

S. A. Dange.

New Delhi,
21.10.1954.

Dear Comrade Jyoti Basu,

Your letter asking us to see if we can postpone the AITUC Working Committee and General Council by three or four days to enable you and other comrades to work for the November week.

I have no objection to postpone Working Committee to 14th and 15th and G.C. to 16-20th.

But I have to consult others, which I am doing.

However, it would be better, if a letter containing this proposal is sent to me by the W. C. members in Calcutta properly signed, as soon as possible. Please ask Satyapriya also and some others. Without such an official letter, it is difficult to act "formally".

In case Ranen and P.R. here also agree, I will send the circular as you say.

As regards the other questions, I am sending them on to EMS.

Comradely yours,

(S.A. Dange)

PB. PS: I have consulted the
The dates will be changed to
12th & 13th for the W. committee and 14,
15, 16, 17 for the Council. So instead of
arriving on 9th you have to arrive on
11th. The W. committee has to open in Belur
Sanatorium. Hence we will hold the meeting
at Belur itself on 12th & 13th. Please see to
to make arrangements for which
SAD

25th Octr. 1954.

The Secretary,
Bombay Committee and
Maharashtra Committee, C.P.I.

Dear Comrades,

This is to draw your attention once again to the fact that no reports on trade union work from Bombay are being received by the AITUC. despite the number of letters and circulars from that organisation to the T.U.C. in your state.

Under such conditions, how can the AITUC prepare for the General Council any report or guiding slogans on the situation in the working-class?

Your Committees wrote to the P.B. long ago that you are taking up this question of T.U. functioning, especially of the B.P.T.U.C. and correct the situation. But nothing so far seems to have been done, even on elementary matters.

Greetings,

S.A. Singh

For POLIT BUREAU.

29th October, 1954.

Comrade Dulal,
P.P.H. Bombay.

I have seen the points in "Rationalisation" as basis for a pamphlet.

From the points it is not possible to say what the product will be like.

In any case, the statement of the "theory" of the problem is absent in the points and what is stated in parts is not correct. In fact there is not the slightest reference as to how workers should look at it theoretically. Why forget Capital while dealing with rationalisation?

The points are written in a cheap propagandist way. If the pamphlet is also on the same lines, it may agitate but it will not educate.

On this question everything depends on statement of facts in each industry.

The author seems to seriously believe that the bourgeoisie will throw out 1,80,000 workers from the textiles. They cannot and will not do it because they know the storm it will create. And they are realists. The newspaper headlines however have helped the workers' propaganda, but it is not "sober economics" to believe everything they say.

The writer does not seem to be dealing with inter-imperialist competitions.

Rationalisation is the inevitable concomitant of every capitalist crisis. It comes in at each period of crisis on a large scale and goes on slowly throughout the capitalist process of production.

The writer does not distinguish between capitalist rationalisation and socialist rationalisation. His talk of "full employment" economy does not sound scientific.

I cannot say how much technique he knows to deal with that side of rationalisation.

SAD
(S. A. DANGE)

S. A. Dange.

New Delhi,
25th Octr. 54.

Dear Com. P.B.Waidya,

I am not able to come to Bombay in the near future and hence cannot take any engagement.

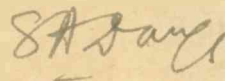
As regards Com. Patil's class, I had not made any firm engagements with him. He has inquired if I would be willing to speak there and I had agreed to do when I found time.

Before making any commitments to workers about dates, he had not consulted me. It was expected that I might be in Bombay sometime in October. But other work has prevented my going there.

So I am sorry that Com. Patil cannot depend on my lectures in the near future.

I am, as at present situated, expected to be in Bombay for two days somewhere after November 17th and before 22nd.

Greetings,



(S. A. DANGE)

Com. P.B. Waidya,
Secretary,
Bombay Committee of the CPI,
Dalvi Building,
Parel, Bombay.12.

SAD

24th. Sepr., 1954.

Dear Comrade Ranen:

1. We read in papers that the hearing for the supplementary memo. in the Coal Tribunal is on 16th. October.
2. You must have by now have had some talk with S.K.A. about his taking up the case. In any case he can appear for this hearing at least.
3. Have you spoken to Latifi about his sanad being called back from Pakistan and hence the desirability of returning the cheque we gave him?

Please arrange to have it sent by regd. Post.

4. If it comes, then we shall have some spare money to spend on the Tribunal work. So treat this as urgent.
5. Chaturanan has written to us and he is, of course, in a complaining mood and justifiably.
6. Your WIMCO people and the Ceramic strike people have written to WFTU for monetary help.

The WIMCO is an INTUC union. They never wrote to the AITUC about their strike. The Ceramic people did inform us and we sent them token help. I have told WFTU to give both of them some aid, if they can. Anyway this is only for your information and not for announcement. I asked them to send it directly to them.

7. I wrote to Bombay if they would organise an anti-rationalisation conference on textiles. They are not quite willing.

In fact there ought to be a united all-India Conference on this.

Why not a Jute Conference on this specific matter?

8. Vithal Rao and Vallabha Rao had been to Amlabad Colliery. You must have seen it in the New Age, which, of course, fails to mention that the AITUC deputed them to inquire. The inquiry, however, is not satisfactory as they had only one day there.

9. The Manganese case comes up in the Supremex Court on 27th Sepr. We are engaging a lawyer. The INTUC seems to be opposing our appearance.

10. I am leaving for Nagpur on 26th and returning by 2nd October. Do you think it would be any use if I come to Calcutta from Nagpur and have some consultations with comrades concerned on the coal affair? If you think it is of any use, I will come via Nagpur. You can also call Burman and Chaturanan if you think it necessary.

Wire me here or at Nagpur.

Yours fraternally,

SAD
(SA DANGE)

c.c. to:

Com. P. Ramamurthi.

No.5(51)/12897/D(Lab),
Government of India,
Ministry of Defence,
New Delhi, 7th. September 1954.

To
The General Secretary,
All India Defence Employees' Federation,
70, Market Rd., Kirkee, POONA-3.

Sub:- Setting up of a permanent negotiating machinery for dealing with disputes between civilians in Defence installations and the Government.

.....

Sir,

I am directed to refer to resolution No.2, on the above subject, adopted by the All India Defence Employees Federation in the meeting of its executive committee held at Ishapore between the 28th and the 30th June 54, a copy of which was received with the Federations letter No.6/DEF/P/A/54, dated the 3rd/7th July 1954. The Government of India have carefully considered the contents of the resolution and their reactions are set out below.

(1) COMPOSITION.

(a) LOWEST LEVEL. At the lowest level the negotiation should be between the head of the Installation and the recognised Union, irrespective of whether the Union is affiliated to the Federation or not, otherwise the recognition of the Union loses significance. At installations where the recognised trade union is ~~not~~ not affiliated to the Federation, to negotiate with the representatives of the Federation over the head of the recognised Union would run counter to the basic principles of trade unionism. At installations where there is no recognised union, the Works Committee would be the appropriate body to consult.

(b) MIDDLE LEVEL. At the middle level, Government would be represented by Command Headquarters so far as Army installations are concerned, except that the discussions will be with the D.T.D. in respect of matters affecting the Technical Development Establishments.

(c) TOP LEVEL. It is not necessary formally to provide for the Association of the D.O.S., D.M.E. and E-in-C in the constitution of the negotiating machinery. Whenever considered necessary, these officers will be consulted for advice and invited to be present at discussions.

(ii) SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION.

(a) LOWEST LEVEL. The suggestion of the Federation that all local matters 'concerning employees of an installation' may be discussed at the lowest level is accepted. The word 'local' will, however, have to be interpreted correctly. Matters which may have some local significance, but which are essentially of a general nature should not be discussed at this level. Cases of individual employees will be allowed to be discussed at the lowest level only at the discretion of the head of the installation.

(b) MIDDLE LEVEL. Policy questions relating to the additional subjects suggested by the Federation for discussion at the middle level, should be discussed at the top level and not at the middle level. Individual cases where victimisation is alleged or political or other discrimination is complained of may be discussed at the Command, D.T.D. or D.G.O.F. level at the discretion of the Government representatives.

(c) TOP LEVEL. The Federation has suggested that all matters be settled at the top level and agrees not to raise the same issues again for a period of one year. The Govt. of India feel that where there is agreement between the Federation and the Government, the issues should not be raised again for a period of 2 years; but where there is no such agreement, the issues can be raised after a period of one year.

The Federation has suggested that where there is no agreement at the top level, the questions should be referred to a Tribunal. The Govt. of India are unable to accept this suggestion. In this connection the Federation's attention is invited to paragraph 1(ii) of the minutes of the meeting held in D.D.M. II's room on the 9th April 1954, in which the representatives of the Federation stated that they would like the orders regarding the negotiating machinery to be issued without any provision in regard to the workers' right to strike, compulsory adjudication, etc., which could be settled later. The Govt. of India do not consider it necessary to make any such provision in the constitution of

the Negotiating machinery, since this matter is already covered by Sections 10-15 of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947.

(iii) IMPLEMENTATION.

The Federation has suggested ~~that~~ a time limit for implementation of the decisions taken at the various levels. While every effort will be made by the Government representatives at each of the levels to implement the decisions taken, with the utmost expedition, Government consider it inadvisable to lay down a time within which the decisions must be implemented. With the best of intentions and most sincere and honest efforts it will not always be possible to implement the decisions within a time specified beforehand.

2. I am to request x that the views of the Federation on the comments made by this Ministry in the preceding paragraphs may kindly be communicated at an early date. If the Federation wishes to discuss the matter at a meeting with representatives of this Ministry with a view to expediting the setting up of the proposed negotiating machinery, this Ministry will be glad to arrange such a discussion as early as possible.

Yours faithfully,

Sd/- (N.S.SIVA)

DEPUTY SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

अखिल भारतीय ट्रेड यूनियन काँग्रेस

ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

T. U. LAW BUREAU :
R. L. TRUST BUILDING,
55, GIRGAON ROAD,
BOMBAY 4 (INDIA)

PAWHA MANSION,
KAMALA MARKET,
NEW DELHI (INDIA).

President: V. CHAKKARAI CHETTIAR, M.L.C. (Madras).

General Secretary: S. A. DANGE.

Dt: 15th. September 1954

SAD

Shri. C.D. Deshmukh,
Finance Minister,
Government of India, NEW DELHI.

Dear Shri. Deshmukh,

This is in reference to a subject that arose in the Central Advisory Council of Industries which met in Delhi on 28th. August 1954.

While discussing the question of guarantees and dollar loans from the World Bank, I objected to our Govt. and industrialists going in for aids or partnerships with American finance. One of the points I made was that the American financiers give aid with the condition that we buy in their market and as they dictate.

You intervened to say that this statement of mine was not correct. Many other businessmen in the meeting also sided with you. Still I did not give up my point.

Now I am writing to you to draw your attention to an article in "The Commerce" of Bombay, which shows how we are compelled to buy in the American market and at their prices our locomotive requirements from their dollar aids.

I need not dilate on the point. The facts given therein are telling enough and corroborate my stand taken in the Committee.

I hope you will give your due consideration to the matter again and revise your facts.

Yours faithfully,

S A Dange

(SA DANGE)
GENERAL SECRETARY.

c.c.to:

Shri. T.T. Krishnamachari,
Minister for Commerce and Industries,
Central Advisory Council of Industries,
NEW DELHI.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Phone : 25794

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS

General Secretary : AJOY GHOSH

Opp: Irwin Hospital,
NEW DELHI.

17th. Decr 1954.

Dear Comrade Sudam, (M.P.).

You must be knowing what is happening regarding Parasia. Our people have not moved quickly in the matter. This accident must be made into a National scandal and the owners and Government must be made to revise their policy of neglecting the safety of the miners. Violation of mining laws is an established ordinary practice with these scoundrels of the owners.

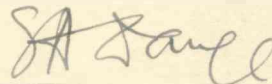
If now we can build a movement, then alone, the miners can be saved and the mines improved.

Only at the time of such accidents the people, Government and owners awake for a time and then the whole thing returns to the old rut. The real evil never goes on a nationwide scale to all workers. All T.Us never take up this special feature - that of accidents in mines which are of a different nature from accidents in other trades. The miner is all his life in a death-pit.

Will you please make this a starting point of better work on this front from the P.C. - T.U. end?

Creetings,

Fraternally yours,



(S.A.DANGE)

Copy to:

P.C., Bihar) The above is meant for your
P.C., Bengal) attention also.

SAD

1-C/15 Rohtak Road,
DELHI-5
Dt: 25th April 1955.

Dear Com. Kalyan Roy,

Your small note remained unanswered because here a lot of "reconstituting" is going on and hence I did not reply.

Yes, you should join the B.P.T.U.C. unit.

The Parliamentary set up has been more or less disbanded almost in all personnel matters. We shall have none of them on the T.U. side, unless the AITUC is able to "maintain" them and the AITUC cannot. I do not know if they have told you about it.

As regards your conveyance needs in regard to the Tribunal, we shall send you Rs.30/- on T.U. account for that much job only.

If I could have met you, I would have been able to discuss a few things better regarding your work. It is difficult to do so by mere letters.

I am leaving Delhi on 28th for Bombay and then for Europe on 2nd. May. Hope to see on return. Till then, at least, some stick on.

Greetings,

Fraternally yours,



(S.A. DANGE)

I fully agree with the report of Comrade Saillant on the "Activity of the trade unions in the united struggle of the peoples for peace, to defeat the plans for atomic war and for the demands of the workers". The questions raised in this report are really important questions facing the world trade union movement today.

I would now make some observations on this report according to my understanding of the situation.

The present world situation is extremely favourable to the development of the world trade union movement. What slogans then should we use to organise and mobilise the masses?

The problems of defending peace, of opposing colonialism, of defeating the plans for atomic war, and the problems of achieving unity in the trade union movement, of defending trade union rights, of improving the daily life of the labouring masses are important problems on which we can best organise and mobilise the masses in the present world trade union movement, especially in the trade union movement of those countries which took part in the Asian-African conference.

This truth was testified by the European workers and trade unions representative conference, recently held in Leisig. This truth was especially testified by the Festival Gathering of Asian and African trade union delegates who came to Peking to attend the May Day celebration this year, and by the whole preparatory work for a Friendly Discussion Meeting of Asian and African trade unions scheduled to be held in Peking in the middle of this month.

Such concrete historical facts have proved that these slogans are problems of common concern amongst the peoples of Asian and African countries including high government leaders, down to the broad sections of the labouring masses, irrespective of differences in ideology, social system, religious belief, race, language or ways of life.

On these problems we are able to form the broadest united front of the working class. If the leaders of the right-wing trade unions still hold on to their prejudices and disagree with these slogans, then definitely they would be opposed by the broad sections of the workers.

Another big problem in the world trade union movement today is the problem concerning forms, methods and styles of work. For we should not only propose tasks, but also solve the problem of the methods of accomplishing them.

According to our experiences gathered in the past few years, especially experiences gained in the Festival Gathering of Asian and African trade union delegates, convened on May 2, 1955, and in the preparatory process of calling the Friendly Discussion Meeting of Asian and African trade unions very shortly, the forms, methods and styles of work which we found effective are: equality and free will, mutual respect and consultation, no restriction imposed on anybody, multiple ways and means of doing work, not being bound to any particular form, seeking of common ground and putting aside all differences.

In this way not only the worries of those trade unions (like the Japanese SOHYO), which for the time being adopt neutral stand towards the WFTU and ICFTU, can be largely mitigated but their active attitude can also be developed to a great extent.

To give an example, the Festival Gathering and the coming Friendly Discussion Meeting of Asian and African trade unions, which I have just mentioned, were both initiated by the trade union delegations of Japan (mainly SOHYO), India and Indonesia. Naturally they consulted us beforehand on this matter. These delegates showed immense fervour and diligence in this work and the result of their activity was good.

On the eve of my departure from Peking, the leaders of trade unions of 15 countries (including the USSR, China, Korea, Vietnam, Mongolia, Japan, India, Indonesia, Burma, Pakistan, Iran, Lebanon, Syria, Tunis and the Sudan) who took part in the Peking May Day celebrations, held a meeting. Out of the 65 trade union organisations which they represented, 52 were not affiliated to the WFTU. However, in the meeting everyone agreed to hold an informal discussion meeting of Asian and African trade union representatives on May 17, 1955, on the basis of mutual respect, free will, equality and without imposing any restriction on anybody, with the aim of promoting mutual understanding, exchanging common wishes, promoting friendship and unity, defending peace and opposing war. It was agreed that there might not be any agenda for the future meeting, that problems involving differences of opinions would not be discussed, that no resolutions would be adopted. If all the participants can reach unanimous agreement on certain common questions, then the various delegations can convey this agreement to their respective trade union headquarters when they return home and let their organisations make the final decision.

At first glance these methods of work look somewhat slow and slack, but actually the work is extremely strenuous and the progress is comparatively rapid. Moreover, by adopting this method of work we are placed in a very active position. We think that this method of work can serve as a reference for other trade unions. If we do not follow this method it would be rather difficult for us to get into contact with the in-between and right-wing trade unions, and naturally impossible to lead these organisations and their masses along.

The reason why such forms and methods of work are important is that within the ranks of the in-between and right-wing trade unions, there are people still politically backward and lacking in consciousness. If this were not the case, their 'leaders' would not be able to get along and would have been driven out by the masses.

In our work we must take into consideration this state of affairs and start from the existing level of consciousness of the masses in order to get in touch with them and lead them along. Otherwise we would alienate ourselves from the masses.

At present in many trade unions there are workers who are "disgusted at the rightists and afraid of the leftists". It is extremely important for us to understand such feelings when we mobilise and organise the masses.

It is easy for us to understand this feeling of "disgust at the rightists". However, it is not so easy to understand or to be aware of the other feeling that of "being afraid of the leftists". And exactly this lack of understanding has constituted one of the major causes for the fact that quite a number of progressive trade unions have made themselves isolated and separated from the masses.

The feeling of "being afraid of the leftists" is created mainly by two factors:

1. From their personal experience, the workers realise that they would be discriminated against and persecuted by their governments, and would run the risk of losing their job, being thrown into jail and even sacrificing their lives if they join or keep close to the progressive trade unions. This is the major side of the problem:
2. Owing to the possible defects of our trade unionists in their forms, methods and styles of work, such as being too rigid, or impatient, or lacking consultative spirit, etc. that section of the workers feel uneasy

or unhappy at getting along with us. We must regard trade unions as organisations of education, training and absorbing the working masses, so that we should choose our forms, methods and styles of work according to the nature of the trade union. We should be patient and persevering, and try to seek common ground.

The third problem facing the world trade union movement today is the problem of carrying out penetrating and serious organisational work among the masses and leading them in the struggle for better living conditions and against increased exploitation. This is one of the important parts of the present struggle in opposing war preparations and defending world peace.

By "penetrating" we mean that the trade union activists should go deep into the places of work and seriously (not casually) carry out organisational work among the masses. They should lead the masses in the struggle for the betterment of living conditions, (even for a slight improvement each time), basing themselves on the pressing demands of the masses and the possibilities provided by the existing political and economic conditions. The demands put forward in this struggle must be appropriate so that they can be supported by the broad masses and facilitate united action from below. We should try our level best to win victory in the struggle and should not be impetuous and adventurous in order not to separate us from the masses and bring us failure.

Only by such serious organisational work can our trade unions establish close contact with the broad sections of the workers, build up our prestige, and achieve a real mass basis and strength.

In this connection, however, the work of many of our trade unions is far from sufficient. Consequently their links with the masses are still very weak and their understanding of the actual life of the masses is quite small. This is one of the most fundamental weaknesses of our trade union work at present. This aspect is also found in many in-between trade unions.

The fourth problem facing the present world trade union movement is that of a correct understanding of the mutual relationship between the movement for peace, national independence and democracy, and the movement for trade union unity. This is a significant problem which must be solved in order to develop these movements smoothly.

As proved by facts, the successful growth of the movement for

peace, national independence and democracy will create favourable conditions for the development of the movement for trade union unity.

This year, for instance, there were 265 delegates from over 90 trade union organisations in 29 countries who came to China to take part in the Peking May Day celebrations. It goes without saying that this phenomenon has a lot to do with the calling of the Asian-African Conference and the progress of the movement for peace, national independence and democracy in these two continents. Immediately following May Day, more than 200 delegates representing 65 trade union organisations from 15 Asian and African countries held a Festival Gathering and Friendly Discussion Meeting in Peking. This not only pushed forward the movement for trade union unity in the Asian and African countries one step further, but also substantiates the mass basis of the movement for peace, national independence and democracy which has been flourishing in the period before and after the calling of the Asian-African Conference. This state of affairs will continue to develop in the future.

In short, when we have clear-cut slogans adaptable to the demands of the broad masses, adopt flexible, multiple and democratic forms, methods and styles of work, carry out penetrating and serious organisational work among the masses, and correctly understand and utilise the ever-growing movement for defending peace, national independence and democracy, the world-wide movement for trade union unity will be successfully developed.

अखिल भारतीय ट्रेड यूनियन काँग्रेस
ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

T. U. LAW BUREAU :
R. L. TRUST BUILDING,
55, GIRGAON ROAD,
BOMBAY 4 (INDIA)

1-C/15 Rohtak Road,
Delhi-5
Dt: 29th. April 1955.

PANHA MANSION
KAMALA MARKET
NEW DELHI (INDIA).

President: V. CHAKKARAI CHETTIAR, M.L.C. (Madras).

General Secretary: S. A. DANGE.

To
Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister,
Government of India, NEW DELHI.

Dear Panditji,

On behalf of the All India Trade Union Congress,
I greet you on your return from the Bandung Conference.

This Afro-Asian Conference of 29 Nations has
strengthened the cause of peace throughout the world.

The role of free India led by you in the Conference
standing unequivocally against colonialism will specially
hearten the people of Africa, who are today the most oppressed
part of humanity. It will also hold the hope of freedom before
the oppressed plantation and mining workers of Malaya too.
Asian solidarity and independence have advanced a step further.

The A.I.T.U.C. is glad to welcome you back home
safe from the machinations of the enemies of peace.

Please accept our May Day Greetings.

Yours sincerely,

(S.A. DANGE)

(S.A. DANGE)
GENERAL SECRETARY.

1-C/15 Rohtak Road,
Delhi-5
Dt: 11th August 55.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Ramani

Dear Comrade P.R.

The date of the General Council meeting you talk of was fixed before you left with me for Europe and we talked in Helsinki about its postponement. You have forgotten all that.

And for once you decided to write about AITUC in a personal letter and it is all superfluous! Well, well. That is P.R.

The General Council meeting will be from 21st September to 25th.

As reg: Ramani, he must go. This time the delegation is an all worker delegation of the textile trade only. Thangamani goes next May Day.

Get Ramani's endorsement and send him to Delhi to stay here for a week to read a little material before he goes.

With Greetings,

Fraternally yours,

SAD

(S.A.DANGE)

~~GENERAL SECRETARY.~~

जया पाटील -

सेक्रेटरी

वाडी - R.C.

२५ अ, आगर बाजार.

दादर, मुंबई २८.

प्रिय कां. जंगे,

आपण १४ सप्टेंबरला मुंबईस येणार

होतात. सक्रीय व्याख्यान मालेच्या तारखा आपण
१४ सप्टेंबर रोजी ठरविणार होतात. आमच्या R.C. मध्ये
ह्यावर विचार होऊन R.C. ही मोहीम पार पाडण्याची
पूर्ण जबाबदारी घेणार आहोत. आपण सांगितल्या क्षमणे
R.C. सेक्रेटरीकडून संपूर्ण सहकार्य मिळणार आहे. तरी
आपल्या ऑक्टोबर १५ नंतर किंवा नोव्हेंबर १५ नंतर
उपरोक्त आपण मुंबईत आसात, अशा तारखा ठामांला
लावडेलीन कक्षा, म्हणजे झाली त्याबाबत पुढील
व्यवस्था करण्यास माकळ होई.

