

5/6/50

To
The Editorial Committee

Re. B.C. Secy's ref. to Sanjeer of PTTQ Com -- not arranging Mar. Cell's meeting with him.

The B.C. Secy. suggested this to me when I met him in the middle of April. At that time it was decided that I should prepare a note on Marshal's ^{specially} task in ~~it~~ regard to campaigns in B'bay - mainly campaign against P.J.T., and that B.C. Secy. shd. meet the cell after that note was discussed by the cell.

I prepared this note - it was okayed by B.C. Secy. & was taken up in the cell at the end of April. Just then came the PB document no. 16 - of the question ^{assumed} ~~took~~ a different character. There were difficulties of place etc. also.

Or, two weeks back the B.C. Secy. again wrote about it - I wrote back to him ~~saying~~ raising the problem of Com. SVD ~~is~~ - After his reply - I placed it before the Mar. Cell when I met them on 26th. After that the Mar. Cell wrote to him & the ed. committee also took up the matter with B.C. Secy.

These are the facts re. the drift in fixing up the meeting - I am placing these before you for your information.

—Greenup

Sanjeer

157.2

8/6/50

Dear Com. Parky,

You must have received my reply to the note of Editorial Committee concerns. I had sent this reply through your M. G. Unit and had requested them to arrange the meeting if possible on this Saturday or Sunday. I had also requested them to fix a meeting place through their apparatus. I had requested meeting on Saturday & Sunday because my appointment with Mr O. G. concerns ^{had been} ~~will~~ previously fixed up to Friday. I am also ^{thinking of} meeting this concerns after Friday. But I have not yet fixed up further appointments because I have not yet heard of either from you or

from Am. Standard about edition
in date or the place of meeting.
Please therefore let me know
whether what is your final
decision re. representation, on
what date is the meeting fixed
and have you or the W.G.
Committee arranged for a meeting
place. If I don't get any
reply from you by tomorrow
morning, I will take it that
meeting is not going to be
held on this Saturday or
Sunday & arrange my other
programme accordingly. I
am writing this from you.

Sincerely,
Secretary Sec.

May 5, 1930

To: The Editorial Committee

Dear Comrades,

I am very glad to receive your note dated 4.5.30. I have been anxious to meet comrades of the Mashal cell for the last two months. I had requested Com. Sanjeev and the Fort Committee a number of times to arrange such a meeting. But for one reason or another such a meeting could not be arranged. I, therefore, welcome this opportunity to meet you and discuss with you the question of Patkar and Tambitkar disruption and our campaign against it in Mashal.

Comrades of the Mashal cell have also written to me that they want to meet me to discuss the same issue. Your committee must decide in consultation with Fort Committee whether they can arrange two meetings—first with your committee and second with comrades of Mashal Cell. I am prepared to have both meetings one after the other.

There is, however, one point in your letter which I want you to reconsider. This is about Com. V. Deshpande. He is a member of the B.H. has already expressed his differences with BC on Patkar-Tambitkar issue and I am taking up the matter directly with him as a BC member. We are also trying to fix up a meeting with him as a BC member in order to thrash out his differences. In view of this so far as Com. Deshpande is concerned, his differences with BC on this issue being an inner-BC matter, it would not be correct for me to discuss the same with him in such a meeting, along with other members of your committee. I know that Com. Deshpande is also a member of the Mashal cell and hence his right to represent them cannot be questioned. But at the same time it is also not possible for me to ignore the fact that he is a BC member and that as such we are going to deal with him separately. It is clear that this is an anomalous position, but it cannot be liquidated overnight since it has a history and a background.

I, therefore, sincerely hope that you will not insist on Com. Deshpande's presence in the meeting you propose and place me in an awkward position. If however you insist on his being present, I will have to consult other BC members and this will unnecessarily delay the meeting.

I trust that you will reconsider this point in the light of what I have stated above and let me know your final decision regarding representation.

I am sending this note through Fort Committee and requesting them to make necessary arrangements for meeting with you and also the Mashal cell comrades.

Greetings,

Secy. BC.

Copy for Unit Secy of
letter to BC Secy.

9.6.

Dear Comrade Vikram,

The cell secretaries unit in the PHQ which in practice is today functioning the PHQ and leading it has asked us for all letters that passed between you and us on political ~~xxxxx~~ and organisational questions other than tech matters. They want these in order to acquaint themselves with BC-PHQ Committee relations as now they will be directly corresponding with you.

We have decided to send them all your non-tech letters to us. In addition we want to give them our letters to you of which you have the originals while copies are not with us. Please send these to us so that we can type and send them to the Unit in the PHQ. We shall return the originals after typing.

If you wish to write anything on this correspondence to the o.s. unit you can send the letter to the Secretary, Cell Secretaries' unit PHQ.

You will understand that our reason for releasing the correspondence to them is because to-day it is they who by a decision of the PHQ Committee and the PHQ comrades are shouldering the responsibility of running the CR and other journals and it is they who will be directly writing to you. They feel - and we think this to be correct - that without this correspondence they will not be in a position to take up the work properly and to understand the full situation before they meet you to ~~discuss~~ discuss.

Greetings,
Rahim.

June 8, 1950

Dear Comrade,

We have received your letter of June 5th, to our request for an urgent meeting with you to discuss reporting in Mashal in relation to P & T affair. The PH Cell Secretaries Unit has fully discussed the letter.

We felt the urgent need to discuss with you because we have had differences with the BC approach expressed in the reports in Mashal. Not only in the Mashal cell but in PH as a whole there is difference with the BC approach. But it is very vital that we reach some definite understanding on the reporting in Mashal after a full discussion with you, in this interim period when the question is undecided and differences persist. Hence our decision to send representatives to meet you.

The personnel of the representation was decided by us after a thorough discussion Com. Mehdi as our Unit Secy., Com. Chiman, a leading editorial comrade and a member of the Unit, Coms. Prema and SVD being members of Mashal Cell will be in a position to represent different viewpoints and problems on this subject. Again, when we concretely discuss the various problems that have arisen between BC and Mashal cell it would be most helpful to have all views represented so that the discussion can be fruitful. This is the basis of our selection of the team that was to represent us in the meeting with you.

You have raised a technical point that Com. SVD is a member of the BC and so he cannot be included in this representation. In your letter you recognise Com. SVD's right to represent the PH as a member of the Mashal cell admitting the anomalous position.

In your opinion, it is not correct to take the position that Com. SVD's differences with the BC are an inner-BC affair in the period of freest inner-Party discussion. We feel that all differences inside any Party Committee are open for discussion and criticism for any Party member. Also all the elected members of the Party Committees - PCMs, CCs have a right to place their differences before the Party ranks. Then Com. SVD's differences with the BC on P&T question no longer remain an inner-BC affair. Again: our topic of discussion is not the difference between Com. SVD and BC. The purpose of our discussion is to reach a unified decision after posing all points of view, as to how we should report in Mashal BC campaign on P & T affair, without impairing the unity of our Party and the unity of the working class. And again, if the CC has before it the P & T affair, then there are certain organisational implications which we think have to be clarified.

Hence, we request you not to make a point of technical objection to Com. SVD's presence. In the wider interests of the Party, it is very vital that an understanding is arrived at on this question as soon as possible. This will be greatly facilitated by Com. SVD's presence. His presence should not lead you to any awkward situation. We have made clear why we feel the anxiety and urgency for this meeting with you and why we chose this particular team. We earnestly hope that you will reconsider your earlier decision and meet our representatives. You will also appreciate the urgency of arriving at an early working arrangement in reporting in Mashal on this question.

We request you to consider the matter and arrange the time and place for the meeting as early as possible. We expect an early reply,

With greetings,

Secretary,
P.H.C. Cell Secretaries Unit

4.6.1950.

FROM: THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

To:

The B.C. Secretary.

Dear Comrade,

We wish to have an urgent meeting with you to discuss with you or comrades fixed by you regarding the reports and statements on Patkar Gambitkar and others.

There is considerable confusion in PHQ as we are not fully aware of all the facts and so feel that a proper discussion with you, specially in relation to Mashal, should be had at the very earliest.

We have fixed four representatives - Com. Mehdi (Secretary of the PHQ Cell-Secretaries' Unit), Comrades Prerna, S. V. Deshpande and Ghisra.

We hope you will treat this as urgent and arrange for such a meeting at the earliest.

Greetings.

10.6.1950.

To: Secretary, PHQ, Cell Secretaries' Unit.

Dear Comrade,

Received your note of 8th instant. After my last letter to you, I consulted other BC members on the question of SVD's presence in your meeting. All of us feel that presence of SVD in such meeting is against all Party forms and it will be neither helpful to better understanding between BC and PHQ Unit, nor will it lead to proper resolution of our differences with SVD on the question of P&T disruption and other matters. While this is our firm opinion, we do not want to make exclusion of SVD as a condition precedent to our meeting with you because we know that our insistence on this point is likely to be seriously misunderstood by you and other comrades of your unit. The fact that you have interpreted my objection as "raising a technical point" is probably an indication of the same. In view of this we are prepared to meet your representatives (including SVD) at such place and time you decide. It is not possible for BC to make arrangements for such a meeting of nearly 5-6 comrades, because after the last blow-up all our machinery had been completely disorganised and we are trying with great difficulty to build up at least a minimum apparatus with our scanty resources. At present we are in position to arrange meetings of only 2 or 3 persons at a time and a meeting of 6 comrades is out of question through our set-up.

I had already explained this difficulty to Fort U.G. Unit and had asked them to make arrangements for your meeting through their set-up. So far I have not received their reply. Will you please get into touch with them as early as possible and ask them to make necessary arrangements? Since the need for meeting is so pressing, I am sure you will impress on your UG unit, the urgent necessity of ~~arranging~~ arranging the meeting at an early date. As soon as the meeting place is fixed, please let me know immediately so that we will fix the date taking into consideration ~~that~~ our other programme. It would be better if you could also suggest a date suitable for you along with the reply re. meeting place.

I am also writing separately to your UG Unit.

On behalf of BC I will attend the meeting and Com. Dhavaji will also be present if it is possible from their other points of view.

There is however one point to which I would like to draw your attention. I learn that my last note to you has been circulated to all PHQ cells. There is nothing wrong in this. But at the same time, care should have been taken to see that the fact that BCS is meeting PHQ comrades did not become a matter of almost public discussion. Only yesterday I got a note from a responsible comrade of BPTUC fraction in which he asks whether such a meeting is being held and if so why and how this matter is being so widely discussed. We think that it is unsafe and dangerous from Tech. point of view to let such meetings to be discussed in this fashion. I hope you won't misunderstand me on this point. I brought this point to your attention only in order to enable you to take necessary precautions while arranging the meetings.

Warmest greeting.

Secretary, B.C.

P.S. I shall be thankful to you if you could send me a typed copy of this note. It is not possible for me to make a copy here.

BCS.

TO ALL CELL SECRETARIES.

16.6.1950.

Dear Comrades,

We have received a copy of the letter from BC written to the PHQ Committee. This will give you an idea why there was so much delay in the meeting. We are holding the meeting of the Cell Secretaries' Union on Saturday and we propose that we discuss this problem also in this meeting. Please be very careful with this letter.

SECRETARIAT.

14.6.1950.

Copy of the letter.

Dear Comrade,

I received your and Unit Secretary's letter about fixing meeting...As there was no return dak from my end to you and Fort in the afternoon, I could not immediately write to you about your suggestion.

I frankly feel that only a three hour meeting and that too in a place where Com. X would not be able to come, will not be very useful to achieve the purpose we have in view. Such a brief meeting will not only not remove the misunderstandings and doubts on both sides but also will lead to further confusion since in such short time no problem will be properly clinched and no issue will be thrashed out to the satisfaction of either side. In order to have a free and frank exchange of views, I think we would require at least a 12 hour session if not more. Then only, I think that we will be able to make serious effort to reach at least a ~~maximum~~ minimum common understanding as regards immediate problems. It is for this purpose that the presence of Com. X also is necessary in the meeting.

I would therefore request you and the Cell Sect. Unit to postpone this meeting and try to find another place where a longer meeting along with Com. X is possible. I have also asked...to find out a suitable place for such a meeting.And and if we succeed in getting a place an early...may be easily possible. I think both of you should consider this suggestion and let me know whether you agree with it.

I do hope that Fort Unit comrades will agree with this suggestion. If they disagree with this suggestion and only if it is likely to be misunderstood as an attempt to postpone the meeting on my part, then alone I will reconsider my proposal, and I will even agree for a brief meeting as you have suggested. But I frankly feel that such a meeting will serve no useful purpose and I think it is my duty to tell you beforehand what I feel. Besides this it would have been better if, I had received from Fort comrades the agenda for the meeting, the specific question and ~~doubts~~ doubts they would like to raise as it would have helped me to come prepared with such material as would be required to dispel their doubts etc. This would in any case be necessary that we can have a business-like discussion on concrete issues. It is from this point of view as well as that I think it would be better to postpone the meeting at least by a couple of days...The main thing that is needed is really full and frank discussion and for this purpose I think a little delay does not matter.

I am sending a copy of this note to Fort Unit along with this note and I hope you will please try to get an early reply from them. I don't know whether they would want to place this note also before all Fort Cells. I cannot help it if they do, But I would only say that it would not be proper from all points of view. Please let me know what you have to say.

BC.

21st June, 1950.

Dear Com. Vikram,

I have seen the English translation of Com. Bai Bhore's statement being circulated among the comrades at PHQ. Both Com. Rahim and I most emphatically protest against this step of the B.C. leadership.

I had already discussed this ~~xxx~~ question with you and Dhanaji, when I met you both last time. Both Com. Dhanaji and I had objected even to your hinting at the contents or nature of the statement in your article in "Mashal" of May 14th, by using words like "revolting". I had specifically requested you not to circulate the statement among party ranks and to the best of my recollection, com. Dhanaji ~~xxxxxx~~ agreed with me. You had no argument in support of its circulation.

About four days back, when I heard reports that it was being circulated, I could not believe it in this background. In fact I told com Narendra that it could not be true. I wrote to you about it immediately. But my letter remains unanswered.

I need not repeat here the arguments I placed before you then against its circulation. All that I wish to state is that a leadership that sinks to using such "weapons" reveals thereby its utter political bankruptcy, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Its inability to conduct any struggle on a political plane leads it to have recourse such unprincipled, ~~xxxxxx~~ anti-party methods - methods which no communist party can use or will use. It is to this level that the B.C. leadership has reduced itself and for this the responsibility is yours and primarily yours.

You have gone to such lengths, which judged by all standards are simply amazing. You have not shown any human considerations for the comrade who made the statement, with great trust in you.

Comrades in PHQ are rightly and violently indignant that the BC should use such utterly degenerate and non-political weapons.

Both Com. Rahim and I emphatically protest against ~~xxxxxxxx~~ the circulation of this statement and demand it be immediately withdrawn from circulation, whether in English or in any other language.

Greetings,

Nissar,

Rahim.

22 / 6 / 50

Com. Nasser & Rabim,

I hope both of you will have at least the decency to ascertain facts from me before making stupid allegations against P.M. leadership. I don't know who has translated Bani's statement in English and who is responsible for its circulation among P.H.Q. comrades. We are in no way concerned with either the translation of Bani's statement or its circulation among P.H.Q. comrades.

