

P.B.CIRCULAR NO. 37/53

To: All PCs

We understand that the World Federation of Teachers' Unions (Trade Department of the WFTU) is convening a World Teachers' Conference which would be held in Berlin from July 21-24, 1953.

Some of the teachers' organisations in India have received the invitation and certain other material regarding this Conference. Those who have received the same have also contacted certain other organisations. Since, however, the different teachers' organisations in India have not been properly co-ordinated, it is likely that several organisations have been left out. Moreover, it is likely that even some of those organisations which had received the invitations and other material have not taken it seriously.

PCs are, therefore, requested to take steps to see that Party members and sympathisers working in the Teachers' Organisations are informed about this and made to do their utmost to see that the preparations for the world Conference are successfully carried out.

POLITBUREAU

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
Central Headquarters

5c/54 Rohtak Road, Delhi 5
July 4, 1953

P.B.CIRCULAR No.45/53

To All PCs.

All PCs are already aware that the AITUC is holding a Central trade union school.

Many comrades expressed the fear that they would not be able to take advantage of the school, if their Party Conferences meet about the same dates as the school.

This is to inform all PCs that the school will meet from 20th AUGUST to 5th SEPTEMBER. It should be noted that the language of this Central school will be English.

If the PCs can so arrange, they should see that Party Conferences do not overlap these dates, so that comrades chosen for the T.U.school should not be forced to lose one or the other.

Politbureau

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA.
Central Headquarters

P.B. CIRCULAR No. 47/53

5c/54, Rohtak Road,
Delhi - 5,
24th July '53.

To All PCs

The All India Trade Union Fraction meeting held in Poona in May, 53 discussed the vital problem of Trade Union unity, specially with reference to the position of the INTUC.

The Trade Union Sub-Committee of the Central Committee has prepared a document summing up the discussion on which there was unanimous agreement. This has been printed in English as Party Letter No. 7 of 1953.

The importance of the problem in the present day Trade Union work and therefore of the decisions taken demand that it should be made available for study to all PMs especially Trade Union functionaries in their respective languages. PCs should therefore arrange to translate the document in their regional languages as soon as possible.

Bihar and Punjab State Committees of the Party have translated the document and published it in Hindi and Urdu respectively.

Party units should immediately place their orders of Hindi and Urdu copies of this Party letter on the following address:-

Hindi Party Letter,

The Secretary,
Bihar State Committee,
Communist Party of India,
Naya Tola - PATNA 4.

Urdu Party letter.

The Secretary,
Punjab Provincial Committee,
Communist Party of India,
G.T. Road, Jullunder.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
Central Headquarters

P.B.CIRCULAR No.59/53.

5c/54 Rohtak Road,
Delhi 5,
7th Sept. 1953.

To All PCs.

Enclosed herewith is the invitation letter and programme of the All India Teachers' Convention proposed to be held in Delhi under the auspices of the Delhi State Teachers' Association. The Delhi Provincial Committee of the Party is participating in the preparations for the Conference. Please communicate this information to the teacher comrades in your province. It may be useful if one or two comrades from at least those provinces where there is a strong teachers' movement, come and attend this Convention, without, of course, committing in advance the organisation which they represent to the policy adopted or organisation set up by the Delhi Convention. If some comrades from the Provinces decide to attend this Convention, PB may make arrangements for a meeting of all the Party members who attend the convention with a view to some preliminary discussions on the problems of the teachers' movement in India. Please therefore let us know if teacher comrades from your Province propose to attend this Convention.

We are also sending copies of this circular to some leading teacher comrades in some Provinces.

POLIT BUREAU

All India Teachers' Convention
Organised by Delhi State Teachers' Association
C/o Post Box No. 1557, Delhi.

Dear Shri.....,

The Delhi State Teachers' Association is calling an All India Teachers' Convention at Delhi on 2nd, 3rd & 4th October, 1953. The aims and objects of the Convention are attached herewith.

I seek your personal co-operation in this national programme and request you to send us the names and addresses of the Teachers Associations which are functioning in your State or District or Division together with the names and addresses of the Director of Education and the Minister of Education.

Hoping your fullest co-operation,

Yours very sincerely,
Secretary.

All India Teachers' Convention,
Delhi.
--

Dates: - 2nd, 3rd and 4th October 1953.

Aims and objects:-

1. To bring about uniformity in the system of Education throughout the country.

.....2.To discuss

2. To discuss ways and means of the reorientation of the present system of education so as to suit the needs of free India.
3. To consider the role of teachers in society with special reference to their duties and rights.
4. To consider the role of teachers in the Five-Year Plan.
5. To consider the necessity of forming an All India Organisation of teachers.
6. To consider the conditions of service of teachers in different states with a view to bringing about uniformity.

Programme:- Delegates from all the provinces will reach Delhi latest by the evening of 1st October, 1953.

2nd October, 1953.

- Morning: - Visit to Rajghat to pay homage to the Father of Nation. Sight seeing.
- Evening: - Inaugural Session.
- Night : - Subjects Committee Meeting.

3rd October,

- Morning: - Open Session
Delegates to give reports regarding conditions of service in their state.
- Evening: - Breaking up into different Commissions.
- Night : - Entertainment.

4th October

- Morning: - Meeting of Commissions.
- Evening: - Open Session.
- Night : - Camp Fire.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
Central Headquarters

5c/54 Rohtak Road, Delhi 5
August 10, 1953

P.B. CIRCULAR No. 56/53

To All Party Units

Non-official Resolution on Unemployment

You might have seen by now the newspaper reports that Com. A.K. Gopalan's resolution on unemployment situation has secured first place in the ballot of non-official resolutions for discussion in the Parliament. The discussion will come up before the Parliament on AUGUST 22nd. The resolution demands effective steps against unemployment and also immediate relief for the unemployed.

In order to conduct the discussion in the Parliament on this resolution effectively, it is imperative that Party units, Trade Unions and other organisations should furnish factual material on the unemployment position at various centres of industry to the Parliamentary Office at 2, Windsor Place, New Delhi.

Effective preparations for observing August 15th as "Unemployment Day" as per the call of the All India Trade Union Congress will be made in all States and centres and it will be easy for you to despatch the materials without any delay. This should reach the Parliamentary Office before 20TH AUGUST, latest.

As many mass organisations, public bodies and prominent individuals, etc., should be approached to send telegrams to the Prime Minister on 20th, or 21st morning (in addition to Party units themselves doing the same), and copies of the telegrams should be sent to the Labour Minister, Finance Minister, A.K. Gopalan (at 2, Windsor Place, New Delhi) and also to the M.P.s from your locality, urging them to take effective steps against unemployment and for providing immediate relief for the unemployed.

Besides, resolutions passed at the August 15th rally should also be sent to the Prime Minister and A.K. Gopalan.

Detailed reports on the observance of the "Unemployment Day" along with reports on action taken on this circular should be sent to us at the earliest. Reports should also be sent to CROSS ROADS.

Please treat this as urgent and very important.

Polit Bureau