~~आपला~~ प्रिन्सिपल गिरीष्या गिरीष्यांवार Contacts

नां अशाच अखत चाव आहेत. तारीख कळल्यावर

द्वारा
लाभ योग्य तं स्वल्प यैः। आवश्यक असल्याल
आपल्या येव्यापूर्वी यदिस्य आपणाल सादर कर्तुं.
फोटो उतर लावडलोष चाववावे.
लाळ सकाम

आपला
का. जया पारील
२२/१/५३

कॉ. उंगे जवरल सेक्रेटरी अ. भा. ट्रे. उ. कॉ.
 न्यू. दिल्ली.
 मि. म कॉमरेड

तुमने पत्र वे पुरु. मदन पावनेप्या बळितने आयात
 अकलेले तुमरे पत्र मिजले. मंगलाळ मिलि बळित रवाकोळ वडामोळी
 माल्या आहेत. वे तुमच्या आदेशाप्रमाणे कामगार ने वागणे काय
 एवजुरी साठी आमचे सतत प्रयत्न सुद्धे आहे.

(१) १८ सप्टें रोजी Preference Shares या मोजनेमा मोजणी
 कल्प्यासाठी करीदारानी मिलिंग मॅनेजिंग एजेंट सी सुरजमल यांच्या
 अध्यक्षने रवाली इतली. माझी सर्व कामगार येतेच मिलि-आकारणे
 मोजणे होणे. तसे सुर्वीनी ही मोजना फेर घेऊन लावली.

सुधेच्या शेवटी मी ३०१ सी सुरजमल यांचा मर्यादित मर्यादा
 एवजुरी वराना प्रामाण्यवानने पॅरेंट कंपनी देणार असा प्रकृ मिमाराळ
 एवजुरी वराना वरतरी. पुढे पोलिसी आणण्यांत आली. कामगार
 (मर्यादित) वराने वरतरी मर्यादा १११॥ वाजे पर्यंत आम्ही
 आंतून होणे.

मध्यंतरी सी. जाल (Debtura Trustee) यांच्या
 कडे. रा. का. संघाने दना कर मो, सी. जाले व - सरकारी
 लेखा ऑफिसर यांचे इन्टेर मंडव मध्ये. रघुप यांची फार्ल पॅरेंट
 सेटव पॅरेंट मध्ये रावला साठी. मग दना कराने सर्व कामगारानी
 जावयास सांगितली. परंतु आपल्या आदेशाप्रमाणे मारे कामगार
 तसेच वराने राहिले. मग कॅम्परेटने त्या एवजुरी मर्यादाप्रमाणे
 माल्याची उरलेली इस्टे जय कल्पाने आंध्याकडे ठिके.

१३ दिवाळ १९१० पासून असा सरकारी इन्टेर सुटवाने व्हावयाची
 टोपी मग मर्यादा १२ वाजनां मोजण्याची कामी बाहेर
 माल्या.

- (१) मोजवडिदोननी वक्रे देनेदनि माल्याने, मोजवडिदरे
 नेमा
- (२) कामगारानी मर्यादा मंडव या पॅरेंट माल्याने
 या.
- (३) मध्यंतरी माल्याने १० लाख रु. वराने देणे
 माल्या मध्ये व्हाव
- (४) वराने ३१ वे काम वराने.

या माहितीसाठी १९ गा. पत्रात का. आ. वी. ३ (अ) का
दोष कराराने, जखम पुकाराने, भिन्न होणे - असे या
कराराची अर्थ सादर करावे वक्तरी.

Preference. Shares ही योजना फंडासाठी
दे. व. देवकीने या माहिती तज्ज्ञांनी वाढवून घेतली
पुढे कोर. पांडु यांनी कोर. ही निष्पत्ती झाली. उर
कायदा वधाने वक्तरी या सुवटेच माहिती मागणे
होते.

(१) यावेळी निष्पत्ती ही कोर. रोज पुढे झाली.
१९, २०, २१ ही तिथी यापुढे निष्पत्तीसाठी ठरविली

(२) को. व. वधाने नवड्याचे आपला इत्येव
पाहून १९ ते को. व. वधाने पाठविले. व को. व. वधाने
पाठविलेला वक्तरी वक्तरी.

(३) गे. व. वधाने १० लाखात ३२ ठरविले. ५५
ते Re. organization झाली.

असा वक्तरी वक्तरी वक्तरी वक्तरी २९ गा
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Communist Party Of India

BOMBAY COMMITTEE

Dalvi Building,
Parel, Bombay 12.

Date 29-9-1954.

Dear Com. Dange,

Com. Jaya Patil has already talked to you about the proposed class of T.U. workers where in he has promised to bring atleast a hundred new working comrades.

middle
I learn that you have promised him to spare three days sometime in October. The details ~~was~~ were to be fixed with you on your arrival here in the of September.

Unfortunately you could not come in Sept. and the whole plan could not be finalised.

Still the Wadi comrades have done all the preliminary work and have already started enrolling the students. They are confident of overreaching the target of 100.

I learn that you are likely to come to Bombay by 10th. In that case, can we not fix the class in October? I take it that you are going abroad in November and hence you wont be able to spare 3days in November.

In any case, please let us know as to when you are coming to Bombay and for how many days, so that we can derive maximum benefit out of it.

Please reply

With greetings

Yours Comradely,

P. B. Dange

Secretary, B.C.

New Delhi,
6th. July 1954.

Dear Comrade Dange,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a report on my stay in China and also a copy of the letter to Com. Li-Chi-Po in connection with friendly discussion meeting at Peking. x


In my report I had given you reasons why I left China so early. And I think you will appreciate them. I had made suggestions in my report as to how the comrade going to China should be helped to meet the expectations of the comrades in China. I have also given in details the type of information required by the Liaison Bureau Office. I hope you will think over it and take necessary steps to keep the Liaison Bureau Office in touch with the T.U. movement in India.

When I left China, Com. Li-Chi-Po specifically told me that he wanted you to attend the initiators' Conference and in case it may not be possible for you, some responsible Comrade should be sent.

Before I came to Delhi, I had been to Calcutta and Bombay, where I had asked Comrade Jyoti Basi and Comrade Vithal Chawdhary respectively, to prepare small reports on T.U. movement on their respective Provinces on the lines suggested by Comrades in China and send them to Delhi. This I did my own, because if somebody attends initiators' Conference in the month of October, which means after a month and a half, it will not be possible for the Comrade to get the reports in time, the time being very short, and hence I took the step of directly asking them to prepare the reports.

With Greetings,

Fraternally yours,


(V.V. JOSHI)

Note:- A list of the names of different independent T.U. organisations is attached. ^{to Comrade Dange} Please let the Party Centre be sent to them separately. You should inform your opinion as to which of these organisations be invited to attend initiation Conference.

Enclos:-

1. Report.
2. Letter to Li-Chi-Po.
3. List of the names of independent organisations.

1. Mr. Abasaheb Paranjpe, ~~Ex~~
President,
Oriental Life Insurance Employees' Association,
276 Ganesh Bhuvan, Telang Road, Matunga, BOMBAY-19.
2. Mr. B.R. Divekar,
Associated Cement Staff Union,
A.C.C. Building, 1, Queens Road, Churchgate, BOMBAY-1.
3. The General Secretary,
All India Cement Workers' Federation,
Gandhi Nagar, Vijayawada, ANDHRA.
4. The General Secretary,
All India Petroleum Workers' Federation,
Jotshi Building, Kamla Market, Asafali Road, NEW DELHI.
5. Shri. G.M. Dalvi,
President,
Postmen and Lower Grade Workers' Federation,
Soman Building, Near Gaiwadi, Girgaum Road, BOMBAY-4.
6. The General Secretary,
Seamen's Federation,
Servants of India Society, Sandhurst Road, BOMBAY-4.
7. *Its General Sec.*
Union of Postal Telegraph Workers,
62 Regal Building
New Delhi
8. *All India Insurance Employees Fed.*
Ch. Shri N.K. Pakkar,
20 India Nivas
Bhavani Shankar Road
DADAR 28.
Bombay
9. *Shrihati Dr. Matrayee Bose MCA*
President All India Defence Employees Fed.
47 Chourangee
Calcutta
10. *S. M. Joshi*
General Sec.
All India Def. Emp. Fed.
199/4 Sadashiva Peth
Pune 2.



Communist Party Of India

BOMBAY COMMITTEE

Dalvi Building,
Parel, Bombay 12.

Date 15-10-1954.

Dear Com. Dange,

A few days back, I wrote to you about the active T.U. Workers ' study class in the Nagu-Sayaji Wadi region which you have promised to inaugurate.

The organisers have enrolled the students they ~~WORE~~ expected that the class may start sometime in the middle of October. I had already written to you requesting you to let us know the dates suitable to you.

Now you will please write back indicating the dates suitable to to you so that the organisers will finalise other arrangements.

Greetings

Yours Comradely,

Secretary, B.C.

West Bengal Legislature Communist Party

Leader—SRI JYOTI BASU M. L. A.

Deputy Leader—SM. MANI KUNTALA SEN
M. L. A.

64A, Lower Circular Road,
CALCUTTA—16

Address when Assembly in session
ASSEMBLY HOUSE
Calcutta.

27-9-54.

Dear Dange,

Yours of 24th Sept, '50. I have written to you at Delhi ~~on~~ on the 26th inst. I am afraid you have not received ~~it~~ it.

1) SKA has agreed to take up the Coal Tribunal along with Latif. They will adjust their programme accordingly. SKA being a busy practitioner cannot attend daily. Latif will attend daily. On important occasion SKA will attend. We are to pay him Rs 500/- altoto.

2) Latif has not received back his loan from Pakistan. SKA thinks that - We should not ask him to return the money you paid him.

West Bengal Legislative Communist Party

64A, Lower Circular Road
CALCUTTA-18

Address when Assembly is in session
ASSEMBLY HOUSE
Calcutta.

Secretary - SRI JYOTI BASU M.L.A.
Deputy Secretary - SRI MANI KUNTALA SEN
M.L.A.

However, it is better that you ask him to return the money.

3) The Winceo strike is over. Therefore, they do not need any money nor as strike relief. There has been some compromise negotiated by the Govt West Bengal and the strike was withdrawn.

The Ceramic strike is still on. They, of course, need help.

4) About calling a Jute conference, I will talk to Indrajit.

5) Just now wired to you re Communist Party office, Naffan

Asking you to come to Calcutta. We are expecting you on the 1st or 2nd Oct. We can also discuss Tea & other problems besides coal. I have written to Lalit & Chaturaman to reach Calcutta by the 1st Oct.

Yours
Ramen Sen

To
Com. S.A. Dange.

Dear Comrade:

Received your letter. As per your instructions the entire amount of the cheque (Rs.499/6/-), we received from Kakababu for preparations of AITUC Session has been paid up on 23.8.54, next day of the receipt of your letter.

Rs.200/- has been given to Ranigunj strikers. Union will send the receipt to the AITUC Office directly.

Rs.100/- has been to Com. Ranen Sen for Coal Tribunal and the rest Rs.199/6/- has also been taken by Com. Ranen Sen. I wanted the sum to be sent to your ~~Delhi~~ Delhi address directly. But Com. Ranen told me that he would be going soon, so there was no necessity of sending the cheque by post. So I handed over the money to him.

As you know we have paid Rs.100/- more for Coal Tribunal from B.P.T.U.C. fund.

Re: the School, your apprehension may become true. There is no sign of any improvement of the flood situation. So I don't know whether it will be at all possible to organise the proposed school by 1st. week of October. Darjeeling comrades have no difficulty. We must think of holding separate classes for Darjeeling and Doars, if it is not possible to hold joint classes. In any case it will be helpful if you can possibly come in October. If you include this tour in your programme from now on, then only it may be possible for you to come, otherwise I am afraid, it will not be possible for you to come in any distant future. Last time too you had to force the decision after a great difficulty.

Re: the Badri paper, it has already become popular among the tea workers of Doars and Terai. I have seen 3 letters written to Com. Fagu from 3 different gardens, where we have got no union. Moreover contributions have been made for ~~for~~ Fagu's treatment by workers of gardens, where we have got no union. This shows that the paper in Badri language has become popular among the workers. So it will be harmful if we stop it particularly at a time when our union has become popular and PSP discredited due to sudden withdrawal of the strike. Latest report from Jalpaiguri says that 3 new gardens' workers have approached us for joining our union. I have sent a draft to be published either as leaflet or in next issue of the Badri paper. The draft dealt with the withdrawal of the strike and the tasks of the workers. Through it I have called upon all workers to unite and struggle for the realisation of their demands to urge upon the leadership of all unions to stand unitedly in the next Wage Board meeting which is to discuss about wage increment. I personally wrote it, so that our comrades there may not take an absolutely Sectarian stand.

I shall give you report from time to time about the tea workers movement.

With Greetings,

Yours comradely,

Sd/- MANORANJAN ROY

P.S. About subsidy for Sadri & Agradut, we can't say anything about Agradut, as its accounts have not been yet submitted to us, inspite of our reminder. As for Sadri, I have gone through their accounts. Not a pie has been spent for any other purpose except the paper. Moreover I think it will become self sufficient within 3 months. Flood has added further difficulties due to breach in communication. Com.Fagu is fast recovering, but still he will have to take perfect rest for another 6 months.

Manoranjan Roy

Type 2 Coms

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

WEST BENGAL COMMITTEE

64A LOWER CIRCULAR ROAD,
CALCUTTA-16

To Com S. A. Dange

Com,

Received your letter. As per your instructions the entire amount of the cheque (Rs 499/6/-), we received from Kakababu for preparations of AITUC session has been paid up on 23.9.54, next day per receipt of your letter. Rs 200/- has been given to Rajmuj Union will send the receipt to ~~Stickers~~, the ~~Union~~ receipt will be sent to you A.I.T.U.C office directly.

Rs 100/- has been paid to Com Rauen Sen for Coal Tribunal and the rest Rs 199/6/- has ^{also} been taken by Com Rauen Sen. I wanted the sum to be sent to your Delhi address directly. But Com Rauen told me that he would be going soon, so there was no necessity of sending the cheque by post. So I ~~to~~ handed over the money to him.

As you know we have paid

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

WEST BENGAL COMMITTEE
11, LOWER GURULAL ROAD,
CALCUTTA-18

Rs 100/- more for Coal Tribunal from 1st rec fund.

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA**WEST BENGAL COMMITTEE**64A LOWER CIRCULAR ROAD,
CALCUTTA-16

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 workers of gardens, where we have
 got no union. This shows that
 the paper in Sadri language has
 become popular among the workers.
 So it will be harmful if we stop it
 particularly at a time when
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 3 new gardens' workers have
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 I have sent a draft to be
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 issue of the Sadri paper. The
 draft dealt with the ~~the~~ withdrawal
 of the strike & the tasks of the workers.
 Well ~~it~~ though it I have called
 upon all workers to unite &

of struggle for the realisation of their demands
 - to urge upon the leadership of ~~our~~ rival
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~~be held to discuss about wage~~
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I personally wrote it, so that
 our Coms here may not take
 an absolutely sectarian stand.

I shall give you report from
 time to time about the tea workers
 movement.

With greetings

Yours truly

Monoranjan Roy,

P.S. About Subsidy for Sadri & Apradut.

We can't say anything about Apradut,
 as its accounts have not been yet
 submitted to us, inspite of our reminders.

As for Sadri, I have gone through their
 accounts. Not a pie has been spent
 for any other purpose except the paper.

Moreover I think it will become self sufficient
 within 3 months. Hood has ~~added~~ ~~for~~ ~~two~~
 difficulties due to breach in communication.

Com Fagn is fast recovering, but still
 he will have to take perfect rest for another 6 months

Hoy

New Delhi,
2nd. February 1955.

Dear Com. Dange,

Received your letter dated 28.1.1955 from Vijayavada.

We are shifting to-morrow to the new place. Com. Aruna has come back and we are trying to get the phone connection from AITUC through her.

I am enclosing copies of two letters from Com. Mahendar Sen. The letter to Ganeshan was written by him after he received our letter which you asked us to write. So please write to him direct. He is in Betul.

Tai has gone to Nagpur yesterday along with Bhuna. Bhuna will come ~~by~~ back within 5 or 6 days after arranging medical care of Tai. He has also to get his endorsement.

Com. Homi Daji from Indore had written about Rationalisation Conference. They are prepared to hold it any time at the end of February. We have asked them to write you for final confirmation. The address is: Madhya Bharat & Bhopal Trade Union Congress, C/o Mazdoor Sabha, 167-Nayapura, Indore.

Mr. Bendrey was glad to receive the copy of Afnasi Nikitin's Travels. He has promised to send back the same within a week.

Greetings,

Yours fraternally,

(K.B. PANIKKAR)

COPY

Betul Sanitorium,
18, January 1955.

Dear Com. Dange,

While at Parasia, on 12th. evening, I had received a wire from Com. Ganeshan asking me to reach Nagpur on 13th to see you. On 14th instt I received your letter dt. 13th inst. at Nagpur.

Acting on the instructions given therein, I handed over all papers and the instructions in connection with the Parasia Case. I met Com. Sudam for the purpose and Com. Sanyal has been accordingly fixed by them to continue the case at Parasia. Re. lawyers etc. also I conveyed to them the instructions in your letter. Hence, accordingly they should do now.

Com. Bhargwan was also at Nagpur, when I reached there. Knowing about your arrival he had also stayed back to see you. On learning that you were not coming, we both, after I had done all that I was required to do in connection with Parasia case at Nagpur, started for Betul on 15th noon and reached this place in the evening.

I am today going to Parasia to get my bedding, suit-case etc. which still are lying there; and I will take rest here in Betul Sanitorium, till, as you have written to me, I am needed back in Delhi.

I do not know if you have sent any new instructions for me after your letter dt. 13th. If so, I will act accordingly, otherwise I will come back to Betul from Parasia after a day or two ~~more~~ to give charge to Sanyal and bring my things back. So, please write to me any further instructions now to Betul Sanitorium address.

After work at Parasia, I did need rest which I am now to get for which I must thank you.

With Greetings,

Yours comradely,

Sd/- Mahender Sen.

46 South 2nd St. S. Cal. 29

24. 1. 55-

Mr. Tom. Sturge

It is long since that
I have heard ^{from} you or met you. About
two months ago I handed over
to Mr. Shelly, Chicago (M.F.T.U.C.),
at his request, a typed copy of the
history I have written of the
Attlee family in 1948.
He promised that he would ^{send} it to
you for publication after making an
history up-to-date. Since then
I have heard nothing from him. Has he
sent the copy to you? Kindly let
me know. If you are unable
to fulfill the history, please send it
back to me. It will be my under-
standing to do it.

I had the pleasure of your ok.

Yours
Alfred Kent Hall



नाम Com. S.A. Sauga
Jurnal Secy, HTU.C.

पता Pawaha Meusiar

डाकखाना Kanala Market

ज़िला Araf ki Road
ber Delhi



Lele's Bungalow,
Gokhale Road, POONA, 4.

31st January, 1955

Dear Shri: Dange,

Very grateful for your kind assistance and letter of 19th instant. I got the Russian edition of the book on loan from Shri: Panikkar today. I will return the book in a week or so. Perhaps, you will be able to give me some address, through whom I may secure further minor details re readings of other two copies - used by Major for his book "India in the 15th Century." The spellings of the places and names are somewhat different and the present readings are probably made to suit the present circumstances. However, I am getting my evidence.

to my purpose. I was told that an English translation (Typed) of this edition has been specially prepared and supplied to Khwaja Ahmed Abbas of Union Park, Pali Hill, Bandra. I am requesting him to give me the required extracts ~~and~~ but I am doubtful whether he will respond to an unknown man!

On a sudden information received about Sharhi's contacting Diphtheria and removal to the Arthur Road Hospital, I had to run down to Bombay, but I did not attempt to call on you as your programme at the election campaign was announced. Sharhi is now cured and may return home in 2-3 days time.

I hope Sav. Tai is having her daily routine regulated to reduce the severity of attacks. She has not I think developed that vicious conduct of life as we have done to force our body and mind to act up to our dictates!

Among all the suggestions and warnings I get to ward off the various ailments of and on, I found yours is the most psychological. But, of course, this is more attracting not from the point of curing the disease, but to find a way out as well to search for the original or secondary copy of the Gatha (Tukaram) in the four Mission Head Quarters - Vatican, Venice, Spain and Dublin or in the British Museum, taken away by Dr. Wilson and read by Fraser, through the influence of the then Governor of Bombay - Fraser. In fact, I have offered to the Govt of India my services for securing the historical material they want, just to have an opportunity for this search. I had given them my scheme too and I think no one can do it so

economically as I could do, in view
of my actual experience and readiness
to do photography, trading etc. myself.
No reply is yet forthcoming, but they
may make use of my detailed
scheme for the benefit of somebody!
However, if I could be given such
assistance, I shall no doubt require
some work of investigation etc. There-
otherwise, rest alone may not
suit my health as it often does.
We may settle this when we meet
either in Bombay or Poona.

My Turbans is now becoming
a problem - ^{नहीं} Mahantas began to hate
me ^{because} ~~that~~ their auctions for these Turbans and
Vina are reduced in value. ^{१२५०० Rs. 400 to ३०० or less} ~~Vatkar~~
do not get encouragement for more ~~that~~
~~वस्तु~~ being only a Vidya, it cannot be
linked with ~~वस्तु~~, ~~वस्तु~~, ~~वस्तु~~, ~~वस्तु~~, ~~वस्तु~~, ~~वस्तु~~,
etc. It is just like learning and practicing
as non-applied science. ^{or art} Another trouble is
that my researches result into two very

serious litigations between the
گوتتت (Muslims) and گوتتت (Hindus)
as I have definitely shown on the
strengths of historical contemporary
evidence that ~~گوتتت~~ ^{گوتتت} and ~~گوتتت~~
are one and the same person and
that there was ^{no} Muslim avails as
Lahley any time in their beliefs.
So also ~~گوتتت~~ ^{گوتتت} and Shaikh
Shahabuddin are one + the same
person. Apart from this, there
are many revolutionary ideas
against the ~~گوتتت~~ of ~~گوتتت~~'s.

Anyway, the work is ~~very~~ heavy.
But it may prove of highest value for social
reconstruction. ^{reconstruction} may have to go to Bombay
next month for carrying out the
final formalities of fixing the
marriage of Lata, which she +
the boys have already determined
among themselves and she wishes their
encouraged her to do so. Only difficulty
is dowry while talking to the boys' mother.

The difference is too much. But
let us hope that his mother may
come down to my maximum in view
of the boy's threat to get it performed
by registration only direct without any of us.

With best wishes,

Yours ———— } ,

Handrey

31818 Rant.

Bourley. 22nd Feb. 55

H. E. The Counsel for U.S.S.R. in India, New Delhi.

H. E. The Counsel for China in India, New Delhi.

Excellent comrade,

I have been one of the oldest Socialists (Communist ?) in this country since 1927. I have been studying all your latest books - legal, economic, and pedagogic.

I should like to undertake a study tour of institutions - educational, legal and economic - in Moscow as well as Peking and can spare over two months from 10th April to 15th June this year.

I desire to do so with or without being on any delegation as a visiting guest of your countries and shall be glad to know what facilities can be given to me at the expense of your great countries. I have been a free-lance unpaid occasional left contributor to the Daily papers.