The facts are as follows. It is true that we had made 600 copies of Bani's statement & these were ^{sent} given to responsible P.M. organisations so that they should know all facts. All the copies were called back within 4 days. Most of these have ^{now} been returned. A few days back SUD asked for a copy

in his capacity of as a Post. M. So
a copy was sent ^{to him} with clear
instructions that it should be returned
after reading. This copy has not
yet been returned. This is the
truth about circulation of Bai's
report. I take full responsibility
for this & shall answer for it
before any party-authority. I had

informed ~~that is all~~ Bai that
we are doing this and I ^{had also} explained
her why we were doing it. So
there is no question of betraying her
confidence & trust. She has herself
written to me after that ^{in all} 3 letters,
one of which is a letter addressed
to all party members. In none
of these letters she has in any
way objected to our ~~circulating~~

using the of these has statement in the
above manner. On the contrary
she would've been two days to
read this report. She has herself
told all facts contained in the
report before a general body
meeting of p.m. + non-p.m.s in
ADP women's yard. About 10 days
back I had sent copies of
all these love letters to Sanjeev
& asked him to circulate
these among T-AD. Commanders
I do not know even to this
day why these letters were not
circulated. Was it because
in these letters Bui had once
again ^{flatly} denied the allegations of
her torture?

I am not very much bothered
either about your 'strong protests' or
moral hysterics. My conscience is
crystal clear on this point. You
seem ~~then~~ to think ^{that} when one of you
(Nissar) read his statement it was
allright. (I am quite sure that Rahim
too would have read it, if I had
given it to him in English) But
~~strongly~~ ^{even} your conscience has moved
a few more party members like
you ^{also} read his same statement then
in your eyes, it ^{suddenly} becomes sacrilege,
moral degeneration & what not.
This only shows how cheap & easy
your moral values are! When
pamphlets, ^{impugning} slanderous & shameless ^{allegations} statements
against honest party members like

100
The Prabhu & Sawant are freely
distributed, discussed & even defended
in PHQ, your conscience lulled
a very sound sleep, but the
moment a few more party
members read a few facts
concerning open enemies of the
Party, your conscience is suddenly
roused from its deep slumber! I

can cite any number of facts -
like these - facts concerning ^{even the}
very safety of the Party - which
are being freely circulated in PHQ
and yet not of you has thought
it necessary to raise your voice
of protest! That shows how very
live & alert is your ^{moral} vigilance!
Please look into the ^{moral} ^{gentlemen}
before you utter these stupid charges or 'moral' denunciations.

And let your common sense &
moral values at least make
you do this much - Make ^{inquiries} any
inquiry and find out who is
really responsible for the circulation
of Bin's report in PHQ and who
translated it into English! ^{for this purpose.} If
it is found out that I am
in any responsible for this, I
will be am prepared to face
even a firing squad. But
if it is found out that I
am not responsible for this,
then will you at least have
the decency to withdraw your
false charges? And may I know
why copies of Bin's letters denying allegations
of torture are not yet ^{been} circulated in PHQ?
Sudip Vikram

Return

bracketed phrases are
suggestions for cuts before
circulation.

14th June 1950

Com. Harrod,

I received ^{only yesterday morning} your + Fort unit Sec's
letters about fixing meeting [on Thursday night].
As there was no return call from ^{my} end to
you + Fort in the afternoon, I could not
immediately write to you about your
suggestion.

I frankly feel that only a three
hour meeting and that too in ^a [semi-ex-
posed] place where Com. Thangzi ^{would} not
be able to come, will not be very useful
to achieve the purpose we have in view.
Such a brief meeting will not only ^{not} remove
the misunderstanding + doubts on both sides
but also will also lead to further confusion
since in such short time no problem will
be properly clinched and no issue will be
thrust out to the satisfaction of either
side. In order to have a free + frank
exchange of views, I think we would require

at least a 12 hour session, if not more. Then
only, I think that all we ^{will be able to} ~~can~~ make serious
effort to reach at least a minimum
common understanding as regards immediate
problems. It is for this purpose that the
presence of Com. Bhanaji also is ~~absolutely~~
necessary in the meeting.

I would therefore request you & the
Fort cell Sec. Unit to postpone this meeting &
try to find another place where
a longer meeting along with Com. Bhanaji
is possible. I have also asked our Jek unit
to find out a suitable place (there are
already one or two places in view) for such
a meeting. They have promised to give
me a definite reply within 3 days and if
we succeed in getting a place, ^{an early} ~~a~~ meeting
[by this week-end] may be easily possible.
I think both of you should consider this
suggestion & let me know whether you agree
with it. and I would also request you to be
be in search of a better place in the meantime.

I do hope that Fort and comrades will agree with this suggestion. If ~~they~~ they disagree with this suggestion and only if it is likely to be misunderstood as an attempt to postpone the meeting on my part, then alone ^I will reconsider my proposal ~~to accept~~ ^I will agree for a brief meeting ^{as} you have suggested. But I frankly feel that such a meeting will serve no useful purpose and I think it is my duty to tell you before hand what I feel. Besides this I ~~think~~ ^{would have} ^{been} better if, I had received from Fort comrades, the agenda for the meeting, the specific questions & doubts ^{which} would like to raise ^{as} ^I it would have helped me to come prepared with such material as would be required to dispel their doubts etc. This would in any case be necessary, ^{so} that we can have a business-like discussion on concrete issues. It is from ~~the~~ this point of view as well that I think it would be better to postpone

The meeting at least by a couple of days
till ~~which~~ ^{and} time then I will also get a
definite reply from our Jek-Unit
about the meeting place. The main thing
that is needed is really full & frank
discussion and for this purpose, I think
a little delay does not matter.

I am sending a copy of this
note to Fort unit along with this note
and I hope you will please try to
get an early reply from them. I
don't know whether they would want
to place this note also ~~for~~ ^{for} ~~the~~ ^{the}
before all Fort cells. I cannot help it
if they do, but I would only say that
it would not be proper from all
points of view. Please let me know
what you have to say.

Yours,

Secretary P.C.

Com. W. Ram.

14.6.50

In view of your letter of this morning, we have decided to postpone the meeting. We thought the major issues of the attitude towards the Patkar-Tambitkar group and inner-party discussion could have been usefully discussed in the preliminary meeting, certain issues of agreement cleared certain issues of difference also would have emerged.

But since you feel that such a meeting will not serve any purpose but on the contrary would worsen the situation, adding to the confusion, we will not insist on such a meeting. I am however writing to the o.g. unit comrades to send you their own views on ~~whether a~~ short three hour meeting would be useful.

In any case in view of your objection to such a short meeting, I am asking the o.g. comrades to cancel the meeting for tomorrow. If they still feel that such a three hour meeting would be useful-- as I do -- ~~then~~ and if after hearing their arguments you also agree, then the meeting can be arranged after two or three days. You will understand that I am not in a position to decide about this as it is these comrades of the o.g. unit who will be meeting and discussing with you and not myself or any member of the IHQ Committee.

As far as your request for a long meeting is concerned, it would undoubtedly be much better if such a meeting were arranged. But the fact is that we are not in a position technically to arrange such a meeting. We have no such places where you can stay over 24 hours as will obviously be necessary if you were to have a twelve hour meeting with them. But if the BC tek apparatus can arrange this, it would really be very good. I think you know about the limited nature of our apparatus to understand our difficulties in this respect.

Greetings,
Rahim.

June 23, 1950

Dear Comrade,

We have just received the circular that you had sent yesterday intimating us about some of the organisational changes brought about by the last CC meeting. This news came as a relief in so far as the old PB has been dissolved and the CC has been reconstituted and the CE has been removed from the CC.

We will of course express ourselves on the circular though we know that before we know fuller details regarding these it is not possible for us to express ourselves fully on them - for instance not before we know why the particular nine comrades have been chosen for the new interim CC is it possible for us to express ourselves on the merit of this particular decision or the decisions as a whole.

However, there are certain matters which must be clarified immediately as they are intimately, inescapably and vitally connected with our day-to-day work here.

Although we had not had even a single acknowledgement of receipt or an assurance either from the old CC or the new CC that materials sent from here are being studied, carefully, we hope that the CC has gone through carefully the various resolutions, minutes of the cell meetings, etc. that we have sent from here for the perusal of the CC.

We do hope you have studied them with due care and also the memorandum that we have sent to the CC.

You must have noticed the deep anxiety which we all feel at the grave crisis of the Party. You must have noticed that we consider the failure of the old CC as the fundamental factor of the crisis.

~~It is unfortunate, however, that we have not yet been told who these CCMs were. I request you to convey the names of these two CCMs immediately to us, particularly because some comrades here feel that one of the two CCMs involved is yourself.~~

This bankruptcy of the old CC was fully reflected by the CCMs who were in charge of running the PHQ. This is revealed by the gross and impermissible failure of the CCMs to lead the PHQ politically or organisationally during the past period, the reaction of the CCMs to the Cominform Editorial of 27.1.1950 and the anti-Party arrogance that these CCMs are guilty of. We repeatedly demanded to know the names of these CCMs so that we could make sure that they are not again given the charge of guiding the PHQ for you will agree that no ~~person~~ person could ask the comrades in the PHQ to repose their faith in anyone of these two comrades.

It is unfortunate, however, that we have not yet been told who these CCMs were. I request you to convey the names of these two CCMs immediately to us, particularly because some comrades here feel that one of the two CCMs involved is yourself.

Quite apart and besides alone from this clarification which of course is very important, we would also like to make it clear that it is not possible for us to repose political confidence in any member of the old CC until we know his full record for the last two years and are able to study his self-critical report.

This becomes particularly important in your case in view of the fact that quite a large number of comrades feel that you are one of the most hardened Left-Sectarian members of the CC responsible for a good deal of damage to the Party, particularly in Maharashtra.

We will, therefore, urge on you most strongly to answer the points raised by us in this letter as fully and as early as possible for in our opinion this clarification alone can serve as the starting point of work in PHQ.

You will notice that in our memo to the CC we have stated quite categorically that particularly in the interim period a Commission must take charge of the Central Agit-Prop work of the Party. This is the only way in which, in our opinion the Central Agit-Prop can fulfil its functions, however partially.

We would like to know your own views on this point as well as that of the CC whole.

Copy forwarded to cell

Dear Com. Vikram,

Thanks for your note.

Re. meeting Neela. Yes, I shall - hope to - discuss with her fully and I am sure - as you are - that she will react perfectly. When that is going to happen, I don't know. So your suggestion re. my telling her about your inability to reply to her notes, I will not be able - there will also perhaps be no need - to convey to her. Though I shall certainly in general help her see how replies from you to every note always may not be possible or prompt.

I am referring the point about Mrs. Sanjeev for information to Hamid. Narendra's draft I have sent with some suggestions. It does not need improvement. But he seems to be 'hoping'. Therefore rejected our draft and sent his.

I have not ~~xxx~~ read what notes R & H exchanged with you re. this free discussion issue. I read your long note, although hurriedly and we could not discuss it for want of time. I also had had a brief report earlier from Sanjeev about his meeting you and other comrades there.

Not having previously discussed your note in ^{PHQ Com.} Unni, not having been able to read it carefully, it would be wrong for me to express myself over it, casually and on my own. Hamid most likely will be meeting you soon and then he will discuss it fully.

^{PHQ BR} Meanwhile One point I would wish you to think over. Conditions in Fort and Area are in this matter a little different in one respect, but common in other basic respects. Different in the sense, in Fort they are full-timers and concentrated in one place, have had an enormous lot of regular discussions in the past, have ready access to each other and to documents, are in very close touch with the PHQ Com. There is no disruption, as in your case.

But the common factor is their urge to help correct the line and loyalty to the Party. True when they see the enormity of the mistakes they will shout. It may also be that errors of criticism may be there, subjective criticism also may be made. But that is a passing and necessary stage. Later they will be able to concentrate, uncramped, on the documents.

^{also} I don't see what will be wrong in this, if it happens in Area. Basic loyalty to Party is there deep and firm. If disruptors try to do mischief, it can only be combatted on the basis of such discussion where their "politics" will be ^{made} clear. I don't know what you meant by 'guiding' discussions. PB's printing of Party forum is certainly guidance. Unni will be doing the same as best its cadre can. We are guided in this by Chervenkov's report (Section - Our Tasks No.2 & 3) in Lasting Peace of Feb.17, 1950. Choudhury himself has asked for 'freest discussion'. A for warning against disruptors, main point is how we guide and what we mean by guiding, the do's and don't's.

I see it is a big question and can't be clarified in and thru notes. Negatively putting I would say we should do nothing that can be interpreted by ranks as cramping criticism of the line or the organisation, of committees or individuals. We should realise that if any blunt and perhaps even subjective criticism is made, the job is not to ask him or her to keep quiet, but help him realise that while nobody prevents him from going for it, this alone does not help to forge a correct line and our main job is that. Above all, criticism must not go out of the Party. We have enough faith in the ranks that enemies not only can't take advantage of this, but that thru this they will be smashed.

As for guidance, it will be good guidance if some leading comrades or units contributed their criticisms sharply and precisely, not as he line for the rest to OK or as the final word in Bombay but just as a part of the discussion forum. You know how the central Party forum ~~was~~ loosened minds and started a discussion. That I think is all the guidance needed.

^{PHQ} I don't know what and how much you know of how discussions are conducted in Fort. What you seem to have written on is Rahim's note to you. (I should be corrected if I am wrong.) But that is not discussion on the PB documents. That was reaction to our wrong notes which had suppressed discussions. If against that a burst-up takes place, well, it will be just correct, even if it is very 'violent'. Actual discussions on PB documents have NOT yet fully begun. Comrades are just beginning them. I wish you to realise this.

If after discussion of PB documents there are very sharp attacks on

19 th May 1950

Dear Com. Vikram,

B.C. Secretary

Received your letter of 18th. It is perfectly true that there is a very major difference between your understanding and ours regarding the crisis and disruption in Bombay. It is also true that these differences cannot be thrashed out in chits and correspondence. For that a meeting with you of Mashal comrades ~~and~~ is very essential, especially because Mashal work is intimately connected with B.C. and unless at ~~it~~ least a minimum common understanding is arrived at it will be extremely difficult - even harmful - for Mashal comrades to produce the paper in a manner in which it will become a weapon of the movement in Bombay.

As regards actually fixing up this meeting, we are trying on our own to find out a place. But we would certainly be glad if you can find out a place through your resources - we have no objection whatsoever to agree to that. But there is one very important factor about which I have to report to you and which I think you will have to consider before fixing up the meeting. The factor is - Com. SVD. During the past few months, we had practically isolated SVD inside the cell itself and also in PHQ. That was because of our wrong understanding about the rights and privileges of Party members, and since we suspected him of being in league with the Patkat-Tambitkar group we refused to believe in his bona fides and denied him his rights as a P.M. Now when we are trying to correct our past mistakes, ~~we~~ we have decided to ~~correct~~ correct our attitude in the case of SVD also. In fact there was nothing much left for us to correct. Immediately after the inner-Party discussions began, comrades in PHQ started freely discussing issues with SVD and he also became vocal. Still inside the cell itself there was a good deal of reservation and the question of campaign against P&T and Bombay matters was not discussed in his presence. So two days back I met SVD and had a long talk with him. I found one thing - that he does not want to go out of Party form if the Party forms are available, and now of course he is determined to assert his rights. ~~There are~~ There are many points on which you will ~~agree~~ agree - but we think those points need to be thrashed out. The main thing was of course ~~that~~ regarding the campaign against P&T. And you know our views generally, so we have ^{quite some} common points with SVD now. But nothing is clinched, and nothing can be clinched for a long time to come. The only thing we assured SVD is that we have no intention of denying him his rights any more and we also will not base our attitude henceforth on past prejudices. So we asked him to discuss absolutely freely and frankly inside the cell, in the PHQ and with any Party member. He also told us that he is preparing a full memorandum for the P.B. of which a copy will be sent to B.C. SVD told me that he is going to raise a very basic point - that he does not recognise the decision to expel P&T and others as B.C. decisions. His point is that he himself is a duly elected BCM and no B.C. resolution can be considered valid without his consent. We think there is ~~strong~~ force in this argument and the B.C. will have to consider it. For that matter, the B.C. also must immediately consider the question of restoring to him his rights and privileges as a BCM, especially in the matter of inner-Party discussion. The B.C. will have to admit that virtually cutting him off without any proper decision or even a proper charge-sheet is flagrant violation and breach of the organisational principles of the Party.