References --

- c.c. to ✓
- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Shri S. A. Dange,
Trade Union Congress,
Bombay.4. | 5. Dr. Mahmud,
Secretary, Iscus,
New Delhi. |
| 2. Dr. Adhikari,
C. P. I.
Raj Bhuvan, Sandhurst Rd.,
Bombay.4. | 6. Shri Ghate,
C.P. I. Head Quarters
Delhi Gate,
Delhi. |
| 3. Shri H. G. Desai,
Secretary, Peace Committee,
French Bridge,
Bombay.7. | 7. Shri Chari or Dr. Latif
Advocates,
(Union of Democratic
Lawyers)
Bar Library, High Court
Bombay. |
| 4. Shri Hodge,
Advocate,
Hon. Secretary, Iscus,
Naz Bldg.,
Bombay.4. | 8. The Secretary,
Indo China Society,
Neelum Mansil,
Bombay.7. |

Thanking you in anticipation for an early reply,

Yours sincerely,

h. H. Habib

cc:-

Vienna
1st March.

Dear Com. Dange,

I hope you have received the letter I sent you some days ago. I had written about some important things and shall be awaiting your reply.

The fares bill has not been paid so far. There has been some delay. I have been told that it will be paid into your account in a few days.

There are two issues on which I need information from India. First, the present situation in Burnpur. You may be knowing that the TUI Metals has taken great interest in the struggle and has circulated reports on it to affiliated unions. The ~~last~~ last information we had on this was in November ~~when members of the Action Committee were arrested. The INTUC paper claims that normal working has been resumed and that new records in production are being set up. Please let me know details of developments after November, and suggestions, if you have any, for the TUI.~~

Second: the trade union press in Japan has recently published reports on the activities of trade unions in Asia for closer relations between themselves. The following are the developments reported:

a) SOHYO of Japan has extended invitations to several trade unions in Asia and the French CGT and CGIL Italy + FDGB Germany to send delegations to Tokyo to attend the May Day rally this year. The invitations have been sent as a gesture of friendship in return for hospitality shown to a Sohyo delegation. Trade unions of China, Indonesia and Burma have been invited, and in India the invitation is reported to have been sent to INTUC.

b) An Asian Trade Union seminar is to be held in Rangoon. The decision on the seminar seems to have been taken when a conference of Socialist Parties of Asia was held in Rangoon last year. There have been a number of conflicting reports on the ~~obj~~ purposes of the seminar, who will sponsor it and who will participate but there ~~is~~ ^{seems to be} agreement that no useful ~~purpose~~ ^{will} be served by inviting the Chinese Fedn of TUs. to the seminar.

c) A regional conference of the ICFTU was to be held in Calcutta ~~in February~~ this February.

Please let us have all the information you have on these developments and of any other related ones about which it is necessary for us to know.

Benod Mukerjee has not arrived yet. I shall let you know when he comes. It will be a great thing not to have to look into a mirror to see an Indian face. The weather has been very unkind during the last two weeks; the little mountains of snow in the streets are anything but encouraging.

I will have lots of things to tell you when you come in May.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally
Viswanath

c.c.
Dear Comrade,

I wanted to represent personally, our difficulties about the working and lack of feeling of responsibility amongst the P.C.s and to a greater extent in c.c., as regards to this front, all over the Northern zone. But, as you were busy on the night of 21st and after that I could not have an opportunity, therefore I am ^{to} ~~was~~ adopting this way.

- "Organisational co-ordination" have ceased to function since last 18-20 months. •• No proper attention is being given by the P.C.C., towards the development of existing cadre and the movement. ••• Lack of "combination" of appeal and action amongst the higher leadership •••• Many Secs. and even some "comrades in charge of the front" ~~latter~~ lack correct understanding of present tactics, policy & Party line. ••••• Worse functioning being allowed to prevail unchecked etc etc.

Not taking your much time, I feel that these shortcomings are hampering our movements at the very bottom and serious mistakes, committed at certain places, being allowed to go unchecked, and causing a setback to the development of existing cadre & new workers as well.

our unit has already stressed upon the CC through ^{our} P.C. the need of:-
• Functioning of Sub-committees at Provincial stage and co-ordination of the sub-committees at zonal level too. •• Education of basic Marxist Philosophy and current politics to the cadre ••• Proper circulation of important T.U. literature in popular languages with reference to the particular front.

We realise, lack of time & proper cadre, with comparison to the duties we all shoulder, but, even then, we say, that, to ignore this vital front is futile and a play with the lives of our workers.

In short, a proper review, action and leadership is required. Situation is grave at the moment.

Means to function depends on the functioning itself. I will be much obliged to have a reply through our P.C./C.C.

Considering my duty, I have put the case before the men, who are expected to shoulder more responsibilities of the cause. My feelings be taken as those are and if on any point, my thoughts be considered wrong, I may be informed.

Com. M. Sen
I have discussed with you
about this, personally please
convey my indebtedness.

Ref: 380 dated 22nd Feb '55

SUTI MILL MAZDOOR SABHA

12/1, Gwaltoli,
Kanpur.

Dated: 22-2-1955.

Dear Com. Dange,

Since long I have been wishing to see you. In fact I had fixed up a meeting with K. O. in November last but I had to go to jail for a short while and the arrangements failed.

Then last month again I went to Delhi and you had left for Andhra.

Now our unity and union are over 6 months old. And, at least for one it has been a new experience. I wanted to discuss many many things.

Arjun Arora too wanted to see you. Many others will like you to visit our union office.

But when can I see you?

Another important thing in which you can be of help is the treatment of one of our comrade Sri Moolchand. We wish you to tell us the expenses of the Sanitorium and then we shall try to meet it from our union.

With Greetings.

Sincerely yours,

R. Arora
(Ram Arora)

8805
15/3/55

Hongkong
25.3.55.

Dear S,

I reached Sabah
Hongkong on the 21st night.
The plane was scheduled to
reach Hongkong in the
morning of the 21st but
because of heavy fog we
were delayed at Bangkok.
We reached Hongkong and
checked over in for two
hours but as fog did
not clear we went to
Kuala.

The Chinese delegates
had not come. They came
only yesterday evening. Because
of certain some urgent work
the original idea of going to
Japan on the 21st was given
up.

Still there is some difficulty.
I have got my visa for Japan but
it might be that the Chinese
delegates are refused visas for
Japan, in which case I shall
have to go alone.

I have seen the proceedings and
the agenda and also the memo
prepared by us. It is more or
less a general statement calling
for removal of all obstacles and
embargo for the economic
development of ECAPF countries
and demanding among other things
higher living conditions for the
working people.

Lin Ming Yi is coming to
Delhi for the Asian Peace Conference
Li-chi-po remembers you very
much and expects to meet you
soon.

How is Tai? Hope she is
well. You should bring
her here when you come

She can stay here for two
months ~~or so~~ and that might
do her good.

Hope you are keeping
well. My cold is still
continuing. It is just like
that, once it starts it takes
15 to 20 days to cure despite
medicines.

Hope to see you
soon.

Sincerely yours
Bhuma



Shri S. A. Dange
1C/15 Rohlak Road
DELHI, 5.

INDIA

Second fold here

Sender's name and address:

B.M. Dubey's
China Travel Service
Amoyong

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER
MAY BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

To open cut here

Dear Shri .S.A. Dange

SAD

I was happy to read your statement at Mangalore that "the demand of workers for a share in the profits earned by - capitalists was legitimate and should be met etc..."

I have long held this view and advocated it, but so far it has gone unheeded because ^{the} economy of our country was based on capitalistic-exploitation-lines and so on.

But those days are over and now that the Congress has decided on socialistic economy and is definitely bringing it about, the line of workers ^{is} to establish "co-operative" Societies in all fields of work, and hence my idea is that Co-operative Societies be formed of workers and Capitalists, (labour and capital) should be put on an equal status.

I would go further and suggest you to inculcate this idea of the Congress Government to legislate the formation of Co-operative Societies between producer of raw material, middle men where necessary and industrialists ^{who} set up industries based on those raw products upto a certain point. (Private or Public)

I would take two raw products at present for example, cotton and grains. Cotton growers and cotton cloth manufacturers to form one Co-operative Society in one place so that the total profit may be shared between them, all, the percentage being fixed by legislation after a Govt. committee has gone into the question thoroughly.

The second raw product is grain, wheat for example. Wheat growers, flour millers, and bread and biscuit manufacturers to form one co-operative society and work on the above lines. This way all who **LABOUR** at it must share the common profits.

These are the real socialistic lines and our country's economy should be based accordingly.

This is a novel approach and will mean a just solution of the labour wages problem. *who have been fleeced too long.*

Yours sincerely,

T. Kripalani

T. KRIPALANI

अन्तर्देशीय पत्र

इस पत्र के अन्दर कुछ न लिखिये



To,

Shri S.A. Dange,

President National Trade Union
Congress,

Rothak Road,

~~DELHI~~
DELHI-5

दस्ता मोर

भेजने वाले का नाम और पता :-

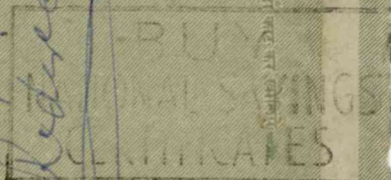
Shri J. Kriplana

32, Palanib,

Indore (M.P.)



Post-Notit-Nangulok
Please Retiret



From

INDIA POST

Calcutta.
47. European style lane.

Dear Com. Dange:

I want to draw your attention to two points.

① Regarding my unit — already it is more than three months that I am not connected with any unit, and this situation because of my particular nature of work at the present moment might continue. So I propose that I should be permitted to join some unit here at least temporarily — say, the B.P. & U.C. unit. Dr. Sen also suggested the same. Please let me know your opinion.

② Regarding my wage — I received Rs. 25 from the A.S.T.U.C. Secretariat in this month. The regular wage, which I get till the month of March after writing repeated letters to the Parliamentary office, has been stopped. But for my expenses, office, transport, postage etc., I require Rs 60 to Rs 70 per month. When there is such huge expenses in connection with fresh memorandums to the reconstituted Tribunal, for which I write to the coal union to bear the expense. However, with Rs 60 to 70 per month, I will be able to meet practically all expenses. Otherwise it would be extremely difficult. Hope you will agree to this.

J. T. O.

Recently I came from Dhanbad. Com. Acharyya's
 cross-examination of the Manager of the Ambala mine
 which he tried to establish that the existence
 of two non-flame proof haulage engines, giving sparks,
 led to the explosion seems to have been partially
 accepted by the Court. Even the Chief Inspector of
 Mines in order to save his skin also putting the
 blame on the Company. Of course, our good show was
 made possible because of the co-operation we
 received from some of the sympathetic Colliery managers
 and some Professors of the Dhanbad School of Mines
 who practically nipped me - the entire case to
 Com. Acharyya.

We are also trying to arrange some good lawyer
 for Com. Chinn Mukherjee & others free.

I am sending the Ambala Court of enquiry
 report - to the New Age + the T. U. Record.
 Please like them to give it full publicity.
 The St. Standard (Dated April 9) is enclosed. We
 are also sending a report to the N. Y. T. U.

The Coal Tribunal really visited some coal
 mines of Madhya Pradesh. Its report + accepted by the Tribunal &
 the J. V. T. U. C., Com. Sanyal accompanied them on behalf of the
 J. V. T. U. C. very much exposed politically, otherwise alright:

Sincerely yours,
 Dhanbad



G- other central
ministries (254)

No. 1533-Parl/55,
FINANCE MINISTER,
INDIA.

A. I. T. U. C.	
Received.....	29/4/55
Replied.....	

New Delhi,

April 28, 1955.

Dear Shri Dange,

In your letter of the 15th September 1954 you had referred to an article in "Commerce" to show that American aid implied a compulsion to buy in the American market. The reference was to the purchase of locomotives. Though your letter did not specifically call for a reply, it would seem that you expected a reply. I, therefore, send you the enclosed copy of a statement that was made in reply to a question in the Lok Sabha in December 1954. As will be seen from that statement the transaction of the locomotives was an isolated instance where part of the funds under the aid programme was utilised to purchase goods in America even though at higher prices. The normal procurement procedure is to award contracts on the basis of global tenders.

Yours sincerely,

C. D. Deshmukh

(C. D. Deshmukh).

Shri S.A. Dange,
General Secretary,
All-India Trade Union Congress,
Pawha Mansion,
Kamala Market, NEW DELHI.

AD

Delhi,
27th. May 1955.

Dear Comrade Dange,

Your letter of 25th from Calcutta and telegram.

2. I take it that you shall be flying from Delhi in the morning at 7.45 and reaching Lucknow at 9.25 a.m. Then you will take Fyzabad fast passanger for Kanpur at 10.25, reaching Kanpur at 12.5 hours.

I also take it that you made arrangements for booking by plane from here.

3. This programme has been intimated to Kanpur to-day.

4. Copy of a further letter from Shri Arjun Arora dated 25th is enclosed for your information. This has been replied.

5. ^{at 9.45 pm.}
I propose to leave for Kanpur on 28th inst. by Janta Exp and will just be back next day.

With Greetings,

Fraternally yours,

COPY

13/79 Civil Lines,
Kanpur
25.5.1955.

Dear Com. Dange,

I am happy to see the news that you are back in the country.

Kanpur strike is going strong. We are having a mass rally on the 29th May. We are anxious to have you in the city on that date. Your presence will not only help to make the rally successful but in the present critical position your advice will be of immense help.

We are sending Dr. Ahmad to Delhi to acquaint you with the latest position and to bring you to Cawnpore.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- ARJUN ARORA



C-3.



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

No.

Received here at H. M.

2245

X WI POONA C 26 15 AITUCONG NEWDELHI

REACHING DELHI SATURDAY NIGHT FLYING LUCKNOW

KANPUR SUNDAY MORNING DANGE

File
ST

The sequence of entries at the beginning of this telegram is—class of telegram, time banded in, serial number (in the case of foreign telegrams only), office of origin, date, service instructions (if any) and number of words.

This form must accompany any enquiry respecting this telegram

M@IFPAh.—

COPY

London,
24.11.1954

Dear Com. Dange.

I am writing you further in connection with the question of the Kanpur Conspiracy Case Court records. As you know they were handed over to Dillip Bose in order that he could extract certain passages for you. This must be some 2 years ago. I have reminded him ~~at~~ at a number of occasions regarding his promise. In the latter period I asked for the return of the document as it was the only one available. He kept promising to let me have it back but failed. Just before he left for India he said he had made arrangements for his ~~xxxxxx~~ wife Taruna to find it for me. Taruna reports that she cannot find it. This is very serious and very annoying. I had kept this document safely for many years for reference and for such an important document to be lost like this represents utter carelessness. The fact is that it cannot be replaced. Further, the facts that you require cannot be supplied at least from this end. I am very sorry about this. If you run across Dillip you might express my feelings strongly to him.

Best wishes.

Yours fraternally,

Sd/- Ben Bradely.

Dear Comrade S.A.D.,

At last I am writing the thing which I have been thinking of broaching before you since long. I wanted to talk to you explaining all the things but I am afraid, I won't be able to do it properly, when it concerns me personally. So I write.

I want to make it clear, lest I be misunderstood, that it is not that I propose to go away because I feel demoralised here, nor because I do not like the work I am doing at present. On the other hand, the experience I got here, the working class problems I was able to understand here and really acquire more of political education, would be a great asset to me in my life and I am ever grateful for that.

It was my mistake not to have told you earlier about my desire to go. My hesitancy, and some sort of fear to talk to you were responsible for the fault and I was conscious of it. In April last, I decided that I must tell, but immediately after, with leaving abroad of all except me and K.G. and TRG still on leave, I kept quiet and the time was ~~in~~ inopportune. Then came C.C. meeting, you were too busy, and you left for Helsinki, afterwards. Before you arrived in India, I talked to K.G. and Menon and explained to them the whole position. Originally, I had not told them. Probably by now they must have told you about my desire to be relieved.

I do not know whether I am right or wrong, but inevitably it happened, I have been telling my parents consistently a chain of lies- that 'I am studying here my M.A.,' and when I went on leave last year in June, I told them that I had completed my first year and next year would be my final exam. after which I would be back home. For some time, I received letters that I should go back and that my exam. must have been over. My parents and relatives have come to know somehow, that I have been telling them lies and are now urging to come there immediately and do whatever I like. To crown all lies, I wrote them that I could not very well study and there was no chance of my passing with a good class, so I took a drop, and that I would appear next year. I am feeling that I should appear for M.A. ~~XXXX~~ for whatever worth it is. I need not tell that only Nagpur and Poona Universities allow non-regular students to take M.A. exam. provided they produce certificates of their being residents within the University Jurisdiction. I am told that it is necessary to register the name in university, latest by the end of August.

Something about my family, I better tell, so that I make myself known, what circumstances and status I come from and how I came to Delhi so that the



இந்திய கம்யூனிஸ்ட் கட்சி,
மதுரை நகர் கமிட்டி,
1. மண்டையனாச்சாரி சந்த, டவுன்ஹால் ரோடு,
மதுரை.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA,

MADURAI TOWN COMMITTEE.

1, MANDAYANACHARI LANE, TOWN HALL ROAD, MADURAI.

Date 8/8/1955.

My Dear SAU,

I got indication of
the St. Council meeting only to-day.

~~But~~,

I will not be able

to attend it. The African

Bills are coming up in the

Assembly between the 15th and

30th. I can not afford to be

absent.

I would like a postpone-
ment of the meeting to September,
but then there is the C.C. meeting

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
MADRURAI TOWN COMMITTEE
MADRURAI TOWN HALL ROAD, MADURAI

Hence it is I am not asking
for it.

Ramani is here and he brought
me the letter from the ATVC
withholding the names of the ~~persons~~
~~persons~~ in the private delegation
~~is~~

He suggests that Keth Mangamani
be taken instead of himself.

Personally, I ~~would~~ think that
he is the best choice - a native
TExile T4 cadre who is capable of
leading the delegation.

If you, however, agree with
the suggestion of Ramani, you



இந்திய கம்யூனிஸ்ட் கட்சி,

மதுரை நகர் கமிட்டி,

1. மண்டையனாச்சாரி சந்த, டவுன்ஹால் ரோடு,

மதுரை.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA,

MADURAI TOWN COMMITTEE.

1, MANDAYANACHARI LANE, TOWN HALL ROAD, MADURAI.

Date _____

Can substitute Thayyanani

for him.

In any case, please send a
telegram to the Madras TCC.

Sincerely,
P. Ramaswami

A. I. T. U. C.
Received 27/8/55
B'bay. 24th Aug '55
Replied Dange, (1274)

Dear Com. Dange,

I have come out of the B'bay hospital on 6th inst. But I am asked by Dr. Botaliga to stay on in B'bay for a month under examination. More over a small wound is yet to be healed up.

I had to stay in the hospital an unusually long time - for over four months because of the complications in the post operation period. Now I am able to move about a little bit & I hope within a fortnight or so I will be much better.

Yet for another 3 months I will not be able resume work, as my general health is far from normal at present. This what doctor's opinion is.

By the middle of Sept or in the third week of Sept. I may be permitted to leave B'bay for Indore. Com. Khandkar had written to me a month before that

as the passport is in hand now, you will to see about going out after your return from Helsinki. I want to resume work in my province, ~~at~~ under physically fit conditions so that for another long period there may not be a suspension because of health.

Now it is question of resumption, which may require funds for medicines & better conditions of living. Therefore,

If you take upon yourself to help towards the end of ill health & at present ill health - the things can be arranged, as you also wrote me regarding this in your previous correspondence.

Com. Khandkar also informed that General Council of A.S.U.C. is meeting at Indore next month, though the dates are not certain. If I am

permitted by doctor to leave B'bay
till then, I will see you at
Indore. will you kindly write
me about dates of G.C. meet
at Indore.

After four months stay in
hospital & another 3 to 4 months
required for normal health
I am tired & feel depressed.
yet I am keeping my self fit
to resist all this drugging & let

I hope you will write
me. Com. Khandkar will
see you next month at
Delhi, that is what he told
me. I am putting up with
R. M. Adhikari at Dadas.

with greets

yours comradely

Dwarkar

अन्तर्देशीय पत्र

इस पत्र के अन्दर कुछ न रखिये



Com. S. A. Dange, General Secy
% All India Trade Union Congress
15/15 Raktak Road

DELHI 5

दूरता मोह

भेजने वाले का नाम और पता :-

Handwritten signature



DELHI 5, 15/15/54

To
Com. S.A. Dange.

Dear Comrade:

Received your letter. As per your instructions the entire amount of the cheque (Rs.499/6/-), we received from Kakababu for preparations of AITUC Session has been paid up on 23.8.54, next day of the receipt of your letter.

Rs.200/- has been given to Ranigunj strikers. Union will send the receipt to the AITUC Office directly.

Rs.100/- has been to Com. Ranen Sen for Coal Tribunal and the rest Rs.199/6/- has also been taken by Com. Ranen Sen. I wanted the sum to be sent to your ~~Delhi~~ Delhi address directly. But Com. Ranen told me that he would be going soon, so there was no necessity of sending the cheque by post. So I handed over the money to him.

As you know we have paid Rs.100/- more for Coal Tribunal from B.F.T.U.C. fund.

Re: the School, your apprehension may become true. There is no sign of any improvement of the flood situation. So I don't know whether it will be at all possible to organise the proposed school by 1st. week of October. Darjeeling comrades have no difficulty. We must think of holding separate classes for Darjeeling and Dooars, if it is not possible to hold joint classes. In any case it will be helpful if you can possibly come in October. If you include this tour in your programme from now on, then only it may be possible for you to come, otherwise I am afraid, it will not be possible for you to come in any distant future. Last time too you had to force the decision after a great difficulty.

Re: the Badri paper, it has already become popular among the tea workers of Dooars and Terai. I have seen 3 letters written to Com. Fagu from 3 different gardens, where we have got no union. Moreover contributions have been made for ~~for~~ Fagu's treatment by workers of gardens, where we have got no union. This shows that the paper in Badri language has become popular among the workers. So it will be harmful if we stop it particularly at a time when our union has become popular and PSP discredited due to sudden withdrawal of the strike. Latest report from Jalpaiguri says that 3 new gardens' workers have approached us for joining our union. I have sent a draft to be published either as leaflet or in next issue of the Badri paper. The draft dealt with the withdrawal of the strike and the tasks of the workers. Through it I have called upon all workers to unite and struggle for the realisation of their demands to urge upon the leadership of all unions to stand unitedly in the next Wage Board meeting which is to discuss about wage increment. I personally wrote it, so that our comrades there may not take an absolutely sectarian stand.

I shall give you report from time to time about the tea workers movement.

With Greetings,

Yours comradely,

Sd/- MANORANJAN ROY

P.S. About subsidy for Badri & Agradut, we can't say anything about Agradut, as its accounts have not been yet submitted to us, inspite of our reminder. As for Badri, I have gone through their accounts. Not a pie has been spent for any other purpose except the paper. Moreover I think it will become self sufficient within 3 months. Flood has added further difficulties due to breach in communication. Com.Fagu is fast recovering, but still he will have to take perfect rest for another 6 months.

Manoranjan Roy

BRIEF REPORT ON VISIT TO CHINA TO ATTEND
'MAY DAY' CELEBRATIONS

- by Com.V.V.Joshi.

As a delegate of A.I.T.U.C. I left India on 26th of April 1954, and reached Peking as on 30th. of April just in time.

About 100 delegates from different foreign countries, e.g. U.S.S.R., Eastern Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, Africa, Indonesia, Ceylon, Burma, Viet-Nam, Mangolia, Korea, and Japan participated in the May Day Celebrations and the tour programme.