So the point which I would like you to consider is that ~~if you can~~ your meeting with Mashal cell comrades cannot be arranged without the knowledge of SVD. We may of course decide not to call all members for reasons of safety, but in any case the problems to be discussed and thrashed out can only be posed by the cell comrades on the basis of prior discussion inside the cell itself. Then ~~alone~~ the representatives of the cell will be in a position to express the opinion of the cell as a whole, or if there are differences, pose them ~~in~~ as such. So before deciding about the meeting you should please consider the problem of SVD - and if you have no objection to meet him also as a ~~representative~~ member of the Mashal cell we would certainly wholeheartedly welcome such a meeting. And even if SVD personally does not attend the meeting, his problem will have to be taken up for discussion and you will have to answer it on behalf of the B.C. So please write what you think in this regard.

*Pr with B.C. comrade
he for the call to
decide as to who
should represent
them -)*

This much about the main question of differences of approach and understanding. As regards the question of Mashal - I must in the very beginning make it clear that we have no intention of imposing any censorship on B.C. news or articles even though we may not agree with the B.C.

We fully realise that as regards the problems/ B.C. is the Party authority and we have no desire to interfere in its internal affairs. We shall certainly express our opinion as Party members and as Committee whose work is directly and intimately connected with the B.C. especially in regard to the journals. In fact it is this realisation that prevented Coms. Nagpuri and Rekha from holding back your article last week although they strongly felt that the article would do more harm than good.

As regards the news about the Wadi clash - it is quite likely that Mashal comrades may have expressed that they are confused etc. But I know that the news report which you had O.K.ed was NOT held back because of the confusion. Rekha told me that it could not go for reasons of space. I believe it is being given in the coming issue, and after getting your letter I have again written yesterday asking Mashal comrades to give that report in the coming week. So please rest assured that we will not suppress any news or reports O.K.ed by the BC or articles and statements sent by the BC. These will be given as before even though we may not agree with them. I hope this will make the position clear. So you need not have any apprehensions in this regard. Your directives in this regard will not be disregarded by us or by the Mashal comrades.

As regards Rekha's two letters about the ~~two~~ reports about treatment meted out to Bai Bhor for getting the report from her. It is good that you have sent the letter to Neela for investigation. But I was surprised to read that you heard it for the first time through Rekha's letters. Apart from the question as to whether the reports are true or false, I do not know if the o.g. comrades have heard about this matter which is already common knowledge among certain Party circles. I say this because I heard it from SVD also and I can also imagine that Ushatai must have talked about it to many comrades. The entire P & T group is circulating the report. And since the report has come from Nasik jail - through Baburao Naik who was on parole - people are likely to believe in it even more than stories circulated by P & T themselves.

I would request you to find out if any o.g. comrades had come to know of this and if they did not report it to you. I say this because I feel the BC Sectt. is to a large extent cut off from the reality and the o.g. comrades are not perhaps sending reports about inconvenient "facts" which do not fit in with the theories on which the BC campaign is based. The very fact that certain remarks which Neela makes to Rekha several days ago are not reported by Neela herself to BC Secy. is an indication of the lack of confidence among BC comrades to speak up their mind freely to each other or to the leadership.

Rekha told me that even though she herself had been feeling uneasy about several things she did not report them either to the PHQ Com. or the BC. She told me that for several days she had been feeling that the campaign against P & T is Mashal should be stopped and that our own supporters had been asking as to whether BC or Mashal had no time to think of any other vital problems of life of the workers. We know that Rekha's reports during the last two months have been one of the major sources of the information received by the BC Sectt. So if Rekha herself is now feeling differently, it will not be wrong to say that other o.g. comrades in area also should reconsider and review their opinions and check up the 'facts' to find out whether there have been false reports, distortions, etc. And it is only on the basis of such collective review that the BC will be able to examine its own mistakes and review the whole campaign.

This is all that I wanted to express today - there are many more points which need to be thrashed out, but as you have said that cannot be done through chits and correspondence. But I have placed these things before you so as to enable you to discuss with the comrades whom you are meeting this week.

Hope to hear from you at your earliest,

Greetings,

Sanjeev.

24.5.50

Dear Com. Hamid,

I returned yesterday night. I met six key o.g. comrades this time. All of them were unanimous ~~xxxxxx~~ in saying that the bulk of P.M.s in Bombay are reacting in a very healthy manner to the new documents. The working class P.M.s have not yet got Marathi documents but they have been told the gist by organisers and fraction secretaries. The general attitude of all working class P.M.s is strong resentment against and shaking up of faith in Party leadership - they say, we blindly followed the leadership, accepted their word as Gospel truth, suppressed our real feelings and instincts, but hereafter we shall not hesitate to speak the truth, we shall study and correct our mistakes and bring the Party to correct path. This is the main reaction. Along with this there is a great desire to learn and study, the articles in Nave Jag are being ~~xxxxxx~~ collectively read and discussed. On the question of P & T disruption all are united that they must be fought and Party must be saved against factionalists and disruptors. We will take back honest and misguided elements but not the main ringleaders. This is the general reaction. There is no anti-Party trend, nor any signs of 'anti-B.C. revolts' or 'storm' about which Rahim had warned me once. Com. Dhanaji had also met a number of comrades, key area cadre, nearly 8-10, and he also reports the same thing.

However during my discussions with o.g. comrades, I found that almost all of them were bitterly complaining against the attitude and behaviour of Fort (PHQ) comrades. Even responsible and sober comrades like Omega and Ramarao were saying that the attitude of some Fort comrades and the way they are going about giving ~~xx~~ expression to their anger and dissatisfaction will do nothing but harm to the Party. In this respect names of Nagpuri, Jeevan, some Malayali comrades working in Fort at present - even Khardikar- were mentioned. All sorts of stories are being spread about Bai (Bhor) being physically ~~xxxx~~ tortured by our comrades in jail, and others of similar type. Here is one choice example. It was asserted by Khardikar and a few others that some study circle in Shevdi area was inaugurated by Uday - Choudhary's small boy ~~!~~ And when area comrades and others told Kh. that this was not true, still he was not prepared to believe it. ~~xxxxxx~~ This is really the limit. Many such stories - some of very personal and disgusting character, are going round. It is also being freely propagated that Patkar and Tambitkar were also being victims of terror, bureaucracy and factionalism and their cases must be reviewed and all struggle against them must be stopped. The B.C. comrades are also being egged on to demand explanation from B.C. about the change of Secretary even though none of the B.C. units or members have so far raised this question.

Here is one more instance. Com. Ramarao was saying that in one discussion Com. Jeevan went to the extent of suggesting that at the time of Ambewadi maramari it was our comrades who went there with daggers and knives, etc, ~~xx~~ and made use of them. This is exactly the way the Patkar gang is trying to cover their own attack against our girl comrades. All these things that I heard from o.g. comrades are disturbing. The o.g. comrades feel and I agree with them that all this is objectively helping the disruptors and weakening the hands of honest P.M.s who are conducting a determined struggle against them to save the Party. This is bound to lead to strong anti-Fort reactions among B.C. comrades and I don't know how we can prevent it. I can quite see your difficulty in this respect. But then what is the way out? Are we going to allow things to develop in the same fashion?

This peculiar situation created in Fort ^{PHQ} pointedly raises the question whether Fort committee can keep in touch with PSU, IPTA and PWA units and guide them as was agreed to between us sometime back. I feel and Dhanaji also feels that this arrangement cannot function in the new situation that has been created. Since there is basic difference between our ~~xxxx~~ outlook on the question of "free discussion" as well as probably ~~xx~~ though I am not quite sure - on the question of P & T disruption, I feel that we will have to reconsider the whole position in the light of this new situation. However I don't want to come to any hasty conclusions in this respect before I discuss the matter personally with you. Please see if it is possible for you to come here for a night, so that we can discuss all these matters and take proper decisions. Please don't misunderstand - if you think I am on wrong lines a proper discussions will clarify many things. Hence try your best to come at least for a night as soon as it is possible for you to do so. Let me know when you are coming.

.....

Greetings,

Vikram.

Com. Hamid,

By yesterday's dak I have received further complaints about Fort comrades ~~from~~ from Ramrao, Kooper, and Kailash(BSU) and even Dhanaji. If you want I will send extracts from their letters.

I must tell you very frankly that the situation is becoming intolerable. I can understand that Fort Committee has basic differences with us on the question of P & T disruption, but they must write about these differences to ~~the~~ CC and PB. So far you committee has not even considered ~~it~~ it necessary to let us know about their differences. You wrote about facts but where are those facts? What are your differences? If you are not very anxious to discuss these differences with B.C. it does not matter. You can settle the issue with CC, but till this is done it is amazing that ~~the~~ you should allow Fort comrades to talk and propagate freely against BC and thus weaken our struggle against the disruptors. Whether we are right or wrong in taking up the line we have taken it is ~~the~~ for the CC to decide. The Fort Committee cannot put obstacles in our struggle, nor can any individual comrade of Fort go about spreading utterly false and mischievous slanders against BC. I must make it clear to you and other Fort Committee members that even if you think that we are wrong, our struggle against P & T gang will continue with every ounce of our strength. We shall stop only if the CC asks ~~us~~ us to stop. No amount of slander, perversions, lies, and even blackmailing on the part of individual members of Fort will make us flinch even to smallest extent from this struggle which we are convinced is a struggle to save the Party from a gang of crooks and factionalists.

In this situation I want to ask you once again what your committee is going to do. Is it going to look on helplessly and allow our struggle to assume the form of an open conflict between BC and Fort Committees? I want an immediate answer to this question. I have been raising this issue with you again and again during the last three weeks. After our discussion on "free discussion" you had promised to consider this in Fort Committee and let us know but till today there is not a word from you. The other day I requested you to come here to discuss the matter. I don't know when you are coming. You wrote to me the other day that you are going to write with facts about your differences. But till now there is nothing from you. I know your difficulties and I also appreciate the delicate situation you have to face. But what then what do you want me and BC to do? Every day I am getting complaints from BC comrades about something or the other said or done by Fort comrades. What reply can I give them? How long can I remain silent? What am I to ask them to do in respect of such Fort comrades? For heaven's sake, try to see my difficulty, at least write frankly, come here so that we can discuss and if there is still some trust and mutual confidence left between us, let us try to see if there can be a way out.

.....
.....

Greetings,

Vikram.

BC Sec.

157.17

Re meet with BCS - note
be get I can only confirm this finally
on plea that Dhanaji can't Dooby Read & return.
tomorrow R

12/6/50

Dom. Rahim,

your note of 9th inst.
and two earlier chits - one about 'facts'
of the Dhur about PHQ t.g. unit &
our old correspondence. I am sorry
for this delay - because I have been
busy and date from you & to you is delayed.
I rd. your note of 9th on 12/5 i.e. totly
about meeting O.G. committee. I wonder
what is the use my writing to you but
to keep meeting on Tuesday. However
I am returning ~~on~~ on Tuesday
night & it is better we settle
about meeting some time by the end
of week. I am also rtd in Dhurji
for this meeting - Hence at least
3 days advice in advance is necessary

to get him here. By now you
or Hanib and have got my note
about Lewis P.C. meeting along
with his O.G. comrades meeting.

If that can be arranged it
will be very helpful. ^{Please} ~~let~~ ^{let} ~~let~~
me know about this by tomorrow
night when I hope be in NY

- I have received in all
300 Rs (three hundred Rs) sent by
you.

- About old correspondence - was
unfortunately I have destroyed
many letters which I thought
were of use no use - But some
have been left in my files - I
will see what if some can
be reversed. I am at once
of all turn this important once

from today's point of view. I will
not mind after my return.

— About 'facts' you can
of course place all facts
- including those that may have
been left out even now before
Fot. committee so that they can
not justify their charge of
suppression of P.B. documents
against P.C. I will ~~try~~
explain to them our position
when I meet them. Is that
O.K.?

guleys

Vikram

14th June 1950

Com. Hamid,

I received ^{only yesterday morning} your + Fort unit Sec.'s letters about fixing meeting on Thursday night. As there was no return date from ^{my} end to you + Fort in the afternoon, I could not immediately write to you about your suggestion.

I frankly feel that only a three hour meeting and that too in a semi-exposed place where Com. Shauqi ^{would} not be able to come, will not be very useful to achieve the purpose we have in view. Such a brief meeting will not only ^{not} remove the misunderstandings + doubts on both sides but also will also lead to further confusion since in such short time no problem will be properly clinched and no issue will be clarified out to the satisfaction of either side. In order to have a free + frank exchange of views, I think we would require

at least a 12 hour session, if not more
only, I think that all we ^{will be able to} ~~can~~, make serious
effort to reach at least a minimum
common understanding as regards immediate
problems. It is for this purpose that the
presence of Com. Bhavaji also is absolutely
necessary in the meeting.

I would therefore request you & the
Fort cell Sec. Unit to postpone this meeting &
try to find another place where
a longer meeting along with Com. Bhavaji
is possible. I have also asked our Tekunt
to find out a suitable place (there are
already one or two places in view) for such
a meeting. They have promised to give
me a definite reply within 3 days and if
we succeed in getting a place, a meeting
by this week - and may be easily possible.
I think both of you should consider this
suggestion & let me know whether you agree
with it. and I would also request you to be
be in search of a better place in the meantime.

I do hope that Fort and comrades will agree
with this suggestion. If lucky, If they disagree
with this suggestion and only if it is likely
to be misunderstood as an attempt to postpone
the meeting on my part, then alone I will
will reconsider my proposal ~~at least~~ ^{I will} _{if} even
agree for a brief meeting ^{as} you have suggested.
But I frankly feel that such a meeting
will serve no useful purpose and I think
it is my duty to tell you beforehand
what I feel. Besides this I ~~have~~ ^{think} it
would have ^{been} better, if I had received
from Fort comrades, the agenda for the
meeting, the specific questions & doubts they
would like to raise, ^{as} ~~if~~ ^{it} would have helped
me to come prepared with such material
as would be required to dispel their
doubts etc. This would in any case be
necessary, ~~so~~ that we can have a
business-like discussion on concrete issues.
It is from ~~the~~ this point of view as well
that I think it would be better to postpone

The meeting at least by a couple of days
till ~~which~~ ^{some} time then I will also get a
definite reply from our Jek-Unit
about the meeting place. The main thing
that is needed is really full & frank
discussion and for this purpose, I think
a little delay does not matter.

I am sending a copy of this
note to Fort unit along with the note
and I hope you will please try to
get an early reply from them. I
don't know whether they would want
to place this note also ~~for~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the}
before all Fort cells. I cannot help it
if they do, but I would only say that
it would not be proper from all
points of view. Please let me know
what you have to say.

Yours
Secretary P.C.

157.19

Com. Party

13/6/50

I am sending you B Cee's letter
& enclosures. These are to be returned,
after reading

Lucille's
Rahim
—

12 / 6 / 80

Com. Sanyal,

Your note of 7th inst
to received today.

Sending herewith Neela's note
along with your covering note

I am also sending along with
this note a copy of two
letters I received from Com. Bai
Bhor only yesterday. One is

a letter to me & another is
a statement meant for Madhul.

There is third report sent by
Bai about her & in interview
with her mother. Unfortunately

I have not been able to make
a copy of the same so far.

I will try to send it by

next day. Along with these
notes of Bai Shun. Sushida, the
Committee Secretary of Women, you
has sent a note explaining
the incident which is
referred to in Neta's note.
I am getting copies made
of the same and shall send
the relevant portion in a
day or two. I hope
at least - after all these
vain letters - this propaganda
of Lohia against Bai to extract
a statement out of her, will
stop - But perhaps this is
too much to hope for in
the present circumstances. Any
- way let the Neta's words & things read
it. Please return all this - you
can get copies made if you need them
for information - greetings - Vikram

7th June

Dear Com. Vikram,

I am returning Neela's letter - I am sorry I could not send it yesterday because I was out.

It is difficult for me to express on this matter. But ~~I agree with~~ I believe that it is correct to get Bai's statement & circulate it among P.M.s.

Greetings

Sanjeer

प्रथम भाग पाठने व ररेवाचें वाच्य कोटयो आदि ते
देते. भाग मुद्रण आल्यानंतर ती ~~...~~
कोटयो इत्यादी गेराव्यास आले तेव्हा संचा या
द्वाराच प्रथम होता की सांगित्तय पाठकर तांविना
निराचो लढ्याचो परोत्येचो वाच्य आहे। निराचोच
कोटयो इत्यादी प्रातीक्रिया पायी व वाच्यो भूमिच
पायी। सांगित्त भाग सर्व हिमार्च दिव्या. त्याचयें-
निरीक्षतः प्रथम ही वाच्यो आरक्षण सांगित्तसांगित्त
भागाची प्रातीक्रिया पाच्य आली। हे सांगित्तले व हे ही
सांगित्तले की वाच्य आतीक्रियेचें त्यांच्या गटांत हाता
तेव्हा तेचो प्रातीक्रिया पाहून सर्वोना रणि आले.
कारण पूर्वा ज्यावेळी घाडी घडली यांना वाच्य
आले होते व त्यांच्या गटवाच्योचो वीसो ये
हाच्युत्तर आले होते ते वाच्यो वाच्ये त्यांना मुद्रण
"भाडे" "रांडी" आरक्षण दिव्या हेच कोटयो तेव्हा
तिला सांगित्तले होते की अशा रितीने। रीत्या
केच मुद्रण होते ते त्यांच्याचो वाच्योचो मुद्रण
मि गेही होते व कोटयोचो वाच्योचो वाच्यो.
संबंध ही आली आहे तेव्हा नीट विचार कर व
मुद्रण व त्यांचा दृष्टापाचो वाच्य आहे। यांचा विचार
कर त्यांचेतर तितः कोटयोचो वाच्योचो वाच्यो
आहून या रणित गादी। असे विचार तेव्हा वाच्य
हे सर्व सगळोच करीत नाही असे वरले. त्यांचे
त्यांचे तिला नीट विचार करेप्यास सांगित्तले.
त्यांचेतर तेव्हा पाठकर तांविनाच्युत्तरांचे मुद्रण
वाच्ये statement आले तेव्हा पाठित्त करालेचो
मुद्रणो तिला विचारले मुद्रण म्हणजे पायी।
वाच्य वाच्ये त्यांचा उत्तर दिले गादी तेव्हा

प्रत्येक वेळा व प्रागेकारिता तयारी करून घ्या
मगिनार. (कागळे). आरही खेळ संका घेण्याचे
उदाहरण व ही संका खेळ करतील गेले
गिनाकार व निघले जोसावे आणो इतर युक्त
आल्या व म्हणाल्या. आरही आज खेळ
खेळतो (त्यापूर्वी ~~त्याची~~ करता ना रोजी
चलित असे) व वाडूला आपल्यांत
ओढतो तुम्ही आणून आणो लगे देऊ नका
आता अर्थ वाडूला देऊन मारण्याचा होता
असा खरोखरीच नाही परंतु त्यांचा असतोच
होता व तो वेळेच्या स्वरुपात व्यक्त होत
होता. त्यानंतर त्यांचा आपसात मारामारी
केवळी व गंभीर त्या घातक गेल्या व
आरिणही त्यांनी घेतले। तो खायर पाया
उदाहरण व म्हणाली मारला परंतु गंभीर
आरही आला व या आघेत तो खरुच
वाढले त्यांना परंतु त्यानंतर आरिणात
संबंध नावले व वाडूला त्या जसा मोकलेक
पान वाडू लागल्या व त्या नंतर अराधन बदलवून
त्या वेळी नैमीय आणची संकांचा मारामारी
होते त्यांत वाडूनेही भाग घेतला होता. परंतु
तो हे सांगतले की कॉन्ट्रोलचा या गतावर
संतोष होऊन होता. त्या खरोखरीच तो
आनंदी ही फोडला होते. (आणो या संव
गोष्टीचा विषयास करेन त्यांचा statement
शी संबंध जोडण्याचा प्रयत्न केला.

दूत facts अद्वितीय - मोक्षक गोष्ठी प्रसूत
कल्याण ती जरी आहे आली ती उभा
सांगा मोक्षक्या संजन आहे. व तेव्हा
तोच्या statement मधून पाटीपुत्र
मोदी गोष्ठी कल्याणचा इष्टीने परिभा
आहे परंतु या statement मा संनसाध
रण कायकारिता उपयोग वाही परिभा
ह्यांचा लढा आज ते मज्या पालकीकर आहे.
याचा अर्थ परिशुद्ध रहनीसिद्धी स्टेटमेंट न
बता जिवरदसावे वेतलेह असा रिता निघतो
संजन गोष्ठीत सिद्ध मजेश्रीपेका - वेतलेह न
तिले साजोत असे वेपनाच्याही अपिपताले
तुम्हा वेतलेह वेतले तयार प्रदानयान्ना ही
पुनर्जा पुरत हति. आज वेतलेह म्हणून
मोदी पुनरि विधानाये म्हणून परत विधान
केव तयार ~~वेतले~~ कल्याण प्रयत्न होत आहे.
मा रेखाता राजनीय वेतले ही सांगितले
आमचा उदाहरण मोक्षक्या आहे तसेही
कोणत्या ती गोष्ठीचा अद्वितीय संजन
जाडने स्टेटमेंट जिवरदसावे, विधानाये
पुरताने वेतले ही निष्कर्ष काढणे म्हणजे
स्वतःचरोन पुरताने माक्षेवर अन्साय आहे.
आरिच्या व्यवसाय लेखन राजनीय म्हणून वेतले
ती आज मुळाच्या कायने होत संजन परत
लेखी वेतले होण्यासाठी जरूर सातत प्रयत्न

करण्यांत आले. कि या प्रकरणांततर मला
स्वतःलाही खोली अत्यंत मोठे येत असे
कारण मलाही परिचय होत आहे. पंधरे
मिळाल्यास ती ही सो. अष्टि- उभे उभे वरिष्ठ
या इंग्रिज प्रजासत्ताक सरकारातून ती खोली
-ही पाठीचा उभे या गोळ्याने आहे
बघावले व तिच्यापासून पाठीचा बळकट
करण्यासाठी योग्य तो स्विकार करी घेण्याचा
प्रयत्न केला. मला यांत येत असलाही रोज
ही तिच्याबरोबर असून वाचोत असे व
त्यामदल काँग्रेस रूपात कोळते त्यामुळे
कित्येक वेळा मलाही वास्तु असे की आपण
Conciliatory attitude तर अस्वीकार नही
परेतु की. र्हा. ये पत्र अहमदनगर आल्याने आशा
तिच्याकडे लक्ष दिले. म्हणून ही जर एक
इंग्रिजोक्त वसता तर फारच मदात शक्ति
असतो असे मात्र मला चरिते. व एकडे
पाठीचा उभे, तबूळ, पातळी, तिच्या
वाचपुत्र देण्यात पुढे शक्ति असे चरिते.
पण तिच्या हे ही संगीतले होत तुला पाठीचा
जाणा आहे तुझ्या लढा फौज आहे व जोड
दिवस तुम्ही आयली सज्ज करायला लागते तसे
त्यांत दिखून आले की जर पाठीचा पायिबुकी
मजतीस न त्यांत मात्र घेतले तर जरूर व
मुझाक, तिच्या असा वसत्यासुने स्वतः आहे
तिच्या पुरेतास पाचूने अस्वीकार्य न असा-

राजकीय जुनौ प्रोगे गदत करध्याचा प्रयत्न
केवा... स्वर मोकडल गरी या मज्जा के इतर
राजकीय प्रश्न म्हणून वरध्याचा संगो गळे
त्यानेकी आदी Communion या लेख जरी
गानध्यारा संग्रह यथा केवा. तो रिपोर्ट
मुमच्याको आहेच.

मला या बाबा असे मला को काड्या
statement म्हणून अनेक गोष्टी बाहेर
पडतील म्हणून आज पद्धतशीरपणे कि
statement स्वारे उरविण्याने प्रयत्न
चालविले आहेत व त्यासाठी वाटेक त्या
गोष्टीचा संबंध statement ही जोडण्याने
प्रयत्न चालवले आहेत. या राठी माझी अशी
सूचना आहे, काड्या स्वतंत्रपणे या बाबा
पुन कोडवयारा संगाने त्याचप्रमाणे तेनील
मोकडलपुडेल या बाबा खुलासा पागवावा
व हे सव पाठोस आराडांग मोकाने करण
आज मोकळ गोष्ट शाळा को बाही काड्या
पागे 1/2 पडले को बाही? मग स्ट्रेटनेट स्वारे
अशा तरेने यथा काड्या आहे तरी असे
केल-मास स्वरो फारस्थती समजेल
मला असे मला को काड्या मोक्या काड्या व
मानवता मोकळ आहे, हा मोक्या काड्या
स्वरमुखाचे मोकळ आहे को 1/2 सा म्हणून
तो पावत आहे ते विचाराने.

असाधारण तेथील पुरातन राजकीय
 दृष्ट्या आहे या प्रजापति याच पुरातन यंत्रणे
 रितीत जरीर गणनांचा कारण मला
 आठवते ती पाठविली असून नंतरच्या राजकी
 उत्साहाने तेथील सर्व पुरातन आचलने
 रागाने व पैसे करे विक्रीने यंत्रणेने
 ते एकत्रित सांगितली होती. परंतु त्या
 सर्व गोष्टी निरवस्थाना समेत आहे.
 तरीही या जागतिक संविधान परिषदेने
 ह्या असाधारण तुम्हा गणना
 रखात्री चर्चा परत केले तेव्हा ती पुरातन
 मला माहित आहे परंतु लोकांचा परावर्ण
 मध्येच आहे ती ही संविधानी आहे
 शाळेच आहे अशा गुणनांचा यंत्रणेने आहे ती
 या जागतिक तुम्हा जे पत्र पाठविले असो
 ते मला मध्ये संविधानी आहे पत्र मी
 अत्यंत धाडून लिहित आहे ही व त्या जागतिक
 पत्र दिवंगाई शाळे ही असाधारण तुम्हा आहे
 व जर तुम्हाला या एकत्रित करणे स्वरोपार्थ
 दिवंगाई संविधानी उपयोग शाळे असे
 विले असो तर त्या जागतिक तुम्हा जरीर
 लोकांचा मी स्वतः मीच आहे असा
 विवेक . पूर्वाचा धोरणाचा
 प्रमाणे या जागतिक संविधानी दृष्ट्या मी ०१ (०)
 असा असाधारण मी मीच आहे त्या जागतिक

०१ (०)
 ०१ (०)

प्रिय डॉ. अकरोरसे,

तुम्हें ता. २६ नें पत्र ता. ५ ता दिवाते. मजकुर अजबता. आपण

बी.सी. तर्फे माझे आभेनंदन घेण्याचे वाचून कसे तरी वाटते. कारण मी
अद्याप तो घेण्यास पात्र झाले नाही, माझी खरी दसोटी बाहेर गेल्यावर आहे.
कारण ते माझ्यावर प्रत्येक प्रयोग करतील. त्या सर्वांना तोंड देऊन मी जेवा खज्वीर-
पजाने वागेन, माझा बोल-बोवक बागा दाखवून तेव्हाच खरी माझ्यांत पात्रता येईल,
बी.सी. करून आभेनंदन करून घेण्याची प्रसे माझे मत आहे.

आता त्यांनी जो प्रचार चालविला आहे त्याचे उत्तर मी रात्रीच लिहून
मुंबईलाजवळ दिले आहे. त्याच्या पूर्वी आर.प्र.बुधा मी सांगितले आहे की पार्टीकडे सर्व
माझा रिपोर्ट लिहून पाठविला आहे.

तुम्ही ज्ञानप्रकाशना १६-१७-१८ नंबरची डॉ. मराठी पाठवनाइ आशा
हे वाचून आनंद झाला. त्यापूर्वी मला श्ये बुझीताने रंगूजी सर्व वाचून द्याविली
आहेत. कळकळा डॉ. चा रिपोर्ट पत्र वाचल्या हे सर्व वाचून माझी धार्य-
वस्ती अद्याप जास्तच वाढली. कारण पार्टीकडून घेण्या मृगण्यात व आपल्या
बुद्धीत केवढा तरी फरक आहे. कॉमिनफार्मच्या लेखांत व त्या फुटपाळा व घेण्या
मृगण्यांत असे जरीत असेलच फक्त आहे. आणु डॉ. मृगण्यांत व चिन्हां घेण्यात
पुस्तकास सार्व आहे. पण पार्टीकडून घेण्या मृगण्यात कोठेच अर्थ लागत नाही.
माना तसेच मुझे को. हे पुजारीत माझ्याकडाराच्या मागून जाणारे आज त्याचे
दुजे बनते आहेत अशी माझी पूर्ण स्वतंत्री झाली आहे. आज पार्टीने आपला
विरोध लढा सुरू केला आहे तें अजून वेळे असे नाही फक्तानेक मत आहे. त्या
लक्षांत माझी जिवकी पार्टीला मत लागेल तीतली मी दरम्यान वेळा पण लक्षात
माझा लक्ष फार कमी आहे व तो बाहेर गेल्यावर जाता वळिक होणार आहे.
कारण हे हलकट लोक माझ्यावर अनेक उपाय करतील वत आपल्या जाण्या
ओढ्याचा जोरान प्रयत्न करतील. त्याच्याविरोध जर दामाणीक कम्युनिस्ट म्हणून
लक्षात घेऊन असेल तर पार्टीला माझा सक्तीचा विरोध जात आतला वेळा पाहिजे. पण
वेळेवर सध्या पार्टीच्या सर्व वा अड्याचा व पत्रकारिता जोरान अजून वेळा पाहिजे तर
त्याचे सर्व उपाय उघडून असु उघडते नाही तर नाही त्यातु शक्यता मी पार्टी
पार्टीला वेळोवेळा सार्व वेळ सांगते की तातुदे सक्तीचा विरोध आत-
राष्ट्रीय बुद्ध्याचे व आपल्या मनाची बुद्ध्याचे विरोध मांचे कसोतीने असावे. अति-
माझे १५ वर्षे पुस्तक वेळी घेऊन भरपूर करील. टीका आणोविका हे सध्या माझ्या
अपभ्रंशमिदक लक्षांत घ्यावून त्या बोलोविका बागा असे वाणविले माझे पार्टीकडे
मी परत मिळविले. मी नमोविका कायदा वाचते ते सांगते - इतिहास, आचार्य विदुस्थान
पार्टीची सर्व पत्रके निवचे हिंदी पुस्तक, अजकम इराक, डोपेच व अजकम
कसोतीचा पत्र हे पुस्तक मुंबईलांनी आम्हाला समाजानु सांगितले. वेळेवर, माझा
आपके वाचते.