From India there were six delegates from different T. U. organisations as follows:

1. Prof. Sibbanlal Saxena - All India Sugar Mill & Distillery Workers' Federation.
2. Shri. Sisir Roy)
3. " Siya Behari Saran) - United Trade Union Congress.
4. " Benoy Roy - All India Bank Employees' Association.
5. " N.Raghavendra Rao - National Federation of Indian Railwaymen.
6. " V.V.Joshi - All India Trade Union Congress.

Character of the Indian delegation and acquaintance of the delegates:

This year the Indian delegation was very small. It was also not adequately representative of the Indian working class as two important national trade union centres, e.g. INTUC and HMS did not send their representatives to China. Further, those delegates except Prof. Sibbanlal Saxena, who attended were most juniors in the trade union movement.

I had no acquaintance with any of the delegates in India. From the experience of my month's stay with them, I am giving my impressions about them as follows:

- (1) Prof. Sibbanlal Saxena. Ex-Congressman; calls himself follower of Mahatma Gandhi; Pro-China; Pro-Soviet; Member of the Working Committee of World Peace Council; wanted to be accepted as a leader of the Indian delegation, but nobody accepted him as such; showed his willingness to work for the unity of working class in India including A.I.T.U.C.; No hatred towards Communists; always remained aloof.
- (2) Shri. Sisir Roy. Secretary of the Bolshevik Party of India; Ex-Communist Party member; Anti-C.P.I.; professes himself as follower of Stalin and Mao; very appreciative of the achievements of China and USSR and always defended strongly China and USSR against any mischievous attack by any of the Indian delegates; insisted on me to keep friendly contact even in India and promised cooperation wherever possible; sober and responsible behaviour.
- (4) Shri. Siya Behari Saran. Member of R.S.P.; anti-C.P.I.; anti-Stalin; anti-Mao. Most dogmatic. He came to China with many prejudices due to which he always misunderstood Chinese Comrades, and got himself misunderstood by them. After the end of the tour, openly confessed to Sisir Roy that he had behaved in a stupid manner, due to prejudices, but now his prejudices are removed and he repents for it.
- (5) Shri. N.Raghavendra Rao. Old Railway T.U.worker, right-hand man of Guruswamy; was ~~with~~ bitter against Communists of

Hyderabad; his allegation against the Hyderabad Communist was that because he differed from them he was condemned as traitor, spy etc., which was baseless. But he promised to work in cooperation with Communists in future, forgetting all past, and requested me to advise Hyderabad Party members about it. He was very helpful to me and always took up the stand of A.I.T.U.C. in his own way. He also promised Li-Chi-Po, that in future he would work with Communists, since his return to India he has kept up regular contact with me.

Conduct of the Indian Delegation.

Though outwardly this time the Indian delegation worked as a team to a certain extent, they always behaved ^{mean} and selfish ^{manners} on matters such as leadership; arrangements, regarding food etc. Some of them went to the extent of spreading scandals against each other among other delegates. Full of petty jealousies. At times behaved in a most disrespectful manner towards the host. It was a most trying experience to me as I had to keep them together and not allow them to quarrel. With the help of Chinese comrades, I succeeded in keeping them together, and when they left, all of them promised to remain good friends in India. We used to have a leader on different occasions by rotation, and afterwards, all of them used to consult each other before making their speeches also. Com. Li-Chi-Po remarked about our delegation that it was the first time that all Indian delegates sat together, moved together and discussed together. Provided we behave with almost patience, tolerance, and modesty, it is not impossible to develop good friendly relations with other delegates. This is my own experience.

All the delegates issued two joint statements unanimously agreed upon after good friendly discussions. Copies of the statements attached separately.

Asian Trade Union Delegates friendly Discussion Meeting.

A friendly discussion meeting of all the Asian Trade Union delegates was held in Peking from 5th. to 8th. of May. At the end of the meeting a joint communique was issued. In this meeting all the Indian delegates participated enthusiastically and especially on the discussion on the draft of the Communique took a good and staunch stand in support of nailing down U.S.A. as main danger to Asian countries, which a few delegates - not all - from Indonesia wanted to delete.

Some tentative discussions of the Peking meeting:

- (1) That an initiators' meeting on a still wider basis be convened in China in October, according to the convenience of All China Federation to decide the time, place, and procedure of the proposed Asian Trade Unions Conference and also to think of setting up a co-ordinating body to make necessary preparations for the Conference.
- (2) It was decided that all the delegates who had participated in Friendly discussion meeting in Peking became the members of the initiators' Conference and in addition, especially in India, special invitation be sent to AITUC, HMS, INTUC and a few important independent organisations as the strength and representative character of Indian delegations was not adequate and sufficiently weighty.

Before the friendly discussion meeting was held, on 3rd of May Com. Li-Chi-Po called me and asked my opinion about the proposal of such a conference. He told me that some hint for such a discussion meeting in the invitation cable. He further told me that while he was in India he had a discussion with Com. Dange about this type of a meeting and Com. Dange was in agreement with it. Of course, as I had not seen the invitation cable nor had any opportunity to see Com. Dange before I left India, it was a news to me. Com. Li-Chi-Po, explained to me the purpose of such a meeting very patiently. I expressed my doubt about the inclusion of U.S.S.R. in this meeting as I thought, it may be used adversely by our enemies, but he told me that as there are some Soviet Republics in Asia, it was not improper to include U.S.S.R. delegates.

There was a three weeks' tour programme for the delegates. This started on 8th. of May and ended on 29th. of May. During the tour, important cities like Muckden, Nanking, Shanghai and Hangchau were visited. Different industrial concerns and Hai river project were visited. Indian delegates left China on 5th. of July.

From 15th. of June upto 9th. of July I stayed on in Liaison Bureau office for medical treatment.

Com. Dange had suggested me that I should stay on in Liaison Bureau office for some time, but as I found that my stay was of no material use to Comrades in China, I left China on 9th. of July.

The reasons are as follows:

Chinese Comrades working in Liaison Bureau had high expectations from the A.I.T.U.C. delegate and especially from a P.M. They wanted me to give them a complete picture about the trade union movement as a whole, relative strength of the different National Trade Union Centres in different industries on all-India plane as well as on Provincial plane. Political acquaintance of the Office-bearers of the National trade union centres, on all-India plane as well as Provincial plane; specific problems of different industries etc.

As I was unable to meet these ~~my~~ expectations, I thought my stay in China was of no use and hence I left China. I told the same thing to Chinese comrades.

On the basis of the Fraction ~~is~~ report of Poona meeting, in which I had also participated, and on the basis of the booklet by Com. Dange, 'On the movement of Indian Working Class' and also on the basis of some issues of T.U. record, I had three days discussion on the T.U. movement. I had three days discussion on Railway movement, in general and about Western Railway in particular.

Chinese comrades wanted me to have a discussion on Madurai Party Conference, but as I was not feeling myself quite competent to hold such a discussion, I declined expressing my inability. ~~Another~~ I had an informal discussion with a few comrades on this same question on the background of the Madurai Conference, and its importance in helping the unification of the party ideologically and organisationally, on the U.D.F. in the light of Com. Jaisuria's difference, ^{and} and I tried to reply them on the basis of the relevant documents and discussion in Madurai Conference.

On the basis of my experience of my stay in the Liaison Bureau Office I have to make the following suggestions:

A.I.T.U.C. Office and the Fraction should see that the responsible delegate that goes to China and who is expected to stay ~~some~~ on for some time should be well equipped with details of the T.U. movement.

For that AITUC fraction should prepare small reports on Provinces to meet their expectation as mentioned above, also small reports on the T. U. movement in important industries, such as plantations, iron and steel, defence, textile, Railways, Mining, middle class and salaried employees etc. ^{the Comrade who goes to China, should be given an idea before hand ~~in~~ as to what he is expected to do there, so that he can ~~also~~ also make his own preparations, because very few comrades will be found uptodate.}

Though there are uncertainties about passports etc. I think, a Comrade can be helped a good deal ~~providing~~ if he is provided with small reports as mentioned above.

Liaison Bureau expects following from A.I.T.U.C., T.U. fractions:

- (1) Provincial T.U. reports giving -
 - (a) Relative strength of different National Trade Union centres,
 - (b) Political acquaintances of the Office-bearers
 - (c) Specific instances of unity move, and its success or failure etc.
 - (d) Supply of important Govt. publications, and other literature, news papers etc.

some questions were asked

the worker, Transport.

- (e) Suggesting names of the news papers which can give details of the T.U. movement.

About the ~~AFRICAN~~ ^{future work} of Asian Trade Union Conference.

Before we the Indian delegates left China, it was decided that the statement on Asian T.U. delegates discussion meeting to press in India. It was also suggested that all of us should meet together in India to see what can be done about the initiators' Conference; but it was an impracticable suggestion, and also, we were not the proper representatives to take up such a task; the suggestion was ~~not~~ dropped. Com. Sisir Roy ~~implied~~ ^{inspired} on my breaking my journey at Calcutta and meeting Com. M.K. Bose. Chinese comrades also were of the opinion that I should see him. I broke my journey at Calcutta on 15th of July. I and Com. Sisir Roy met M.K. Bose, who is not keeping good health. I gave him a copy of the communique and had a discussion on the proposed initiators' Conference likely to be held in the month of October in China. He showed enthusiasm and told me that he would be contacting different T.U. Centres and some independent federations, and if he gets reasonable response, he will call a meeting before the initiators' Conference. I had requested him to write to N.M. Joshi in this connection and find out his opinion.

From Calcutta, I went to Bombay as I was expecting copies of the reports of the discussion meeting in Bombay in my name at AITUC address. In Bombay I met Mr. N.M. Joshi to ~~report~~ ^{reassure} him about the health of M.K. Bose. At that time I touched upon the subject of the Peking meeting. He had already received a copy of the communique. He expressed doubt about the cooperation of INTUC and HMS and referred to an article against the Peking Conference in the issue of 'Indian Worker' dated 19th. July 54. He also told me that due to recent political developments due to the meeting between Chau-en-Lai and Nehru, anti-China propaganda will be intensified by U.S.A. and it may find easy tools in PSP for that job, and hence no possibility of the cooperation of HMS. He told me that though ~~immediately~~ it may not be possible to make any successful advance towards the proposed initiators' Conference, the idea is good.

While I was at Calcutta, I had asked Com. Jyoti Basu to prepare a small report on T.U. movement in Bengal on the lines suggested by Liaison Bureau comrades and sent it to T.U. Fraction at Delhi. ~~But~~ I had asked Com. Vithal Chawdhary at Bombay to prepare the same type of T.U. report and send it to Delhi.

As the All China Federation of Trade Unions was not in possession of the addresses of ~~the~~ some of the important independent trade unions in India, I had suggested Comrade Li-Chi-Po to send a few copies of the covering letter signed by him so that I can immediately post them to all the trade union organisations and accordingly I have posted them.

A.I.T.U.C. Office should keep All China Federation of Trade Unions in touch with the reactions of different national trade union centres and independent trade unions towards the Peking Conference. A.I.T.U.C. also should take further suitable steps in connection with the proposed initiators' Conference.

Delhi,
5th. July 1954.

(V.V. JOSHI)

New Delhi,
5/8/1954.

Dear Com. Li-Chi-Po,

I am giving below a brief report of my work since I came to India.

I reached Calcutta on 15th. of July at night. I tried to contact Com. Sisir Roy on 16th. of July, but I had to wait upto 17th. afternoon. On 18th. of July both of us met Mrinalkanti Bose at his residence. A copy of the 'Communique' was given to him. Com. Sisir Roy had already discussed with him about the proposed initiators' Conference. M.K. Bose showed enthusiasm about the proposed Conference and told me that he would do his best. In the discussion, I impressed upon him that he is the most suitable man at present to take up this job, and as a concrete step to begin with, I suggested to him to contact all the four Trade Union Centres, A.I.T.U.C., INTUC, H.M.S., U.T.U.C. and some other important all-India Trade Union organisations on the basis of the communique through correspondence and personal contacts whichever is possible, and then on the basis of the response received from such organisations, to call an informal meeting, which he had thought of, of the representatives of all national T.U. centres and independent unions. He further told me that he was going to discuss about the proposed initiators' Conference in the Working Committee meeting of U.T.U.C. which was to be held in a week's time. I requested him to contact N.M. Joshi and ask him to help in this matter. I conveyed your greetings to him and informed him that Chinese ~~we~~ Comrades were anxiously inquiring about his health. Before I left, I once again asked Com. Sisir Roy to see that M.K. Bose takes up the necessary steps. I had also made another suggestion that in Calcutta, a friendly discussion meeting be called inviting representatives of all Provincial trade unions and some independent organisations. I had requested Com. Sisir Roy to send a report directly to you about the steps taken in that direction. I had explained Com. Jyoti Basu, about the friendly discussion meeting and its decisions. Also I gave him the report about my talks with Sisir Roy and M.K. Bose and asked him to cooperate with M.K. Bose whole heartedly.

From Calcutta I came down to Bombay. In Bombay I met Mr. N.M. Joshi. I gave him the report of the health of M.K. Bose, and told him that All China Federation was very anxious to have you amongst them in China. Due to his old age and weak condition, he expressed his thanks to Chinese Comrades, but expressed his physical inability to visit China. He had already received a copy of the 'Communique' directly and he had gone through it. When I asked about his opinion about the Peking meeting and proposed initiators' Conference, he expressed great doubts about the co-operation by I.N.T.U.C. and H.M.S. and he gave me the reference of an article in Indian Worker - organ of I.N.T.U.C., under the caption "Disservice at Peking". The main idea and argument of the article is that the friendly discussion meeting held at Peking was inopportune and it tends to form yet another partisan block. I have sent a copy of this issue of Indian Worker in which this article has appeared to Com. Hu Kang by air. But in the end Mr. N.M. Joshi told me that the idea is good and such type of meetings are held it will serve some good purpose.

In Bombay, I had met responsible workers of Insurance Employees' Federation, Petroleum Workers' Federation and Cement Workers' Federation. I discussed with them about the Peking Conference and the role their organisations which were independent, can play in helping to unify the working class. I was expecting till 26th. of July copies of the booklet 'Friendly Discussion meeting of Asian Trade Unions', after which I left Bombay for Delhi. I received 50 copies in Delhi along with some copies of your covering letter. I have despatched the copies and the covering letter to different independent organisations, requesting them to send the acknowledgement of the receipt of the booklet and the letter directly to you immediately. I have asked Insurance

Employees' Federation, Cement Workers' Federation, and Petroleum Workers' Federation to send small reports of their Federation to All-China Federation along with acknowledgement.

As yet H.M.S. has not officially given its reaction to the Communiqué and the Peking Conference.

I could not meet Dange in Delhi as he is on tour. I discussed about the Peking meeting and the proposed initiators' Conference with Com. Makhdoom and Com. Ramamurti (P.B.M.). I gave them the report about my talks with M.K. Bose and his reactions. I told Com. Ramamurti that for the initiators' Conference, some responsible comrade like Com. Dange should go to China. Com. Dange has applied for the endorsement for China; let us hope that he gets the necessary endorsement.

*was expected by
Chinese Comrades*

Mr. N. Raghavendra Rao must have reported to you about his talks with Guruswami and Khedgikar. Though both of them appreciated and welcomed the Peking Conference and the proposed initiators' Conference, showed their helplessness to do much in this matter. From Raghavendra Rao's letter, it seems that Guruswami had to face some music of criticism for sending Rao to China as a representative of Indian National Federation of Railwaymen.

Mr. N. Rao had written a reply to the article in Indian Worker, but he complains that it has not been published and it will not be published.

As soon as Com. Dange returns from his tour, Com. Makhdoom will discuss with him about the initiators' Conference.

I had given a report on my visit to China with reference to Peking Friendly discussion meeting giving my suggestions etc. which will be discussed by Com. Dange.

I am personally of the opinion that inspite of the critical article in National Herald, which is more in a partisan spirit of ICFTU, some important elements in INTUC can be made to view this Peking meeting objectively in its proper setting as a nonpartisan meeting based on mutual respect and understanding to promote friendly feelings and narrow down differences.

I have already sent reminder to Sisir Roy giving reference to the article in Indian Worker, and requesting him to ask M.K. Bose to reply to it without showing in the least any feeling of contempt and provocation, but in the manner of ~~removing~~ removing misunderstanding and appealing to INTUC and others to judge it on its merits as an attempt to unify the working class movement steering clear of the partisan spirit of W.F.T.U. or I.C.F.T.U. An approach on this plane will be helpful.

Mr. Vasavada who had been to China as a delegate of I.N.T.U.C. is now the President of ~~I.N.T.U.C.~~ You must have already sent a copy of the booklet 'Friendly Discussion Meeting of 2 Asian Trade Unions'. I think it will be worthwhile to have some personal approach inspite of the article in 'Indian Worker'. This is by way of suggestion.

*National Federation of
Railway men.*

Did you try to contact Mr. Guruswami and Ramchandra of Indian National Federation of Railwaymen, who are in U.S.S.R. at present. Com. Nambiar and Com. Raju are also along with them. I will see that you are kept in touch with important developments and reactions to the Peking Conference and initiators' Conference.

Convey my fraternal greetings to Com. Liu Ning-I and all other Comrades whom I know and who know me, but unfortunately whoses names I don't remember. I am leaving for my Province tomorrow, and my address will be as follows:

V.V. Joshi,
C/o. Beawar Textile Labour Union,
Inside Chang Gate, NEAWAR, Ajmer State,
INDIA.

A bit of good news to you. In Cawnpore (Kanpur) all the unions in Textile industry - I.N.T.U.C., H.M.S., A.I.T.U.C. and independent - have amalgamated into one union called Kanpur Kapra Mill Mazdoor Sabha. This is an indication of the way the wind is blowing, and an encouraging one.

I am asking Com. Dange to let you know his opinion soon as to which independent organisations mentioned in the accompanying list should be invited for initiators' Conference.

With Greetings,

Fraternally yours,

(V.V.JOSHI)

PRESS STATEMENT

ASIAN TRADE UNION DELEGATES CONFERENCE.

Asian trade union delegates belonging to various countries who had the opportunity to participate in the May Day celebrations at Peking this year, felt the urgent necessity to meet and discuss the various problems concerning Asian people and the working class.

This meeting which was held at Peking from 5th. to 8th. May 1954, gave an opportunity for friendly discussions based on mutual respect and understanding. 55 delegates of 17 organisations from 9 countries in Asia participated in this meeting.

We were fully conscious of the fact that two of the important central organisations amongst others in India, viz. the Indian National Trade Union Congress and the Hind Mazdoor Sabha were not present in these discussions, but the problems confronting Asia being of common interest, we participated in these discussions inspite of our obvious limitations.

The recent developments in our neighbouring countries, the American military aid to Pakistan and the conspiracies in Kashmir are the vital problems affecting us the Indian people, specially and ~~the~~ working class and peasants. All trade union organisations in India irrespective of their political ideologies and affiliations stood along with the people as one man behind Pandit Nehru in his foreign policy and ~~in~~ efforts for peace. Better living conditions, social security, national freedom and preservation of peace being our common objectives, we appeal to all trade union organisations to unite together on a common minimum programme, by setting up a joint council for friendly discussions and understanding based on mutual respect.

The friendly discussion meeting of Asian ~~in~~ trade union delegates was intended in the main to explore the possibilities of holding an Asian Trade Union Conference at a suitable place in the near future. In promoting the working class unity, it has been felt that trade union delegates from all Asian countries should meet at an early date to consider the details of such a programme. It is with this purpose in view that an initiators conference is likely to be held at an early date. It is to be hoped that all trade union organisations in India irrespective of their political affiliations will find it possible to participate in such a conference which is of vital interest to the working class of India. The All China Federation of Trade Unions has on the unanimous request of all the Asian delegates agreed to carry on the liaison work till such time as a formal organisation is decided to be set up. All enquiries in connection with the initiators conference may kindly therefore be addressed to the All China Federation of Trade Unions, Peking. We may add by way of conclusion that India has got to play a very important role in Asian affairs, and the working people in particular have a great responsibility to see that there is greater unity and understanding between the working classes of the various countries in this great continent. We therefore repeat our appeal that all trade union organisations in India will not find it difficult to work for the success of this noble aim.

1. Sisir Roy - United Trade Union Congress
2. S.B. Saran - —do—
3. N. Raghavendra Rao - National Federation of Indian Railwaymen
4. Binoy Roy - All India Bank Employees' Association.
5. Shibanlal Saxena - All India Sugar Mill & Distillery Workers Federation.
6. V.V. Joshi - All India Trade Union Congress.

Statement of the Indian Trade Union delegates on the
eve of their departure to their homeland

We the Indian Trade Union delegates take this opportunity to thank the All-China Federation of Trade Unions for the invitation they extended to us to participate in the May day celebrations this year.

We were very deeply impressed with the spontaneous receptions we received at every place we visited, and we were overwhelmed with the traditional hospitality of China which is famous for her ancient culture and civilisation.

The enthusiastic and impressing marches of workers and people on May day, created a very great impression on our minds that the new China has been advancing very rapidly towards peace and happiness with unity, determination and devotion to duty.

The various industrial centres which we have visited also convinced us that the progress made in such a short period after liberation is a tremendous achievement to the credit of the leaders and workers of China. We were very happy to notice that the workers of new China today occupy an important place in building their future. They are no longer loots in hands of exploiters. They are to day masters of their own destinies.

The recognition given to the model workers for improving their standards of efficiency and output is a novel method which clearly indicates that the contribution made by the workers were always beacknowledged and amply rewarded. We were glad to see the workers taking legitimate pride in their own strength and capacity, which is a great proof of their potentiality for developing a socialist state in which their interests are fully safeguarded.

The various amenities provided to the workers in all industries, such as, hospitals, rest homes, sanitoriums, nurseries, theatres, welfare centres, recreational facilities, gave us a clear picture that the health and happiness of workers are the prior considerations of the peoples government.

The Trade Union organisations in new China, occupy a very important place in determining the labour relations, and for providing full safeguards in protecting the interests of workers. We were deeply moved with the enthusiastic receptions we received in all industrial areas where the workers gathered to greet us. It is beyond ones imagination how in such a short period after liberation, the working class which was hopelessly backward under the yoke of ruthless exploitation could make such a tremendous progress. For the workers of new China the slogan "long live the unity of the workers of world" is not

sentiment but faith.

We were happy to see both the men and women workers, shouldering responsibility side by side, in industries, and others walks of life in a spirit of equality. This is in our opinion a great achievement in new China.

The efforts of new China for world peace and progress are manifested through various means and methods, and each effort is a step forward in mobilizing the people of China, canalising their energies towards establishing permanent peace through which they can build their industries, and materialise their various projects for the economic advancement of the people and their happiness in the socialist order.

We are convinced that the new China is striving for a ^{peaceful} settlement of all her issues with all nations of the world. We are of the opinion and faith that China genuinely believes in peaceful methods, and will resist aggressive methods from what ever quarters they come.

We are in full agreement with the aspirations of the Chinese people that the Geneva Conference should be a success to pave way for a peaceful settlement of the issues under discussion, so that Asia which is made a sport ground for imperialist and colonialist games of exploitation and aggression at least after several centuries of suffering can breath freedom and peace to settle her own affairs. We are of the confirmed belief that China which has the experience of several decades of imperialist domination and repression cannot have territorial ambitions and therefore she sincerely desires and respects the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all the sister countries in the great Asian continent and believes that the progress, peace, and happiness in Asia and the world entirely depends on the peaceful coexistence of all nations.

We were pleased with the great and happy news while we were at Peking participating in May day celebrations, that India and China have after several centuries signed an agreement on Tibet based on mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country. We fully support the terms of this agreement. By adopting the methods of negotiation and conciliation, India and China have added a bright chapter in the history of the world that every problem can be solved by mutual trust and good will.