बाई भोर लालमल्लिक

कॉ. याच, माइनापल्लन भाज पाटकर तंखिटकर कपू व त्यांचे सांगितदार पाठ्यानी व
इत्यामा माइया कॉंग्रेसबद्दल जोशात खोशनाटा प्रचार करीत आहे. हा प्रचार सगळ्यांच्या
करीत आहे हे मलां सगळ्यां कानिउमेना व मुंबईच्या काँग्रेसाना परत एकदा सांगायला
आहे.

आज हे अला खोशनाटा प्रचार का फाताव? कारण मी त्यांच्या गांठ
१२ वर्षे होते. त्यांच्या गरबाजोत अनेकवेळा भाग घेण घेतला होता पण ज्यावेळी
हे दगाबाज पार्टीच्या व काँग्रेसवाणीचा विरवासाघात करून घेताहे हे मलां कळते,
त्यावेळी मी पार्टीच्या अंत्यारवातीं खंडीरपणे उगीं राहून यांच्या स्वा. ज्ञानिने
व माइया स्वतःच्या गरबाज भद्रुजीनेरुध्द टीका भक्तरुका ह्या संस्थाच्या मदतीने
करते व त्याप्रभारी मी माइया पोरिया आंतरिकेच्या रिपोर्ट पारोड्ड पाठवीत, त्यावेळी
माइयावर कोणतेपण जबरदस्ती केले नाही किंवा दगाव आणायला नाही. तर तो मी
इच्छेनें लिहून काढाय तो रिपोर्ट आहे गेल्यापसून ह्या फुटपाड्यांनीं तमर घालविला
आहे कों माइया छळ करत तो लिहून घेतला. पण मी जेव्हा ह्या मूणच्याचा
उक्ता करतो आहे. हे गरबाज इतके का घाबरते? तर त्यांनीं कोणतीं
कोर येणार आहेत म्हणून त्यांनीं हा प्रचार जातविला आहे.

मी माइया परची मुआखत स्वखुशीनें बंद करतो. कारण ज्या लिशि मला
समजते कों माइया दरचो सर्व मान माइया दोनी मुले दगाबाजोनी जाड्यात
सांगडकी आहेत तेव्हापसून मी माइया मुआखत बंद केली होती. तेव्हापसून यांनीं माइया
परच्या मंडळीना निडविआस सुरवात केली असाचो असे मलां वारते. कारण आजपसून
माइया आडला परच्या कामामुळे वेळ मिळत नसे. पण तीच बाई ह्या फुटपाड्यांच्या
प्रत्येक कार्यक्रमात हजर राहू लागली हे मी ता. २९ मेला विचारते तेव्हा तीनें जे मज
सांगितते त्याच्यावरून सांगडकीच कल्पना येते त्यांच्या प्रचाराची.

हे आज सांगतात कों कॉमिन्फॉर्मनें जे सांगितते तेच आम्ही जाणे पावून सांगत
होतो पण हे साफ खोटे आहे. मी पार्टीप्रमाणे केवळ मांडते नव्हे तर उतर
सांगत मीनें कों आज कोणताही पण तसा फरकाचो परिस्थिती नाही. मुंबईचेकरीत
नाही. आर्थिक अरिष्ट नाही. उतर कॉमिन्फॉर्मनें सांगितते की साम्राज्यशाही, सत्ता,
शाही बडवा आंडवलदारांच्यावेरुध्द हिंदुस्थानांत आपल्या पार्टीच्या व कामगारसंगीत
नेतृत्वावरवाळीं येथील जनतेच्या राष्ट्रवापि संयुक्त मोर्चा उभासा आणि अनुकूल
परिस्थिती निर्माण होतानच स्वातंत्र्यसेना उभातून बसाल्ल (ज्या बसाल्लो फरा हे
कॉमिन्फॉर्मनें सांगितते होवे. पण त्यांच्यावेरुध्द पाण्डुरकुशला कोणताच तसा
नफो आहे. म्हणून आज ह्यांचा कॉमिन्फॉर्मच्या मज्यानें कोणताही बुराणामुध्दा
बळून पडत आहे. प्राणाधिक माथेदाच्या नांवारवाळी आंडवलदारांचो सेवा करीत
आहेत. वैचारिक व लोकशाहीचा घेतलेला बुरवा सर्वस्वी फाटला आहे.

हनुन हे असे पार्लेच्या विरुद्ध खोरातारा प्रचार करून जामातेंक कामगारांचो व कॉम्रेड्मचो दिशावृत्त करीत आहेत.

इतकेंच नाहोतर यांच्या गळ्याजोच्या राजकारणापसुन जे सामाजिक कॉम्रेड्स दूर होतात व यांच्या गळ्याजोच्या व दगाबाजोच्या विरुद्ध लढ्याच्या निर्धारानें पार्लेच्या झेंड्याखाली रक्तवीरपणें उमे राहून लढतात त्या कॉम्रेड्मचो असोच प्रचार फांतून उळमळीत करून परत आपल्या जाळ्यांत मोड्यापा हा उब आहे. घाला व्हांनी पण फसत नये अशी मो सर्प कॉम्रेड्मचो व मुंबईच्या कामगारांना खिनाते करीत आहे. ह्या फसल्या जंपारलडांमो केवळ पण फसणार नाहीं. उलट आज मो असा निर्धार करीत आहे की ह्या दगाबाजोच्या विरुद्ध पार्लेच्या झेंड्याखाली व कामगारवर्गाच्या नेहलाखाली सतत लढत राहिन.

पार्लेखाली अंकर शोर.

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(Return after casual)

ता. ६-६-२०

जब डॉ. मैकरी कास में मारना परती तो मासिकपत्र मुताबिक
 वैद्यकी बंद करती होती व परन्तु पण संबन्ध तोड़ना होता व तब
 पत्र पाठक कळवते होते परन्ती सब तागसे लोकेकी त्यांच्या जाकभात
 सांपडती होती. म्हणून तो हा उपाय करता होता त्यांच्याविषय. पण त्यांनी
 दोनी महिन्यांता मला भेटण्याचा प्रयत्न केला. परिणामाबद्दी आई, माझी माता
 मुलाची व भावाच्या खेरा मुलाग भरी तीस तागसे भाती होती दुसऱ्या वेळी
 माझा भाऊ एकदा आला होता. पण ती दोही वेळा त्यांना भेटते नाते. पण
 नगर मला इत्याद्या मुनेने दस्त्या लोकांची भेट परन्तु लोकांताडे होते म्हणून
 तो तसे परी पत्र पाठवून कळवते होते की तुम्हाला वेळ भसेत तर मला पुढच्या
 मूणजे पत्रा माहितीक भेटण्याक येणे हे पत्र त्यांना ता. २५ रोजी लिखाणे व ता. २५ रोजी
 ती मंडळी मला भेटण्याक आली होती. आई, अंजनी, माझी लहान मुडगी, तावड
 चार लहान मुले माझी नात.

माघ माहितीबाबत आई शु लागली. अंजनी म्हणू लागली तुम्हाला आतापर
 सुज आली काय? नाही. चांगले १४० पौंड वजन आहे माझे मी हे सांगितले.
 नंतर आईने कोलॅजस मुखान केले. मी मुला कोप-यात चारव्यावेळी वर
 पाठून मारण्यासाठी नाते दिले पारीसि. जर माझ्या मुडीला गोकी लाडून तर
 आले तर ती आनराने मारता हर पाठीन. पण जर कोणी तिला कोप-यात
 पाठून मारले तर त्यांचा तूड पण घेईन. कारण मी आई आहे. माता जरी
 कोलता येव बसते तरीपण मी सेजर नोन व खोना पॅल त्या शब्दात सांगत की
 माझ्या मुडीला तुम्हांत पागेच्या मुलांनी छेडून मारले. पण तू हे काय बडबडोस
 मला तर कोनी इये मारले नाही किवा कळते पण नासि. तू हे काय म्हणोस हेच बडबडोस
 नाही, असे ती ति-आरात तेका तीने सांगण्यास सुरवात केली की तारीक जेवण घेऊन
 कोनी भायल्या बाबकोला भेटण्यास इये आले होते मग त्यांनी सांगितले
 की आई मोरला फारच उकते. तांच्या आग्रह पती रावते. माती, दस्त, मुकी लफती
 तिला लाया मारल्या. तिला वारि वारि वावे ठेवती वगैरे व अशा रितीने तिच्या
 दबाव आणून तिच्याजवळून सब माहिती लिहून घेतली. असे पत्र सांगितले तिला
 पाठवते आहे. त्यांना हे सर्व डॉ. मन्मथराणी सांगितले. त्यांना त्यांच्या बापकोला
 हे सर्व सांगितले. त्यांनी आपला बापकोला दग भरला की "तु हें प राजपुत्र
 शिकोस काय?" नंतर मी तिला सांगितले की "आई हे सर्व खोट आहे. मला
 कोणी मारत नाही. माझा कोनी छेड पेलत नाही. जर तसे मुला वात असेल तर मी
 इतकी जाड विसती असते काय? जर तू म्हणजेस तर मी माझी परिस्थिती काय
 आली असते? मागेच आहे? मी वेडी आले असते. हा जेल आहे. पण पण
 एखाद्या वाईला कोनी उकते तर ती राजरीणवाईती मला मारून वेळ कळत नसा
 येईल. पण तीका विचार घेतेना. म्हणून मला शेड्याची शिष्य त्यांनी लागली तेव्हा
 तीका त्यांच्यावर विचार घेतला. नंतर तीने मला लिखाणे. मग मी व दादा संजका

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नगर में नही. नगर में नही संघीयता की बुझी-बानी-पुष्टि करती है -
 इगोल्ड नहीत - सामाजिक नगरिक मनुष्य नगरिकी तर पुस्तक आकेड काय? ले
 -कालेड. का तु नाली तैर का बंद कैलीम? तो पुस्तक लाना पाठकेपति
 केका गरीब असे वास्तु काम? मला काम करवाने आते. तोडके कामार
 काम-पोटा-ते करत सिवा इडे तुनी चर्च काम कोटा ते को अगला
 पोतलि-गादीपर कसाकिनार नही. अतः काम खाले पाठके इतरपर-कामकेर-
 पण कामारच मनुष्य लोका. नगर को अंतर्गत लो-कारक होते अपसुधा
 तुम्हारे पुदा-माने काम-राजकारण चाकले आते? लोकेपी आदि मला मूलाकी
 नगर को. आय. डी. सरकोच अतः विचारिक आदिम. मग पण लोकरको
 लाइन पाठके रिपोर्ट करणार वारते? नगर लो मला मूलाकी वाहेरतर सर्व
 एक आहेत. अत्यंत समेत सर्व एक विधानो जगतत. आपण अतात मारकेच
 पत्राला सगडा? इके महीच मुको नही-असेमी लोडा सांगितले. नगरकी
 मूलाकी सर्व कामार पण एक लोकेड ही सांगितले की ले. कामार केतिक
 पाठके पण एग कृपाउयांवा आतां पाठके मग जागा नही हे पुस्तकी
 लोडकेच ठेक.

तुम्हारे सुधीलाळा सांगितले होते जरकी मुझंगा ~~पत्र~~ पत्र पाठके
 आसीं उपयोग तो असेक तर चाला. पण मला वारते. सध्यां पाठके नही-कारण
 कीं तुम्हारे माझा रिपोर्ट जो सायकु करतन जो अकारिसांग देणार तो (आंवा पण
 मिकेड. कारण वसंतनें एका पत्रांत लिहीले होते. १९१७ वेकरके आपला
 पुदा-मात्रा मूलाकार्ये उ. वाद्य. (आंवापरिक मला वाटो लोकां तुम्हारे पाठीने
 करके लिखाण लिखत आहे तेथे ते (आंवा मिकेडपावर (आंवा) (आंवापरिक म
 आतोकेया लेते ते मला वारते तेथेच. मग पण लिखत तुम्हारे उपकडेकना.
 तोपरीत लिखू नये - आदि मति वसंत माझा मूलाकार लमार हीरेले असे वारते
 मनुष्यकीची मुलासत सध्या चालू केवो-असे मला वारते. हलकापर तुम्हारे
 तुम्हारे मते जर मला लिखाण तर बरे हीरेले असे मला वारते.
 वार्ड मीर (आंवाउवा)

November 30, 1949

ON THE PARTY JOURNALS

The Party Centre has given instructions regarding restarting the English and Hindi weeklies. Since P.A. is banned in a number of Provinces, both the new weeklies will be brought out from the Mashal press. The English weekly will be the CROSS ROADS, which will be run exactly like the P.A. The entire political and organisational responsibility of running the paper will be taken over by the Party. This responsibility will be carried out by the PHQ Committee under the general guidance and direction of the CCM-in-charge. The editorial responsibility will be entrusted to the editorial committees formed by the PHQ Committee.

We have not received a PB resolution regarding the character of the papers, etc. This note is not, and cannot be, a substitute for a PB resolution. But it is intended to give some idea regarding the scope and function of the journals, the very vital question of protection of their legality, etc. It is on the basis of this note that the journals have to be conducted till we get a PB resolution giving clear-cut guidance and directives. This note is based on certain criticisms and instructions received from the Centre and from the PBM-in-charge from time to time during the last few months.

This note should be clearly understood and discussed by all units and cells working under the PHQ Committee and especially, the editorial comrades of all languages and it should be consciously applied in writing for and editing the journals.

* * *

The PB has given general directions regarding the scope of the journals, especially the English weekly. The weekly must be run as a co-ordinator of Party life and activity. It must carry on ideological propaganda for unifying the Party through reports of Party activities, of campaigns and struggles, and policy directives. Realising its significance as a co-ordinator and unifier of Party life and activity has become all the more an urgent necessity in the conditions of complete illegality in Bengal and Madras Provinces and of virtual illegality where the Party has not yet been formally banned by the fascist bourgeois-landlord regime.

It must be mentioned here that this significance and role of the legal journals in the period of sharpening class struggle is not understood and often under-estimated. Because of this incorrect understanding, comrades working on the editorial staff of the journals, as also in the I.B. and the press, managerial and circulation sections very often fail to realise the importance and revolutionary significance of their own work, which leads to frustration, diffidence and occasionally even to a totally anti-Party attitude towards these legal journals, expressed in loose criticism and even contemptuous remarks about them. The all-round perspective of an all-India revolutionary movement is missed, the valuable contribution that the journals could make is missed, and a tendency to belittle the work of journals, their importance, starts developing. This happens especially in comrades not directly participating in the writing and editorial work, who start thinking of their own work as something only remotely connected with the revolutionary movement. The petty-bourgeois arrogance and conceit of the editorial comrades, who consider their own work as superior and of a higher type, also often helps to develop and strengthen this tendency in comrades doing other than editorial work. These wrong notions and misconceptions can be fought and rooted out only if the significance of all work, as being a part of the whole and subordinate to it, is consciously understood. It is in this light that all work connected with the legal journals and agit-prop work in general, has to be viewed.