The important event which is of historic significance for the Asian working class and the trade unions is the Asian delegates meeting at Peking held on 5th to 8th May. 55 delegates from 17 trade union organisations representing 9 countries participated in this meeting.

The discussions and deliberations were conducted in a cordial atmosphere based on mutual respect and good will. The results of these discussions which have manifested through the communique has a very great significance in the present context of Asian affairs.

We who have participated in these discussion are fully conscious of our responsibilities and endorse the decisions of the trade union delegates that a conference of the Asian trade union delegates be convened in the near future, so that all the problems concerning the Asian countries and their working people can be freely discussed to develop a friendly and common understanding between all trade union organisations in Asian countries for mutual advantage, economic progress and world peace.

We the Indian trade union delegates who participated in these discussions are unanimous in our decision to work for the success of the great desire of the Asian trade union delegates conference.

We thank the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, its provincial organisations, and the comrades who accompanied us in our tours giving us all possible help, and for having given such a great opportunity for meeting delegates from various countries with whom we had the benefit of exchanging opinions freely for mutual advantage and experience.

We were deeply impressed with the cordial and friendly attitude of Chinese people towards the Indian people which is a clear expression of their genuine desire for the strong bonds of friendship between India and China, and other Asian countries.

While bidding fare well to our brothers and sisters in China, whose friendship and goodwill we greatly cherish, assure them that we shall do everything within our power to strengthen our mutual friendly relations. We wish the people of China greater and greater success in all their future efforts in building new China.

Long live the unity of Indian and Chinese workers !

Long live the unity of the workers of world!

Long live the world peace!

Lisir Roy

Leader, V.T.U.C. Delegation

Pranab Roy
(Resident, I.T.A.)
20/2/51 (21/2/51)
20/2/51 (21/2/51)

V. V. Joshi

(Delegate from All India Trade Union Congress)

OFFICE MEMORANDUM.Subject:- STAFF COMMITTEES - ESTABLISHMENT OF.

As Ministries are aware, the question of establishment of a machinery similar to Whitley Councils for fostering better relations between Government and its employees has been the subject of consideration by Government from time to time. When this question was discussed in 1948 (ix c.f. Home Ministry's Office Memorandum No.42/9/47-Ests. dated the 14th February 1948) it was felt that in view of the changes which were then impending in the structure of the Secretariat Services it was premature to introduce such councils generally in all the offices. However, Staff Councils, more or less on the lines of Whitley Councils, have been functioning in the various Divisions of the Finance Ministry and in the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply. The matter has been reviewed recently in the light of the experience obtained in the working of these Councils. With the constitution of the Central Secretariat Service and other Secretariat Services, the staff position in the Secretariat and included Attached Offices has considerably stabilised and it is felt that the system should now be given a trial in respect of all these offices. The question of extending the scheme to non-included attached offices and subordinate offices will be considered after experience has been obtained of the working of the committees in these offices.

It has, accordingly, been decided that two separate Staff Committees should be established in respect of each Ministry and its included Attached Offices. In Ministries which have more than one distinct Division, as in the case of Finance Ministry, which shall be two committees each for every such Division of the Ministry and the included Attached Offices under its control. One of the Committees will be in respect of staff other than Class IV and the other in respect of Class IV employees. Representatives of the staff on each of these committees will be elected by members of the staff concerned while Government will be represented by officials nominated by the Ministry. Model instructions for the constitution of Staff Committees which have been approved by the Cabinet are enclosed. It is required that the Ministry of Finance, etc., should take early action to set up Staff Committees on the basis of these Model Instructions, with such minor modifications, if any, as may be necessary to suit the special circumstances obtaining in the Ministry concerned.

2. A report of the action taken may be furnished to this Ministry by the end of August, 1954.

Sd/- K.N.SUBBANNA
DEPUTY SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

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COPY

NO.11/1/53-RE
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA - MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS
NEW DELHI, 20th August 1954.

MEMORANDUMSub: ESTABLISHMENT OF STAFF COMMITTEES.

The Model Instructions for the constitution of staff committees forwarded with the Ministry of Home Affairs Office Memorandum No.11/1/53-RE dated the 29th July 1954 prescribed that the members of the staff should be represented by one member each for every 20 members or a fraction thereof of each grade of employees. It has been represented that in Ministries having a large staff under them, this formula results in very large and unwieldy committees being formed. As indicated in the Office Memorandum referred to above, the intention is that the model instructions should be adopted with such modifications as may be necessary to suit the special circumstances obtaining in each Ministry. If any Ministry considers that the scale of representation should be different from that contained in the model instructions, it will be within that Ministry's discretion to fix it at a different figure, for example, at the rate of one representative for every 50 or 100 members of each grade.

Sd/- K.N.SUBBANNA
DEPUTY SECRETARY TO THE GOVT. OF INDIA.

MODEL INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CONSTITUTION OF STAFF
COMMITTEES (FOR STAFF OTHER THAN CLASS IV).

PRELIMINARY.

1. In order to secure the greatest measure of cooperation between the Government and its employees and increased efficiency in the public service combined with the welfare of Government employees, there shall be established in every Ministry and its included Attached Offices a 'Staff Committee'. In Ministries which consist of more than one distinct division, as in the case of the Ministry of Finance, there shall be one Committee for every such division of the Ministry and included attached offices under the control of the division.

OBJECT AND FUNCTIONS.

2. The objects of the Staff Committee will be -

- (i) to consider suggestions for improving the standards of work;
- (ii) to provide to the members of staff a machinery for making their points of view known to Government on matters affecting their conditions of service;
- (iii) to provide means of personal contacts between officers and staff with a view to developing cordial relations between them and to encouraging them to make keener interest in their work.

3. The Staff Committee will be an advisory body. Any matters relating to -

- (i) the conditions under which the members of staff are required to work;
 - (ii) general principles regulating conditions of service;
 - (iii) the welfare of the members of staff; and
 - (iv) improvement of efficiency and standards of work;
- may be brought before the committee for discussion.

Questions relating to conditions of service shall be discussed only with reference to general principles underlying them. There shall be no discussion of individual cases.

CONSTITUTION.

4. The Staff Committee shall consist of -

- (A) Chairman.- Secretary or a Joint Secretary of the Ministry nominated by the Ministry shall be the Chairman of the Committee.
- (B) Representatives of Government: Government will be represented on the Committee by as many officers, not below the rank of Under Secretary, as may be nominated by the Ministry. In addition, head of each Attached Office, or an officer nominated by him, shall be a member of the Committee.
- (C) Representatives of the staff: The members of staff will be represented by one member each of every 20 members, or a fraction thereof, of the grade of -
 - (i) Section Officer
 - (ii) Assistant
 - (iii) Stenographer, and
 - (iv) Clerk.

elected from amongst the members of that grade employed in the Ministry and the included attached office.

- (D) Secretary. The Chairman shall, in consultation with the representatives of the staff, nominate one of them to work as Secretary to the Committee.

TERM OF MEMBERSHIP.

5. The representatives of the staff shall hold office for a period of one year at a time but will be eligible re-election. If a representative is transferred from the Ministry or the included Attached Office which he represents or is promoted to another grade he will cease to be a member of the Committee and the Ministry and the included attached Office concerned shall thereupon elect another representative in lieu.

6. The Secretary shall hold office during the term of his membership.

6. The Secretary shall hold office during the term of his membership. On the post of Secretary falling vacant the Chairman shall nominate another Secretary in accordance with the procedure prescribed in para 4(D).

7. The Committee shall meet at least once in three months provided that on a representation being received from at least one fifth of the representatives of the members of the staff, the Chairman shall call a special meeting of the Committee.

8. The agenda for the meeting shall be prepared by the Secretary and approved by the Chairman. It shall be circulated to the members of the Committee at least three days in advance of the meeting. Members wishing to have any particular item included in the agenda will inform the Secretary at least seven days in advance of the meeting. Subject to the approval of the Chairman, all the items brought up by the members shall be included in the agenda.

9. At least one-third of the representatives of the members of the Staff shall be present at a meeting to form a quorum.

10. Nothing shall be regarded as a recommendation of the Committee unless it has been agreed to by a majority of the representatives of Govt. on the one hand and a majority of the representatives of the staff on the other.

11. The minutes of the meeting shall be recorded by the Secretary and approved by the Chairman before they are circulated to the members of the Committee. The Secretary shall take all further action necessary in connection therewith.

12. All the suggestions made by the various staff Committees shall be considered by the Ministries concerned and such action as is considered necessary will be taken and the report of the progress made will be announced by the Chairman at the next meeting of the Committee.

COPY

MODEL INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CONSTITUTION OF STAFF COMMITTEES.

(For Class IV staff)

PRELIMINARY.

1. In order to secure the greatest measure of co-operation between the Government and its employees and increased efficiency in the public service combined with the welfare of Government employees, there shall be established in every Ministry and its included Attached Offices a 'Staff Committee' for Class IV staff. In Ministries which consist of more than one distinct division, as in the case of the Ministry of Finance, there shall be one Committee for every such division of the Ministry and included Attached Offices under the control of that division.

OBJECT AND FUNCTIONS.

2. The objects of the Staff Committee will be -

- (i) to consider suggestions for improving the standards of work;
- (ii) to provide to the members of staff a machinery for making their points of view known to Government on matters affecting their conditions of service;
- (iii) to provide means of personal contacts between officers and staff with a view to developing cordial relations between them and to encouraging them to take keener interest in their work.

3. The staff committee will be an advisory body. Any matters relating to-

- (i) the conditions under which the members of staff are required to work;
- (ii) general principles regulating conditions of service;
- (iii) the welfare of the members of staff; and
- (iv) improvement of efficiency and standards of work;

may be brought before the committee for discussion.

Questions relating to conditions of service shall be discussed only with reference to general principles underlying them. There shall be no discussion of individual cases.

CONSTITUTION.

4. The Staff Committee shall consist of -

(A) Chairman. A Deputy Secretary of the Ministry nominated by the Ministry shall be the Chairman of the Committee.

(B) Representatives of Govt. Government will be represented on the Committee by as many officers, not below the rank of Assistant, as may be nominated by the Ministry. In addition, an officer nominated by each head of an included Attached offices shall be a member of the Committee.

(C) Representatives of the Staff. The members of staff will be represented by one representative each for every 20 members or a fraction thereof from the two groups consisting of -

- (i) Daftries, including Record Sorters, and
- (ii) Jamadars, Peons, Farashes, Chowkidars and Sweepers, elected from amongst the members of the grades in each group employed in the Ministry and the included attached offices:

Provided that it will be open to the members of the staff in each of the two groups to elect an additional representative from the staff other than Class IV but not holding the posts above the rank of a Section Officer.

(D) Secretary. The Chairman shall in consultation with the representatives of the staff nominate one of them to work as Secretary of the Committee.

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP.

5. The representatives of the staff shall hold office for a period of one year at a time but will be eligible for re-election. If a representative is transferred from the Ministry or the included Attached Office which he represents or is promoted to another grade he will cease to be a member of the Committee and the Ministry and the included Attached Office concerned, shall thereupon elect another representative in lieu.

6. The Secretary shall hold office during the term of his membership. On the post of Secretary falling vacant the Chairman shall nominate another Secretary in accordance with the procedures prescribed in para 4 (D)..

7. The Committee shall meet at least once in three months provided that on a representation being received from at least one-fifth of the representatives of the members of the staff, the Chairman shall call a special meeting of the Committee.

8. The agenda for the meeting shall be prepared by the Secretary and approved by the Chairman. Members wishing to have any particular item included in the agenda will inform the Secretary at least seven days in advance of the meeting. Subject to the approval of the Chairman, all the items brought up by the members shall be included in the agenda. The agenda shall be circulated to the members of the Committee at least three days in advance of the meeting.

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11. The minutes of the meeting shall be recorded by the Secretary and approved by the Chairman before they are circulated to the members of the Committee. The Secretary shall take all further action necessary in connection therewith.

12. All the suggestions made by the various staff committees shall be considered by the Ministries and such action as is considered necessary will be taken and the ~~next~~ report of the progress made will be announced by the Chairman at the next meeting.

FOREIGN LOCOMOTIVES FOR INDIA.

The Government of India has, according to reports from New Delhi, accepted the U.S. proposal to split the contract, under the Indo-American Operational Aid Agreement concluded in December last, for supplying to India 100 steel locomotives and 5,000 freight cars among U.S. and other foreign manufacturers. Half of the locomotives will be built in the U.S. and the other half in Japan. As regards freight cars, U.S., Japanese and European manufacturers will all participate in their manufacture. The extra cost of the project that will have to be incurred as a result, will be borne by the U.S. Government. It will be recalled that, recently, the U.S. Congress authorized an expenditure of a 20 million dollar fund for providing India with new railway equipment, including 5,000 freight cars. In response to a call for world-wide tenders, bids were received from 12 firms in six countries - Japan, the U.K., France, Germany, Italy and the U.S. The tender from the Japanese Rolling Stock Export Company in Tokyo at \$ 81,470 a locomotive was the lowest and from Germany at \$ 87,140 was the next in order. The highest quoted price was from the Manufacturing Corporation of Baldwin Lima Hamilton in Philadelphia (U.S., \$ 178,000 a locomotive). Two British firms had sent in bids at \$ 88,800 and \$ 93,060.

Originally, the U.S. had proposed that the lowest bidder subject to specifications being met, would get the contract. Despite this, high pressure was, it is stated, exerted by important political and business interests on the Administration to give this contract to American industry. U.S. manufacturers, for instance, appealed to Mr. Stassen, Director, Foreign Operations Administration (F.O.A.), to place the orders with American firms. They argued that there was unemployment in the ranks of the workers in their industry and that the order would prove to be of some help. They further stated that a similar action was taken by Canada in granting aid to India. Following these representations, the Director decided to split the contract for building locomotives into two halves and divide it between American and Japanese manufacturers. The 5,000 freight cars will be made by Japanese, U.S. and European producers of railroad work. Deliveries of freight cars are expected in about a year's time. As a result of the splitting of the order among producers in the U.S. and abroad, the total cost is estimated to increase from \$ 20 million to \$ 27 million.

Secret

CONFIDENTIAL.

D.G.O.F'S REMARKS INITIATING DISCUSSIONS AT THE
5TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF SUPERINTENDENTS OF ORDNANCE
FACTORIES. (22nd to 24th October, 1953).

1. INTRODUCTORY.

1.1. On behalf of the Superintendents and officers of the Ordnance Factories and this Directorate I have very great pleasure in thanking you, Sir, for honouring us by inaugurating this Conference, despite your many pre-occupations. It is indeed a privilege and pleasure to have you with us because, you, Sir, our Minister for Defence Organisation, have all along taken a very lively interest in our Factories and helped them to fulfill their purpose; with your wise counsels and assistance we are sure to find an answer to many of the problems facing us. It is also a pleasure and an honour to have amidst us our Deputy Minister whose interest and sympathy in the labour of our factories is well-known. We are heartened also by the presence here of the officers of the Ministry of Defence and Finance as well as the principal officers of the Services with whom we are so closely associated in our work.

1.2. The purpose of these annual conferences has been the discussion of problems affecting the Ordnance Factories' objective - namely, the full utilisation of the existing resources for the maximum output from the factories of high quality stores at minimum cost the speedy and progressive increase of these resources for attaining self-sufficiency in the manufacture of Service stores. In the pursuit of that high endeavour it will be necessary for us to be outspoken in regard to our difficulties, but I am sure that it will be appreciated that any criticism expressed is purely with a view to the improvement of the Ordnance Factories. I need hardly say how much we appreciate all that our associates have been doing for the factories.

2.0. PRODUCTION.

Progress
in manu-
facture
of new
items for
the Army.

2.1.1. Since the last Conference, good progress has been maintained in establishing manufacture of a number of NEW Service stores. Amongst the more important items established during the last year for the Land Services, are Bren Guns, Fuzes 255 (empty) - which incidentally is the most complicated fuze so far handled by the Ordnance Factories - Fuze Time Combustion 390, Fuze 119 B Mk.II. 37 and 75 mm APCBC Shot. As a corollary to the establishment of Fuze 255, we had to investigate the manufacture of heavy duty duralumin sections and I am pleased to say that, with the active co-operation of the DTD Officers, extrusion of heavy duty duralumin section has been satisfactorily established at Ordnance Factory, Katni, thus making us practically independent of imports in this connection. In line with the establishment of New Fuzes, we have established Primers No.15, Primers No.9, Tracer No.13 for 6-Pdr ammunition and Tracer No.14 for 40 mm ammunition. We hope to establish, within the next few months, the filling and assembly of 2" M.B.Smoke, Generator Smoke No.24, Bangalore Torpedoes, and 40 mm complete rounds.

New
Stores for
the Navy

For the Naval Services, we have established a few other proof shot such as 4.7", 40 mm, 2-Pdr.Sub-Calibre and for 2-Pdr Mk 8 Gun. We have also established manufacture of other stores

such as Primer Charge Demolition and plugs representing Fuzes 259, 243 and 246. The most notable achievement, however, is the biggest case ever handled in Indian Ordnance Factories. The time taken to commence manufacture of this case, although practically from first principle, would - I am proud to say - compare favourably with the performance even in industrially advanced countries. Similarly, considerable progress has been made in the manufacture of the first prototype of the 4" Naval Gun barrels and we expect the first two prototypes to be ready within a month's time. It is also a matter of pride for us that the 5 prototypes of trackless trailers required for the Navy have been manufactured and handed over for trials in the Naval Depots; if these are found to be satisfactory, we hope to manufacture not only to meet the requirements of the Navy but also of other Services, who are interested in this particular design of trailers.

New items
for the Air
Force.

A notable achievement, so far as Air Force Stores are concerned, is the filling and assembly of the 1,000-lb Bomb Mk 2. Considerable progress has been made towards establishment of 3" Rocket S.A.F. Shell. We also hope to supply the Air Force shortly their requirements of Practice Concrete Shell for 3" Motor. Manufacture of the first batch of parachutes for user's trials have also been completed.

2.1.2. LIMITATIONS AND DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED.

Although proud of these achievements despite difficulties, we are not unaware of the considerable amount of work which still remains to be done before the Ordnance Factories are able fully to meet all the Service requirements which are within the capacity of the men and machines available within the Ordnance Factories.

Lack of manu-
facturing
particulars.

The non-availability of full manufacturing particulars constitutes one of the principal bottlenecks in the establishment of manufacture of new stores. This has resulted in the factories having to undertake considerable development and pre-production work and/or to establish manufacture from first principles.

Materials of
Special
Specification.

The difficulties created by having to cater for materials to different and abnormal specifications, specially for the navy and the Air Force, are also to be realised. So far as the Naval specifications are concerned, progress has been recorded in efforts to correlate some of the Admiralty specifications to the existing land specifications. The difficulty in regard to Air Force still, however, remains, and the time required in getting acceptance to substitutes has affected the manufacture of even relatively simple stores, such as Cartridge Signal 1". We are aware that the Air Headquarters are anxious to assist as much as possible but are greatly handicapped on account of the shortage of suitable staff.

Shortage of
staff in pre-
production
Sections in
O.Fs.

Unfortunately, we realise too well that an immediate solution of these difficulties or of the other bottlenecks such as shortage of skilled workers, drawing office and design staff, rate-fixing and estimating staff, is just not practicable. There is a serious shortage of such staff and labour

throughout the country, and we can only hope to meet our difficulties through intensifying our training schemes which were introduced sometime ago. It is essential, therefore, for the Superintendents to give their personal attention to the optimum utilisation of these bottleneck sections and thus ensure the speediest possible manufacture of new stores.

Long-term
Planning of
Service work-
load.

2.2.1. The necessity for advance planning on a long-term basis of the Service load with a view to timely, efficient and economic manufacture in Ordnance Factories has long been stressed by me. This question has been recently discussed by the Ministry of Defence with the M.G.O., the Air Force and Naval representatives and the Financial authorities and myself, with a view to arrive at a procedure whereby the frequent and violent fluctuations in workload could be minimised without risk of resulting unnecessary stock of Service stores. Two proposals were supported by me: The first of a proportionate but irreducible standing indent, which would be supplemented in quantity sufficiently in advance of the delivery periods; this proposal is not as promising as the proposal of a long-term (3-year) workload suggested by the M.G.O., which was acceptable to the other Services and the D.G.O.F. but unfortunately not acceptable to the Finance representative. It is on this basis that the Ministry of Supply Establishments in U.K., such as the R.O.Fs., are understood to be working. The Finance representative though that the new system introduced recently of having a preliminary indication of requirements given two years ahead and firm demands placed 8 to 10 months in advance of requirements had not been sufficiently tried and should prove adequate for requirements, specially when it is intended that the firm demands would not be curtailed during the year and the preliminary indication would be largely confirmed in firm demands. While this may assist in reducing violent fluctuations in workload if the dates promised are rigidly maintained, it will not result in an even flow of work through Ordnance Factories and therefore of well-planned or economic manufacture. I would, therefore, once again request the powers that be, in the name of economic and efficient running of the factories, to re-examine the suggestion made by the M.G.O. of a 3-year workload, since that will not only ensure an even programme to plan for but will also result in a considerable reduction in the value of semi-processed finished components held by the factories arising inevitably from the frequent changes in the Service programme.

Work-load
during
1954-55.

2.2.2. As regards the Service load during 1954-55, a number of firm demands have been received from the Land Services and extracts have already been placed on the factories concerned.

In view of the virtual suspension of some more established items, such as 25-Pdr. cartridges, 2" M.B.H.E. and 3" M.B.H.E., the hopes of any significant improvement in the utilisation of surplus labour on Service demands is frustrated. The position in the engineering factories and in the Propellant factory at Aruvankadu will, in particular, be somewhat worse,

since for many of the orders which we have received for supply in 1954-55, empties and components are available in large quantities and very little load will result from these.

It is, therefore, necessary for the Superintendents/Officers-in-Charge of factories to assess the actual workload in various section/shops arising from the principal items of manufacture on the basis of the inter-factory demands already placed by the factories on whom extracts for the stores have been placed by the D.G.O.F.

Surplus men

Superintendents/Officers-in-Charge of factories are aware that, due to the drastic curtailment in the production of established items of Service stores, such as rifle ammunition, 25-Pdr. shell, etc., a large number of men were rendered surplus in a number of factories at the beginning of the financial year. The position became worse as a result of the large stocks of certain empty components such as 3" M.B., 25-Pdr. Shell, 2" M.B. etc., with the result that even where there was a Service requirement, the production of components in the feeder factories have to be stepped down, in some cases to a trickle level, so as to liquidate the larger holdings. This position has been further aggravated by the reductions in the Service demands carried out during the financial year, such as Schumines, 3" and 2" Mortar Bombs, 25-Pdr. Cartridges etc.

2.3. Civil trade work in Ordnance Factories.

2.3.1 For the maximum utilisation of the installed capacity in Ordnance Factories and the avoidance of hardship which would otherwise have occurred due to large scale retrenchments of surplus labour, we have had the fullest support and assistance from the Ministry in our efforts to utilise the surplus capacity over the manufacture of civil trade items. In fact, our Minister for Defence Organisation has himself taken the initiative in all measures required for this purpose and with his continuous pressure and unceasing drive he has helped to reduce the time required for switching over to civil trade production.

Ability to attract civil trade work to the Ordnance Factories will depend, inter alia, on the speed with which we deal with enquiries, on the quantum of our quotations, on our delivery dates and on the adoption of business like methods and the optimum use we can make of the plant and other resources available without changing them so as to be useless for the purpose for which they were provided.

Difficulties in switching over of surplus capacity to civil trade manufacture.

2.3.2. From the beginning, certain difficulties were foreseen in the utilization of surplus capacity over civil trade manufacture and necessary steps taken to meet them as far as possible:

- (i) difficulties in adopting special-purpose plant available in Ordnance Factories to manufacture of civil requirements by minimizing out-of-balance idel capacity;

- (ii) With the methods in use of mass-production manufactures where a job is broken up into its simplest elements, the men rendered surplus as a result of the curtailment of Service programme were mostly semi-skilled and unskilled men who could not be employed on civil trade work, until the large number of the requisite jigs, fixtures and gauges were available or they could be trained to be skilled workers for manufacture by general engineering methods;
- (iii) the capacity in the drawing office, rate-fixing and estimating sections and in the tool rooms being limited and being required for the manufacture of many of the new Service stores, there would be slow progress in civil trade manufacture without special arrangements;
- (iv) the existing accounting procedure having been rigidly framed for the manufacture of large quantities of Service Stores was not flexible enough for the requirements of a large variety of short-run civil trade manufacture or suitable for competition in relation to fluctuating market prices;
- (v) under existing orders, manufacture could only be undertaken against firm orders and advance/while without manufacture for stocks for delivery ex-shelf we would not be able to enter the market, particularly a buyer's market when demand for all engineering products is near the floor.

cash payment

Out-of-balance
idle capacity.

2.3.3. In most of the factories the installed plant includes one or more units which is designed and laid out for the purpose of producing certain specific nature of Service items. When the production of these specific Service items continues in sufficient quantity, the units of plant are generally balanced in themselves, in types and numbers of machines, so that individual machines are fairly equally loaded at all times. When the production load is changed over to civil items, not only are special purpose machines made wholly useless - without uneconomic major modifications which might render them useless subsequently for their original purposes - but the balance between machines is almost always disturbed, to a greater or lesser degree, so that even with long-run production load for a good number of items, some of the machines will be fully loaded, while others will be partly loaded or not loaded at all. This difficulty will be experienced, to a varying degree, in almost all the factories where there is surplus capacity as a result of the fall in demands of the special stores for which the plant was provided. In the Rifle factory, Ishapore, for instance, it will not be possible to utilise more than 30% of the plant efficiently on trade items excepting partly for sporting weapons, since the plant is balanced for the production of rifles only and the milling

capacity provided is far in excess of that required on general civil trade work; even with the manufacture of sporting weapons not every machine can be expected to be loaded, because the balance of machines required for rifle manufacture is not identical with that required over the manufacture of sporting weapons, similarly, the heavy and light steel foundries at Ordnance Factory, Muradnagar, were not planned for production of general casting work, as is required to meet civil trade orders, namely, castings in smaller quantities and varying in weight from 2 to 200 tons each; even the floor area available is not sufficient for undertaking this work. The plant available at Ammunition Factory, Kirkee, being special purpose plant cannot be used for any purpose other than manufacture of ammunition.

Quite apart from the difficulty of different machines (Lathes, millers, grinders, etc.) remaining balanced and, therefore, fully used when the product or products of a factory change from those for which the plant was originally provided, there is an out-of-balance resulting from the differences in runs of quantities of output of civil trade work vis-a-vis the mass production output of Service items; Suppose the Service article is being manufactured by only three consecutive process, and the third a semi-automatic process, being made at 5 units a day, 160 units a day and 60 units a day in three processes, respectively. To employ all the machines fully, a number of units must be made per day which is a multiple of 5, 160, and 60, otherwise some of the machines will be partly idle. The lowest common multiple 'throughout' would be 480 units per day, employing 3 fully automatic, 8 semi-automatic and 96 single output machines. Any rate or production less than this output would render some machines partly idle and out-of-balance. Hence, particularly when civil trade output is not large, it must not be expected that every machine provided can be fully utilised, even were the machines are useful.

Measures
necessary to
promote civil
trades produ-
ction in
Ordnance
Factories.

2.3.4. Of late factories have been called upon to furnish quotations against a large number of enquiries and I appreciate that this work has thrown an inordinate burden on the already overloaded rate-fixing, estimating, drawing office and design section. We are all fully alive to the fact that the present staff in these sections is incommensurate with requirements. We have, however, to do the best we can and we must accelerate and intensify our training schemes to meet our total requirements. In the meantime, a portion of the capacity in the bottleneck sections will have to be utilised for civil trade work and this will have to be done to the extent that it does not materially affect the production of new Service Stores; I have also suggested to the Superintendents that proposals for overtime working of these bottleneck sections will be readily accepted, and I have suggested to Superintendents to consider transfers temporarily from production to pre-production sections of staff suitable for the latter.

Businesslike
Methods essen-
tial.

Amongst the businesslike methods which must be adopted to attract civil trade, it was suggested by me at the last

Superintendents' Conference that the methods of apportioning variable overheads on civil trade orders so as to have a more realistic relation between the amount of capacity used in a given factory and the overheads allowed and thus avoid a vicious circle of low load, high overheads, uncompetitive prices and again lower load would have to be considered. An ingenious formula was suggested for breaking this vicious circle which was unfortunately not wholly acceptable to the Ministry of Finance for application in all cases. It has, therefore, been decided that in such special cases when it is necessary to avoid idle time or to get steady and continuous orders, this special formula may be applied to quote a lower price at the DGOF's discretion. This decision of Government has already been communicated to the factories and the formula has been used successfully in a few cases (such as non-ferrous stores for Katni) with the result that, on the whole, to-day, the prices of Ordnance Factories are regarded as being very competitive by the D.G.S. & D.

More rational apportionment variable overheads.

A review of variable charges as levied at present, particularly under the O2 Series Work Orders, has also been carried out in order to determine whether any of these charges could be more correctly classified as fixed charges; and, as an interim measure, the decision that 25 per cent of the variable charges as levied at present can be treated as fixed charges, has been communicated to the Superintendents/Officers, ~~xxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ in-Charge of factories as early as May 1953.

Pricing of Scrap.

In order to avoid complaints from the trade about unfair competition by Ordnance Factories in the supply of non-ferrous processed material by Ordnance Factories pricing their scrap at ~~xxxxxx~~ unrealistically low rates, it was decided that in estimating prices the present market prices of scrap will be taken. Government sanction to this effect was obtained and communicated to factories concerned. The Metal Market Review prices have so far been taken as the market prices for pricing of our scrap. Unfortunately, however, there is an apprehension that the scrap prices in the Metal Market Review do not reflect the true market prices and preclude fair competition by Government factories. We are endeavouring to find alternative methods of ascertaining the prevailing market prices of non-ferrous metal scrap. Any suggestion which the Superintendents/Officers-in-charge of factories can offer in this connection will be welcome.

Advance payments by irrevocable letters of credit.

Under existing orders, all private indentors are required to make a security deposit which may be in the form of an irrevocable letter of credit or cash, in addition to full advance payment in cash, irrevocable letters of credit not being accepted for advance payments. It has been found from experience that a number of trade firms are reluctant to deposit money in advance of the supply. They have represented that the opening of a letter of credit is more business-like and that they are not prepared to have their firms' money locked up when the alternative mode of payment is sufficient security. This question has been discussed with the

finance and audit authorities; and with their agreement it has been decided that, so far as ferrous and non-ferrous ingots or processed materials are concerned, irrevocable letters of credit may be accepted for advance payment as well as for the security deposit. Government sanction has been applied for and will be communicated to the factories as soon as received.

High ledger rate of virgin metals.

Another factor which has been found to make the cost of our production uncompetitive is the high price at which some of the virgin metals are held on charge at certain factories. These materials were supplied to the factories during the war, at comparatively high prices in some case. The go-ahead business firms, it is understood, rate their virgin metals at the lesser of the ledger prices or current market prices. We suggest that when estimating prices, the prevailing controlled price of ferrous materials or market price for non-ferrous metals should be taken into account instead of the ledger prices of those materials. This proposal is being examined and it is expected that a satisfactory decision will be communicated to the factories in future.

Implementation of the Cabinet Sub-Committee's directive.

2.3.5.A decision has been taken by the Cabinet Sub-Committee supporting the greater utilization of the surplus capacity available in Ordnance Factories for meeting suitable items of requirements of other Government Departments. Before placing orders on the D.G.S. & D. the Government departments are required to make enquiries from the Ordnance Factories regarding the possibility of manufacture in the Factories and the estimated cost of manufacture. If these costs are accepted as reasonable by the D.G.S. & D., the Government Departments are required to place indents on the D.G.O.F. This information has already been communicated to the Superintendents of the factories who have also been informed of the procedure we propose to follow in dealing with these enquiries:

We have already furnished a list of the various items of railway work which the Ordnance Factories have undertaken during the past six years or so and we have requested the Ministry of Railways to issue instructions to the Controller of Stores of various Railways to make enquiries regarding the procurement of these items from Ordnance factories before placing indents on D.G.S. & D. As obviously the Railway or other Government Departments cannot withhold placing of indents on the D.G.S. & D. for long periods, we are committed to give estimated cost of production, P.D.Cs. etc. Within a maximum period of a fortnight from receipt of enquiries. The factories concerned have already been instructed to furnish details of their estimated cost etc. for the manufacture of these items, as quickly as possible, and also to communicate variations in prices every quarter on account of the variation in overhead cost. This ~~will~~ alone will enable a timely disposal of enquiries.

The list of Railway items undertaken during the past six years as communicated to the Railways represents mostly those items the value of which exceeds Rs.2,000/-. We have no information regarding Railway items the value of which was below

2,000 and for which quotations were issued directly by the factories concerned. Superintendents/Officers-in-Charge of factories should please furnish a list of these items, together with any other items for which quotations were made to the D.G.S. & D. but for certain reasons not accepted, so that action as outlined above can be taken in regard to these items also.

2.4. COST CONTROL.

In my Opening Address at the Superintendents' Conference in previous years, I have been urging for the introduction of Standard Costs and wider expansion of time Study methods with a view to measure our performance against standards of what should be achieved. They are as good productivity, efficiency and economy indices as any that are known today. We have been able to make very little progress in these respects. The introduction of Standard Costs has been agreed to for a limited period and application, and we have not yet been able to get sanction to the training of rate-fixing Instructors through an expert Firm such as Ibcons. It is my view that to ensure that we set ourselves sufficiently high standards and work up to those standards, it is essential to use widely Standard Costs, Time Studies and Work Studies in our Factories.

Standard
Cost and
Time Studies
best measures
of perfor-
mance.

2.4.1. Proper economy can only be exercised when information of costs relative to standards previously fixed and variations of costs, by sub-heads, are available in time to all ranks. In the Royal Ordnance Factories in U.K. the monthly statement of costs of labour and expenses are out within 10 days of the end of the month, the Shop Manager having already known the position by his weekly statement so as to rectify the situation or be in a position to give the answers. Could we hope for information to be similarly available at all levels of the Shop in as short a period in all our Ordnance Factories ?

Standard
Costs.

2.4.2. The only alternative to fixation of standard times and appropriate piece-work rates by scientific Time and Motion Studies is by negotiation of the rate to be paid for the job. But with labour in their present stage of advancement in India, it is obviously difficult to arrive at mutually satisfactory rates - which will not be subject to interminable dissensions - by mere judgment and negotiation, particularly for new items of a complicated nature involving several operations. After negotiation some piecework rates are still bound to turn out to be too high or too low. The difficulties of accurately fixing piece rates or revising them to the satisfaction of labour as well as the Management are at present enhanced by the difficulty of recruiting suitable staff for the Estimating and Rate-fixing Departments and the inadequacy of the training which the existing staff have received or can receive with our available resources.

It has been thought that Time Study is not required under existing Indian conditions, where the problem is not today one of shortage of man power but of unemployment or under-employment. It is believed that Time Study would almost inevitably throw more men out of employment. This is based on a

misconception at anyrate so far as the application of Time Study to Ordnance Factories' workers is concerned. There is, in fact, a very acute shortage of skilled men in Ordnance Factories, perhaps also in all Engineering Industries in India. Time Study will firstly be made on skilled men only and to a very insignificant extent on the higher grades of semi-skilled men. There is a considerable quantum of workload that remains undischarged for want of additional skilled men in too-rooms particularly; and when more tools and fixtures can be made as a result of each skilled man doing a fair day's work as determined by time study, it would be possible to free skilled men for more jobs and employ many more semi-skilled workmen in machine shops etc. and with them their camp followers, the unskilled men. So Time Study need not in the ultimate analysis, throw men out of employment, but may even lead to a significant increase in the employment of more men when "active load" has caught up with "potential load." It is particularly important in industrially backward countries such as India, that skilled man power must be conserved fully used and increased and made to cover larger fields and that is where, therefore, time study has its greatest scope of usefulness.

It has also been argued that our basic wages today are mere subsistence wages and that even with our piecework earnings the men are not getting too much. Be that as it may, irrational piecework earnings consequent upon unscientifically fixed times and rates, cause unfair differences in men's earnings unrelated to their actual performances. Times Studies are, therefore, required to given each man according to his worth, if unanswerable anomalies have to be avoided.

It would be erroneous to try and reduce earnings proportionately, because seemingly excess profit may be misleading unless subjected to proper Time Study. But since our pieceworkers whether individual or gang workers, have generally been employed on a number of jobs during the month, on some of which the Times (and piece-work rates) may be too tight, on others too low, and on still others correct, and since it is only the aggregate of the earnings over the several jobs done in the month that is recorded on the job cards, it would be impracticable to revise piece-rates by simply scaling up or down proportionately the earnings. Since some other men would have in common done a few of the same jobs, though not all, but made different profits, the application of the simple proportionate increase or decrease would make confusion worse confounded. It is not the men's earnings (made up of a number of jobs) that need to be revised, but the times taken for individual jobs or processes; and, as there is no record showing their "times" it is clearly impracticable to revise existing rates satisfactorily by other than Time Study methods.

It might be thought that Time Study cannot be other than repugnant to the worker or the Unions because (a) if it should result in making the Management pay more money without more

production, the Management would be bound to rule it out because the cost of the Time Study would be irrecoverable; and (b) if it results, as it must (in order to justify its own existence and costs) in more production, this can only come about by "sweating" the worker or by causing retrenchments.

There is no more truth in this argument than that Time Study must always result in an increase in production but not necessarily by exploiting or sweating the worker. The man who has given an honest day's work has nothing to fear from Time Study. He stands to gain because the object is to bring the slackers up to his standard. As has been already stressed elsewhere, we hope to reap increased production, not from sweating the workers but from improved methods and by using time instead of wasting it.

The whole concept of sweating the worker is erroneous. We are dealing with skilled workers ~~from~~ for whom physical fatigue has been taken away by machinery. Apart from this, it would be wrong to decide whether Time Study should or should not be undertaken solely in relation to its effect on the pay rolls.

If Time Study did nothing more but provide accurate job methods for operator and supervisory instruction, its cost would be fully justified. If it only resulted in eliminating poor methods and substituting better ones, it would again need no further justification. If only for its valuable use for statistical purposes, such as to provide standard times for more realistic estimates or the basis of Standard Costing, or if it only told a production man what is the true shop potential or what production he could budget for, it will be fully worthwhile. It does all these things and more, however. It arbitrates in the fairest possible manner between worker and Management, and between worker and worker, and it assures to the worker a fair regard for his diligence and actually protects him against excessive demands on him. The results cannot but be, therefore to the advantage of the workers first of all and ultimately to the nation. Trade Unions in advanced countries have, therefore, accepted it, and our own Trade Unions in India agreed before the Kalyanwalla Committee to the revision of inordinately high and low piece work rates by Time Study Methods. In the interest of efficiency and economy, it is once again strongly commended.

Work Study.

2.4.3. Work Study. Work Study, like Time Study, has wider applications than those connected only with payment by results schemes. There are few activities in a Factory organization to which work study cannot be applied with advantage, if an intelligent survey is made. Until fairly recently Work Study involved little more than work measurement with a certain amount of Motion Study. The emphasis was on measurement, rather than on job improvement or job simplification, the ultimate objective being of course a basis for a system of payment by results (e.g. piece-work times). The emphasis has

now shifted to job improvement. The benefits to be obtained from Work Study may be described briefly in relation to the major industrial operations, namely (i) pre-production planning, (ii) effective operation, and (iii) managerial control whether for direct or indirect activities and for manual, machine or clerical tasks:

For pre-production planning, inter alia, Works Study throws light on the suitability for manufacture of different product designs; the economics of alternative manufacturing or operating techniques; the most effective tooling; equipment or systems for using a particular technique, the layout of Factory buildings; loading and unloading and direction of flow; the layout of individual work places; balancing operations to ensure an even flow of production; determining the ideal method for each operation; assessing operating times to determine the equipment, tooling and labour requirements; eliminating unnecessary paper work; laying down of likely indirect services needed so that overheads (e.g. for inspection) may be possessed; and laying down economic standards for consistent quality control at every stage of operation. It thus assures beforehand that the methods and equipment proposed to be used for the production are the best and most economical.

Effective operation is established from an operational check on all the factors previously estimated and by making such improvements as can be determined under operating conditions. Work Study then assists, inter alia, in setting accurate time standards under operating conditions; laying down material handling and transporting procedures and times; determining the optimum storing conditions and periods; and suggesting the optimum length of run, etc.

Once an operation is proceeding satisfactorily, certain managerial controls will be needed to see how the work is progressing and that none of the variable factors is deteriorating. Work Study can assist in this by laying down targets for machine utilisation, calculating labour requirements under varying conditions; having information on variations in operating efficiency and in bonus earnings; comparing profit with other departments or operating units, etc. etc.

By publishing information emphasizing those factors that require action and by recommending the nature of the action, it would be possible by Work Study methods to watch the day to day trends; and super visors at all levels can be supplied with the information necessary for them to exercise the requisite control that is otherwise indifferently exercised today.

It will be thus seen that, both for increasing efficiency and for an objective measurement of efficiency in Factories, the introduction of Work Study methods is a sine qua non. It is my humble submission that before the Expert Committee is asked to investigate the working of the Ordnance Factories, the optimum use that can be made of them, and measures to promote their efficiency, there should be an objective Work Study undertaken in the Factories so as to provide the Committee with scientific data upon which to base sound and substantiable

conclusions. Without such data, the Committee's findings can at best be their opinions without a substantiable basis.

Mechanical
handling and
other mechani-
cal aids.

2.5. This is the time, when the 'active' work-load on factories is slack, that devices which aid production and improvements to factories for smoothening the production flow should be effected. Amongst these, mechanical materials handling must have the foremost place. It has been estimated that from 30% to 40% of the manufacturing costs of wide range of products are due to handling charges at various stages. As material costs and wages are not likely to decrease, the most fruitful field for reducing costs appears to be in pruning the handling charges. Some factories have made a hopeful start in providing mechanical handling equipment, which it must be remembered has to be paid out of the savings effected. That is to say, some existing shops and layouts could be quite uneconomical for the installation of a mechanical handling system; the cost of structural alterations and movement of plant involved for putting it in would be too great to make the scheme pay for itself in reasonable time. However, even eliminating the expensive conveyors system and other such costly items of material handling equipment, it should be possible to make far greater use of simple aids to production than is usual in the Ordnance Factories today.

Inspection.

2.6. Little, if any, progress has been made in the transfer of Inter-stage Inspection, even of a few selected items only from T.D.E. to Ordnance Factories. Virtually, the recommendation of the Armed Force Re-Organization Committee and the Government orders thereon have remained unimplemented.

The ration of Inspectors to workers is a matter which appears to require further investigation after making all due allowance for the fullest assurance regarding quality for the complete avoidance of risks, and for the psychology of the troops, the Airmen and the Naval ratings.

There is both in UK and India same prejudice and opposition against the alternative system prevailing to a much greater extent on the continent and to some degrees in a few trusted Firms in U.K. generally known as "controlled inspection". The existing system of inspection by large numbers of Industrial Inspectors of T.D.E. as well as Factories is not necessarily wholly satisfactory and may be extremely expensive. A fresh approach with an open mind to the alternative system, at least on a few selected items, is, therefore, once again suggested.

It is understood that the question of wider application of mechanised methods of inspection has been examined in some detail by a T.D.E. Committee. In view of the fact that these modern methods are believed in UK authoritative Service circles as likely to pay dividends, and in view of the fact that the Ordnance Factories' products ultimately have to bear the cost of inspection, we are naturally interested in the extensive use of these more modern methods. Now that the Air Force and the Navy will post their own inspectors in addition to those of

D.T.D., the administrative difficulties which might arise, though not necessarily unavoidable, in having different inspectorates in the same Factory also needs some forethought. From the point of view of an efficient organisation in the Factory we should prefer uniform inspection to the higher standards of the Service asking for more exacting standards.

Anything that is done to avoid unnecessary disturbance of the Factories' production and any measures to avoid duplicating of inspection and to promote economy by mechanised inspection and S.Q.C. methods would be most welcome to us.

.....Continued on page 14.

Statistical
Quality
Control in
Ordnance
Factories.

2.7.1. During the period under review since the last Superintendents' Conference, very sustained efforts have been made by the Ordnance Factories in the implementation of S.Q.C. techniques over the control of production. This has taken the form of organising staff training courses with demonstration, equipment, and suitable literature: two 3-week courses were organised at Cossipore and Ishapore, for training 45 senior staff of the factories and T.D.Es. The results obtained at Gun & Shell Factory, Cossipore, Metal and Steel Factory, Ishapore, and Muradnagar, are very encouraging. In all this work, Mr. Murti, Asst. Director of Technical Development (Inspection & Quality Control) is of the greatest value, and I acknowledge my appreciation and obligation for his full co-operation and able assistance. Plans are on the way to continue with this valuable work in other factories at selected stages of manufacture and to extend S.Q.C. control technique, wherever promising.

With the shift of emphasis from sorting inspection to process control for securing the same or higher degree of assurance, statistical quality control and sampling inspection for process control have become most useful aids to production. Losses of vital production over rejections, and the losses of equally vital time which grow out of misunderstanding between inspection and production, have significantly decreased as a result of a technique jointly used which avoids such misunderstandings. Substantial economies have accordingly resulted in actual practice.

Two typical examples may be cited of the remarkable success achieved by the use of these Control methods:-

(i) In the heat-treatment of gauges at Cossipore, all defectives for low hardness requiring re-work and for cracks (generally arising out of high hardness) aggregated to 41% over the preceding 9 months. S.Q.C. histograms focussed attention on the likely causes which were investigated and corrective action taken resulting in the defects dropping to 9%.

(ii) In trying to establish the production of a new design of shell at Cossipore, it was found that 90% of the final product was heavier than the specified maximum weight. 84% of the out-turn was brought within specification by controlling only one machine by control charts and the remaining was adjusted by an additional weight-removing operation.

The principal benefits of these techniques lie in the attention which they attract from operatives and supervisory staff, who in turn take corrective measures within their sphere to give the best results.

Improvements in many directions, e.g., the time intervals between recurrence of delays, the frequencies of machine-setting, the necessity of attention to previous operations, etc., apart from the improvements in quality and an increase of acceptable outturn have been effected. Even where the existing percentages of rejections are small, the large incidence of defectives for re-work can only be brought down by the more forceful use of these S.Q.C. techniques so as to permit economy of inspection. There has been a healthy progress towards better appreciation and co-ordination between production and inspection personnel as a result.

Other uses of
Statistical
Methods in
Industry.

2.7.2. Statistical quality control is only one application of statistical methods which have immense potentiality in Ordnance Factories in other directions.

On handling
and storage
problems.

One of the other valuable uses to help production is in dealing with movement and delay. When tackling a handling or storage problem, data of the way in which commodities are handled, the amount and variety of material handled and the nature of arrival times, and the manufacturing process and despatch can, when statistically analysed, give useful conclusions whether additional storage would be the more economical. The obvious or intuitive solution is not necessarily the best, and a large amount of conflicting data can only be satisfactorily analysed by statistical methods.