In the present

In the present conditions of virtual illegality to be able to run legal journals and the legal press is itself a tremendous asset and if these facilities are properly utilised, the legal journals and the legal press can be of immense service to the revolutionary movement.

The legal journals, run strictly within legal limitations, can still give factual reports about the developing struggles of the workers and other sections of the toiling masses, carry to the masses the inspiring news and reports of these struggles fought despite brutal repression, reports entirely suppressed or distorted by the kept press of the bourgeoisie and place before the people the facts about the daily deepening economic crisis and the capitalist conspiracy to pass on its burden to the toiling masses. The legal journals, through their columns, can feature the inspiring stories of the heroic struggles and the revolutionary determination and death-defying abandon with which millions of our toiling people are resisting the capitalist offensive and the brutal terror and torture inflicted by the police and the hired goondas of the ruling classes. To give these news reports and articles exposing and unmasking the face of the fascist-bourgeois rulers, exposing and unmasking the disruptive and treacherous role of the Social Democratic leaders, parading under various names and garbs, rousing and inspiring the common people to unite and fight for freedom, peace and Socialism, under the banner of the working class and its Party, would be the main role and function of our legal journals.

At the same time, it must be continuously kept in mind that not all stories of heroism, of struggle, exposure reports about the terroristic repression of the bourgeois Government can appear in our legal press; the legal press of the Party has to work under definite limitations so as to safeguard the legality of the paper for the longest possible period and it would be the height of irresponsibility to imagine that each and every piece of news of struggle can be put into our legal press with impunity. The Party will certainly struggle to see that its full message, news of each and every inspiring story of heroic resistance, news of the fascist terroristic repression of the Government reaches the masses. This, however, cannot be done by putting everything, heedless of the legality of the journal, into the legal press. On the contrary, this can only be done by the skilful use of both legal and illegal journals. Hence it is the duty of every single editorial comrade to see this clearly and in particular see that news and reports, slogans of action that can only come in our illegal journals, leaflets etc. do not creep into our legal press and endanger its existence. (This point is dealt with in greater detail later)

So also these legal journals can render a great service by putting across the very rich and inspiring material we get about the advance of democratic forces all over the world under the leadership of the great Soviet Union, the Bolshevik Party and the great Stalin. Popularising the great achievements and victories of the Soviet Union, the countries of People's Democracy, of new China, and the heroic struggles of the toiling masses in capitalist countries, and ruthlessly exposing the Anglo-American warmongers and their agents is also one of the important political tasks of the legal journals.

These tasks have to be achieved with a clear perspective regarding the role and functions, as well as limitations of the legal journals. By giving factual reports about the rising struggles of the toiling masses, about their heroic actions and fighting unity, about their mounting opposition, hatred and anger against the bourgeois Congress leadership, about the instantaneous and spontaneous response of the toiling masses to the fighting call of the Party, the journals would be able to continuously imbue the entire Party ranks, sympathisers and militants with confidence in the revolutionary struggle and in its victory, confidence and faith in the revolutionary policy of the Party which is leading these struggles. In this manner, the journals would be able to rally all sections of the toiling masses behind the working class and its Party, rouse and inspire them to greater and greater effort and to heroic actions, enable them to learn from and assimilate the experiences of other

centres and ...

centres and provinces and of the toiling masses of other countries, and thus act as the living link between all Party units. Obviously, under conditions of virtual illegality, this has enormous significance.

In working to attain these objectives, skilful and proper use has to be made of the material which we get in the form of news and reports of campaigns and struggles in our various provincial papers, through Party reports, and even by reading between the lines of the scrappy and distorted reports that the bourgeois press is compelled to give because of the tremendous force and tempo of the revolutionary movement. In regard to international developments, there is of course no dearth of material from authentic sources. An enormous amount of very rich and valuable material is being received through the Soviet Monitor, NCNA bulletins and in the authoritative organs of the international Communist movement such as the For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy and the New Times, etc. The editorial comrades have to study and learn to use this valuable material in an effective manner. They have also to make a conscious effort to use the various forms of writing, to make the papers better and brighter, and to assimilate their collective experience for becoming revolutionary Communist journalists and to constantly improve the quality of the journals as propaganda organs of the revolutionary movement. Constant vigilance, serious study of the Political Thesis of the 2nd Party Congress and the Tactical Line and the important P.B. documents, carefully following the national and international developments and analysing them, serious study of Marxist-Leninist theory and of important Party journals of various countries, and ^{conscious use of the weapon of revolutionary criticism and self-criticism} are the very essential pre-requisites for their own development as Communist journalists and for developing our journals as Communist journals.

While making this effort to fulfil the important task of running the legal journals, all comrades and especially the editorial comrades, must not fail to recognise their own limitations as well as the limitations of the journals. Apart from the serious limitations imposed by conditions of illegal functioning of the Party and its leadership, there are also various difficulties in the way of Party leadership in giving day to day guidance and attention to the work of the agitational journals. As is known and clearly seen from the various important PB documents circulated during the past few months, the Party Centre and the PB today are engaged in the very vital and important task of conducting the inner-Party struggle against reformism on an all-India plane and of bolshevising the Party in order that it can effectively struggle to establish its ideological and organisational leadership of the working class and the toiling masses, as the revolutionary vanguard and highest form of class organisation of the working class. The changeover from reformism to revolutionary policy and organisation has meant very great responsibilities and work for the Party leadership and has made very heavy demands on their time and energy. The Party Centre, PB and C.C. are today carrying out the supreme task of giving ideological and organisational lead to the entire Party and its provincial committees, and of guiding the provincial committees to wage a ruthless struggle against the deadweight of reformism, which has penetrated very deep down in all aspects of Party organisation during the period of Joshi's leadership. It is because of this ruthless struggle carried on under the direct leadership and guidance of the Party Centre and the PB that the Party is emerging everywhere as the truly revolutionary vanguard of the working masses and is successfully defeating the capitalist attacks on the Party, and is leading the masses into revolutionary actions with ever-increasing heroism, intensity and sweep. This work of revolutionising the masses by giving the correct and timely lead and of bolshevising the Party by conducting a ruthless struggle against all manifestations of Joshiite reformism naturally entails very heavy work and it may not always be possible for the Party leadership to devote that amount of time and energy as to give day to day guidance to the editorial team and to write for the agitational journals on all key issues and current developments. Because of this, there will necessarily be a certain lag and gaps in the paper; certain weaknesses will remain in the writings of the editorial comrades, and mistakes will also be there. The weaknesses and immaturity of the editorial comrades will inevitably be reflected in the journals. Many important issues and problems may be delayed, or not handled at all, or may be handled defectively.

This warning

This warning about the likely lag in and weaknesses of the legal journals is necessary because comrades have failed to understand these limitations in the past while criticising the PA and its editions in the months of January-February of this year and the Mashal and other journals during the recent months. Comrades have gone on expressing their dissatisfaction in a very infantile, non-Party manner and this has occasionally even been exploited by certain disruptive elements for creating disaffection against higher committees and against the Party leadership. The root of this tendency of indulging in loose, infantile 'criticism' has to be traced in the wrong and faulty understanding of Party organisation and the role and work of the Party leadership. Certain comrades become completely blind to the fact that our Party is not carrying out the task merely of agitation and propaganda, but is actively leading the masses in revolutionary struggles and great revolutionary actions all over the country. It is also many times forgotten that the Party Centre and the PB and the CC are leading this revolutionary movement and are carrying out the task of Party building on an all-India plane. The task of running the agitational journals and the work of comrades connected with them is only a part of this whole and subordinate to it. It is the failure to see this reality as a whole that leads to doubts and dissatisfaction, expressed in loose and faulty criticism, about the lag in and weakness of our journals, as also the lag in and weakness of Party units and committees in matters of organisation and other tasks.

Thus, it is to be clearly understood and realised that certain lag and weaknesses are inevitable under the present conditions and they have to be taken into account while understanding the work and significance of the agitational journals and the work that each comrade is doing in running the legal journals and other agit-prop activities to the best of our ability and to make the maximum use of the legal facilities available to us. It is this understanding of our work as part of a single whole that gives us courage and confidence to do our best in carrying out whatever tasks are entrusted to us and to continuously strive to put in the best effort and to improve our own work and the work of the entire-agit-prop machinery in a collective, truly Bolshevik manner.

In running the journals as also the press, special attention has to be paid to the question of legality. It is quite clear that the time has not yet come when a legal journal cannot be run fruitfully. Its immense value in co-ordinating Party activity, its unifying role through reports and policy directives has not yet come to an end.

In this connection, it is necessary to review briefly the period preceding the railway strike, when certain very serious mistakes were committed in running the PA which ultimately resulted in a prolonged ban on the papers and also a temporary ban on the press.

In the months of January-February 1949 especially, the PA threw all caution to the winds and the most reckless stuff was written on Hyderabad, a fiery editorial on the R.I.N. Revolt anniversary, Railway Strike Situation, and many other events, disregarding all the rules and instructions to observe legality, that had been worked out by the Party Centre in the months of July-August-September 1948. Very sharp criticism was made especially when the Lokyug was banned and clear directives were given to study the question of guarding the legality of the Party organs.

These warnings were re-emphasised by the General Secretary in his report to the PB on "Strategy and Tactics" when he warned:

" In the first phase of Government repression, Bombay comrades working in the central office of the Party displayed a right reformist deviation on the question of protecting the legal existence of the paper and the press. The way in which the Communists in Bihar recklessly sacrificed the daily organ of the Party is a most shameful tale. The above shows quite clearly how petty-bourgeois revolutionism in reality serves only the bourgeoisie."

But all these clear authoritative warnings were ignored.

Hyderabad material

Hyderabad material was released, with full stories of rapes, murders, etc. All this was material that can never go in a legal journal. It is a non-class understanding of the capitalist state or a failure to distinguish between the spheres of legal and illegal publications that puts impossible demands on legal press, hastening its suppression. Under the present conditions of acute class-struggle our legal journals will obviously not be in a position to report, much less to comment on many events. This limitation of the legal journals has clearly to be understood in order to have a correct grasp on the work of writing for and editing a legal Party journal. It is also to be borne in mind that if uneven development of capitalism has any meaning, a journal edited from Bombay will not automatically earn the right to write freely and without reservations about the glorious happenings in Hyderabad or Bengal unless the right is earned. It is also clear that under present circumstances, the Government does not launch prosecutions; the paper or the press is arbitrarily closed.

To understand what is meant by the fight for legality of the press, one must turn to the History of the CPSU(B). Let us quote two paras from p.186, 1949 Moscow edition:

"Pravda helped to organise the mass actions of the proletariat. At the time of a big lock-out in St. Petersburg in the spring of 1914, when it was inexpedient to declare a mass strike, Pravda called upon the workers to resort to other forms of struggle, such as mass meetings in the factories and demonstrations in the streets. This could not be stated openly in the newspaper. But the call was understood by class-conscious workers when they read an article by Lenin bearing the modest title 'Forms of Working Class Movement' and stating that at the given moment strikes should yield place to a higher form of the working class movement - which meant a call to organise meetings and demonstrations.

"In this way the illegal revolutionary activities of the Bolsheviks were combined with the legal forms of agitation and organisation of the masses of the workers through Pravda.

This is totally different from what was done in the PA for two-three months preceding the railway strike. What was done was attempting to put into the legal press material which could be printed only illegally. Whether on the question of the railway strike or Hyderabad or Calcutta events, there was no attempt to protect legality, to leave some things to the understanding of the readers.

Not only that. Even when the PA was banned, the Current Affairs, People's Herald, etc. were brought out exactly as before. It led to an attack on the press as well. That the case was decided in our favour in the High Court, was mere chance, only on the basis of a technical flaw. Even now, the Government is trying to get that decision reversed, and even if it did not succeed in the Court, it will pounce on us for the least breach and then even the High Court may not discuss a technical flaw.

What political attitude does this endangering the legality of the paper and the press reveal? Apart from the fact that it totally under-estimates the importance of a legal journal as a co-ordinator of Party life and activity, all the more necessary because of conditions of illegality, it shows a failure to understand the ideological tasks facing the Party today - the task of unifying the Party on the basis of education of Marxism-Leninism - a task which is hundred times facilitated when we have a legal press.

The same failure was later on revealed in the Cross Roads, where some of our Party members were working and especially Mashal, even though the latter was fully controlled and manned by Party comrades. The phrases used in the English weekly, the reportings done about rapes, etc., constituted almost an open invitation to suppression. Even that article which ultimately brought the ban was not seen as something that could be picked up by the Government as an excuse for attack on the paper.

In the daily and

In the daily and weekly Mashal, this reckless and petty-bourgeois revolutionist attitude was reflected far more sharply and in its crassest form. In the issues of the weekly before the daily came and then in the daily hardly any consideration was paid to legality. It was almost entirely forgotten that the bourgeois government is still in power and that it is armed with draconian laws like the Public Security Measures Act, etc. Very often reports that could be given only in illegal papers were put across in a flaming manner, as if the bourgeois Government with its Home Department did not exist. In the first week of August, for example, stories of police atrocities - beating, murder, rape, etc. - in Andhra were put in the most reckless manner, which was nothing short of an open invitation to suppression. In fact, this material, taken from Congress and Socialist papers of Andhra, in itself could have been very effectively and skilfully used for a devastating exposure of the Fascist terror. But the editorial comrades not only did not give any thought to the way in which this material could be used in a legal paper; they went much further by giving it as "our own correspondent's report", and not gave the most provocative headlines. An enemy agent inside the press could have done better.

Later also in the dailies and the weeklies, the editorial comrades, instead of learning from their mistakes, repeatedly indulged in such reckless and criminal negligence towards legality. Repeated 'contradictions' from the Government, frequent reports of Government plans to attack Mashal, even the defamation cases filed against the Gujerati daily and the Saurashtra ban, failed to shake up the comrades and they repeatedly endangered the legality of the paper, which ultimately has brought the Government's attack in the form of forfeiture of securities of the dailies and a new security from the press.

Utter neglect towards protecting the legality of our journals has thus almost become a part and parcel of our comrades' functioning. And it is this that has to be very seriously understood and borne in mind while running the new English and Hindi weeklies that are already working. It is in this background that our comrades working for the journals have to relearn and assimilate the main lesson in the example of Pravda from the History of the CPSU(B), that is, learn to put across our policy and agitation within the limits of legality, to protect and use the legal press by skilfully putting across Party policy and slogans within the limits imposed by bourgeois restrictions on Press. Not to develop this skill in running legal press which is to be maintained as vehicle of our political propaganda and Marxist-Leninist education at all costs, and not to bear in mind the scope, functions and limitations of the legal press as different from the illegal channels, would amount to nothing short of reformist sabotage of our legal press, right reformism masquerading in the garb of wordy revolutionism.

In protecting the legality of the journals and the Press, it must be remembered that apart from the open repressive machinery of the State, the class enemy will also not fail to use the bourgeois law of defamation to launch cases against the journals for 'defaming' the capitalists, landlords and their agents. Earlier, the official Party organs and recently the dailies, especially the Gujerati paper, have most recklessly put across stuff that clearly amounts to defamation under the bourgeois law. Cases are still pending against the PA and Lokyug and one or two cases have recently been filed against the Gujerati daily. These cases are clear proofs of the most criminal negligence on the part of the editorial comrades whose actions can be branded as nothing else than doing the work of enemy agents inside the Party. All the editorial comrades have to take a very serious warning from these brave lapses and develop revolutionary vigilance and effective systems of mutual on-the-spot-check-up. For this, it is very necessary to study and understand all the provisions of all laws, press laws, as also the Penal Code with the help of which the enemy attacks our journals and the Press.

It must be consciously understood that very skilful use needs to be made of the diminishing legal facilities by demarcating very clearly between the spheres of legal and illegal publications. With adequate precautions and vigilance, it would not be difficult to use the legal journals to co-ordinate and unify Party activity through reports and exposition of Party policy on various problems and issues. The legal paper will not be in a position to report every event that takes place in the country and to comment on it. It will be necessary to make a careful scrutiny of the news....

scrutiny of the news given, the way it is given, the allegations made therein and the explicit suggestions made thereby. But despite the limitations imposed by considerations of protecting legality, the journals can discharge an important role during the period of daily sharpening class struggle.

We must not allow ourselves to be overwhelmed by considerations of legality and swing to the other extreme of emasculating the paper and robbing it of its very essence. We will be thereby defeating the very object of its existence, which will be as criminal as inviting its suppression by our recklessness. Our task is to devise legal forms for conveying what we want to convey. In the name of guarding legality, we must not sacrifice the very object of the paper.

The following brief quotation from the History of the CPSU(B) will indicate how to combine illegal activity of the Party with legal forms of agitation:

"A legally published newspaper could not call openly for the overthrow of tsardom. It had to resort to hints, which, however, the class-conscious workers understood very well and which they explained to the masses. When, for example, Pravda wrote of the 'full uncurtailed demands of the year five', the workers understood that this meant the revolutionary slogans of the Bolsheviks, namely the overthrow of tsardom, a democratic republic, the confiscation of landed estates and an 8 hour day."

-CPSU(B), page 185-186, 1949, Moscow Ed.

In short, we must conduct the paper in a disciplined Communist way. We must be constantly vigilant for safeguarding its legality. But consistent with the restrictions of guarding legality, the paper must be so conducted as to discharge its role as co-ordinator and unifier of struggles.

The restarting of our English and Hindi weeklies and the increased importance of the publication of the Marathi and Gujarati weeklies with the closing down of the dailies, together with the continued production of our Urdu weekly imposes a very heavy responsibility on the PHQ Committee and the editorial, managerial and all comrades in PHQ. The PHQ Committee is confident that every Party Member in the PHQ will understand his own responsibility in this work and that together functioning as a single Bolshevik whole, the PHQ will carry out the task entrusted to it by the PB.

This note of the PHQ Committee, therefore, must be discussed in all cells and minutes of the cell discussions sent to the PHQ Committee.

To
The ~~General~~ PHQ General Body,

30.8.1950.

Comrades,

I have received a copy of Com. Deven's report regarding his talk with me. The talk was between me and him, the purpose of which was to enable him to understand our point of view regarding the new line, acquainting him with the CC's decisions regarding the reorganisation of the PHQ, journals, etc. In that connection he brought in the controversy between the PHQ and the CC. I tried to explain him PB's view regarding all the above matters. It was neither the understanding nor did he tell me that he would convey these things to you comrades there. On the other hand, I told him the PB will send a letter to you on the issues raised by you. I asked him to wait the next day to carry the dak. But the PB couldn't prepare the dak the next day. So he was informed to leave and the dak was sent through some other courier later. I am surprised to find that first he gossiped to a number of comrades and later he produced a mutilated and distorted version of our talk on our paper and circulated it to you causing so much damage. The Secretary of the PHQ Committee thought it fit to circulate that report even without first referring it to me.

Here I do not propose to show in each detail how our talk was distorted or mutilated. It is neither possible nor necessary for our purpose. But I want to point out that the entire spirit of the report of Com. Deven is at variance with the talk I had with him.

It appears from the report that I was least worried about the crisis inside the Party and that I behaved in an arrogant way regarding our elder leaders like Com. Dange, Ghate and AKG - pioneers and standard-bearers of our movement. I told him that the PB and CC are conscious of the serious inner-Party crisis and the danger facing the Party and how the PB is trying to tackle it with patience and elasticity. I told him that the PB will accommodate any amount of political differences and sharp and frank discussions, but will not allow Party forms to be thrown to the winds, because this is the way to liquidate the Party, not to unite it. I request you to compare the PB's letter addressed to the PHQ General Body which was written immediately after my talk with Com. Deven, with his report submitted to you and you will understand the truth. I want to put before you certain recent decisions of the PB regarding inner-Party crisis, to show how much concerned the PB is regarding the danger the Party is facing and in what spirit it is moving.

This is the gist of the decisions:

1. To recommend to the CC to change the decision of the old CC for a CC Plenum and call a Party Congress, since nothing short of a Party Congress can unify and save the Party from the present crisis.
2. To recommend to the CC to associate those ex-CC members who were unable to attend the last CC meeting with the convening and preparing for the Party Congress. The PB has decided on its own responsibility to invite them to the next CC meeting.
3. To encourage comrades who have any charges, though vague, regarding complicity of past or present CC members, PB members and others in the central apparatus with the activities of the Titoite agents, to put them before the CC Commission. Even if they fail to prove them they will not be held in any way responsible.

For Tech. reasons I will not be able to disclose what efforts we are making to associate our elder leaders with the task of discharging responsibilities of the Centre.

I hope you comrades will not give your ear to all sorts of rumours, but consider seriously the documents and proposals of the CC and PB and approach them with the spirit of comradeship and not suspicion.

Before closing the letter I want to bring before you certain things told to me by Com. Deven, which I couldn't put before you for tech reasons, i.e. his name being dragged into this controversy and his name being exposed to the enemy. Now that he has himself associated openly with the PHQ controversy, it would be wrong on my part not to bring that to your notice even now. He told me that after release, Coms. Dange and Mirajkar addressed the PHQ comrades, in which Com. Mirajkar openly spoke purporting to ask them to disobey the CC decisions and fight it out, while Com. Dange put the same thing in an indirect way. But seeing the way Com. Deven has put before you a distorted version of my talk with him, I am disinclined to believe this thing also. But still I am putting it before you because it is my duty to do so after all this.

The problems raised by you with regard to the reorganisation of the PHQ will be answered in a separate letter in the next dak.

Greetings,

General Secretary.

31st May 1950

Marathi Cell

Below I am giving a copy of the B.C. Secretary's letter to me and an extract concerning Mashal which he has enclosed from a letter of the BCO in charge of Deslile Road.

Please send your reply to B.C. Secretary early. I am not able to express my opinion because I have not got the latest issue of Marathi Mashal with me.

I do not know whether you have got extracts from B.C. Secy's letter which I read out to you in last meeting. If not, please get these from Com. ~~Par~~ Marti to whom I had given it for getting the copies typed, and send your replies early.

Com. Mokil's letter to B.C. Secy. re. the report of Thana jail clash has been forwarded to him.

Greetings,

Sanjeev.

Copy of B.C. Secy.'s letter

31. 5. 50

Dear Com. Sanjeev,

Sending herewith a note from Com. Dinesh about Deslile Road meeting. Please send it to Marathi cell and ask them to let me know what they have to say by way of explanation etc.

The suppression of Baburao's name is a serious matter apart from other things. This, if true, is not mere neutrality on P & T issue but actually boosting disruptors who are expelled from Party and suppressing honest Party ranks who suffered and fought to save the Party! Let me know what you have to say.

Greetings,

Vikram

Extract from Com. Dinesh's letter to B.C. Secy.

I hope ... you have gone through the latest report about De'lisle Road meeting in Mashal. I and some other comrades are of the opinion that it amounts to complete compromise and surrender to Patkar gang. There are many things which are highly objectionable.

- 1.) There is no name, speech of Baburao Garud.
- 2.) Amberkar's speech has been modified and ~~xxx~~ he has been glorified by Mashal.

There are many more minor details. This whole reporting is an open revolt of few individuals against B.C. and Bombay Party ranks who fought against these disruptors. We definitely are going to take up the issue in each area and also feel that it should be taken up by you. It is a very serious matter and must be thrashed out at the earliest.

.....

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Dinesh
28th May '50

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE C.P.I.

Dear Comrades,

We, the members of the PNH comprising the following Cells such as Mashal (Hindi), Mashal (Marathi), Cross Roads, Jai Gujerat, Nai Lindigi, Press, PPH Sales, PPH Accounts, Journal, Information Bureau, Secretariat, AISF, AITUC, AIPSU and Commune, assembled in a General Body Meeting resolve to send this memorandum to you for your immediate and earnest consideration.

1. We consider that our Party is passing through the greatest crisis of its life. The crisis consists in the following:

- (a) A Trotskyite line developed and imposed on the Party by the Polit Bureau of the Party and ruthlessly implemented under its guidance in the last two and a half years has led to the virtual liquidation of the Party, to its extreme isolation from the working class and the masses and has wrought great damage to the mass organisations led by the Party. All these factors have reduced the Party as a whole from a revolutionary force to a force retarding the growth of the revolution.
- (b) The Central Committee of the Party, which was responsible for allowing the Polit Bureau to mislead the Party, has not even after 4½ months have passed after the lead given by the International Communist movement, taken a single step indicative of the ~~by the Party leadership and particularly by the~~ Polit Bureau.

2. We are convinced that the time has come when the Party must raise its voice and must demand that this state of affairs be ended and that immediate steps be taken to ~~save~~ the Party and to end the state of paralysis that the Central leadership has created inside the Party - opening the flanks of the Party to enemy attacks.

We are convinced that a situation has been created when many of us are seriously wondering if the CC would be able to help the Party to come out of the crisis and whether the Party would not have to advance without the CC. In this connection, we will soon place a more detailed memorandum before you containing certain facts about the ~~crisis~~ inside the Party.

It is significant that Document No.16 does not even mention the need of organisational changes in the Party.

We are placing before you our immediate demands by implementing which you will be able to help the Party in taking the first steps to get over the crisis and to enable it to come to its own.

We earnestly hope that you will not fail the Party and force a situation when the Party will have to advance inspite of you.

With these words, we would draw your earnest attention to the demands mentioned below:-

1. We declare our complete and utter lack of faith in the Polit Bureau and demand its immediate dissolution. To allow the PB to function as it had been allowed to do for the last 4½ months is extremely dangerous and harmful for the Party. The PB cannot help the Party in any way today but

can only impede the advance of the Party as the Documents prepared by it fully prove. To allow the PB to carry on, in the manner it has done for the last 4 1/2 months is to be guilty of treachery to the Party.

No further demand that Com. E.T. Ranadive be immediately removed from the General Secretaryship of the Party.

2. The PB members should immediately be asked to prepare their self-critical reports - of themselves individually and the PB as a whole. The CCMs also should be asked to prepare their individual self-critical reports.

These reports should cover the entire period from the Mountbatten Award Resolution of the CC to the present period and should be made ready latest by the 15th of July.

All these reports should be circulated throughout the Party.

The CC should direct all PCs to prepare similar self-critical reports for the ranks in the different provinces.

3. The CC should immediately appoint a drafting committee consisting of the Andhra PBM and of other comrades who may not necessarily be members of the CC but who have exhibited tendencies of fighting the present left-sectarian policy.

Only such a Committee will be able to approach the problem before the Party properly and will be able to produce drafts which can serve as basis for discussion.

The Committee should be charged with the task of producing a new (1) Political Thesis and (2) A Resolution on Tactical Line - the former to be ready by 15th July, 1950.

4. The CC should immediately release to the entire ranks the following:-

- (a) All important correspondence of the PB and the GS with the Jail Comrades particularly, all correspondence with Coms. ARG, SAD and other CCMs and PBMs.
- (b) The entire correspondence of the PB with the Andhra, Tamilnad, Kerala, Assam and Bihar PCs, and any other important dissent notes from other provinces.
- (c) All the Documents of Tamilnad and Assam PCs.
- (d) Bengal PC resolution on Trade Unions adopted in 1948 which was criticised in the PB document on Strategy and Tactics.
- (e) The PBM Committee's note on the suppression of the publication of the Peking Manifesto and the delayed publication of the Lasting Peace Editorial.
- (f) All correspondence between the GS and the PBMs and CCMs in Bombay which are not of a technical nature.
- (g) Reports from Telengana and replies and comments sent on them.
- (h) Correspondence between GS and Com. Gour on "action" and "special squads" in Bengal which was probably not circulated to Bengal ranks.
- (i) Any criticisms - written or oral received from brother parties.

(j) Documents submitted by P.C. Joshi on his expulsion.

(k) East Pakistan Party's Document on the Peasant Question.

Only the publication of all these and the fullest discussion in all the Party units will enable the Party to emerge out of the present crisis with a unified political understanding and will result in the emergence of a leadership that is really capable of leading the Party in the coming days.

The CC should, therefore, take immediate steps to organise the widest discussion of the draft political thesis produced by the Drafting Committee as also all aspects of party life in the past in all units of the Party. It is only on the basis of this full and democratic discussion that the thesis has to be finalised and this should be ensured by proper directives to the various PCs, DCs and to all Party members. It is not enough to say that the question of inner-party democracy assumes supreme importance. It is urgently necessary to take immediate steps so that fullest democratic discussion takes place in the entire party. For this purpose the following steps should be taken by the CC:-

1. The CC should immediately issue a circular to all party members and units stressing the urgency of inner-party discussion in the fullest and freest manner. Party members should be told that they have the fullest right to criticise all aspects of Party policy and life of any Party comrade whether he or she belongs to his unit or not and send the criticism to the respective Party Committee or Units and to Higher Committees.

2. Any comrades holding responsible position in Units if found to obstruct the fullest and freest discussion, should be removed by the respective Units.

In leading Committees such as PCs and DCs, if the majority of the members obstruct such discussion, then the minority of comrades will have the right to demand the circulation of the views of all the members of the Committee to the ranks and such a demand shall be immediately complied with.

(3) The CC should immediately convene an All-India Party Conference. ~~Party Conference~~ for finalising the Draft Political Thesis, prepared by the Drafting Committee and for deciding organisational questions arising from the discussions inside the Party.

The procedure etc. for the election of delegates to All-India Party Conference - should be fixed up by the CC fully keeping in view that the crisis inside the Party demands that the Conference should be as broad and representative as the technical resources of the Party can permit.

(NOTE: This clause was adopted by the majority of the Comrades. But a substantial number of comrades felt that if an All-India Party Conference could not be convened immediately - then pending the convening of such a Conference an enlarged Plenum of the CC should be immediately held to decide the ~~the~~ above mentioned issue.)

4. The CC should immediately withdraw all disciplinary actions against all comrades to enable them to participate in the discussions of the Party policy without any let or hindrance. In the case of those expelled members whom the CC feels it cannot take back in the Party without their having been cleared ~~by~~ by the Party Central Commission, the CC should invite them to submit their views to the Party for

discussion. The documents submitted by such persons should be regarded as their contributions to the inner-Party discussion.

These steps are absolutely necessary to get the fullest benefit of the views and experience of these expelled and other members of the Party.

The CC should refer the cases of all comrades against whom disciplinary action has been taken to their respective units and on the recommendation of the units, they be reinstated in the unit for the interim period pending final confirmation by the Control Commission.

All orders banning social and political contact with expelled members should be rescinded.

5. Directives should be sent by the CC to the PCs and other units to similarly reconsider and withdraw such disciplinary actions and restore comrades concerned to their original positions and to invite all those expelled members whom they cannot take back without their being cleared by the P. Control Commission to put their views before the Party for discussion.

The importance of this step should be explained to Comrades.