On controlled
experiments
for develop-
ment of
production.

Statistics' most valuable use to the factory lies in its applications to experimental designs for production. The original method of tediously "grinding" to a solution of a production by performance of hundreds or thousands of experiments with production has been superseded by the technique of designed production experiments. By only a fraction of the experiments previously necessary, with the aid of statistical methods of the information required can be gained. In short, statistically designed experiments give more useful data more quickly and at less cost than traditional methods.

Remarkable success has been achieved in our own Ordnance Factories by statistical methods to obtain quick and satisfactory answers to stiff problems. To cite a few examples: the problem of statistically examining the proof results with the 40 mm ~~xxxx~~ shell led to the correct assessment of the trouble in time; and suitably designed experiments has enabled us to find out the cause of the trouble and to obtain rationalisation of the specification. Secondly, at Ishapore, the problem of heavy rejections amounting at one time to 33% with forgings for 4.2" M.B. was traced to one particular machine and corrective action has eliminated the rejections to 4%.

In the establishment of new stores, particularly die-castings, these statistical methods are proving of invaluable use and it is proposed to introduce them as a regular feature at Ordnance Factory, Kanpur. At Ordnance Factory, Muradnagar where machining of 3" M.B. is now controlled by operators' chart at 3 important stages, not only was the specification met very satisfactorily but it has been possible to work to much stricter tolerances. The information brought by the application of this method also brought to a line a defect which was creeping in at earlier stage and corrective action has helped us to increase the hob live from an average of 20 to an average of 80 bombs between grinds. Similar results were obtained from machinings of nose adapters from 2" bar stock. Suitably designed experiments for the castings of 1,000 lb. bombs focussed attention to an unnoticed defect of alignment of the core and mould which led to thick and thin wall. The problem was thereafter reduced to the designing of a gauge to check the assembly. When this was done, the trouble was at an end. Similarly, for the cold drawing and central grinding of medium carbon steel bars, the statistical techniques have been applied with equal success and the shop is now producing to close tolerances and rejections due to odd dimensions are negligible.

On Costing and Estimating problems

Statistics can also be used in solving many costing and estimating problems. Techniques are available which, by a study of variability, greatly reduce the time spent on routine costing of stores and finances. Budgetary control can also be exercised effectively by statistical methods.

Thus, we see that there is not only the need for a wider application of S.Q.C. in Ordnance Factories, but also for the application of other methods of statistics to production, handling and storage, provisioning, costing control problems, etc.

I would, therefore, once again request the Ministry for the early sanction of a fully qualified statistician as Chief Statistician at Headquarters and for small S.Q.C. groups made up of technical (engineering) personnel trained in elementary statistical methods in each of the principal factories. The cost of the proposal will be repaid many times over within a very short period.

Other major works not included in the 5-year Plan

2.8. Beyond the scope of this 5-year plan there are certain contemplated / undertaken major works, such as the M.P.F. Project, 20/40 mm Project, Steel Expansion Project, Magazine Project, Extrusion Press Project, Explosives Project, Diacetone Alcohol Project, Power Plant Redistribution Project, etc. Very good progress has been made on some of these Projects, while others are yet to be started.

I have again to stress that many of our machines are very old, much worn out by intensive war use, and very slow and unproductive compared to their modern counterparts, and replacement in a planned manner is imminently desirable. Last year, I stressed for a dynamic re-equipment policy. We have complete modernisation plans available and we would be wise to implement quickly the suggested policy of re-equipment. We have never been able to obtain since the end of the war anything like the money we need for renewals, while much more is charged by way of depreciation in the trading accounts than is allowed for replacements. Our plant and machinery would have been in a much better state had the amount notionally charged by way of depreciation been allowed to be spent yearly over replacements.

Resuscitation of Renewal/Reserve Fund.

A proposal has already been made to the Ministry of Defence to revive the Renewal/Reserve Fund with a starting balance of Rs.1 crore. It has also been suggested that the balance which will accrue to the Fund after the addition of the depreciation charges through the fixed overheads less the expenses due to the financing of the renewals should be carried forward as a running account from year to year. This is all the more necessary now as due to the world shortage of machinery and materials, procurement of plant, machinery, etc., takes much longer time than in the pre-war days and the capitalised value of labour output is progressively becoming more and more unfavourable in relation to the capital cost of the new and more economic machines of greatly increased speed and capacity. Other things being equal, we cannot compete in price or delivery against Factories better mechanised than ours are.

As soon as a favourable decision is received on this case, we shall be in a position to start almost immediately replacement/modernisation of our worn out assets on the basis of information already collected from the factories. We have obtained complete proposals from each factory of their modernisation needs.

3. Provisioning

Value of
Stocks

3.1 Since I last spoke on this matter, information has been received from Accounts Officers showing the value of stocks by broad categories of stores. These figures are generally disquieting as a decreasing trend in the value of stocks held is only visible in cases of component stores and maintenance stores. While it is appreciated that the effect of the measures taken will not be felt for some time to come, it is my view that in some factories the importance to be attached to the reduction of these stocks has not been fully appreciated. There can, of course, exist some quite legitimate reasons which may account for the absence of decrease or slight increases in the values of broad categories of stocks, e.g., it may have been found necessary to make substantial adjustments of items held under various heads, quite apart from the normal additions made through purchase or transfers of surplus from other Government Departments.

In our attempts to reduce our stock-holdings, the first step obviously is a very careful scrutiny of the stocks. I have proposed the formation of a Committee comprising of DFA/Fys, ADG/P and ADG/SP to review the stocks of items individually valued at Rs.1 lakh or more, to make recommendations for effecting liquidation of superfluous stocks. When this Committee commences to function, I expect Superintendents to give it the fullest co-operation and to approach the problem objectively with a view to lopping off all dead wood, as far as practicable, and building up stocks only of items which are known to be required. As a result of the Committee's work, further instructions will be issued to factories from time to time and I shall expect factories to deal with these instructions as priority matters for implementation without delay. The importance of this matter cannot be over-emphasised, and I must request the Superintendents to impress these on all their staffs so that we become successful in our aim to bring down the stocks to the required levels in the shortest possible time.

Stores
Budget

3.2 At the last Conference, I stated that the indications were that the actual expenditure during 1952-53 would exceed the original budget allotment. In spite of every effort being made to keep the expenditure within the budget allotment, it was still necessary to obtain a supplementary allotment. The expenditure during 1953-54 is expected to be substantially less than in the previous year. This expenditure is based largely on the reductions in forward commitments which indicates that requirements have been subjected to more careful screening. The general position so far for this financial year can, therefore, be regarded as a satisfactory improvement over the last year. I must, however, emphasise that there is no room for complacency, it being always absolutely necessary for all of us to exercise the utmost economy in this respect.

4. Powers necessary effectively to discharge responsibility.

4.1. From the very first Superintendents' Annual Conference held in 1949 I have been urging the necessity for adequate powers effectively to discharge the difficult responsibility of production and administration of the Factories, both for the Superintendent as the 'Captain of the ship' and the D.G.O.F. who has the overall responsibility of all the Factories. In the third Annual Conference held in 1952, I had pointed out that we had made specific recommendations in consequence of Mr. Gorwalla's report to the Planning Commission on 'Efficient Conduct of Public Industries'. These recommendations were examined for over a year by the Finance and

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the Ministry of Defence and have been accepted only in a small measure.

4.2. While in those few cases in which the D.G.O.F.'s recommendations were accepted in full the results have indeed been very satisfactory, reducing work and avoiding delays all round, in the majority of cases where the recommendations were whittled down and only accepted in small part, the purpose for which this delegation had been proposed has been thwarted. In this latter category, there are the following three items on which an amendment to the Government orders has been suggested by me to the Ministry of Defence:-

(i) We have recommended to the Government the removal of the existing restrictions regarding local cash purchases from Factory Imprest, which require that the Superintendent should make only two purchases during a month and that, too, with the prior concurrence of Accounts.

(ii) The second recommendation is that the Superintendent should have the power to sanction temporary moves of Factory personnel within a radius of 75 miles in different Military Districts, not necessarily from one Factory to another.

(iii) The third aims at giving superintendents powers to sanction advances up to Rs.500 at a time, not only to non-gazetted staff from the G.P.Fund and I.O.D.P.Fund but to all categories and even from the I.O.F.W.P.Fund.

4.3 So far as the recommendations made by the D.G.O.F. which were accepted by Government are concerned, short notes have been prepared for discussion at the Conference and the Superintendents' views will be obtained. There are, however, the following three powers which I would personally stress once again for the consideration of the Ministry with a view to enable the Superintendent and the D.G.O.F. to discharge their duties adequately:-

(i) Increased powers of local purchase of materials both for the D.G.O.F. and the Superintendents;

(ii) adequate powers for the local purchase of plant and machinery; and

(iii) an adequate sum should be made available to each Superintendent to spend on Process Research.

Before dealing with the heightened need for these increased powers for our Indian Ordnance Factories it is pertinent to observe that the Report of Her Majesty's Select Committee on Estimates (Session 1951-52) on the Royal Ordnance Factories contains recommendations for similar increase of powers in respect of Superintendents of the Royal Ordnance Factories. Although those Superintendents exercise much greater powers for direct action to procure supplies locally (up to £1,000), and although the time periods for effecting supplies by Central Purchase Organisation is relatively much less than is our experience, the Select Committee recommended raising of the limit to substantially higher than £1,000, because of the difficulties that the delays cause by disorganising production or in sometimes the loss of small quantities of materials when they are available locally only for a short time. Similarly, for capital expenditure on plant and machinery the power enjoyed

by the Superintendents of the Royal Ordnance Factories was limited to £250, while the Select Committee concluded that this limit should be increased in view of the fact that such a limit is virtually an anachronism in relation to the existing prices of capital equipment today. In regard to Process Research, the Select Committee have observed that the Superintendents should be enabled to experiment with the layout and the methods in their own Factories and not expect to make out a convincing case for every change. It is their view that it is a false economy to avoid incurring reasonable expenditure on experimentation whilst production efficiency continues to suffer, and the Committee therefore recommended that a sum should be made available to each Superintendent to spend on Process Research and that Superintendents should not be required to give in advance more than a general statement on the lines along which the research is conducted.

Powers
necessary for
effective
competition
with Trade.

I support all these three recommendations with all the strength at my command. These powers are all the more necessary if we are to be effective in our efforts to compete in civil trade production. In accordance with the recent decision of the Cabinet Committee, prices of articles required by other Government Departments will have to be first negotiated on the basis of current market prices, and it is only when a satisfactory settlement regarding the prices approximating to the current market prices is reached, that orders for these articles will be placed with the Ordnance Factories. In view of this somewhat doubtful element in the placing of firm orders by civil indentors, it will not be possible for the D.G.O.F. or the Superintendent to make advance provision arrangement for basic materials required in the manufacture of these articles. Most of these orders of other Government Departments usually stipulate short delivery periods ranging from 4 to 6 months, sometimes even shorter periods, and the procurement of materials through the Central Purchase agency, even for urgent short-delivery, would require fully that amount of time. Normal procurement arrangements in these cases are not, therefore, likely to be suitable for the execution of civil demands in time. For all practical purposes, the existing financial powers of the D.G.O.F. in regard to local purchase of materials are considered to be totally inadequate for meeting the short-dated Government demands. Two examples may be quoted by way of illustration, though such instances can be multiplied:-

(i) At the moment we are carrying on negotiations with the D.G. P.&T. on the supply of 1,20,000 Dasooti bags of various colours and sizes. These bags are required by the DG P&T during the current financial year, i.e., during the next 5 to 6 months. We expect to receive orders from the DG P&T very shortly. To enable the manufacturing factories to deliver the articles, on a phased monthly programme, it would be essential to get the entire quantity of basic materials to the finished articles. If we are to follow the normal procedure and place an indent on the Textile Commissioner, Bombay, the earliest we may get the materials would be in a period of 4/6 months. The execution of the order will entail over 1,00,000 yards of Dasooti of various colours at a cost of Rs.1,00,000. Under the existing orders, local purchase by the DGOF cannot be made to this extent nor is it practicable to split the order for basic material between Central Purchase and Local Purchase as, once the Factory gets into production, it cannot stop production without incurring idle time in the event of failure or delays in supplies through Central Purchase Agency. The enhancement of DGOF's existing financial powers in regard to

local purchase is, therefore, clearly indicated.

(ii) In addition to the above orders for Dasooti Mail Bags, we are also negotiating for supplies to P & T Department of over 60,000 Canvas Jute Bags of various types during the current financial year. This order will also involve the purchase of about one and quarter yards of jute cloth at a cost of over Rs.2,00,000.

Similarly for executing the order for 50,000 pairs of Chepplies Frontier Pattern within the stipulated delivery date, procurement of hides and tannery items probably on ex-stock basis from the trade would be desirable if we are to complete the order in time.

For these reasons, it appears most desirable, if not essential, that the local purchase powers of the Superintendents should be increased to Rs.25,000 and those of the D.G.O.F. to Rs.1,00,000. These powers will be normally subject to the usual procedure of inviting open tenders, and adequate safeguards against extravagance of waste will be ensured. The suggested limit for increased powers for purchase of plant and machinery for Superintendents is Rs. 15,000 per machine. The suggested limit for Process Research is Rs.5,000 but with the prior sanction of the D.G.O.F. Rs.10,000.

5. Labour.

Human approach to labour relations.

5.1 The industrial relations in the factories in general have been as harmonious as can be expected, though it is only natural that they have been better in some factories than in others. The ugly head of demonstrations has, however, appeared in one or two factories; in a few others, labour has harboured a feeling of a secretive attitude on the part of the management and management has a feeling of labour schemings against them. There have been misunderstandings despite the expressed policy of rank discussions and dissemination of works information through O.F. News. These are undesirable signs spoiling a very good past record of about the best industrial relations in the country, to which my addresses in previous years will bear adequate testimony. At this first indication we must take stock of the situation in full and discuss measures for management and labour to get nearer each other, trusting each other more, distrusting less, understanding each other, and pulling together.

The avoidance of all causes for disaffection by allowing the freest and frankest expression by labour at Works Committee meetings is again stressed. Let the management and labour work the toxic poisons out of their systems by free evacuations in discussions.

Current Policy

The general labour policy which I have tried to direct in Ordnance Factories has been based on principles of justice, understanding and reasonableness combined with firmness and discipline. It has been an article of faith with me that industrial relations are essentially human relations and that we can only enthruse men - not force them - to do better and harder work. A man's time and presence in the factory during

stated hours can be brought, but it is not possible to buy his enthusiasm, loyalty or initiative. These have to be earned and the ability and capacity of efficient management depends on earning these successfully.

The human approach necessarily implies understanding sympathetically the worker (both as an individual and as a member of an industrial community) with whom one has to work and discovering the psychological reasons for his behaviour and devising methods for enlisting his support and co-operation. Human beings require not only money and food but recognition, sympathy, friendly associations, sincere understanding and positive encouragement.

New approach to discipline

It is wrong to believe that a human approach weakens discipline, and that the best way to discipline men is through force or fear exercised by coercive means and arbitrary powers. I do not think that any of you would wish for a discipline based on such fears to be re-established, even were it possible, which it is not. As our beloved Prime Minister has pointed out, in places where freedom has been achieved other forces have been loosened and "an understanding of the ferments could canalise them into beneficent directions". With the removal of the fear that was the dominant impulse in the pre-freedom days, a new vitality is manifesting itself from corner to corner of India, and it is for us to harness and canalise this vitality for productive and useful ends. As a big industrialist has recently put it "You cannot legislate and get more production", and I am sure that your productive efforts will succeed only in direct proportion to the enthusiasm and purposiveness that you can instil into the men who work along with you.

In other words, we have to get away from the old methods of hard-headed and hard-fisted managements, or the old approach of master and servant, in labour relations and think and act in terms of a genuine partnership and earned leadership.

Labour attitude can be moulded for co-operativeness.

I have heard it said that, however good your approach, the men will never change theirs. This I refuse to believe. We can change human attitude provided we understand their causation and know the correct technique and approach to their amelioration. I agree that sometimes a man appears inscrutable, and his actions appear unaccountable and unreasonable, but on deeper attempts at understanding his problems and his environments, it should be possible to see his point of view and to change his attitude by sympathetic action or to integrate the two views into a wholesome one. I shall, therefore, not accept the argument that it is useless for industrial management to exert to change wrong attitudes of the men when they prefer to be troublesome or recalcitrant.

Our purpose is to make maximum utilisation of the man-power efforts available in our factories, and this can only come about where each person as an individual or a member of the team pulls his weight in unison. You can get this done only by inspiring confidence in your correct leadership, get your men to think, feel, and act along with you, rather than in the following of misleading leaders. There can be no co-operation under duress. But, you can win your men by their preference for you as a leader.

The British Industrialist, Francis B. Wilmont after long years of experience has made an inspiring plea to substitute the human and personal approach for the impersonal attitude in modern industry in his book 'On the Human Touch in Industry'. He has summed up his experience of the human approach and the brilliant results achieved in his factories in the following paragraph.

"When treated with justice and humanity, the worker in time does some hard thinking; he decides that it is worth while to work hard; he realises that his own contribution to the business in which he is employed, and in which he spends the largest part of his life, is the soundest investment he can make; he feels that he is realising himself and working out his own purposes; he recognises that to work much is to earn much - in direct proportion to the volume of goods he helps to produce as an individual and collectively with others; and in that knowledge he is a wiser and happier man; he knows that work, not words, alone, can provide for his daily needs."

I would, therefore, once again commend this human approach to the Superintendents despite any feelings of frustration arising out of any experiences might have shaken your faith in the correctness of this approach. There is no other better way, I assure you.

Labour
demonstra-
tions

5.2. Why is it then that, despite this policy and practice of a human approach to all labour problems and in spite of our employees having a clearly well-defined procedure for the redress of grievances, individual and collective, there appears to be some set-back in our happy relations and workers have taken recourse recently to ugly mass demonstrations in front of the Superintendent's office during working hours? In neither of the two cases where such demonstrations occurred was it possible to find sufficient evidence of accumulated grievances which could account for this unseemly behaviour? In our case at least it did not appear to be pre-planned although no doubt there are persons and parties behind the scenes interested in causing disaffection and bringing about a split in the harmonious relations that have existed so far between management and our labour. It may be that those who organise such demonstrations feel that it is the quickest or the most telling way of making authority feel the genuineness of a demand or that numbers may exercise a coercive influence. It may be that from the point of view of the Union, such intimidation brings successful results; in any case, it increases the influence and prestige of certain leaders and reduces that of the Management. This is borne out by the speech of the General Secretary of the Ordnance Employees' Union at O.F.A. where he said "Demonstrations should be repeated every time they have a demand and the Superintendent's hands will be forced until he concedes your demand." It may be that our non-gazetted officers have ceased to wield control and influence over their men, who should not be in the hands of bad union leaders if the Foremen are effective; the Foremen must re-orient their approach to the changed conditions and expect control and influence by the men's implicit acknowledgment of their leadership and their regard and respect for them, not by threats or force. No doubt, the Foremen must have sufficient authority in keeping with their responsibility, but they should exercise this authority in the new way.

Since our managements have generally been responsive to genuine grievances and reasonable requirements of our employees, these demonstrations are all the more unjustifiable. We have Shop Committees and Works Committees where the elected representatives of our employees can discuss all matters affecting their electorates and we have accepted constitutional channels for the ventilation of all grievances. Our Superintendents are always open to discussion with the labour, and we do nothing to prevent our workmen from being vocal about their grouses and grievances at every stage. The Superintendents must attempt to remedy their grievances of his own accord, wherever deserving, not wait until they have become so deep-seated as to cause an explosion.

When a crowd wishes to discuss with a Superintendent, he would and should normally do so, accompanied by the most popular and influential member of the Management if that will help to humour the crowd and avoid it being carried away by a wrong lead from misguiding labour leaders. Having given the crowd the most patient hearing and sympathetic understanding, the Superintendent has to make up his mind and fearlessly do his duty. He cannot allow himself to be intimidated; having decided after careful consideration on the merits of the demands, he must now allow himself to be swayed from the right path by the stress of the occasion. He should explain to the crowd that right and reason are on his side and in his decision, and convince them that integrity and justice inspire his decision and action and explain how and why the demands of misguiding leaders are unreasonable, unjust or beyond his competence.

I do not know to what extent condemnation (which such demonstrations deserve) from the leaders of organised labour in our factories who are interested in discipline would succeed, but it is a suggestion worth considering we could request the Federation's support.

Our M.D.O. has already communicated the following very appropriate message, through the medium of the Ordnance Factory News, to the workers:

"But, the very fact that yours is an essential service calls for strict discipline and the highest efficiency among the workers."

If these demonstrations were pointers of a general malaise eating into the system of our labour relations, it would be a matter of the greatest concern. Fortunately, most of the Superintendents, however, feel that the mass of workers is not behind the handful of undesirable leaders who organise these demonstrations, but that the workmen themselves are coerced and intimidated by the violent and subversive methods of these few misguided leaders. If this is so, it is our duty, firmly, though sympathetically, to govern and wean the men away from their misleading leaders. If in our discussions at this Conference we can evolve a suitable method of preventing these demonstrations, wherever possible, and suitably facing them, where necessary, the Conference will have achieved something worth while.

Training of
Foremen in
Management
Course

5.3. Much of our trouble in factories is due to the inability of the foremen and supervisors to adjust themselves to these changed conditions. The supervisory staff feel that their rights have been curtailed drastically and they are expected to discharge their responsibility of holding the men under control and discipline without the necessary authority.

The sooner we can establish the new sense of fellowship and leadership, the sooner will proper control under the changed conditions be possible. The task resolves itself into teaching management (particularly the Foremen) how to handle men as partners in a common endeavour and to be leaders under the altered circumstances.

There is growing recognition of the cardinal importance of adequate training for foremen and supervisors not only in their technical and administrative duties but specially in the principles of human relations. The Foreman has to have the same intensive knowledge of the human material as he has of his raw materials, machines and processes. Most of them have hardly realised the significance of the changed circumstances which have produced surprisingly different attitudes, and it appears, therefore, essential to make them realise these changed attitudes and the consequentially needed changed approach.

I, therefore, suggest an intensive course in man-management to be held at Kanpur, Kirkee, Ishapore, Ambernath and Jubbulpore, in the first instance, after factory hours for the heads of sections in our factories located in these areas. A course of a fortnight per year, at least, is desirable for these employees placed in such responsible posts. The course would be on the new human approach to managerial functions and labour relations, industrial psychology, the art of communication of works information, cost consciousness and cost control, and increasing knowledge of supervision/management. Visits coupled with lectures by competent members of the managerial staff with one or two full-time members ~~of the~~ are contemplated for the start. Thus, with a very small outlay, the control of men, the efficiency of factories, and the harmony of the industrial relations can be substantially assured. I would strongly commend this proposal for acceptance.

Training of Trade Union leaders

There are, however, two sides to any industrial relations and it is also for consideration whether trade union leaders and representatives should not be given a similar course. Such training courses for shop stewards are not uncommon in the industry in the UK.

6. Medical

General Standards

6.1. If the increases in the attendances at the Out-Patient Departments and in the admissions to hospitals is an index to the growing popularity or usefulness of the medical services we provide, we have every reason to be satisfied with them. Judged by standards of up-keep, too, it cannot be gainsaid that our hospitals compare favourably with civilian hospitals and that reasonable standards of proficiency are maintained by the staff who are more often than not working overtime without any additional remuneration. This is creditable in view of the handicaps, for which there can be no immediate solution, against which the Medical Services are working, such as, inadequate accommodation and bed-strength, particularly for the treatment of families, lack of quarters for staff in the vicinity, poor emoluments, etc.

Reasons for complaints

¶ If our standards are reasonably high, why then have we had of late relatively frequent criticisms against them? One reason is that hospitals offer to undesirable elements from Trade Unions a ready source for whipping up agitations when deaths occur, because it is human for relatives and friends ~~and~~ to feel that the deaths could have been avoided, even though the deaths in fact were

impossible to avoid. A less inevitable reason is that the Medical Officers in charge of these hospitals, being Military Officers are generally used to military discipline and, with notable exceptions, are unable to adjust themselves to the climate of a factory hospital and the temper of industrial workers and they have not been invariably tactful with Civilians, particularly industrial workers who claim rights without an awareness of their obligations. On the other hand, it must be said in fairness that there is undue interference by labour unions and employees in the doctor's management and treatment of the patients. It should be recognised without reservation that it is for the doctor to decide what particular type of treatment is to be administered to any particular patient and that the patient himself and much less his relatives or Union friends should refrain, in their own interest, from misinformed interference in this matter. This has caused so much exasperation that one or two military doctors have expressed their total dissatisfaction with the working conditions and their inability to carry on; and the confidence of a large number of them have been largely shaken by constant interference and unjustified complaints. In this context, some reduction of their efficiency is a logical possibility, but we cannot countenance any deterioration of the efficiency of our Medical Services on this score. No omissions on the doctor's part should ever occur, but, on the other hand, it would be unfair to subject them to baseless complaints if patients do not survive their illness owing to causes wholly beyond the control of the doctor.

Too-Late Admissions

There is unfortunately too frequent a tendency to postpone admission to the hospitals till it becomes inescapable and when cases are too late to be saved. Miraculous cures in the final stages of diseases are too much to expect from human hands. Employees have been reminded by me of the proverb "A stitch in time saves nine" and I have exhorted them by wide propaganda to resort to early admission to hospitals to give the patients a fair chance of recovery. Nevertheless, it is necessary to enjoin on all our factory doctors the pressing necessity for the maintenance of proper and harmonious relations with the employees, even under difficult circumstances; greater courtesy and sweeter talk in their dealings will pay equal, if not better dividends than good medicines. Although the recent regrettable labour demonstrations in some of our factories on grounds of their dissatisfaction with hospitals consequent upon unavoidable deaths which occur in the hospitals, have, on examination, proved unjustified, nevertheless, they are symptoms of deep-rooted suspicions of hospitals and, as good doctors, this malady must be cured by them.

Non-practising allowance.

6.2. Although our doctors at present are entitled to private practice the scope of such practice in factory estates is extremely limited. The doctors from time to time are subject to complaints from employees of misusing their privileges and devoting less attention to their legitimate duties and more to their private practice, and this appears to me to be clearly against the spirit of his right to private practice. While these complaints about private practice may be true in a few cases, we know of cases where doctors have foregone their private practice, such as it was, if only to avoid such complaints. It appears, therefore, desirable from every ~~xxxx~~ consideration that private practice should be forbidden to the doctors in the factory organization, but they should be compensated proportionately by the grant of a non-practising allowance. I have recently represented once again to the M.of D. for early reconsideration of their previous decision, in the interest of harmony and welfare of the employees and doctors alike.

7. Security.

7.1. On the whole I would say that the Security organisation in our factories has now consolidated itself firmly - largely as a result of the efforts of our Chief Security Officer at the Headquarters.

The work of the Security Staff undoubtedly calls for a great deal of tact. The Security Staff can be easily misunderstood, but it is gratifying to note that in the majority of cases, the Superintendents have appreciated the advice given to them from time to time. Our factory personnel are getting more and more security-minded and this is undoubtedly the result of the collective efforts of the Security Officers and the Superintendents. But complacency must be guarded against because the price to be paid for efficient security is constant vigilance.

Intelligence

7.2. Although we have little to complain about in the Intelligence Service that exists in the factories, it is desirable, if practicable that this Intelligence Service should be improved so as to give more timely warning to the administration of any subversive elements.

Frequent
Changes in
Security
Staff
undesirable.

7.3. In the past, I have had to complain against the postings of inexperienced Security Officers, and we have had ~~trouble~~ trouble with certain military officers not being able to adapt themselves to the very different conditions existing in civilian establishments. When the Security Officers have made the grade in the Ordnance Factories and have proved useful, it is very desirable that continuity of their services should not be disturbed. The normal rule of postings of military officers for only limited periods of time to outside establishments should not apply to the very exceptional case of posting of military officers as Security Officers to Ordnance Factories. Such officers take at least a year to learn the correct approach to civilian labour and it is only after a further period of a year or two that they begin to give of their best. Accordingly, from sheer experience, I would like to press once again for the retention of our present Chief Security Officer and our Security Officer in the Headquarters.

8. Conclusion. And now we may proceed with discussion on item 1. A short note on the subject has been provided.

13.9.54

Comrade PS,

Please go through this article. We wish to print it in the October issue. This means that we should send it to the Press by the 20th.

Please let ~~me~~ we know as soon as possible (a) whether it can be printed + (b) whether some paras should be left out etc.

Thanks,

Whit
}

Can
Send it by PR & let
him go through it PS

~~Sabin~~
~~PS~~

~~Patric~~
~~Patric~~

For January
1st August Issue

Corrected Copy

Even diehard enemies of the Communist Party recognise the discipline, selflessness and capacity for sacrifice of the members of the Communist Party. However, there is a widespread feeling even among elements who are otherwise progressive and have a certain measure of respect for the Communist Party that it does not think and act in terms of national conditions, that it is influenced by a "foreign" ideology.

For instance, quite sincere people often say that they appreciate the work of the Communist Party in championing the cause of workers and peasants, but that "the Communists opposed the national movement in 1930 and 1942" which they ought not to have done."

This feeling is by no means accidental. Probably the most sinister and vicious slander spread by bourgeois reactionaries and chauvinists is that they are "Russian agents", they work on "orders from Moscow", they have no patriotism, and so on.

Clearly the purpose of this smear campaign is to cover up the narrow, anti-national interests of the bourgeoisie themselves, to fan national animosities in the working class and other democratic elements, and to disrupt the international solidarity of the working class.

Naturally, such propaganda is not swallowed in its entirety by most people. But it influences and confuses large sections, creates doubts regarding the "trustworthiness" of Communists, and weakens the democratic front by dividing its ranks.

Bold and unquestioned facts of the history of the Communist Party in this country should suffice, by themselves, to dispel such misunderstanding, and to nail down the slanders for what they are worth. Unfortunately, even such facts are not at all as widely known as they should be.

Birth of Indian communists

The first band of young Indian Communists was born out of the participants in the Non-Cooperation Movement after the first World War, and out of the Indian revolutionaries of that period, such as members of the Ghadr Party and others.

The imperialist World War of 1914-18 led to the first successful socialist revolution in history, the Russian Revolution. It also unleashed an unprecedented popular upsurge for national liberation in all colonial and dependent countries from China to Morocco. India was by no means an exception either in the sense that we alone passed through such a movement, or in the sense that the forces operating in and upon our country were any different from those to which similar countries were subject. Spontaneous working class and peasant movements were a marked feature of the upsurge in all subject countries.

The non-cooperation movement ended in defeat and disruption precisely because the Congress leadership headed by Mahatma Gandhi failed to yoke the contemporary revolutionary tide of working class strikes and peasant uprisings to the task of national liberation, because it shackled the Indian freedom movement by the ideology and practice of non-violent non-cooperation.

No wonder that certain young elements in the movement began to search for the causes of the failure of the movement, and also for the sure path to victory.

ixxx

Why They Turned to the Russian Revolution

It was this search that led them to the study of the Russian Revolution and the lessons they could derive from it for achieving their cherished goal of national independence.

Literature on the subject was extremely scanty in those days due to the Iron Curtain erected around India by the British rulers.

All the same, two things stood out even in that early period of the birth of Communism in India. Firstly, that India could be liberated only by a mass, revolutionary overthrow of British rule, and that, of all the governments in the world, the Soviet Union alone championed the cause of all oppressed nations struggling for freedom. Only the leaders of the Soviet Union preached and practised the alliance between the Socialist revolution in advanced countries with the national liberationist revolutions in backward and dependent countries.

Com. Dange's pamphlet "Lenin and Gandhi" written in this period (1922) is very significant of the impact of the Russian Revolution on the minds of revolutionary Indian youths whom the non-cooperation movement had led into a blind ~~strategic~~ alley. And Com. Palme Latt's "Modern India" (1924) served them as an inspiring guide.

However, before these new elements could start organising their forces against British Imperialism, very clear regarding the threat created by the new offshoot to its rule in India, launched the Cawnpur Communist Conspiracy Case in 1924. For the time being, the new development was arrested. In the ~~inter~~ aftermath of non-cooperation, the country also passed through a few years of lull and demoralisation.

Once again, after 1927, the national movement began to gather its forces for going on the offensive. Simultaneously, the new forces under Communist influence also came on the scene.

The Sixth Congress of the Communist International which produced the famous thesis on the freedom movement in colonial countries took place in 1928. At the close of 1930, appeared the Draft Platform of Action of the Communist Party of India.

Guiding Principles of the National Freedom Movement

The guiding principles prominently brought out by these documents were:

(1) That the crux of the Indian revolution, of national independence, was the rooting out of all British control over India, economic and political. The expropriation and nationalisation of British capital in the country. The abolition of feudal exploitation and distribution of land to the tiller without compensation. The creation of a genuinely democratic state with elective legislature, executive and judicial organs. A People's Militia.

(2) That such freedom could only be achieved if the working class and the peasantry became the decisive force of the freedom movement, under the leadership of the working class. The middle class, particularly the students, were also a powerful force of the revolution.

(3) That the national capitalist class was also a part of the national ~~anti~~ anti-imperialist front, but that it was vacillating and compromising by nature. Hence, while allying with it, the working class had to dislodge it, step by step, from the position of the leadership of the national movement. Working class leadership had to be achieved by a systematic struggle to eradicate the influence of the bourgeois Congress leadership over the masses.

(4) That this task called for the building of powerful mass organisations of workers and peasants, and their leadership in day to day struggles.

(5) That the revolutionary movement had to evolve its specific forms of ~~mass~~ mass action, such as political strikes, mass peasant ~~unorganised~~ refusal to pay rent and land revenue, leading to still higher forms of struggle.

(6) That to guide and lead these various movements and the national movement in its entirety, a disciplined mass Communist Party must be built.

(7) That all colonial liberation movements were now linked with the world working class movement for the overthrow of capitalist rule and the achievement of socialism. National freedom could only be achieved in alliance with the working class revolutions in the West.

(8) That the path to socialism in colonial countries necessarily required the attainment of full national independence as a prerequisite.

It is necessary to reiterate these points, not because they are not ~~as~~ widely known or accepted today, but to point out that it was the Indian Communists who brought them to the forefront of Indian politics more than twenty-five years ago. This enables us to make an objective assessment of the understanding and practical work of Indian Communists as one of the vital factors that have influenced ~~the~~ the growth of our national movement during the last quarters of a century.

And Indian Communists did not just preach these principles in a detached, academic manner, without vigorously putting them into practice.

Actual Practice

Between 1926 to 1930, they threw themselves heart and soul into working class struggles, organising and leading the biggest strikes and trade unions of that period. Such were the great textile workers strikes of Bombay of 1928 and 1929, which created the biggest trade union in colonial Asia of that period, the Red Flag Bombay Girni Kamgar Union. Such were the powerful strikes of GIP and SI Railway workers of 1928 and 1930. The All-India Trade Union Congress whose membership shot up to three lakhs, emerged as a massive force on the Indian arena, in which the Communists played a most prominent role.

Side by side, Communists carried socialism to the working class, popularising the Soviet Union and making the working class conscious of its ~~own~~ goal of socialism and the establishment of a working class state. Communist newspapers were produced and sold in lacs and young workers were trained in communist study circles and schools.

Mass political strikes were also organised in Bombay and Calcutta protesting against the Simon Commission, the Whitely Commission, the death sentences against Bhagat Singh and his comrades, and so on.

Even as early as 1926 to 1930, Communists held prominent offices in Provincial Congress Committees in Bombay and Bengal, and were elected to the AICC.

It was a Communist who first gave notice of the Independence resolution at the Madras Session of the Indian National Congress in 1927.

It was the inspiring and survival and growing might of the Soviet Union, the visit of Pandit Motilal and Jawaharlal Nehru to the Soviet Union in 1927 the new forces in India and the growing consciousness of the national movement that it was an inseparable part of the global struggle against world imperialism, that led to the affiliation of the Indian National Congress to the League of Against Imperialism in 1927. The key points of Communist agitation and activity in this period were that complete independence and not dominion status must be India's goal; and that working class strikes and peasant actions must be the form of struggle and not satyagraha.

The Calcutta Congress Session of 1928 declared that if Indian freedom was not accepted by the British within a year, it would launch a mass struggle for its achievement. Such a decision was taken a year later at Lahore.

What would be a better testimony to the role of Indian Communists in the national movement than the fact that the Meerut Conspiracy Case was launched precisely within three months after the Calcutta Congress? Imperialism knew who were its worst enemies in the national movement, who would give it its most revolutionary orientation, and hence clapped the entire leadership of the growing Communist movement behind prison walls, well in advance of the Lahore Congress.

Civil Disobedience in 1930

Much has been said and written about the mistakes of Indian Communists in the mass movement of 1930, and we Communists are the last to cover up or excuse our inflexible and sectarian tactical approach of that period.

But it has to be realised that the crucial effort of Communists in that period was precisely to break through the shackles of the Civil Disobedience movement with the weapon of the political general strike of the working class linked with the non-payment of taxes in the countryside. Their struggle against the Gandhian leadership widely converged on this issue.

In this attempt, the young Communist leadership of that time met with failure. But the failure was not theirs alone. With the signing of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 1931, it proved to be the failure of the entire national movement. For with the Pact, the national movement once more entered a period of paralysis and disintegration, requiring the strenuous efforts of one more decade, again to go on the offensive.

However, the disillusionment that followed in the wake of the withdrawal of the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1932 brought far larger numbers to the path of Communism than what had happened after Chauri Chaura in 1922. Thousands realised that the Communists were not wrong in warning them that independence could not be achieved without breaking through the form of struggle they had adopted in 1930.

Communist Party Expands

During the thirties, the Communist Party was consolidated and expanded all over the country. Trade union and working class activity ~~spread~~ spread from the earlier big proletarian centres to most of the provinces.

At the same time, the distinctive feature of the thirties was also the growing work and influence of Communists inside the National Congress; the beginning and expansion of a mass Kisan movement in various provinces; and the emergence of a militant, ideologically advanced, student movement.

Within the Congress, Communist activity developed in this period not only directly. Communists also influenced the development of the Congress Socialist Party started in 1934. Hundreds upon hundreds of youths drawn from the Congress movement into the CSP moved further in the course of time and entered the Communist Party. Of course, the leaders of the CSP complained that this was the result of the "Trojan Horse" policy of the Communists. But such puerile explanations only exposed the bankruptcy of those who offered them.

The simple fact remained that the Congress Socialists who came over to the CPI did so because they were convinced that it was the only consistently Marxist Party in India, the only ~~un~~ uncompromising fighter for national liberation.

Again, it was in this period that the bulk of Indian terrorists confined in the Andamans joined the CPI while yet within prison bars.

The Kisan Sabha rapidly developed into a powerful mass movement leading innumerable militant kisan actions and with a membership that reached 7 lakhs even before the end of the thirties. Communists have always been recognised as the most powerful element in the leadership of the Kisan movement from its inception till now.

Young Communist students also worked vigorously to organise and lead student struggles and to build the All-India Students' Federation which became a powerful component part of the forces of the freedom movement.

Leftward Swing Inside the Congress

All these developments and ~~and~~ activities ~~led~~ brought leftism very much to the forefront inside the Congress itself during the thirties and influenced many resolutions and ideas of the common Congressmen.

The united anti-imperialist front became a commonly accepted idea among most Congressmen. The working class right to strike, to organise trade unions and to secure their recognition was voiced from the Congress platform.

In fact, the political role of trade unions and kisan sabhas became so widely accepted that for some time after the Lucknow Congress of 1936, the proposal of collective affiliation of trade unions and kisan sabhas to the Congress ~~was~~ was officially discussed by the Congress leadership itself. The Faizpur Congress Resolutions on agrarian reforms and the Constituent Assembly were adopted in the same year.

The unity of the Indian Freedom movement with the anti-fascist and

freedom struggles of other countries was also officially recognised by the Congress. Pandit Nehru, during that period, prominently emphasized this bond and the Congress officially supported the Chinese people's struggle against Japanese invasion, the Spanish struggle for democracy against fascism, and the Abyssinian struggle against the Italian fascist attack.

The Second World War

It was in this context that the Second World War broke out in 1939. The Bombay Textile Workers on the call of their Union and the Communist Party, were the first to come out in protest against the second imperialist war.

The most heatedly discussed period in the history and policies of the CPI began with the invasion of the Soviet Union by the Nazi hordes in 1941.

This is not the place, nor is it possible here to go into a ~~taxe~~ through judgment over the policy of the Party during that period, particularly with reference to the Quit India struggle of 1942. There is no doubt that the slogan of the People's War was put across by the Party in an oversimplified and rigid fashion, and that its approach to the 1942 Movement was also purely negative.

All the same, the vital difference that divided the Communists and the 1942 elements was whether Indian national independence could be secured during that period by delinking our freedom movement from the world struggle against fascism or whether the freedom movement could succeed only as an organic and inseparable part of the international anti-fascist struggle.

In this vital point, the subsequent experience of Asiatic and European countries has demonstrated in practice which was the genuine path to freedom during the anti-fascist peoples war. The experience of South-East Asiatic ~~Countries~~ particularly valuable for us, faced as they were, with a situation very much like ours in 1942.

No wonder that with the passage of time innumerable elements in the 1942 struggle itself realised the basic truth behind the slogan of the People's War and came over to the Communist Party.

It is extremely significant that during the course of the 1942 movement itself literally hundreds upon hundreds of the most zealous participants in the movement should change their political opinions and enter the Communist Party. And among these, in a number of provinces, were very prominent leaders of the 1942 movement.

The membership of the ~~the~~ CPI which stood at 3,000 in 1943 steadily rose to 90000 by 1948.

Post-War Upsurge

The end of the Second World War unleashed a far mightier revolutionary upsurge in the colonies than the one after the first world war.

This was the period which witnessed the great I.N.A. demonstrations in Calcutta; the Indian Naval Mutiny; mutinies in the R.F.A.F. and the police in various provinces; the Tebhaga peasant movement in Bengal; revolutionary struggles of the Indian States' People's as in Kashmir; and above all, the mighty struggle of the Telengana peasantry for land and freedom. In a number of these struggles Communists played an important role, the Tebhaga and Telangana struggles being dominantly under Communist leadership.

At the same time, this period was extremely critical for India for two reasons that it was precisely in this period that the British rulers worked up the most barbarous Hindu-Muslim massacres in our history leading up to the partition of India. Simultaneously British imperialism also came to terms with the Congress leadership, which in its turn, frightened by the post-war upsurge, surrendered to imperialism and took over the responsibility of running the central and provincial governments.

In this situation, the Communist Party was faced with the task of guiding the new upsurge while at the same time fighting communal disruption as also the freedom illusion generated in the popular mind by the transfer of

power to the leaders of the Indian National Congress.

Once again, it was the Communist Party that was the first to warn the country against the coming compromise and to realise that a Government based on compromise with imperialism and feudalism could not be and was not a genuinely free national government and that the struggle for full independence had still to continue. It was also the first political party to go out boldly among the people to organise them for this struggle when the compromise was a settled fact.

Considering that the agrarian revolution is the hub of the Indian national revolution, it has to be realised that the Telangane struggle is the highest pitch yet attained by the Indian freedom movement.

It took four years for the Communist Party to work out the new strategy and tactics of the Indian Revolution suited to ~~existing~~ conditions in which the influential bourgeois leadership of the Congress had ~~be~~ been placed in the seat of power.

The advance of the Communist Party to the position of the main opposition to the National Congress both inside and outside the legislatures since 1951 is a matter of very recent history and of countrywide knowledge.

The Programme of the Communist Party adopted in 1951 and the policy of building the Democratic Front pursued by it since the adoption of the Programme have now secured an extremely broad recognition among patriotic elements as the only correct path to full and genuine national independence for India.

And once again in this period it is the Communist Party that has contributed most to the task of linking the Indian freedom movement with the international struggle against the most powerful aggressive imperialist power in the world, viz. American imperialism. It has done this through the part played by it in the peace campaign. It is also doing it through its campaign for the adoption of a foreign policy which will make India a part of the international camp of peace, freedom, democracy and socialism, headed by the USSR and China against the imperialist camp of war, aggression and colonial domination, led by the U.S.A.

Such, in brief, is the role played by the Communist Party in the struggle for national freedom. It is a role which any genuine patriot can always be proud of, a role which no amount of mudslinging by the reactionary bourgeoisie and their agents can besmirch.

The confusion, among honest elements, regarding the patriotism of the Communists, does not arise from any real conflict between the policies of the Communist Party and the call of true patriotism. It arises from a failure to understand that proletarian revolutionary patriotism alone is the highest patriotism, while all other forms of patriotism are either such as compromise the struggle for full national independence, or are downright chauvinism masquerading in the garb of patriotism.

In one of his last behests ~~of~~ to Communists all over the world, Com Stalin said:

"Formerly, the bourgeoisie was regarded as the head of the nation; it upheld the rights and independence of the nation and placed them 'above all else'. Now not a trace remains of the 'national principle'. Now the bourgeoisie sells the rights and independence of the nation for dollars. The banner of national independence and national sovereignty has been thrown overboard. There is no doubt that it is you, the representatives of the Communist and democratic parties, who will have to raise this banner and carry it forward, if you want to be patriots of your country, if you want to become the leading force of the nation. There is nobody else to raise it." (Speech at the 19th Congress of the CPSU).

Communists in India have always struggled their hardest to live up to this behest.

To be answered on the 8th December 1954

Reply to the question asked by Shri M.L.Dwivedi:

SHRI M.L. DWIVEDI: Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) whether there has been any change in the terms of the contract with the United States of America under the Indo-U.S. Technical Cooperation Programme for the supply of 100 locomotives and 5000 wagons to India;

(b) if so, the nature of the change;

(c) whether there will be no difference as regards quality, rate, durability etc. of the locomotives and wagons to be supplied by Japan, U.S.A. and Europe under ~~the~~ Foreign Aid Programme;

and

(d) the value of the materials received by India so far under such aid ?

A N S W E R

SHRI CHINTAMAN D. DESHMUKH (Minister for Finance)

(a) Yes, Sir.

(b) Originally the idea was that the locomotives and wagons would be bought from the cheapest qualified tenderers in the world market. After tenders were opened, the U.S. Government wished to place orders for 50% of the locomotives and 40% of the wagons on American suppliers, albeit at higher prices, and sought the concurrence of the Government of India. As the extra cost of

of placing such orders in the U.S.A. was to be borne by the U.S. Government from funds other than those earmarked for India, and as the supply of 100 locomotives and 5000 wagons to India according to Indian Railway standard specifications within the delivery date originally stipulated was not affected, the Government of India agreed to the proposal of the U.S. Government.

c) The supply will be according to the specifications of the Indian Railways, irrespective of the source of supply. But, as pointed out earlier, the price of locomotives and wagons ordered from the U.S.A. will be higher than the European prices, which are themselves a little higher than the Japanese prices.

d) The value of materials and equipment received so far under the Railway Rolling Stock Agreement is nil. It is expected that the delivery of locomotive and wagons under the Agreement will be completed by the 31st December, 1965.