This alone will prevent further disruption in the Party and confusion in the ranks of the Party's mass following. This will alone create the confidence in all ranks and the masses under our leadership that the Party, once it has found that it has been guilty of serious crimes, is making the most serious and earnest efforts to hammer out a correct policy and to unify the entire party ranks and fight disruption in a really effective way.

6. The CC should make special arrangements to reach all Documents to Jail comrades in various Jails and seek from the Jail comrades their views. The Jail comrades have borne the brunt of the struggle imposed upon the Party by the leadership. Their contribution to the ironing out of the Party policy will be most valuable, and no excuse that the CC and the PCs are unable to make technical arrangements to get their views should be tolerated.

The CC should send immediate instructions to Comrades in all Jails not to resort to any actions.

Party

The CC should further issue a directives to all Party Units to mobilise all legal resources to get as many comrades as possible released so that they may be able to take part in and contribute to the inner-Party discussion with their valuable experience.

7. The CC should direct all the PCs to immediately run Party discussion Forum in the language of the Province. The organisation of production of the Forum, the technical arrangements to reach the copies to the ranks, the collection of materials from the ranks for publication in the Forum - these should be made absolutely obligatory on every PC a breach of which should be considered a heinous anti-Party crime deserving of the highest punishment.

The working class and the kisan fronts should also run similar open Party discussion Forum.

8. It is obvious that this discussion and final emerging of the Party policy will, in view of the illegal conditions, that exist today, take some time. Nonetheless, this has to

be done, if the Party is to emerge as an Unified force capable of leading the Indian revolution.

Meanwhile, pending the emergence of a unified understanding interim arrangements should be made to keep the activities of our mass organisations going.

The CC should take the following interim steps for this purpose:-

1. General directives should be given to comrades in charge of running the Central and the Provincial Party organs. The main concentration should be on seeing that these journals bring out such materials as will help the inner Party discussions.

If possible a meeting of representatives of comrades in charge of various Party journals at the Centre and in the Provinces should be convened in which the general guiding line should be further discussed.

Further in order to run the Central Agit-Prop work including the running of the journals - the CC should immediately set up a Commission.

2. It will be impossible for the CC to give directions to the AITUC and the working class and the kisan fronts today without knowing the actual position, organisationally and otherwise of the movements in the various provinces. The CC should therefore arrange for a meeting of representatives of comrades on the T.U. and Kisan Fronts from the Provinces. These meetings will discuss the position in the various provinces and will draw up a general guiding line for the period before the Party policy is finalised. These meetings should be arranged within the next two months.

3. The CC should immediately give directives to comrades working in the Peace & movement to function democratically and to work out their day to day jobs. The stepping up of the Peace campaign within the framework of the Stockholm Appeal should be the Central task of the Peace Committees. The CC should depute a comrade whose sole responsibility shall be the activation and guiding of the comrades engaged on the Peace Front.

4. Immediate appointment of an enlarged Control Commission to investigate into the disciplinary actions taken by the different Party Committees. This commission should consist of old and tried leaders of the Party who have the confidence of the Party. Therefore the names should be circulated before finalisation.

5. Immediate withdrawal of the press statement given by the PB published in Communist No.2, 1950 and assuring the people that a fuller statement is being made ready.

The CC must immediately issue a public statement withdrawing all the slanderous accusations made against Com. Mao and must offer an unconditional apology to him.

6. The CC must immediately arrange to communicate in full and in detail the situation inside the Party to the Cominform. All the major documents prepared by the PB, the CC during the last two years and all those which have been prepared by them after the Lasting Peace Editorial of 27.1.50 must be immediately sent to the Cominform. All other documents demanded by us in section 4 must also be immediately sent. The CC must realise that constant and close touch with the International Communist movement, complete repudiation of the bourgeois nationalism of the leadership of our Party and constant and systematic guidance from the International Communist movement can and must play a

profound role in pulling the Party of the present crisis. The CC must ensure that all correct data reach the Cominform - data concerning the political-organisational situation inside the Party, data concerning the situation inside the country, are regularly sent to Cominform and that the Party receives constant guidance from brother parties, particularly the Cominform and the CPC.

We urge upon the CC to take these steps immediately and help the entire Party in emerging as the leader of the Indian people in their struggle for national liberation and people's democracy.

14.6.50.

Com. Sanjeev,

I was out for the last 6-7 days. Hence I could not send immediate reply to your note.

(1) Re. place of meeting, I was informed by our comrades that they would be able to find out a place for one night meeting with Mashal comrades. But I am asking them to find a place where a full 24 hours session is possible. I will let you know when I get their reply. In the meantime, please continue your efforts to find a place because it is better if this meeting is arranged through your apparatus. Our tech cadre is already preoccupied with arranging Dhanaji's meetings with O.G. comrades and this would ~~mean~~ mean an extra burden on our not very pucca machinery.

(2) As regards S. V. and his relation with B. C., it is always open to S. V. to raise any issue basic or otherwise with B. C., P.B. or C. C. and no one has prevented him from doing this so far. If he wants and if Fort Committee can arrange, I am also prepared to meet him and have frank and direct talk with him as regards his grievances re. B.C. You can inform him about this and let me know whether he desires such a meeting.

I don't think it would be of any use at this stage to discuss the 'problem of SVD' with Mashal Cell comrades for the simple reason that such a discussion will not solve the problem. Besides this problem has no immediate bearing on the question of Mashal and the way B.C. campaigns are reported in Mashal. Hence I am sorry that at this stage I cannot agree to discuss S. V.'s problem vis-a-vis B.C. with Mashal Cell comrades. There is no need for you or Mashal comrades to take any brief for S.V. in this respect. He is quite capable of looking after his problems and since he has already decided to submit a memo to P.B. we shall deal with his problem directly or by submitting our own reply or explanation to P.B. or C.C. I hope this is quite clear and understandable to you and other comrades in Mashal.

(2) I have referred the points raised in Rekha's letter to Neela and she is herself writing a reply. This will clarify what ~~Neela~~ Neela actually told Rekha and how the latter understood or interpreted this talk. I don't want to say anything more at this stage. I must, however, tell you that the insinuation contained in your note re. veracity of reports sent by O.G. comrades is nothing but base ~~and~~ slander of B.C. functionaries and ranks. You are almost presuming that B.C. ranks have no conscience or loyalty to the Party and they usually give wrong facts or withhold 'inconvenient' facts. I cannot accept such a mean and wholly unwarranted assumption. If you want, I am prepared to refer this matter to all B.C. cells and ask them to express an opinion on the charge you have made against them.

(3) Report of Wadi clash meeting has not appeared in last issue as well. Rekha has sent an 'explanation' and asked me whether it is of any use to publish it now!! I am sending her note as well as the report to Wadi area comrades and asking the area committee and cells to express their opinion on this explanation given by Rekha and also her and the cell's opinion re. the report.

I cannot accept the explanation given by Rekha and if this is not suppression of B.C. reports I would like to know from you what else it is!

(4) I am also circulating the reports of BDP and Kurne re. Thana jail lathi charge and asking all area committees to express their opinion on the way these reports were treated in Mashal. I will send their views to you as soon as I get them. I personally feel that Mashal has done great injustice to Thana comrades by suppressing authentic reports of

injuries sustained by them and their struggle to get their just demands, Com. Dhanaji' has already protested against this and I have asked him to write directley to Mahsal comrades. I am herewith enclosing his note to me which speaks for itesf.

More I will write after getting your reply, Greetings,
VIKRAM

June 16, 1950

I

Dear Ramesh,

An unforeseen opportunity has just now opened up - permitting me to send you a few lines - by hand.

I must, first of all thank you very much for giving such good publicity in Crossroads to our news from Pakistan. This is extremely heartening for all of us here because so little about us appears in the press abroad. The damned permit system, censorship, etc. existence has ~~not~~ sealed us off so completely. Any break in this bloody Iron Curtain is of very great source of strength to us.

So please give more & better publicity to all news from here. I know that we have not been doing our duty by you as well as we should, but I am struggling hard to ~~give~~ you send to you more & better news letters regularly.

The news about our winning the case in the Supreme Court cheered us a lot. I hope you will take full advantage of it. Crossroads must on no account stop again. For heaven's sake do not assume that People's Democracy has been established in India and you can write as you please! I do think that if you had been more careful and used more circumspect & legal language you could have saved ~~you~~ the Crossroads from many attacks. It is better that the paper comes out regularly, even though we do not say the whole thing (so long, of course, as we do not say the wrong thing!). Don't you agree?

The Peace Campaign here, has at last, started in right earnest. You must have read about in Pak. Times. I am, however, sending you the relevant cuttings so that you may re-print it.

I am also sending you a copy of our weekly "Sakar" which, at last, we have again succeeded in bringing out.

We shall be glad if you re-print any of the stuff from it. It will be sent to you regularly. Do ~~not~~ let us know if you receive it.

One of the things we feel most about is that the news of repression of the Democratic movement in Pakistan has got no publicity at all either in the International press or in Cross Roads. The bloody sales of Pakistan have given the impression either, that there is no such movement in Pakistan or that civil liberties exist here. Both of course are false.

At the Peking Asian T.U. Conference, in the W.F.T.U.'s protest against repression in India, in the U.S.O., in the agitation for release of T.U. & Kisan workers in England & in other International organisations - Pakistan is always left out. I know that we here in Pakistan are largely to blame for this omission but even the news which we have supplied from time to time has not been publicised & the international movements have left us out (probably thinking that anyhow India - includes Pakistan - I wish it were so!)

Rough, you must help us to break this state of affairs.
Do write to all your contacts, to W.F.T.U., to International Journalists, International Lawyers, Youth, Women - to at least say that thousands of workers, peasants & students arrested in Pakistan should be released. Condemn firings on political prisoners in Rajshahi jail etc. It means such a lot to us!

I am sending you herewith a short article on Repression in Pakistan which please publish in C.R. - when I see it this I'll know that this letter has reached you.

I am also sending to you an address - to which you can write to me - of course, carefully - sign yourself as TAHIR. If you can send to me a safe address for yourself to this address it will be very good. I shall sign myself as ZAKIR. If this arrangement is made pucca at least newsletters etc may not be stolen in the way. Party documents, meant for general circulation among P.M.s can also be sent to this address. (Not too bulky, of course).

Moreover, be on the look out for reliable people coming to Karachi or Lahore. Anything you want to send to me you can have it delivered, personally and by hand to the

~~the~~ on Book (3)
managers of either of ~~these~~ shops (addresses given on New Times cover)
The name of Lahore manager is RAUF - and of
Karachi - Malik Noorani. (8/1/2) The man who brings the stuff is to tell
these boys that it is to be delivered to MAULANA (i.e.) - ~~at~~
and it will reach me.

How's Raj? Do give her my love

And how's Muck? One does not hear about him much in
Cross roads. Why? Someone told me that he was very upset
because Anil has left him. Is that so? I hope he has got over it
by now. Hail to thy name --- ! Give my love to Muck. Why does
he not visit Pakistan? We will give him a good reception
if he comes - & now there is no danger of getting stabbed!

Liagat's visit to America has made him very unpopular here generally.
People hate his Begum intensely and all kinds of scandals are
afloat here. For example, it is the common gossip in Karachi
that she gets herself ~~by~~ f - by Americans! How do you like it?
And that the operations in America are for re-juvenation!

The name of League leaders is mud! People generally detest them.
That way we have a much better opportunity - of isolating the ruling-class
here than you have in India. No Nehru here.

The Party is, of course, growing & developing - but far too slowly.
Great opportunities but pitiful lack of cadres. That's our chief
difficulty. Why the hell did you all Punjabis migrate from your
wonderful homeland? And forced me to leave mine?

All Love
Yours
Bismillah

P.S. I presume, of course, that you will
not print & publish the news
about Begum Liagat!

To Unit - Please return
after ready - Rahni.

15/6/56

Com. Sanjeev,

I am herewith
enclosing this letter of Com. Bai Bhor
which contains his report of
her interview with her mother.

I have already sent first
his letters to you. Please
return this copy after it
is read by the local cell
comrades. If it is needed
for circulation - then you
make additional copies.

greetings

Vikram

Dear Com. Ajoy,

Enclosed is a letter to Rahim. I request you to pl. get it typed, send one copy to Rahim, one to Nissar & one to me. Pl. do this quick. Sorry for burdening you with it but no alternative. You must, of course, read it & let me know what you think about it.

You have promised to do the following for me:

- ① ~~Arrange~~ + inform S. P. Cheriyan about the meeting between 5 & 5-15 P.M to-day (the place you know).
- ② Arrangement for my meeting with a lawyer.
- ③ send my papers which ~~are~~ are with Murti.
- (4) Send reading material - Prasad's note ^{on} ~~an~~ criticism of P.B document, PHQ Committee's resolution on their factionalism, PHQ volume no. 1. & it & when possible the self-report of PHQ Committee members.

Greetings,

I badly need some ordinary writing papers. Could you send it?

P.T.O.

Sital.

As you know I have to go out
frequently. Would it be possible to
send me a rain-coat & a cap or
preferably a hat?

21st June.Dear ~~Afroz~~ Com. Rahim,

I just came to know that the cell-secretaries have decided that Uma should stay on there for about 10 months ^{more} ~~there~~. The reasons, as reported to me, seem to be these:

- ① That the child is very young & may feel ill etc which will be a big responsibility for the PM.
- ② That she will not be able to put in very much work.
- ③ That there is a danger of arrests, illegalisation etc & therefore it is a risk for her & the child too.

I have discussed the whole issue quite at length with you. My main concern is about her political education in this most decisive & educative period in Party's life. And before this primary & most imp. consideration, ~~the~~ the above considerations are minor. The first reason given is firstly hypothetical & secondly ~~it~~ ~~exists~~ in whatever period, the Party ~~cannot~~ ~~can~~ has got to take ~~a~~ such responsibility with regard to a whole-time. Equally hypothetical is the last reason. That danger is there & will remain there & every PM has to face it. Besides when Uma herself ~~in spite of~~ is prepared to risk the child's health as also her safety (which danger is really little) & wants to come back to her political development & education, I do not see how the Coms. here can deprive her of

Reasons I could not do it. I will do it to-morrow.
But ~~can it~~ I think, these questions will be
better understood & discussed if we meet together
instead of thru correspondence. I do not think
such a meeting is possible. If it is, it will
really be very helpful & I would request
you to think over it if it is possible.

Greetings,

Sitel

P.S. As you will note, about the decision
re: una, I have not been as yet
authoritatively informed. Hence
allowance should be made for ~~the~~ my
~~the~~ possible inaccurate impression ~~that~~
about the same.

Party makes such an arrangement for her, as party does with Edith regard to U.G. coms. on this ground, she cannot be deprived of the present general inner-party discussions. And, I think, as a whole thing it is within her right to make such a demand on the party. In this connection, I may suggest that it is possible for her to stay here at the Andheri flat (K. Zaveri). She will have Rs. 50/- ~~per~~ ~~per~~ p.m. for the child but her own food, pocket & rent expenses will have to be paid ~~to~~ by the party. I have no other place in mind where she can stay. (pl. note that Romesh Bhagat has already ^{started} making payment for the child's expense which he had promised)

Please think over what I have written ^{reply.} & I strongly feel that it will be ^a greatest injustice to her if she is kept there ~~no~~ for another 4 months - just the period in which if ^{she} comes here she will learn ^a lot, educate herself ^{immensely} & contribute whatever she can ~~in~~ towards forging a new Party line which is not only her duty but also her right.

Hope to receive a quick reply.

Greetings,

Sital

I wanted to write to you about my going O.G., my work etc as I promised in my yesterday's letter but became unavoidable